FRAMING NEOLIBERALISM: THE COUNTER-HEGEMONIC FRAMING OF THE

GLOBAL JUSTICE, ANTIWAR, AND IMMIGRANT RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Title: Framing Neoliberalism: The Counter-hegemonic Framing of the Global Justice, Antiwar, and Immigrant Rights Movements

This dissertation explores how three social movements deployed an anti-neoliberal master frame during the course of a multi-movement protest wave. Using ethnographic content analysis. I examine the Global Justice (GJM), Antiwar (AWM), and Immigrant Rights movements (IRM) of the 2000s to offer a theoretical synthesis of the framing perspective in social movements and Gramscian hegemony, which I call the counter-hegemonic framing approach. This approach links the contested discursive practices of social movements to historically specific political-economic contexts to offer a macro framework to make sense of this meso-level activity that illuminates the development of a counter-hegemonic master frame. I apply this approach in case studies of each movement and a culminating incorporated comparison. In the GJM chapter, I found that the GJM frames neoliberal institutions such as the World Trade Organization, World Bank, and International Monetary Fund as influenced by corporate power. Second, the GJM amplifies the symptoms of neoliberal globalization such as global inequality and environmental degradation. Third, there is a master frame specific to neoliberalism which defines neoliberal globalization as a corporate project that seeks to reduce environmental, human rights, and labor regulations by eroding sovereignty in order to open markets and increase

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profits. For the AWM, I found that the movement integrated the context of both rollback and rollout neoliberalism into their framing to build opposition to the Afghan and Iraq War. In addition, following the corporate power frame of the GJM, the AWM problematizes the involvement of corporations in foreign policy discussions. For the IRM, I found that one of the central goals of their framing was to deflect blame away from undocumented immigrants. There are two ways the IRM accomplished this. First, the IRM emphasized the economic contributions of immigrants. Second, the IRM emphasized the impact of neoliberal globalization as a cause of increased immigration and social problems for which migrants were blamed. Finally, in an incorporated comparison of these case studies I found a distinct anti-neoliberal "repertoire of interpretation," which forms the basis of an anti-neoliberal master frame that emphasizes US hegemony, corporate power, economic inequality, and neoliberal rollout.

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Griffin, who taught me that this dissertation is not that important. I hope that when he grows older he will draw inspiration from, and appreciate the persistence and dedication his father needed to get his PhD.

For Joe Hardnack

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The 21st century began with a wave of protest against neoliberal globalization and

US hegemony. In the US, several movements responded to the neoliberal offensive,

including the Global Justice, Antiwar, and Immigrant Rights Movements. These

movements, like those that occurred during the 1960s, were world-historical movements

that developed into cycles of contention that "define new epochs in the cultural, political,

and economic dimensions of society" (Katsiaficas 1987:7). Along with being part of a

larger world-historical wave, these movements engaged in collective action framing that

contested neoliberalism that was counter-hegemonic, contextual, and historically specific.

This counter-hegemonic framing, can be observed in the communication and discourse of

each movement, as well as through media accounts of claims making.

This dissertation engages in debates surrounding hegemony, social movement

framing processes, and protest cycles within the field of social movement studies, and

points to an approach that integrates insights from political-economy and Gramscian

theory, without discarding mainstream social movement theory, which has tremendous

analytic value. In the social sciences, framing falls into the territory of social movement

scholars who have largely ignored capitalism and the effects of class domination and

hegemony. In addition, social movement theory has been ill equipped to undertake the

study of counter-hegemonic social movements that challenge the existing social order

(Nilsen 2009). As Katsiaficas (1987) points out, "sociological studies [of social

movements] have more often than not attempted to fit social movements into

preconceived theoretical frameworks rather than constructing investigations of them as

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attempts to transform an irrational system" (239). Following these criticisms, I utilize a Marxian, and specifically Gramscian approach to framing, which provides a theoretical lens, and methodological tools for studying how these movements engage in framing that organizes dissent against neoliberal capitalist hegemony. I apply this approach to three successive movements: the Global Justice, Antiwar and Immigrant Rights movements during the late 1990s and early 2000s within the United States. Based on Snow and Benford's (1992) proposition that movements which arise early in a protest cycle tend to be progenitors of master frames for subsequent movements, I ask the following question: *How do counter-hegemonic movements construct a resonant and resilient political economy frame, that is specific to neoliberalism, across different movements involved in a wave of contention?* In order to answer this question, I engage each of the three movements in case studies which focus on their respective peaks of activity (protest events), and examine how opposition to neoliberalism emerged in their framing on a case-by-case basis, followed by a comparative analysis of each movement. In each case, I explore the following secondary research questions:

- What was the structure of the political-economic framing of the global justice movement, and what was the anti-neoliberal master frame?
- Do aspects the GJM's critique of neoliberal globalization continue within the antiwar movement, and how was this critique elaborated and extended by the antiwar movement, in ways specific to the context of war and neoliberalism?
- How did the Immigrant Rights Movement incorporate political-economic and anti-neoliberal framing into their framing repertoire?

As the new millennium approached, and into the first decade, neoliberalism faced sustained resistance at a global level (Smith 2007). Starting in the global south (Podobnik and Reifer 2009; Walton and Ragin 1990), significant resistance to neoliberal globalization in the form of massive protests and even revolutions such as the Seattle protest in 1999, and the "pink tide" in Latin America led by Hugo Chavez (Petras and Veltmeyer 2011). While resistance outside the US is well documented (Boswell and Dixon 1993; Walton and Ragin 1990), social movements also emerged to contest neoliberal hegemony within the United States. Three of the largest movements emerged as part of an anti-neoliberal protest wave. These include: the Global Justice Movement which challenged a global neoliberal network of financial and economic institutions (Smith 2007); the Antiwar Movement which challenged the neoliberal imperialism of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq (Cortright 2008); and the Immigrant Rights Movement which emerged in defense of migrant workers that were dispossessed and displaced by neoliberal economic policies in central-America (Sassen 1999; Bacon 2008). Further, the inability of neoliberal policies to alleviate ecological and economic degradation of the vast majority of the planet made "emergent critical discourses" or counter-hegemonic frames more resonant (Smith and Wiest (2012). These movements, among others, formed a wave of contention *within* the United States between 1999 and 2007, and are my substantive focus in this dissertation.

During the neoliberal era, elites in the US were attempting to maintain global hegemony and economic growth by encouraging privatization, reducing the role of the government in economic affairs, pursuing an interventionist foreign policy of regime change, trade liberalization, and dispossessing and proletarianizing a global workforce in

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the periphery (Harvey 2003). However, this neoliberal offensive did not solve all of the structural problems of capitalism. Rather, neoliberalism has exacerbated the underlying tensions of the system, by increasing inequality, environmental degradation and the dispossession. As Smith and Wiest (2012) argues, " [T]he decline of U.S. hegemony and related global crises has strengthened opportunities for movements to come together to challenge the basic logics and structures of the world economic and political system" (p. 3). Furthermore, as Nilsen (2009) posits, if we can assume that the neoliberal project is an offensive social movement from above, we can conceptualize resistance as a defensive social movement from below. Moreover, these movements represent a surge in the broader progressive or left social movement sector that exists in prolonged conflict with ruling elites. How this conflict took shape has been examined indirectly from the perspective of each movement, but until this dissertation, there has not been a study that incorporates multiple movements, in an analysis of counter-hegemonic or anti-systemic framing.[1]

PROJECT OVERVIEW

      This research begins with movement level, meso-organizational case studies of framing deployed by each movement, during peaks of protest activity, followed by a macro-level analysis, which characterizes these movements as part of an emergent anti-neoliberal wave of contention. To do this, I use a method of complexity reduction termed "incorporated comparison" which conceptualizes each movement as part of a historical whole (McMichael 1990). After outlining my theoretical approach and methods, I present

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[1] Excellent edited volumes have been produced that examine each of these movements. See (Podobnik and Reifer 2009) on the Global Justice movement, (Walgrave, Rucht, and Tarrow 2010) for the anti-war movement, and (Voss and Bloemraad 2011) for the immigrant rights movement.

the historically contingent rise of these movements within the balance of class forces shaped by neoliberalism. To gain an understanding of how activists perceive and react to the economic context, I conducted an ethnographic content analysis of archival material as well as original interviews with movement leaders. To provide empirical evidence of a protest wave, I conducted a political claims analysis (PCA) of stories related to these movements in the *New York Times* from 1993-2007. Political claims analysis combines protest event analysis and the analysis of political discourse, and is especially useful because it is capable of assessing political opportunities, mobilizing structures, and the collective action frames of a cycle of contention (Koopmans and Statham 1999). In other words, PCA allowed me to assess the size and number of protests, as well as the framing of each movement in a content analysis of newspaper articles.

Taken as a whole, these movements appear to constitute a protest wave, similar to the 1960s protest wave, though smaller in scope, which, as Tarrow (1989) explains, "originated in the general structural problems of advanced capitalism, its forms were conditioned by the particular political institutions and opportunities of each country and social sector" (p. 4). While the major flash points follow a temporal order from the Seattle demonstration of November 1999, to the February 15th demonstration against the Iraq war, and the 2006 Immigrant Spring, there are processes which link and contextualize all of these that do not follow a neatly ordered chain of events. For example, the Justice for Janitors campaign and the Zapatista uprising in Mexico predate the three moments that I explore in this dissertation, and play a large role in the mobilization and radicalization of activists who played large roles in each of them.

These movements also produced extremely large demonstrations. Though the

mass demonstration was common in previous protests (Tarrow 1998), contemporary

movements were innovative in calling for "days of action." A day of action is a

demonstration placed on a day deemed significant by movement organizers, against a

common opponent (Wood 2009). Some of these demonstrations turned out to be the

peaks of these movements. In each of these movements, a significant level of scale-shift

took place[2]. Furthermore, each of these movements seemed to be more contentious,

diffuse, innovative, and coordinated than those that preceded it.

This dissertation is significant in three ways. First, makes a theoretical

contribution to how Marxist and post-Marxist scholars understand and conceptualize

social movements and the framing that takes place within them. Second, it brings the

focus of inquiry back to the core of the capitalist world-system. This is important because

the study of anti-neoliberal movements has primarily focused on movements in the

periphery and semi-periphery; the transnational and global scale: or focused exclusively

on neoliberal financial organizations such as the World Trade Organization and

International Monetary Fund. Third, it contributes the substantive knowledge of these

movements in political-economic context.

OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTERS

In this dissertation, I explore how an anti-neoliberal master frame was deployed

during the course of a multi-movement protest wave using a multi-method approach. In

chapter II, I offer a theoretical synthesis of the framing perspective in social movements

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[2] Scale shift is defined as "a change in the number and level of coordinated contentious actions leading to broader contention involving a wider range of actors and bridging their claims and identities" (McAdam et al 2001:331).

and Gramscian theories of hegemony, which I call the "counter-hegemonic framing approach." This approach links the contested ideational practices of social movements to political economic context. Here I provide an overview of literature on collective action framing, the use of Gramscian social movement theory, and the emergence of neoliberalism.

In chapter III, I describe the various methods and data sources that I used to carry out the study including, ethnographic content analysis and political claims analysis. In addition, I make the case for a case study approach to each movement. I also describe the archives I visited, the activists interviewed, and datasets I drew upon as evidence.

In chapter IV, the GJM chapter, I draw on documents and oral history interview transcripts gathered at the University of Washington's WTO History Archive, documents from Patrick Gillham's Global Justice Movement Archival Center, and archived websites. I focus on the 1999 WTO protest in Seattle, and the mobilization against the World Bank and IMF in April 2000. I found that the GJM frames neoliberal institutions such as the WTO, World Bank, and International Monetary Fund as influenced by corporate power. Second, the GJM amplifies the symptoms of neoliberal globalization such as global inequality, and environmental degradation. Third, there is a master frame specific to neoliberalism which defines neoliberal globalization as a corporate project that seeks to reduce environmental, human rights, and labor regulations by eroding sovereignty, in order to open markets and increase profits.

In chapter V, I explore how the AWM of the 2000s integrated the context of neoliberalism into their framing and points to diffusion of some aspects from the GJM. The data for this chapter is drawn from internet archives collected using the Wayback

Machine; a collection of Antiwar movement websites in the Library of Congress's Digital Collection on the Iraq War; and open ended questions in the International Peace Protest Survey of the massive February 15th 2003 protests. While the connection to neoliberalism may not be as obvious as with the GJM, I find that continuity in opposition to neoliberal globalization. I also find that one of the primary ways the activists tried to draw people into this movement is by highlighting the perceived paradox of massive military spending at the expense of social services. This framing positions resistance to war within the context of a receding welfare state and the neoliberal project. In addition, following the corporate power frame of the GJM, the AWM problematizes the involvement of corporations in military operations.

In chapter VI, I explore the case of the IRM, where I also from the Wayback Machine, several archives at academic libraries, and semi-structured interviews with movement leaders. I found that one of the central goals of the framing deployed by the IRM was to deflect blame away from undocumented immigrants. There are two ways this was accomplished. First, the IRM emphasized the economic contributions of immigrants. Second, the IRM emphasized that processes linked to the global economy were the cause of increases in immigration, and the social problems for which migrants were blamed. This chapter situates resistance to the criminalization of immigrant workers, anti-immigrant policies, and anti-Latino racism within the context of neoliberalism. Furthermore, this movement highlights the contradictory nature of restricting the movement of labor while facilitating the movement of capital, a symptom of neoliberal globalization.

In chapter VII, I begin to piece together a broad picture of the framing that took place within each of these movements by way of an incorporated comparison of anti-neoliberal framing in each movement. I find that in the anti-neoliberal framing of the three movements, when looked at as a totality, offered ingredients to a coherent anti-neoliberal master frame. This master frame emphasizes the role of the US as a hegemonic power in the capitalist world-system; problematized corporate power; framed inequality as a symptom of neoliberalism; and framed neoliberalism as intimately connected to an emergent carceral state.

CHAPTER II

FRAMING, HEGEMONY, AND NEOLIBERALISM: TOWARD A COUNTER-

HEGEMONIC FRAMING APPROACH

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the major approaches within social movement studies as well as develop a theoretical approach to study framing deployed by the Global Justice (GJM), Anti-war (AWM), and Immigrant Rights Movements (IRM) that contest neoliberal hegemony. I draw on a wide range of literature in the areas of social movements, social theory, and political economy to develop an approach to social movement research, which I call the *counter-hegemonic framing approach (CHFA)*. I argue that a synthesis of the framing perspective and a Gramscian approach to hegemony provides a theoretical lens to systematically examine how social movements engage in framing which demystifies social relations and orients movements to contest neoliberal hegemony. This theoretical synthesis shifts the framing perspective from one that is solely associated with the cultural turn, to one that emphasizes the historically specific nature of the political-economy, as well as the sense making of movements within that political-economy. Furthermore, the CHFA emphasizes the dialectical unity between movements, framing, and historical conjuncture, while acknowledging the contradictory notions of resistance and consent to neoliberal and capitalist hegemony. In the debates that emerge within movements (frame disputes), counter-hegemonic actors try to win leadership and consent of other movement actors. Therefore, the target of counter-hegemonic frames is not necessarily a given movement's opposition, but their allies and potential constituents. Analyzing framing with sensitivity to political-economic context emphasizes that the ideational and discursive work of framing is not always divorced from the historical balance of forces and accumulation strategies such as neoliberalism.

At the same time, it acknowledges the fact that organizations often deploy contradictory frames that exemplify the hegemonic status of neoliberalism, while others may contest it.

I intend to cover three broad topics before arriving at a theoretical synthesis that will orient my research. First, I will broadly review the literature on social movements to situate the project within the field, with attention to framing and Marxian approaches to social movements. Second, I will review Gramsci's theory of hegemony and its application to social movement studies. Third, I will tie together these bodies of research to propose my counter-hegemonic framing approach. Finally, I outline the rise of neoliberalism in three "moments." These moments include neoliberalism as a thought collective, neoliberalism as a class project, and neoliberalism as an accumulation strategy.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The term "social movement" is one that does not have a unified definition in the social sciences. Still, it is necessary to present some widely accepted definitions that scholars present in various surveys of the field. Tilly and Wood (2013) define a social movement as a historically specific political complex comprised of three elements: "(1) campaigns of collective claims on target authorities; (2) an array of claim-making performances including special purpose associations, public meetings, media statements, and demonstrations; and (3) public representations of the causes worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment." (p. 8). In another widely read work, Tarrow (1998) defines social movements as "collective challenges, based on common purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities" (p. 4). As one

can see from these definitions, the language of social movements is awash with relentlessly generic terms scholars apply to a seemingly all-encompassing ensemble of groups engaging in collective action.

Mainstream Paradigms of Social Movement Theory

The study of social movements has undergone several paradigm shifts in order to arrive at a position that views movements, specifically protest movements, as rational, with origins linked to specific objective and subjective conditions. In the classical literature, which eventually began using fascist movements in Europe as a referent, scholars perceived social movements as irrational actors acting out on psychological impulses. For example, the *collective behavior* school conceptualizes collective behavior as an umbrella concept, which includes panics, crazes, and crowds, which they saw as non-institutional in nature, often emerging as the pathological result of social strain caused by the breakdown of institutions within the social system (Buechler 2002).

The *resource mobilization* perspective represents a break with the collective behavior school in the 1970s, and used the movements of the 1960s, especially the Civil Rights Movement, as a referent for their analysis. Non-coincidentally, this break occurred within a historical context in which social movement scholars had biographical experiences as activists involved in these very movements. From the resource mobilization perspective, scholars came to view social movements as "rational, institutionally rooted, political challenges by aggrieved groups" (Buechler 2002:35). Most importantly, the resource mobilization approach emphasized the ability of a social movement to mobilize organizational resources, the connections the movement can capitalize on, and dependence on external support by elites (McCarthy and Zald 1977).

This perspective added a much needed organizational and strategic element to the theoretical approaches to social movements.

Meanwhile, scholars in Western Europe were coming to terms with the rise of movements that were associated with identity and quality of life issues, rather than relative deprivation. *New social movement* (NSM) theory represented a turn toward the subjective and cultural aspect of collective action. Drawing on the work of Habermas (1985a, 1985b), and Melucci and Keane (1989), NSM theory posits that the impetus for collective action has moved from material deprivation and class conflict, as Marxists are charged with arguing, to resisting the "colonization of the life-world" (Habermas 1985a). More specifically, NSM scholars categorized movements centered on questions of identity such as gay liberation, the environment, and feminism under the rubric of new social movements. The NSM perspective has not gone without criticism. NSM theory has been accused of making questionable assertions about the newness of the movements it labels as new (Melucci 1994), the overly idealist philosophical orientation, and the arbitrary separation of identity from material deprivation (Barker and Dale 1998). Despite these criticisms, NSM theory brings cultural and performative aspects of collective action back into the analysis. In addition, NSM theorists' emphasis on collective identity is analogous to age-old sociological questions of class formation and class consciousness (Thompson 1966; Hunt and Benford 2004).

Building on the resource mobilization model and eventually incorporating aspects of new social movement theory, the *political process model* linked institutional politics to collective action. The political process model can be situated in the middle ground of a debate between Piven and Cloward (1978), who argue that building organizations, at the

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expense of mass disruption, stifles social movement success, and McCarthy and Zald (1977) who argue that movements are only successful when they build organizational structures, usually with the help of outsiders. The political process model is most famously outlined by McAdam (1982;1999), who explains that social movements emerge within a given political context or political opportunity structure, and must have sufficient mobilizing structures, the collective perception of opportunities, which McAdam originally termed "cognitive liberation" and the ability to deploy collective action frames that are meaningful and resonant.

The most important contribution to the field that is unique to the political process approach is the importance of political opportunity structures as a possible explanation for the emergence of social movements. Political opportunity structures are structural openings for collective action. Additionally, as Meyer and Minkoff (2004) explain, "The basic premise is that exogenous factors enhance or inhibit prospects for mobilization, for particular strategies of influence to be exercised, and for movements to affect mainstream institutional politics and policy" (p. 1457-1458). First conceptualized by Eisinger (1973), to capture the impact of political context on protest behavior in American cities, political opportunity structures have become the dominant approach to macro-level predictors of collective action (McAdam 1996; Meyer and Minkoff 2004). Further, McAdam's (1996) review argues that there are four conceptual dimensions of political opportunity:

1. The relative openness and closure of the institutionalized political system
2. The stability or instability of that broad set of elite alignments that typically undergird a polity
3. The presence or absence of elite allies
4. The state's capacity and propensity for repression (p. 27).

In addition to opportunities, threat may play an equally if not more important role. Threat occurs when a "set of negative environmental conditions pushes groups into collective claim making" (Amenta 2003:350). Originally conceptualized by Tilly (1978), threat often produces a symmetrical response to that of political opportunities. However, questions remain as to whether or not potential participants and movements themselves are capable of *recognizing* and framing circumstances as political opportunities or threat (Gamson and Meyer 1996). Even its own supporters confess that "It threatens to become an all-encompassing fudge factor for all conditions and circumstances that form the context of collective action" (Gamson and Meyer 1996: 275). In addition, it has tended to focus exclusively on simplified definitions of political opportunities, and largely ignored how economic context or class relations interact with that context.

Drawing from the resource mobilization school, the political process model also takes into account the capacity of social movements and social movement organizations to sustain themselves. In modern social movements, the coalition has become a key structure in which social movement organizations and activists come together to pool intellectual and financial resources (Tarrow 1998), a process Gerhards and Rucht (1992) call "mesomobilization." Equally important, during periods of relative inactivity, some organizations play the role of "abeyance structures" which facilitate continuity by serving as havens for committed activists between protest cycles when the general political climate is much more hostile (Taylor 1989).

Closely linked to the political process model is the notion that contention often appears in cycles or waves. Tarrow (1998) defines a "cycle of contention" or "protest wave" as:

a phase of heightened conflict across the social system: with rapid diffusion of collective action from more mobilized to less mobilized sectors; a rapid pace of innovation in the forms of contention; the creation of a new or transformed collective action frames; a combination of organized and unorganized participation; and sequences of intensified information flow and interaction between challengers and authorities (142).

Identifying where these waves start and end is subject to debate. The shift to analyzing cycles of protest has also led a shift in how researchers can trace the emergence of movements themselves. If cycles consist of "movements of movements", it would follow that identifying the "initiator" movements, that set the wave in motion, and "spin-off" movements, that draw inspiration from earlier movements is crucial to understand these cycles (McAdam 1995). In addition, tracing the diffusion between them would be central to any analysis of protest cycles. Acknowledging the interconnectedness of social movements is important to identifying how aspects of these movements spread from one to another. Two key concepts that relate to how movements interact with each other are spillover and spillout. Spillover refers to when "ideas, tactics, style, participants, and organizations of one movement often *spill over* [a specific social movement's] boundaries to affect other social movements" (Meyer and Whittier 1994). In contrast, spillout occurs when these things may move out of one movement and into another (Hadden and Tarrow (2007). Protest event analysis and historical comparative methods, which I discuss in the next chapter, are the typical methods used to analyze protests at this scale of analysis.

Marxian and Political-Economy Approaches

In contemporary social movement studies, very few scholars have incorporated the economic context into the analysis of social movements. As McAdam (1996) argued, "scholars have, to date, grossly undervalued the impact of global political and economic

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processes in structuring the domestic possibilities for successful collective action." (p. 34). Nevertheless there are a few exceptions, and with the great financial crisis, the emergence of Occupy Wall Street and the Arab Spring, more seem to emerge every day.

Hetland and Goodwin's (2009; 2013) widely discussed paper on political economy and social movement studies received considerable attention prior to its publication. Appropriately titled, *The Strange Disappearance of Capitalism from Social Movement Studies,* they question the theoretical turn away from capitalism and argue that, "It is time to bring capitalism back into social movement studies" (2). They review a selection of "classic" social movement studies, and make the case that political-economic factors influence all social movements to some degree. Hetland and Goodwin (2009) offer four ways to incorporate capitalism in social movement studies, and leave the door open to still more. First, "Capitalist dynamics alternately inhibit or facilitate the formation of new collective identities and solidarities, including both class and non-class identities." Second, "Economic contexts may powerfully shape the way movements evolve over time and what they can win for their constituents." Third, "Class divisions generated by capitalism may unevenly penetrate and fracture movements." Finally, "ideologies and cultural idioms closely linked to capitalist institutions and practices may strongly influence movement strategies and goals" (p. 12). Hetland and Goodwin are appropriately careful not to simply focus on the causal or determining aspects of capitalism, essentially arguing that the causal order is less important than the risks of omitting political economy entirely. For example, they also call for more research and theorizing on the ability of social movements to influence capitalism.

Of course, political-economy approaches have not always been out of fashion, and some scholars made similar arguments before the cultural turn in the social sciences. Some of these studies were later considered classics. Schwartz's (1976) *Radical Protest and Social Structure* focuses on the radical Farmworkers Alliance in the American south, and finds, among other things, that the structure of the tenancy system and the planter aristocracy played key roles in the success and demise of the movement. Piven and Cloward (1979) contextualize their discussion of *Poor Peoples Movements* within the context of industrial capitalism. McAdam (1982) also ties economic changes, specifically the decline of "King Cotton" as the impetus for profound political changes in the south and among Black Americans. Finally, Tilly and Tilly (1981) examine when and how class conflict forms a basis of collective action, pointing to the impact industrial capitalism had on the development of repertoires of contention.

Some scholars examining political opportunity structures, have tried to extend their approach into an economic context. For example, Kousis and Tilly (2005) attempt to integrate economic context and political opportunities from a comparative perspective. In addition, Caren and Herrold's (2011) research is a notable attempt to "bring adversity back in." From a cross-national perspective, they find that economic downturns, as measured by the change in GDP, have a direct effect on the likelihood of protest events, while inequality, as measured by the Gini coefficient does not. Despite these findings, there is not an analysis of how political contexts vary in response to economic change, and economic variables are often used as proxies for structural strain and relative deprivation.

Scholars studying the political economy of the world system attempt to interpret social movements within their own frameworks, which is dispersed through their own publishing outlets. Within world-systems theory, scholars have theorized that the United States is a hegemonic, or core power that maintains an exploitive relationship with nations in the semi-periphery and periphery (Wallerstein 2004). For our purposes, the most well known of these is the concept of *anti-systemic movements* (Arrighi, Hopkins, and Wallerstein 1986), which denotes movements that emerge in response to the oppressive character of the capitalist world-system and either seek to withdraw from or transcend the it. Consistent with other critical approaches, world-systems theorists see exploitation and oppression as fixtures of the capitalist world-system. They also assume that resistance to the system is also a fixture, though mostly latent. Smith and Wiest (2012) argue that movements must be placed in world-historical context, and that the increasingly transnational character of movements is occurring while US hegemony is declining, which elites responded to with the neoliberal project. They go on to argue, that the neoliberal project has only exacerbated the crisis tendencies, which gave rise to movements such as the Global Justice Movement and the World Social Forum. Acknowledging the geopolitical context of the US in relation to the world-system allows for a more accurate description of the political context that opposing social forces find themselves embedded in. Furthermore, understanding how and why anti-systemic movements arise within the hegemonic power of the world-system strengthens our understanding of the dialectical relationship between the political-economy of the world-system and the "gravediggers" it creates. However, many of these approaches generalize

and oversimplify resistance, which is often particularistic in its early stages and rife with contradictions.

This project not only endeavors to bring the political-economy back into social movement analysis, I also situate this research within a newly revitalized body of Marxian social movement studies (Barker, Cox, Krinsky, and Nilsen 2013). Within English speaking countries, contemporary Marxian approaches to social movements are rare. Although there are various classics that garner attention, such as Marx's *The Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte;* Lenin's (1969) *What is to be Done: Burning Questions of Our Movement*; Rosa Luxembourg's (2008) *The Mass Strike,* Trotsky's (1930) *History of the Russian Revolution*; Barrington Moore's (1966), *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*; Eric Hobsbawm's (1959) *Primitive Rebels*; and for our purposes Gramsci's *Aspects of the Southern Question* and *Prison Notebooks.* Fortunately, there have been recent interventions by Marxist social movement scholars that have begun to make a case for the utility of the paradigm. *Marxism and Social Movements,* an edited volume by Barker et al (2013) makes the case for Marxism, by debunking commonly accepted myths about Marxist approaches to social movements. These myths include the notion that Marxists exclusively conduct research on workers and labor movements; that Marxists view collective action solely as the response to "material" forms of oppression, and are thus outmoded for research on movements outside of the class; and that Marxism is an exclusively structural theory, which ignores human agency. While there are certainly ample studies to conform to these myths, Colin Barker and his colleagues beg to differ.

Prior to *Marxism and Social Movements,* quite a few scholars who were

associated with it published attempts to formulate a Marxist approach to social

movements (Boswell and Dixon 1993; Hogan 2005; Cox and Nilsen 2007; Nilsen 2009;

Carroll 2010). Nilsen (2009) situates Marxian social movement studies within the

paradox that despite the movement origins of Marxism, it "does not possess a theory that

specifically explains the emergence, character, and development of social movements"

(110). Nilsen (2009) outlines a model where there are both "social movements from

above" and "social movements from below." Each of these has their own distinct yet

relational definition, which Nilsen and Cox (2013) expand upon. A social movement

from above is defined as:

> …the development of a collective project by dominant groups, consisting of
> skilled activities centered on a rationality that seek to maintain or modify a
> dominant structure of entrenched needs and capacities, in ways that aim to
> reproduce and/or extend the hegemonic position of dominant groups within a
> given social formation (p. 66).

On the other side of this dialectical and relational coin are social movements from below,

which they define as:

> …collective projects developed and pursued by subaltern groups, organising a
> range of locally-generated skilled activities around a rationality that seeks to
> either challenge the constraints that a dominant structure of needs and capacities
> imposes upon the development of new needs and capacities, or to defend aspects
> of existing, negotiated structure which accommodate their specific needs and
> capacities (p. 73).

Social movements should be viewed within the historical context of the capitalist

world-system and the existing balance of class forces. I propose a theoretical position

between orthodox Marxist explanations of social movements and post-Marxist

explanations, which takes discursive and symbolic practices of social movements

seriously, while still historicizing them in a the balance of class forces and political

economic conjuncture, while acknowledging contradictory consciousness.

Carl Boggs (1986) explains the post-Marxist position which,

> …can be defined as a critical, dialectical framework that contains a philosophy of praxis that is no longer wedded to the canons of scientific materialism or to the primacy of objective historical forces; a social theory that confronts the reality of overlapping forms of domination (class, bureaucratic, patriarchal, racial) without reducing that reality to one of its aspects; and a democratic political theory compatible with the ideal of a self managed society (p. 17).

While no one argues that intersecting forms of domination are unimportant,

ignoring objective historical forces comes at a cost. Perhaps the best example of the post-

Marxist perspective is Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* in

which they argue that objective categories such as social class are no longer necessary,

that new social movements with "hegemonic articulations" may represent the expression

of a radical pluralist and democratic alternative to capitalism. Further, they argue that the

primary practice of social movements is discursive, but they reject any logical connection

between movements and the metabolic, social reproduction, and accumulation problems,

inherent in the capitalist system. At first glance, this seems satisfactory and useful for

understanding social movements in the late capitalist society. However, questions remain

as to the extent that "objective historical forces" can be theorized out of existence. In

social movement terms, this also poses questions about whether and how organizations

are built that can transcend these problems, as well as how resources are mobilized in

ways that tangibly engage with the existing social structure. After all, goods and services

are still produced and distributed, and someone needs to produce and distribute them.

While the debate on class composition, and the extent to which various factors have

undermined class as a concept, is far beyond the scope of this chapter, not to mention the

epistemological debate on whether or not it is even possible to understand these forces. Nevertheless, if we acknowledge that these forces exist and can be understood to some degree, we can then choose whether or not to ignore them through a process of abstraction. Likewise, we can choose whether or not to ignore the cultural and semiotic aspects of society as well. Political struggles include both objective and subjective conditions that determine the success of social movements. Understanding how social movements acknowledge and articulate the objective conditions they find themselves in, may require interpretive and discursive methods, but does not require that we fall into the postmodern abyss in which, "all that is solid melts into air" (Marx 1978:476). In terms of these discursive methods, I utilize the framing approach from mainstream social movement studies.

THE FRAMING PERSPECTIVE

The analysis of collective action frames has become the dominant approach to studying the ideational and discursive work of social movements, and how this discursive work is linked to identities of individuals involved in movements and political opportunities. In what follows I provide an overview of the origins of the framing perspective; the processes of framing; framing in movement and coalitional context; framing across protest cycles; and discuss the important linkages and distinctions between frames and ideology. Within this overview, I will make the case that framing is an important tool in the sociological study of social movements, but lacks the ability to systematically address power relations that are rooted in the political economy, and the strategic imperative of social movements to demystify these relations.

Classical Origins and Contemporary Usage

The framing perspective can be traced to symbolic interactionism, which has its own roots in American pragmatism, where it is applied to cognitive frameworks that "define the situation" for actors (Goffman 1974; Klandermans and Johnston 1995). The concept of framing relies heavily on the work of Thomas and Thomas (1928), who argued that actors behave in accordance to an agreed upon "definition of the situation." Goffman (1974) seeks to identify the "basic elements" of a definition of a situation, which he refers to as frames, and offers frame analysis to "try to isolate the basic frameworks of understanding available in our society for making sense of events and to analyze the special vulnerabilities to which these frames of reference are subject" (p.10).

The use of framing in social movement studies is credited to the work of David Snow and his colleagues (Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford 1986). They sought to outline the process of *frame alignment* which is concerned with, "the linkage of individual and SMO [social movement organization] interpretive orientation, such that some set of individual interests, values, and beliefs and SMO activities, goals and ideology are congruent and complimentary" (p.464). These frames, which social movement actors deploy, are defined by Snow and Benford (1992) as "interpretive schema that simplifies and condenses the "world out there" by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of one's present or past environments" (p. 137). In lay terms, frames can be thought of as "slogans" that are constructed by movements and organizations, which dramaturgically present the values and ideologies of these movements, and as definitions of reality. Most importantly, "By rendering events and occurrences meaningful, frames function to organize experience and

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guide action, whether individual or collective" (Snow et al: 464). Methodologically, they "penetrate the black box of mental life" in movements, and contribute to meaning making and meaning maintaining for constituents and bystanders (Johnston 2002).

Framing Processes

Framing is an important task for social movement actors. Through key framing tasks and processes movement actors identify and present grievances, propose solutions, and make attributions of blame. Snow and Benford (1988) identified three core framing tasks: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing. Diagnostic frames identify what movement actors identify as the problem. For example, the modern Environmental Movement devotes a significant amount of time pointing out that pollution and climate change are indeed problems that need to be addressed by policy makers. In many cases, movements must define the actions of an antagonist as a problem. Diagnostic framing, therefore, also serves the purpose of boundary framing and adversarial framing. Prognostic framing offers solutions, or presents a positive vision of what a given movement would like to bring about, or makes an argument for a strategic plan. An important aspect of prognostic framing is that it "typically includes refutations of the logic or efficacy of solutions advocated by opponents," as is the case in counterframing, "as well as a rationale for its own remedies" (Benford and Snow 2000:617). Motivational framing focuses on the agency and efficacy of social movements, as well as the urgency of action, and severity of a given issue.

There are also several processes of frame alignment. Frame alignment processes represent "hooks" that draw in potential activists. Snow and his colleagues describe several strategic 'frame alignment processes: frame bridging, frame amplification, frame

extension, and frame transformation (Snow et al. 1986, see also Johnston 2005). Frame bridging refers to the linking of two seemingly ideologically unconnected frames. Frame amplification is defined as the "highlighting or accenting various issues, events, or beliefs from the broader interpretive sweep of the movement" (Noakes and Johnston 2005:8), and "involves the idealization, embellishment, clarification, of existing values or beliefs" (Benford and Snow 2000:624). Frame extension refers to the addition of issues and grievances to frames in order to "cast a wider net." Most discussions of ideology are within the popular usage of the term denoting a belief system. Finally, frame transformation refers to the adjustment and revision of frames.

Beyond the ideational and cognitive focus of framing, they play a role in the impact of objective conditions. Framing provides a linkage or mechanism between structural threats/opportunities and mobilization. As Gamson and Meyer (1996) point out, "There is a component of political opportunity involving the perception of possible change that is, above all else, a social construction" (p. 283). In other words, a political opportunity is a situation that social movements need to define. On the other hand, political opportunities shape framing, while framing shapes political opportunities. The causal order here largely depends on the specific case and a myriad of intervening variables (Johnston and Noakes 2005). Diani (1996) incorporates political opportunity by looking at the alignment of frames between the organizational level of movements and political opportunity structures, and finds that different types of opportunities are conducive to different master frames. Diani lists four situations and the associated frame categories. First, *realignment frames,* which are most suited for identity based movements, "emphasize the need to restructure political systems on the basis of new

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collective identities without a global delegitimation of the established members and procedure of the polity" (p. 1056). Second, *inclusion frames,* emphasize "new political actors' aspirations to be recognized as legitimate members of a polity, in which definitions of the major actors are not altered" (p. 1057). Third, in periods of extreme difficulty, movements may deploy a "bore from within" approach via *revitalization frames,* which make the case that, "the most reasonable option open to challengers is that of entering established political organizations in order to redirect their goals and revitalize their structures from within" (p. 1057). Finally, in a situation where traditional alignments are in crisis, and there is not a great deal of opportunity, *antisystem frames* may become the norm. Antisystem framescall for a complete and radical overhaul of the polity. While it is reasonable to suggest that these frames may become more dominant in different contexts, one would also expect all of these types of frames to be present in a more nuanced analysis.

Framing in Movement and Coalitional Context

For the purposes of this research, it is important to discuss how framing is carried out at different levels of analysis, particularly within and among SMOs, coalitions, movements, and within and across protest waves. Among SMOs and within coalitions, frames are often generated through contested and mediated processes. The most well known concept that attempts to capture differences of opinion is the *frame dispute*. In Benford's (1993) research on the Nuclear Disarmament Movement, he finds that most disputes emerge between moderate factions and radical factions. Benford's main contribution is that he makes the case for studying frames at the meso-level, and that there are often nuanced differences within and among coalitions. As I will argue in more

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detail below, the analysis of frame disputes provides an entry point to analyze how counter-hegemonic movements, and even SMOs within coalitions, attempt to gain leadership. That is, rather than simply exploring the differences that occur between radical and moderate fractions, which Benford sees as force which undermines movements. I characterize these frame disputes as major aspects of how different factions attempt to win leadership or consent to their views.

Crotreau and Hicks (2003) push the analysis beyond SMOs to focus on framing processes in coalitions by building on Curtis and Zurcher's (1973) and Klandermans' (1992) characterization of movements as being composed of a "multi-organizational field," and that we should conceptualize coalition frames as "the emergent products of ongoing intra- and inter-organizational dynamics, and help specify framing's links to mobilizing structures and political opportunity" (p. 251). In other words, coalition frames are the product of negotiation between and among the various SMOs and factions within a given coalition, which form a "consonant framing pyramid" which "integrates into a consonant whole people's individual frames, with the organizational frames developed by coalition members, with the coalition's own frame" (p. 253).

Framing and Protest Cycles

Framing also takes place within and across protest cycles and movements. Benford (1997) argues, "We need studies that examine continuities and changes in framing strategies, their forms, and the content of frames over the life of a movement, throughout a cycle of protest, or across a historical epoch" (p. 417). Two key concepts emerge from this work: master frames and repertoire of interpretation. As Snow and Benford (2000) explain, master frames "are quite broad in terms of scope, functioning as

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a kind of master algorithm that colors and constrains the orientation and activities of other movements" (p. 618). Master frames operate on a larger scale than other types of frames and operate across social movement sectors. Benford and Snow (1992) argue that they are generic and leave little room for interpretation. However, the specific constituencies of these movements may be vastly different (e.g., the civil rights movement and the women's movement). Therefore, when a master frame such as "rights" is articulated, its resonance is determined by movement specific criteria. This is a central contradiction in Benford and Snow's typology. Master frames are not supposed to have derivative properties, yet the deployment of frames that are similar and salient across movements require differences in how they are articulated. For example, Marullo and Smith (1996) argue that frames change over time, often in response to global political context. Valocchi (2005) points out that within cycles of protest, "spin off movements" often make necessary subtle innovations and additions to existing master frames. Therefore, master frames are not removed from the specificity of movements within a cycle. The differences in temporal and political context must also be taken into account, and these temporal and political contexts may account for variations in master frames across these contexts. This raises the possibility that multiple master frames move through waves of contention, changing as they intermingle in those cycle.

Mooney and Hunt (1996) argue that "master frames often persist across time and that movements draw upon a repertoire of interpretations in constructing collective action frames that often integrate two or more persistent master frames" (178). Following this conceptualization, master frames are not singular to social movements across a protest cycle. Master frames are produced from repertoires of interpretation, which are defined as

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"the supply of punctuation, attribution, and articulation modes available across movements" (Mooney and Hunt 1996:179). This means that movements can draw from past master frames, and master frames deployed by other movements, as part of the process of creating new ones within and across movements overtime.

Frames and Ideology

Why not just assess the ideology of a given movement? While framing and ideology are distinct but related concepts, framing is the most empirically available. The differences and linkages between ideology and framing are complex, and have generated substantial debate in the field. Starting with Oliver and Johnston's (2000; 2005) argument that framing is not an adequate replacement of ideology, and should be used as a separate concept. They criticize the "…concomitant tendency of many researchers to use 'frame' uncritically as a synonym for 'ideology'" (2005). Thus, they explain that "framing points to process, while ideology points to content" (186). In response, Snow and Benford (2000) argue that while frames and ideologies are distinct concepts, they are not unrelated. Frames are often derivative of ideology, and constrained by ideology. They critique Oliver and Johnston's (2005) argument that frames are purely cognitive phenomena, arguing that framing is more accurately described as signifying work. Moreover, framing processes and ideology are linked in four ways (Snow and Benford 2000). First, "ideologies constitute cultural resources that can be tapped for the purpose of constructing collective action frames, and thus function simultaneously to facilitate and constrain framing processes" (59). That is, ideology provides a starting point for framing. Second, "framing may also function as remedial ideological work." Often times, movements arise without forming a coherent and distinct ideology, and framing often

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takes place in debates and discourse where movements are working through formulating what could be called an ideology. Third, "framing mutes the vulnerability of ideology to reification" by emphasizing its construction as a process. That is, framing represents the sites where ideologies are challenged articulated and take on a more dynamic character. Fourth, and most importantly to scholarly research on social movements, "framing in contrast to ideology, is empirically observable activity," which is analyzed through various texts generated by movements (Oliver and Johnston 2005).

Strategy also impacts the way frames are deployed, but also interacts with ideology. Westby (2002) takes up the debate, and argues that frames are derivative of ideology, but the link is often a function of the strategic needs of the entities doing the framing. That is, framing is a form of strategic meaning construction. Westby's meta-analysis points to the several ways framing, strategic imperative, and ideology are linked:

- strategic discourse is derived from ideology;

- ideology suppresses strategic discourse;

- strategic discourse can be separated from ideology;

- strategic framing can transcend the boundaries of ideology;

- the fusion of ideology and strategic discourse; and

- framing that appropriates hegemonic ideology.

In the process on framing, movement actors also draw from existing repertoires, which include strategy, ideology, and framing, to undermine dominant conceptions of reality. Thus, the use of a particular frame must be situated in the deliberations over strategy and larger ideological goals. Furthermore, given the assumption that social movements help alter and undermine commonly accepted notions about society, they

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therefore generate "oppositional knowledge" (Coy and Woehrle 1996). In realtion to generating this oppositional knowledge, Snow and Benford (1993) take the time to cite Gramsci to remind us that framing is also involved in the battles over hegemonic ideas.

GRAMSCIAN HEGEMONY

In this section, I present a brief discussion of hegemony and how social movement scholars have related to the concept. The concept of hegemony cannot be understood in isolation from Gramsci's larger ensemble of concepts, which he generated as part of his ambitious intellectual project. His goal was an "attempt to elaborate a political theory which would be adequate to give expression to—and, just as importantly, to shape and guide—the popular and subaltern classes' attempts to awaken from the nightmares of their histories and to assume social and political leadership" (Thomas 2009:159).

The concept of hegemony was first used in the Russian Social Democratic circles (Anderson 1976; Thomas 2009), then popularized by Antonio Gramsci (1971). The concept emerged in response to economic determinism and an overemphasis on institutional politics, at the expense of culture, social movements, and civil society. The concept of hegemony has been articulated in several different ways as a result of the conditions under which Gramsci's prison notebooks were written. Anderson (1976) argues that the guiding thread in Gramsci's thought is coming to grips with how to carry out revolutionary socialist praxis in "western" parliamentary democracies.

Most explanations of Gramsci's thought begin with hegemony and then explain other Gramscian concepts. Following Thomas' (2009) advice, I begin with the integral

state, which was "intended as a dialectical unity in the moments of civil society and political society. Civil society is the terrain upon which social classes compete for social and political leadership or hegemony over the other classes" (137). This conception of the state has strategic consequences. Thomas (2009) explains:

> The state was no longer merely an instrument of coercion, imposing the interests of the dominant class from above. Now in its integral form, it had become a network of social relations for the production of consent, for the integration of the subaltern classes into the expansive project of historical development of the leading group…Hegemony, then, emerges as a new 'consensual' political practice distinct from mere coercion (a dominant means of previous ruling classes) on this new terrain of civil society; but like civil society, integrally linked to the state, hegemony's full meaning only becomes apparent when it is related to its dialectical distinction of coercion. Hegemony in civil society functions as the basis of the dominant class's political power in the state apparatus, which in turn reinforces its initiatives in civil society. The integral state, understood in this broader sense, is the process of the condensation and transformation of these class relations into institutional form (143-144).

Civil society and bourgeois democracy presents the unique challenge to revolutionary socialist practice that is rooted in the perceived agency within parliamentary democracy on the part of the working class and subaltern groups. In other words, the openness and legitimacy of western states leads to an illusionary situation where these states could represent the interests of the working class, and its allies, while providing a path for significant social change. Here, "…the state constitutes only the outer ditch of civil society, which can resist demolition" (Andersen 1976:10). Civil society represents the system of fortresses and armories behind the metaphorical front line or outer ditch. From this, two important concepts emerge: war of position and war of maneuver.

Gramsci contrasts the metaphors of "war of maneuver" and "war of position" to explain hegemony as a strategy. War of maneuver involves quick decapitating strikes on the enemy. In the context of social movements, this means attacking the state apparatus

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and taking power. On the other hand, the war of position represents long drawn out trench warfare with an extended front line. In Gramsci's thought, the main strategy employed in a war of position is hegemony. However, social actors on both sides of the conflict exercise hegemony. Going back to the trench warfare metaphor, holding the line in this type of battle requires a unified force, or united front, composed of the working class and allied subaltern groups. Hegemony, especially in Lenin's earlier conception, is the process of providing leadership and gaining consent to build this united front. On the other hand, drawing on Marx's point that the "the ruling ideas in every society are the ideas of the ruling class," the ruling class in society utilizes hegemony to maintain their rule, and subaltern classes consent to their own subordination. Considering that the ruling class constitutes such a small minority, winning hegemony is crucial to maintaining power. Given this framework, the traditional definition of hegemony makes more sense. According to Gramsci (1971), hegemony is "The 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production" (p. 12). In other words, hegemony is the prize which belongs to a class, which is used as a floating referent, which establishes political and social leadership (Anderson 1976), and is the manifestation of their rule in a historically specific mode of production (Sassoon 1988). However, classes come to rule through a complicated process of revolutionary struggle and mediation. Therefore, one should not overlook the contested nature of hegemony.

As a dynamic process, "hegemony is not a metaphysical force, it is actively created, maintained, and reproduced" (Williams 1973, cited in Ransome 1992).This works in two ways. On one hand, hegemony is generated and maintained by subaltern groups, who consent to their own domination. On the other hand, subaltern groups are also subjects of history who have agency. If hegemony is created and reproduced, it can be undermined through social movement practice and possibly replaced by a new "subaltern" hegemony during the course of a revolutionary transformation of society, which is a long and complicated process.

In contemporary capitalist society, hegemony takes on a historically specific form. Carroll (2010) lists three parameters of contemporary hegemony: postmodern fragmentation, the neoliberalization of political-economic relations, and capitalist globalization. First, the postmodern fragmentation includes the commodification of everyday life and the hybridity of social identities. Second, the neoliberalization of political-economic relations, which I will explore in further detail below, refers to the attempt to impose the self-regulating market into all aspects of society. Finally, capitalist globalization refers to the increasingly transnational scope of multinational corporations and trade networks. Before reviewing the contours of neoliberalism, it worth examining how hegemony has been used within social movement studies. A key aspect of Gramsci's theorizing is that subaltern groups must win hegemony in the "battle of ideas" about the nature of society. This is where social movements come into play. Social movements organize counterhegemony, which Carroll and Ratner (1996) describe as "a political project of mobilizing broad, diverse opposition to entrenched economic, political, and cultural power, counterhegemony entails a tendential movement toward comprehensive

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critiques of domination and toward comprehensive networks of activism (p. 601). One

aspect of organizing counterhegemony, aside from building civil society organizations, is

to challenge the existing hegemonic "common sense" or *senso comune* though providing

alternate definitions of the real (Adler and Mittelman 2004). [3]

THE COUNTER-HEGEMONIC FRAMING APPROACH

In this section, I present a theoretical synthesis of the Gramscian theory of

hegemony with the framing perspective in social movement studies. Linking the framing

perspective, and Gramsci's theory of hegemony helps extend the reach of each

perspective. By taking cultural and discursive aspects of resistance seriously, linking

these battles over definitions of reality to the historical political economic context, and

the power relations inherent within it, a more complete picture of the difficult work that

social movements do is possible. Within social movement literature, structuralism, has

been systematically avoided, and even pronounced dead. This comes with great risk. As

Benford (1997) recalls, the myopic shift to culture amounts to "throwing the

metaphorical baby out with the bathwater" (p. 422), and limited the development of

social movement theory. Fortunately, there are a few scholars who have tried to integrate

hegemony, political economy, and framing. However, I argue that my approach provides

an entry point of analysis that allows for a more logical, and empirically observable,

connection between the theories.

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[3] Common sense is a literal translation from the Italian *senso comune,* which has different connotations in
Italian than it does in English. Following Thomas (2009) I use the Italian term because it is a central
philosophical concept in Gramsci's thought, which "places a strong emphasis upon those elements that are
'common' i.e. a subject's integration into an existing system of cultural reference and meaning, tending to
devalorize processes of individuation and often with negative connotation" (cf p. 61).

Using a world-systems approach, Smith and Wiest (2012) briefly describe how framing can be integrated into an approach utilizing insights from political economy. They argue that world-systems theory acknowledges the link between framing, ideas and hegemony, and argue that resonance tends to vary, but is highest during periods of crisis. While the argument that crisis makes frames resonant lends itself to the same critiques as relative deprivation theories, when one considers that one could always argue that the world-system is in a state of accumulation, ligitimation, and ecological crisis. Nevertheless, Smith and Wiest are correct to argue that, "Movement frames can challenge concepts that are essential to the world-system and its supporting geoculture, such as markets and sovereignty, and can disrupt dominant logics that define collective identities, agendas, and priorities" (2012:40). From a neo-gramscian approach, Carroll and Ratner (1996) developed the concept of the political-economy master frame along with the liberal and identity master frames. They explain the political-economy frames in the following terms:

> Within the political-economy frame, power is viewed as systemic, institutional, structural, and materially grounded, for instance, in wealth. The various structures of power (e.g., capital, state, the media) are seen as articulated together. Oppression is mainly a matter of material deprivation exploitation, alienation, and so on, that may include the domination of nature in the pursuit of profit. In this injustice frame, counterpower involves resistance in the sense of concerted opposition to domination and of attempts to transform the system (p. 609).

I use this description of a political economy frame throughout my analysis of opposition to neoliberalism. However, I amend this definition of political economy frames to include a conception of oppression that is more consistent with Gramsci and sees economic, political, and cultural oppressions as dialectically linked. In addition, I extend the analysis of counter-hegemonic frames to include successive waves of protest and a

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historically specific phase of capitalism. Following Valocchi's (2005) work, I expect that the specific dimensions of the political economy frame would differ with different contexts.

Maney, Woehlre and Coy (2005) ground their analysis of framing in the US Peace movement in Gramsci's theory of hegemony, defining it as "persuasion as a form of control" and "cultural processes that contribute to the legitimacy of power holders and their policies." Their analysis is useful because it situates the social construction of reality within differences in power. In addition, they argue that social movements can respond to hegemony by challenging it, harnessing it, or some combination of the two. However, their approach uses the commonly used version of hegemony to purely signify dominant cultural ideas. This effectively drops the strategic aspect linked to the war of position and the "leadership based on consent" aspect that subaltern social movements are aspiring to, and takes place within a movement context. Gramsci's thought, is integrally concerned with social movement strategy. As Humphry's (2013) explains, "Gramsci's theory of social change, as set out in the *Notebooks*, represents a thoroughgoing and systematic attempt to link Marxist conceptions of historical development—and hence class struggle—with the nature of strategic questions raised by, and within, actually existing social movements in the advanced capitalist world" (p. 369). I argue that frame disputes within coalitions are arenas of counter-hegemonic practice where these strategic questions are raised.

The counter-hegemonic framing approach corrects for the myopic and ahistorical tendency to ignore political economic context in social movements; allows for frames to be situated within conjuncture while acknowledging power differences; and is equipped

to navigate the contradictory, and contested nature of framing within social movements, organizations, and coalitions. In addition, viewing frame disputes as examples of the "war of position" in practice within civil society helps explain the broader political and strategic issues behind frame disputes. This is an insight that Goffman (1974) made in *Frame Analysis,* where he makes the disclaimer that,

> This book is about the organization of experience—something that an individual actor can take into his mind—and not the organization of society….The analysis developed does not catch at the differences between the advantaged and disadvantaged classes and can be said to direct attention away from such matters. I think that it is true. I can only suggest that he [sic] who would combat false consciousness and awaken people to their true interests has much to do, because the sleep is very deep. And I do not intend here to provide a lullaby but merely sneak in and watch the way people snore (13-14).

By bringing the framing approach into theories of hegemony, a ready-made system of empirical observation of debates, that make up counter-hegemonic practice of demystifying social relations and undermining the existing *senso cumune*, can be observed, and provides useful historical templates for movements seeking to build counterhegemony. Most importantly, the framing perspective in social movements is drawn from the social constructionist approach which is congruent with aspects of Marxism that emphasize historical agency, as well as objective social conditions. This runs counter to some arguments made by Marxist and political-economy social movement scholars who have counter posed research on framing and with their research on social movements (Barker, Cox, Krinsky, Nilsen 2013; Hetland and Goodwin 2009; 2013). If counter-hegemonic practice requires undermining existing *senso comune*, it is indeed necessary to "watch people snore" by examining framing that is complicit with hegemony, as well as how they "awaken from historical nightmares" through counter-

hegemonic practice. In Table 2.1, I outline how framing and hegemony complement each other. The strength of this synthesis, is that the framing perspective provides an entry point for an empirical analysis of how social movements engage in counterhegemony.

Table 2.1. Theoretical Components of the Counter-hegemonic Framing Approach

Framing (Snow et al)	Hegemony (Gramsci)
Rooted Pragmatism/ Symbolic Interactionism	Rooted in Marxism
Seeks to understanding contested definitions of reality	Contests 'common sense' and ideology through movement practice in order to gain consent and leadership.
Links macro-meso-micro	Emphasizes power, conjuncture, and social movement practice.
Sensitive to differences within movements (Frame Disputes)	Acknowledges complexity, contradictions and debate within movements.
Empirically observable in "texts and discourse of social movement organizations and coalitions	Counter-hegemonic practice takes place within coalitions and civil society.

Now that I have described my theoretical approach, which is above all else, designed to take conjuncture into account, I now turn to the historically specific period of global capitalism the Global Justice, Anti-war, and Immigrant Rights movement contested in their framing: neoliberalism

THE POLITICAL-ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF NEOLIBERALISM

Neoliberalism has become an increasingly popular topic in the social sciences. One cannot understand neoliberalism without a fundamental understanding of its origins and reproduction, or as Peck and Tickell (2002) say "the nature of the beast" (26). Neoliberalism is far from a coherent ideology resulting in a coherent definition. Still, there is a collection of commonly accepted descriptions. One of the most common is Harvey's (2007) definition, where he defines neoliberalism as, "a theory of political

economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free trade" (2). Another is Bourdieu (1998) who describes it as "a programme for destroying collective structures which may impede the pure market logic" (p. 1). In addition to "rolling back" the state, or attempting to "dismantle or suppress extramarket forms" (Conteno and Cohen 2012:318), neoliberalism paradoxically requires a strong state. As Gamble (2006) states, "The necessity of the economy to be free and the state to be strong is perhaps the chief hallmark of neo-liberal thinking, but also one of the main sources of its contradictions" (p. 206).

As I will explain below, neoliberalism manifests itself and faces resistance in particular ways in the US context. I use Jessop's (1990) conception of neoliberalism as a hegemonic project, and Nilsen and Cox's (2013) "social movement from above" to situate neoliberalism as the antagonist of the story. Jessop (1990:208) defines a hegemonic project as, "the mobilization of support behind a concrete national-popular program of action which asserts a general interest in the pursuit of objectives that explicitly or implicitly advance the long-term interests of the hegemonic class (fraction)"(p. 208).

There are several worthy reviews of neoliberalism which try to organize the discussion in various categories. Conteno and Cohen (2012) separate neoliberalism into three manifestations: neoliberalism and economic policy; neoliberalism as the expression of political power; and neoliberalism as ideological hegemony. Dean (2012) breaks neoliberalism into a thought collective, historical era, ideology, and state-form. Then

O'Connor (2012) divides neoliberalism into three moments: recasting the balance of class forces; remaking the mode of production; and reorganizing capital accumulation. Chorev (2010) further complicates the matter of its origins by outlining two analytical divides: 1) national versus international, and 2) agents versus intuitions. Finally, Larner (2000) approaches neoliberalism in terms of policy ideology and governmentality. I divide my discussion neoliberalism into five categories which follow its historical trajectory. These include:

- the intellectual origins;

- structural economic explanations;

- class political agency explanations;

- hegemonic ideological reproduction and consent;

- and resistance to neoliberalism.

The Intellectual Origins of Neoliberalism

The intellectual roots of neoliberalism can be traced to a transnational network of intellectuals, at odds with neoclassical orthodoxy, from various disciplines involved in the Mont Pélerin Society (MPS) and the Chicago school of economics (Plehwe 2009; Gamble 2009). Prominent members who are widely regarded as the figureheads of the neoliberal movement include Friedrich Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, and Milton Friedman. These thinkers set out to found a *new* liberalism, which would oppose statism, and could challenge state involvement in the market, or what they termed "totalitarianism." This "…counter-revolutionary version of economic liberalism" as Foster (1999:33) explains, was a reaction to the popularity of social democratic ideas in "Red Vienna" during the 20s and 30s, and later the rise of welfare liberalism and Keynesian economics. Despite

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these common adversaries, the neoliberalism espoused by these intellectuals was far from a homogenous. Debates and divisions existed within the movement, but they were unified by the belief in the inherent freedom of the free market system. For example, as Plehwe (2009) points out, one would be surprised to learn that early statements of the MPS argued for a minimum social safety net, and drew from a belief in the rule of law, expressed in terms of the state's role in facilitating competition, which they regard as essential for a free society. Some of these differences were regional. Neoliberals in the United States, differed with their European counterparts on the malignance of monopoly power and cartels. US neoliberals saw anti-trust laws and interference with the market as inherently destructive, and took what Plehwe (2009) describes as a "corporations can do no wrong" approach to rising corporate power. US neoliberals did not always argue for a return to a pristine competitive capitalism, rather they were apologists for monopoly capitalism and corporate power.

The tenets of neoliberalism do not necessarily provide a new or novel view of the economy. Although classical liberalism shared many of the same tenets, neoliberalism emerged as a counterpoint to "scientific and technocratic socialism" (Plehwe 2009) and the post depression ascendance of Keynesian economics.[4] Both of which were viewed as totalitarian statism in the eyes of neoliberals. However, neoliberalism represents a shift in economic theory and policy. McBride (2009) explains the shift as follows:

> Laissez-faire economics is not, of course, a new idea. But its rediscovery provided a sharp contrast to the limited state interventionism characteristic of liberal thinking in the postwar period. Under the influence of John Meynard Keynes, themselves triggered by the experience of mass unemployment during the great depression of the 1930s, economists and governments had come to accept that an

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[4] Keynesianism usually assigns the state a role in the operation of the economy centered on the goal of full-employment and growth through by spurring effective demand through low interest rates and government expenditures (Salais 2001).

active government could maintain full employment and, in the process, supply a far broader range of social services (generally summed up as "the Welfare State") than formerly (p. 17).

 In reaction to the Keynesian ideas described above, neoliberals criticize the assumed necessity of state action to remedy market failures. Przeworski (1990) lists four arguments neoliberals made in opposition to the Keynesian post-war compromise. First, market failures "can be dealt with under suitable distribution of property rights"(p. 16). Second, they argue that the definition of market failure is unclear. For example, poverty and unemployment are seen as sources of motivation rather than social problems. Third, there is no guarantee that the state is more effective than the market in terms of correcting these failures. Fourth, goods and services are not produced efficiently unless they are produced for profit, and that any intervention by the state leads to inefficiency.

With regard to the state, neoliberals took a contradictory stance. The most well known description of this contradiction is from Polanyi (1944), who quipped, "Laissez-faire was planned; planning was not" (p. 147). Neoliberalism is not simply a movement to reduce government intervention. It also saw the need to "organize individualism" (Zmirak quoted in Plehwe 2009), and "extend the values and relations of markets into a model for the broader organization of politics and society" (p. 15). Additionally, as Tonkiss (2008) points out, it is a "positive state project that seeks to steer governmental forms, social institutions, and individual behavior in line with particular vision of a free market and free society" (p. 251). Within the scholarly debates about neoliberalism, there are characteristics ranging from governmentality to market rule. Wacquant (2012) takes a position that combines both the Foucaultian conception of neoliberalism as governmentality and the more Marxist inspired market rule. Wacquant argues that

neoliberalism should best be described as a political project that "entails not the dismantling but the re-engineering of the state" (p. 6). He calls this reengineered state the "Centaur-state" which facilitates the commoditization and marketizing aspects of neoliberalism for those on the top of the hierarchy. At the same time, the Centaur state depends on, and is characterized by a shift toward punishment and paternalism which is evidenced by the increased role that the penal and criminal justice systems play in the management of the population. As Wacquant explains,

> The penal state has been rolled out in the countries that have riden the neoliberal road because it promises to help resolve the two dilemmas marketization creates for the maintenance of the social and political order: first, it curbs the mounting dislocations caused by the normalization of social insecurity at the bottom of the class and urban structure; and, second, it restores the authority of the governing elite by reaffirming "law and order" just when this authority is being undermined by the accelerating flows of money, capital, signs and people across national borders, and by the constricting of state action by supranational bodies and financial capital. (Wacquant 2012:10)

In short, neoliberalism is an attempt to restore capitalism to a much more pristine state by rolling back remnants the welfare state, weakening unions, and encouraging an individualist ethos to guide behavior with help from the state, which is facilitated by paternalism and punishment for those that are displaced and made vulnerable by rolling out neoliberal policy implementations.

Economics of Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism is an accumulation strategy put in place to overcome barriers to accumulation, which led to the economic crises of the 1970s. The neoliberal turn is rooted in broader structural crisis of capitalism, and is often characterized as an accumulation strategy, or "institutionalized crisis containment strategy" (Conteno and Cohen 2012). Birch and Mykhnenko (2010) outline the economic principles of

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neoliberalism: 1) "Privatization of state run assets"; 2) liberalization of trade in goods and capital investment"; 2) "monetarist focus on inflation control and supply-side dynamics"; 4) "deregulation of labour and product markets"; and 5) "marketization of society" (p. 5).

Scholars taking a Marxian political economy approach make the case that capitalism repeatedly faces barriers to the continued accumulation of capital and experiences crises.[5] The origins of the crisis are secondary to the response. In order for the capitalist system to maintain itself, it must maintain sustained and unlimited growth. After the Great Depression, capital shifted to the Keynesian strategy of using government spending to increase effective demand. However, this strategy ceased to effectively spur consumption, leading to stagnation along with lower profits (Baran and Sweezy 1964). In order to find a way out of this predicament capital had to find a way to discipline labor and reduce costs, and circumvent barriers to profitability that manifested themselves in the economic crisis of the 1970s (Duménil and Lévy 2004; Harvey 2010).

O'Connor (2010) argues that neoliberalism represents a shift in the mode of production through deindustrialization, financialization and shifting production.[6] These shifts were accomplished through various strategies. First, implementing lean production, which allowed companies to take advantage of lower wages and spatial advantages made the "time-space compression" of economic globalization possible and profitable, by allowing companies to shift production to other parts of the globe based on the comparative advantage of those areas (Jessop 2007). Chorev (2010) summarizes the

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[5] The origins of the crisis of the 1970s are subject to intense debate that are usually associated with political economic debates within Marxist crisis theory. For some explanations see (Duménil and Levy (2004: p.; Harvey 2005 p.; O'Connor 2010: p. 693-694; among others.

[6] O'Connor (2010) refers to a mode of production as "capitalism's organizational/reproductive structures; those 'common properties' that shape and configure capitalism across different countries" (692).

process in terms of changes in telecommunications and transportation which strengthened the structural power of capital by "fundamentally weakened the bargaining leverage of states vis-à-vis capital, which could therefore play one government against the other" p. 129). Second, the shift toward the financialization of capital reduced the dependency on production and consumption for capital accumulation (Madgoff and Sweezy 1987), sometimes described as the "financial fix" (Silver 2003). As Gamble (2006) explains, "Neo-liberalism gives priority to capital as money and therefore to the financial circuit rather than the production circuit" (26). Third, economic reproduction also shifted toward increased research and development, household debt, and migration. Migration relates directly to the ability to discipline workers via the reserve army of labor. As O'Connor (2010) points out, "These workers contribute to labor market flexibility and fill in gaps in the labor supply by contributing to a growing pool of both low paid, non-unionized, and irregular service sector (and sweat-shop) workers, as well as the next generation of scientists and engineers employed by high-tech firms" (p. 709).

Political Project Based on Class Agency

Moving away from the economic necessity to the political emergence of neoliberalism requires and analytic shift to the agency of corporate actors who exist in a privileged position possessing disproportionate power vis-à-vis subaltern groups. Aside from the structural limits of post-war capitalism, neoliberalism emerged in the context of increasingly asymmetrical power relations between corporations and workers/subaltern groups. Its implementation required the active agency of the corporate elites to gain traction. Conceptualized this way, the neoliberal project, is a social movement from above (Nilsen 2009) led by various business associations and business friendly think

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tanks (Harvey 2003; Chorev 2010). Since the early 1970s, the United States experienced

a dramatic change in the balance of class forces in large part due to "the political

opportunity to push for a new economic project founded on neoliberal assumptions"

(Birch and Mykhnenko (2010:4). Faced with a crisis of profitability and challenges from

below, in the form of mass movements, the US and transnational capitalist class

embarked on a strategic project that would reassert class power and restore profitability.

These actors used this agency to influence the direction of the US economy.

Following the economic slump from 1974-1982, the business community sought to

construct a "militant vanguard" or "businessman's liberation movement" to restore trust

in the corporate community and create organizations to facilitate collective action on their

behalf, such as the Business Roundtable, to take the offensive (Useem 1986:16–18). This

offensive took the form of increased corporate collective action in terms of political

contributions (Duménil and Lévy 2004), and the emergence of business organizations

and corporate think tanks (Akard 1992; Burris 2008) who were widely propagating the

ideas of neoliberal intellectuals such as Hayek and Friedman (Gamble 2006). Think

tanks played an important role in the rise of neoliberalism. Even Hayek (1949) stated that

political office would be a waste of time for neoliberal intellectuals, rather they should

gain influence through "second hand dealers in ideas." Business organizations such as

the Business Council and Business Roundtable were the major players within the

capitalist class (Akard 1992; Dye 2001). The Business Roundtable was composed of

CEOs of 200 corporations and occupies a central role in the policy planning network

(McBride 2009; Dye 2001). Furthermore, the intellectuals working for these think tanks,

such as the American Enterprise Institute and the Heritage Foundation, often played the

role of organic intellectuals (Peck and Tickell 2002). Corporate agency was also at work in the implementation of neoliberal globalization. In the case of NAFTA, corporate actors played a significant role in the formation of trade policy through shared membership of trade policy advisory boards (Darves and Dreiling 2007). In addition, these connections produce the business unity necessary for coherent political action (Dreiling and Darves 2011). This ensemble of think tanks, politicians, and corporate leaders would eventually come to embrace "the common core of wisdom embraced by all serious economists," which included several policy positions that were deemed favorable to neoliberals including trade liberalization, tax cuts, cuts in social expenditures, open foreign direct investment, privatization, and deregulation among others. This unified approach was dubbed by Williamson (1993:1334) as the *Washington Consensus* (Birch and Myknhenko 2010).

The commonly recognized indicators of neoliberal hegemony in the US are the elections of Ronald Reagan, from the Republican Party, and the later election of the "New Democrat" Clinton administration.[7] Reagan's most symbolic victory was the defeat of the PATCO strike which was followed by the steady decline in the power of labor unions in the US. Clinton was an advocate of trade liberalization and the formation of the NAFTA, the WTO, but also showed his proclivity to declare that, "the era of big government is over," implement welfare reform, which cut services and disciplined the poor, especially women of color.

This cutting and disciplining, represent two moments of neoliberalism, which Peck and Tickell (2002) refer to as rollback neoliberalism and rollout neoliberalism. They

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[7] Here I follow Birch and Tickell's (2002) argument that there is not a necessary link between conservatism and neolberalism in the United States, although they do ignore neoliberalism within the Democratic Party.

argue that neoliberalism rolls back the state by cutting services, privatizing industries, and deregulation, then rolls-out a particular type of state by restructuring it to manage the implementation and impact and consequences of these policies (Jessop 2010). This returns our discussion to the paradoxical orientation to the state that characterizes neoliberalism. As Peck and Tickell (2002) asset, "No matter what it says on the bottle, neoliberalization rarely involves unilateral acts of state withdrawal" p. 34).

Neoliberalism's Ideological and Cultural Hegemony

As discussed above, a key aspect of hegemony is political leadership through consent. Neoliberalism has become "Doxa" or the "dominant discourse" by presenting itself as "a universalist discourse of liberation" (Bourdieu 1999). Several observers have utilized Margaret Thatcher's "there is no alternative" or the neoconservative Fukuyama's (1989) "the end of history" to describe the ideological dominance of neoliberalism and its "colonization of society" (Hall 2003). The main point of these statements was to drive home the point that, "Any policy shift away from market logic could result only in futility, perverse outcomes, and systemic jeopardy" (Conteno and Cohen 2012:33). Neoliberalism has also become hegemonic in the sense that individuals and civil society actors actively engage in the reproduction of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism has emerged within the mobilization of oppressed groups in the strategic and identity work carried out by class based, gender based, and sexuality-based constituencies. Neoliberalism is not simply an attack on labor and the working class. It also sought to reverse gains by movements geared toward people of color and women. Perhaps most damaging to the progressive social movement sector was a neoliberal redefinition of liberalism which

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emphasized individual access and diversity at the expense of redistributive politics (Duggan 2003)

Resistance to Neoliberalism in the US

Opposition to neoliberalism is not inherently anti-systemic. For resistance to transcend neoliberalism and become anti-systemic requires a move beyond neoliberalism and capitalism itself (Li 2004). When we look at the effects of neoliberalism, trends in inequality, unionization, trade, and financialization, the effectiveness of the neoliberalism as a "political project to re-establish the conditions for capital accumulation and to restore the power of economic elites" as Harvey (2003) defines it, is clearly evident. The above picture presents the neoliberal turn as a victory on the part of capital over labor, and more broadly the entire population. In a more orthodox analysis of the balance of class forces, the possibility of mounting a successful challenge to capitalism seem dismal. However, neoliberalism is itself implemented and defined by contestation with various sections of the population (Peck and Tickell 2002; Kiely 2006). In the words of Polanyi (1944) neoliberalism represents a double movement. On the one hand, there is the movement to impose free market principles and maintain US hegemony. On the other hand, there are loose-knit counter movements that emerged to resist it.

Following Harvey's (2000) notion of militant particularisms, there is always resistance to neoliberalism somewhere and at some level. Only rarely do these begin to transcend particularities and begin to draw connections and generalize in national and even transnational struggles. Social movements do not emerge from out of nowhere. There is often a historical lineage of movements that provide lessons and strategic repertoires for subsequent movements. It is worth a very brief discussion of anti-

neoliberal movements in the US, however a full census of these movements is beyond the scope of this review. In addition, I will discuss the movements that comprise cases for this dissertation, the global justice, antiwar, and immigrant rights movements, in further detail in chapters IV, V, and VI respectively. None of these movements are exclusively opposed to neoliberalism. Rather, they contained fractions that articulated critiques of neoliberalism in the US, as well fractions which were either ambivalent to or supportive of neoliberal hegemony. Nevertheless, these movements include a broad range of movements representing extremely diverse social bases.

At the risk of oversimplification, there were ebbs and flows, but almost consistent opposition from nearly all segments of US society. A brief description of the highlights would include the following collection of the movements. The Aids Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT-UP) challenged the marketized nature of the response to the AIDS crisis (Capozza 2004). The Justice for Janitors campaign orchestrated by the SEIU in the 1980s and 90s, which is still regarded as a successful example of social movement unionism in the US (Johnston 1994; Savage 2006). Following an onslaught over racial framing and stereoptyping (Nuebeck and Casenev (2001), the welfare rights movement began mobilizing in the 1990s during the policy battle over "welfare reform" (Reese 2011). This set the stage for the Global Justice Movement (Klein 1999; Clausen 2003; Podobnik and Reifer 2009), which was followed by the Anti-war Movement (Cortright 2003; Walgrave and Rucht 2010), and the Immigrant Rights Movement (Voss and Bloemraad (2011). Following these upsurges, activity began to slow in large part due to the election cycle and Obama presidency (Heaney and Rojas 2011). Activity picked up again with the Wisconsin uprising (Yates 2012), and perhaps the largest and most militant movement:

the Occupy Wall Street Movement in 2011 (Gitlin 2012). During most of this period, sections of the LGBT movement mobilized for same-sex marriage, resulting in significant dispute between radical and assimilationist sections (Whitehead 2011). There are undoubtedly more movements from which to choose from, but the point is that is that the neoliberal era was one of contention.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I presented an overview of the dominant perspectives in social movements and reviewed resent attempts by scholars from political economy and Marxian approaches to interpret social movements. Within this the main takeaway is that capitalism matters. I also outlined the framing perspective in social movements alongside the Gramscian concept of hegemony and its application within social movement theory. I used these approaches to generate the counter-hegemonic framing approach, which I followed by defining the given political and economic context of the neoliberal era. Neoliberal hegemony is both the active agenda of corporations and maintains itself through consensual domination. As a result, it should not be surprising that social movement actors that deploy frames which contest neoliberalism, and frames that are complicit with neoliberalism. I propose the counter-hegemonic framing approach, which combines theories of hegemony and the framing perspective from social movement studies to examine how social movements contested the hegemony of neoliberalism. Anti-neoliberal "movements from below" drew upon the historical economic context as a cultural resource to build their framing repertoires across a wave of protest. Within movements, framing which contests *senso commune*, entails attempts to persuade and win potential allies within coalitions to counter-hegemonic viewpoints and strategic

outlooks. Here, frame disputes within coalitions, take on a much more profound meaning and significance. The counter-hegemonic framing approach, provides an entry point for analysis of the discourse of movements from a perspective that sees these movements as the product of the historical trajectory of capitalism, and the balance of class forces, while still taking the cultural turn in sociology seriously. In the next chapter, I present an overview of the research methods I used in order to examine the counter-hegemonic framing of the Global Justice, Antiwar, and Immigrant Rights movements.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Within the framework of historical-comparative sociology, I selected methods associated with a narrative description of events, which are consistent with accepted methods of studying social movement framing. These include ethnographic content analysis, political claims analysis, and semi-structured interviews. By systematically collecting and analyzing movement texts, I was able to explore the framing practices of the global justice (GJM), antiwar (AWM), and immigrant rights movements (IRM). For each movement, I relied on distinct sources of archival evidence and protest event data from *New York Times* articles pertaining to each movement. In this chapter, I will outline the incorporated comparison approach, make a case for using political claims analysis, ethnographic content analysis, and semi-structured interviews to analyze the framing of these movements.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

Incorporated Comparison

Because historical events take place in a seemingly infinite spatial and temporal context, it is important for historical sociologists to reduce complexity. I use McMichael's (1990) incorporated comparison to conceptualize the three movements under study as parts of a larger anti-neoliberal wave of contention. McMichael (1990) describes in incorporated comparison as follows: "Rather than using 'encompassing comparison' –a strategy that presumes a 'whole' that governs its 'parts' –it progressively *constructs* a whole as a methodological procedure by giving context to historical phenomena. In effect, the whole emerges via comparative analysis of "parts" as moments

in a self-forming whole*"* (p. 386). Following this model, I situate these movements within the historical context of the neoliberal era, and examine how they contested neoliberalism in their framing. Incorporated comparison requires the researcher to abstract from the whole and identify which parts can be used to identify the whole over time. Following Griffin (1992), and Silver (2003), I use a narrative approach to causation, which views events "as temporally ordered, sequential, unfolding, and open-ended "stories" fraught with conjunctures and contingency" (Griffin 1992:405). Using a narrative approach to incorporated comparison, I set out to conduct three temporally ordered case studies that are centered on key protest events each movement was engaged in, and thus involves a degree of event analysis, which allows for the study of collective action across time periods (Olzak 1989).[8]

Case Study Strategy

A key contribution of this dissertation is to provide a theoretical approach to examining framing processes from a Gramscian perspective. Given the theoretically driven nature of the research questions, the case study research strategy was appropriate for each movement. As a result, I employ a multiple-case study approach with the intention of building theoretical generalization between cases. In the field of social movements, Snow and Trom (2002: 151-152) conceptualize a case study as "a research strategy that seeks to generate richly detailed, thick, and holistic elaborations and understandings of instances or variants of bounded social phenomena through the triangulation of multiple methods that include but are not limited to qualitative procedures" (p. 151-152 their italics). I use case studies that provide critical cases of

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[8] I follow Rucht, Hocke, and Ohlemecher's (1992) often used definition of a protest event. They define a protest event as "a collective, public action by a nongovernmental actor who expresses criticism or dissent and articulates a societal or political demand" (p. 4).

social movement mobilization, and act as modular cases from which to gain a better understanding of the a broad multi-movement wave of contention that contests neoliberalism. The goal of this research is to examine the framing practices of the three movements, and examine how their framing practices relate to a given historical context. Given these parameters, a case study strategy is also suitable, because it results in "the generation of a richly detailed, 'thick' elaboration of the phenomenon under study and the context in which it is embedded" (Snow and Trom 2002: 149; See also Yin 1994). Another benefit of using a case study strategy is that case studies easily incorporate triangulation: the use of multiple methods and sources, which complement, and account for the weaknesses of each method. Although case studies seldom result in statistically generalizable theories, they often result in "analytic generalization" where "a previously developed theory is used as a template with which to compare the empirical results of the case study" (Yin 1994:31; See also Snow and Trom 2002). In sum, case studies are also useful for theory development, theory elaboration, thick description, and triangulation.

Ethnographic Content Analysis

Beyond incorporated comparison and the case study approach, I used specific methods rooted in qualitative content analysis, which has proven to be an effective method for identifying and mapping the content of collective action frames (Johnston 2002), which are examined "through organizational documents, key speeches, public records, and media reports" (Johnston and Klandermans (1995:8). The content of frames is assumed to be a collective aggregation of the ideational and discursive content of social movements along the lines of the Weberian ideal type, which assumes idiosyncratic differences as one moves to more concrete levels of analysis (Johnston 1995). Therefore,

the presentation of a framing repertoire and broader repertoire of interpretation should not

be seen as a complete picture or census of all existing frames deployed by individuals in a

movement, but rather as simplified and largely heuristic and interpretive descriptions of

the ideational content and practices of a given social movement.

More specifically, the primary method of analysis was ethnographic content

analysis (ECA) (Altheide 1987; Altheide and Schneider 2013). ECA differs from

traditional quantitative content analysis in that the sampling strategy is theoretical and

purposive, emphasizes discovery and verification, allows for the analysis of both

narrative and quantification, and allows concepts to emerge during research. In addition,

Altheide (1987) points out that like approaches rooted in grounded theory, "ECA is

embedded in *constant discovery* and *constant comparison* of relevant situations, settings

styles, images, meanings, and nuances" (p. 68). In terms of this project, this means that

although the broad topic of neoliberalism was known before coding began, I did not

begin coding with a predetermined coding list, rather I allowed concepts and categories to

emerge to emerge in an initial coding phase, which was followed by focused coding

during the analysis. I coded the documents for several important variables including, type

of organization, and create a set of codes, using an open and iterative coding scheme

(Koopmans and Statham 1999), to map the framing structures of the organization or

coalition. After the initial coding, I refined the code list based on observed patterns.

ECA also allows for theoretical and saturation sampling. Over the course of my

data collection, I sought after archival documents using purposive and theoretical sample

of social movement organizations and coalitions in each movement. The types of

documents I include are, websites, newsletters, calls for action, founding/mission

statements, and other communiqués, which provide "a window of access" to the ideational practice of a movement (Johnston 1995:220).

Political Claims Analysis

Originally proposed by Koopmans and Stathom (1999) political claims analysis combines two commonly used methods in social movement research: protest event analysis and political discourse analysis. It combines the ability to quantify protests and provides historical evidence that is suited for identifying the major actors involved in movement as well as claims they are making. For PCA, my primary source of event data were newspaper articles, which have well known limitations, as a source of protest event data, including biases that arise from the profit motive of the newspaper company, the media attention cycle, the political climate, event density, and locale (Ortiz, Myers, Walls, and Diaz 2010). On the positive side, there are the realities of data availability that make newspaper data articles more appealing, such as their cost effectiveness and availability. Further, many of these shortcomings are beyond the control of the researcher. It is indeed the case that, "Analysts cannot intervene in newspaper reporting and editing practices to improve representativeness, change what characteristics of subjects (events) are recorded, or improve the consistency of data from event to event. We are, in a sense, stuck with the what is handed to us in the media record" (Ortiz et al:407). Finally, there are aspects of this study that differentiate it from many of the concerns that critics of newspaper data raise. For instance, many of the criticisms of using event data taken from newspapers are directed at their use as an outcome or dependent variable. Further, following Barker-Plummer's (2002) findings that social movements mobilize media sources to convey their positions, using newspapers to study the

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discourse of actors at events, is a much more valid use of newspaper data. In terms of

biases based on locale, nationally published newpapers, such as the *New York Times,*

often use "nationwide relevance' as criteria for reporting on a protest event (Rucht and

Neidhardt 1998) If the New York Times has a geographic bias, I consider this an

advantage because it supplements other sources that have a more explicit geographical

bias. Perhaps the most important justification for using the *New York Times* is that the

protest events I focus on are accepted as events that indeed have occurred in human

history, a fact that no one is debating. For the most part, I am not revealing previously

unknown events, rather, I am using events to empirically ground a theoretically informed

analysis to explain specific connections between historical context and collective action

frames deployed by a movement.

Semi-Structured Interviews

In cases where archival evidence was difficult to obtain, I conducted interviews

with activists in the respective movements. Interviews are also an accepted method of

analyzing the content of collective action frames (Johnston 2002). In addition, Blee and

Taylor (2002) argue that interviews, "…provide a longitudinal window on social

movement activism"; "capture the rhythms of social movement growth and decline"; as

well as, "provide nuanced understanding of social movement outcomes" (p. 95). My use

of interviews was largely supplemental given how questions of reliability emerge when

interviewing participants about seven years after the protest events I am investigating. I

will return to the specifics of the interviews below, when I discuss data sources for the

IRM.

DATA SOURCES

I drew from wide range of sources in order to conduct my analysis. In what follows, I will outline the sources that were common to each case, as well as provide a detailed account of the archival sources I used for each movement. Table 3.1 outlines the data sources that are associated with each movement in broad terms. I gathered physical documents from separate archives, but used the Wayback Machine and the articles from the *New York Times* across the case studies. In terms of timing, I collected archival evidence in the order that the case studies appear, beginning with the GJM, then the AWM, and IRM respectively.

Sources in Common to the Three Cases

Archived Websites on the Wayback Machine. The Wayback Machine, which archives websites going back to the mid 1990s, was perhaps the most important source of data in my research.[9] Due to the Wayback Machine, I was able to access a wealth of primary documents from each movement. In order to decide which organizations and coalitions to search for, I paid close attention to the mention of SMOs, coalitions, and NGOs, mentioned in the literature and during the collection process. On several occasions, the websites of important social movement organizations were posted in newspaper articles, previous research, and appeared in links to other websites. As a result, the sampling strategy emerged theoretically and organically through the coding process and closely resembled a snowball sample. The key difference in my analysis, was

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[9] The Wayback Machine is accessible at http://archive.org/web/

that rather than respondents recruiting and suggesting other respondents, documents

played the same role by linking to other documents, and mentioning other websites.[10]

Table 3.1. Data Sources

All Movements	Archive.org's Wayback Machine: Provided a method for retrieving archived websites and documents from organization and coalition websites in each movement. New York Times archive on Lexis-Nexis: form 1993 to 2007, excluding opinion articles.
Global Justice Movement	WTO- History Project at the University of Washington: 47 oral history interview transcripts, several movement specific documents related to the Seattle 1999 WTO Protest and the 2000 Washington D.C. IMF/World Bank protest. Patrick Gillham's Global Justice Movement Archival Center at the University of Idaho, available online, provided documents and fliers for Seattle protests and April 16, 2000 protest against the IMF and World Bank.
Anti-War Movement	Library of Congress, Iraq War, 2003 Web Archive Collection: Used in a similar manner to the Wayback machine, but had the advantage of providing a provided list of websites for antiwar groups and organizations. International Peace Protest Survey (IPPS) conducted by the Media Movements and Politics research Group (2003), I exclusively used an open-ended question on why participants protested for frame analysis.
Immigrant Rights Movement	Personal Archive of Jesse Diaz, Long Beach California: During the events of 2006, Diaz played a major role in the IRM, while at the same time writing his dissertation on the movement. His personal archive is the most complete existing archive on this movement. Service Employees International Union, United Service Workers West records at UCLA: This archive of the Justice For Janitors campaign contained several documents and records from SEIU and their allies, many of whom were also integral to the IRM, such as CHIRLA. American Friends Service Committee - United States-Mexico Border Program records at UCSD: AFSC played a leading role in the IRM, and this archive also contained documents from various organizations in Southern California. Six semi-structured interviews with leading activists involved in the IRM in 2006.

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[10] Appendix A describes my sampling strategy in further detail.

The population of organizations and coalitions was far from discrete; when movements develop, they also develop new coalitions composed of existing organizations, which results in a great deal of overlap between different organizations and different movements. For example, the Direct Action Network (DAN) is regarded as a coalition that played a major role in making the WTO protests in Seattle happen. This was complicated by the fact that Global Exchange, an important organization in its own right, was a founding member of DAN, although DAN is also a distinct organization in. Given that I am examining the framing within and across movements as whole, this overlap has a minimal effect on the final analysis. In other words, the organizations are not cases, but rather sources of movement framing, strategy, and tactics. These connections and overlaps are what define a movement. In addition to specific organization and coalitions, I also analyzed websites that promoted specific protest events. These website often present statement as to why potential allies should mobilize and often provide links to other organization involved in the coalitions and contain machine readable documents that are distributed at meetings and events.

New York Times. PCA of protest event articles related to each movement is the only method that I used that in each case. In order to make the project manageable, I used Boolean search terms to narrow down the number of articles retrieved in a Lexis-Nexis search of the *New York Times* from 1993 to 2006, although after the first round of coding I reduced the sample frame to a five year period from 1999-2006. In Table 3.2, I provide the search terms used for each movement, which reflect a combination of what Maney and Oliver (2001) refer to as a "generic descriptors," such as "protest" and an "event-specific protocol" which uses key grievances and issues in my search strategy. I

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retrieved several hundred articles for each movement. The majority of these were useless, so I hand coded for articles that reported on protest events for the three movements to narrow the sample down to 437 articles which were coded for event counts, the size of events, and most importantly the frames deployed.[11]

Table 3.2. Overview of Protest Event Database

Period of Content Analysis: January 1, 1993 through December 31, 2006.

News Service Searched: New York Times

Global Justice Movement Search Terms Used: (protest! and globali!) or (protest! and "international monetary fund") or (protest! and imf) or (protest! and ("world bank") or (protest!and gatt) or (protest! and ("world trade organization")) or (protest! and wto)
or (protest! and summit) or (protest! and NAFTA) or (protest and "north american free trade agreement"

Antiwar Movement Search Terms Used: (protest! and war!) or (protest! and iraq) or (protest! And Afghanistan!) or (protest!and war) or (protest! and (war w/1 on w/1 terror))

Immigrant Rights Movement Search Terms Used: (protest and immigr!) or (protest! and border) or (protest! and latino) or (protest! and (mexican w/1 american)) (protest! and (illegal w/1 immigra!)) or (protest! and undocumented w/1immigra!)
or (protest! and migrant!)

Number of Articles Analyzed: 437

Number of Unique Events Identified: 219

Movement Specific Sources

For the archival portion, the main units of analysis are movement publications such as leaflets, pamphlets, and newsletters. Movement publications have distinct differences from media publications because movements often try to present themselves in a positive light, and often discuss and report on events, which major media outlets ignore, and use their publications strategically (Martin 2010). In many respects, my approach to archival research follows the shift from physical media, printed and physically distributed to electronic media, which is digitally distributed. Therefore, following other scholars who have pointed to the importance of the internet as a medium

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[11] Appendix A describes the specifics of the coding strategy of the *New York Times* articles.

of diffusion and framing (Ayres 1999; Adams and Roscigno 2005), I also included digital archives as an important aspect of my data collection.

Global Justice movement data. For the GJM, I began by gathered documents from online archives, which included the Wayback Machine, Patrick Gillham's Global Justice Movement Archival Center, and digitized oral history interview transcripts gathered from the website of the University of Washington's WTO History Archive (WTO History Project 2011). I then visited the physical archives for the WTO History Project at the University of Washington, where I collected and read through hundreds of documents, many of which were also available through online sources. I converted scanned documents into machine readable files and created a collection in Atlas.ti for the GJM, which I then coded.   I focused on documents from the 1999 WTO protest in Seattle, and the mobilization against the World Bank and IMF in April 2000.

Antiwar movement data. In the case of the case of the Anti-war movement, I followed a similar procedure for the GJM, but found much more material in digital archives. These included the Wayback Machine, as well as the Library of Congress' Iraq War 2003 Digital Archive (2003), which stored archived webpages of antiwar organizations active in 2003. The Library of Congress' list of archived websites contained several inactive links. However, I was often able to get access to these websites via the Wayback Machine. In these cases, I used the Library of Congress' collection as a guide to finding websites on the Wayback Machine. In addition to these, I used data from the International Peace Protest Survey (2003), used for Walgrave and Rucht's (2010) volume on the February 15th 2003 demonstration, which includes an open ended question, which asked, "Why did you participate in the demonstration on February 15th,

2003? (Write down your answer in the box below)." By using the IPPS, I was able to content analyze responses from 705 protesters in the US using an open coding strategy, followed by a strategy which focused on statements related to the political-economy.

Immigrant rights movement data. For the IRM, I also began my data collection with the Wayback Machine, but found that there was not nearly as much digitally archived material, though I still managed to collect nearly 100 documents. I also visited three physical archives, one was the personal collection of an interview subject, Jesse Diaz, who had previously written a book manuscript on the IRM, and played a leading role in Los Angeles. His archive is probably the most complete existing collections related to the immigrant spring. While in Los Angeles, I also visited the SEIU Justice for Janitors Archive at UCLA, which had several documents related to the movements involved in the Immigrant Spring beyond the SEIU. The AFSC also played a major role in the IRM in southern California, so I also visited the AFSC border program archive at UCSD. Using the New York Times, along with interviews, and archival sources, which had a west coast bias, allowed for a geographic triangulation of the data, and corrected for the evidence available in the Los Angeles and Chicago areas.

In addition to these archives, I also conducted six semi-structured interviews. To recruit my interview subjects, I targeted career activists that are still involved in the IRM. I based this decision on the assumption that individuals that have strong links to activism in the present, will view past upsurges in activism as aspects of their current career trajectories. In the case of the IRM, there was not the same prevalence of archival sources, so I conducted interviews with leading members of various coalitions and organizations who serve the role of organic intellectuals of the movement located in San

Diego, Los Angeles, Portland, San Francisco, Salem Massachusetts. The sampling was a combination of snowball and convenience sampling. I initially intended to rely on snowball and a theoretical sample of leaders based on organizational websites and directories. After a period of recruitment from major IRM organizations, very few organizations responded to email and telephone requests for interviews. I even scheduled a trip to a conference for activists working on issues surrounding migrant workers, but after buying the airfare for the trip, the conference was rescheduled, fortunately, I was able to visit archives during this trip. I conducted all but one interview over the phone. Despite the limitations on recruitment, several of the interviewees played leading roles as organizers and movement intellectuals, and many were present in media reports on the protests. In sum, there may not be the quantity desired, but the quality, in combination with other sources, was more than adequate. Table 3.3 outlines the interview respondents that I was able to recruit.

Table 3.3. Immigrant Rights Movement Interview Subjects

Jesse Diaz	Leading member of the La Placita working group which was renamed as the March 25 Coalition and organizer of the Great American Boycott in the Los Angeles and San Bernardino area.
Justin Aker-Chacon	Community activist, and member of the Si Se Puede Coalition in San Diego, and author of *No One is Illegal*
Elva Salinas	Chicano Studies Professor at San Diego City College. Si Se Puede Coalition and March 25th Coalition, leading role in organizing the Great American Boycott in the San Diego Area. Served as faculty advisor for Resistancia Estudiantil at San Diego City College.
Marco Mejia	Portland Activists and member of AFSC in Portland, helped organize major marches in rallies in the Portland area as a member of the Oregon Immigrant Rights Coalition.
David Bacon	Long time labor organizer who worked with immigrant workers, and journalist, who also plays an important role as an organic intellectual. Bacon also worked with the Workers Immigrant Rights Coalition in the San Fransisco bay area. He is author of *Children of Nafta, Illegal People.*
Aviva Chomsky	Public intellectual and activists in IRM in Massachusetts. Author of *They Took our Jobs.* Aviva also participated in the organization of immigrant rights protests in the Salem, Massachusetts area in the Spring of 2006.

CONCLUSION

Methodologically, this dissertation is an interpretive study that seeks to produce theoretical and analytic generalizability, and provide substantive knowledge, which lends credibility to the notion that the three movements included in this study, engaged in counter-hegemonic framing that is contextualized by the neoliberal era. In terms of method, all of the research strategies described in this chapter are accepted strategies for the analysis of collective action frames. The framing perspective, described in chapter II, has methods associated with it that can also be used when combined with a Gramscian understanding of social movements, which prioritizes the historically specific balance of class forces, and the importance of winning leadership through the political practice of framing.

In this chapter, I examined how PCA allows or the quantification of protest events as well as narrative description of them. Obtaining a picture of the size and frequency of these protests is essential to building a case for the importance of each case study and empirically demonstrating the presence of a multi-movement protest wave. However, simply counting protest is simply one aspect of PCA. There is much more to be learned from the articles reporting on these events because they also provide rich context, as well as the content of framing.

My ethnographic content analysis of documents from archived websites, and academic and personal archives also presents a rich source of text from social movements. In total, I collected, coded, and analyzed over 400 documents, linked to protest events from each movement. The narratives of the events, from archived transcripts, news reports, and interviews also provide rich detail and analysis from the

voices of activists themselves. Here, I was able to see the cleavages and disputes, which complicates these movements, but reveals the counter-hegemonic practice, which takes place over the course of a movement. Using this multi-method approach, I was able to construct, via an incorporated comparison, an application of the counter-hegemonic framing approach, built on three case studies in chapter VII, which discusses the framing practices of these movements as a whole.

CHAPTER IV

COUNTER-HEGEMONIC FRAMING WITHIN THE GLOBAL JUSTICE

MOVEMENT AT WTO AND IMF PROTEST EVENTS

I begin my empirical analysis of counter-hegemonic framing with a case study of

the Global Justice Movement (GJM) and its framing during two major protest events.[12]

The GJM is one of the most important social movements of the neoliberal era, especially

considering its explicit opposition to neoliberal globalization (Dreiling 2000; Ayres 2004;

Smith 2007; Hosseini 2010). In this chapter, I employ the counter-hegemonic framing

approach, which views framing and frame disputes that take place within movements and

coalitions as arenas of counter-hegemonic practice. Furthermore, frames contest the *senso*

comune or common sense of a given society, and the internalized consent to neoliberal

hegemony within movements. This chapter extends the focus of GJM framing to

neoliberal hegemony writ large to explore three questions:

1. What is the content of the GJM's political-economic framing repertoire?

2. What aspects of this repertoire contest neoliberal hegemony?

3. What was the structure of the anti-neoliberal master frame in the US based GJM?

Before addressing these questions, I define and review the GJM based on how

other observers described it, and situate it within the world-historical rise of neoliberal

globalization. I then provide a historical overview of the movement going back to the

early 1990's. In this broad sketch, I pay close attention to research on GJM mobilizations

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[12]The name "Global Justice Movement" arouses significant debate. Other titles and characterizations include the anti-globalization movement, the alter-globalization movement, the anti-corporate globalization movement (Buttel and Gould 2004), the global solidarity movement, globalization movement (Fisher et al 2004), and the anti-capitalist movement. Although following my analysis the anti-corporate globalization movement may be the most accurate, the Global Justice Movement is the most widely used by *both* activists and observers. Global Justice Movement is the most encompassing and minimizes the possibility of generating disagreement from various ideological factions.

taking place in the United States, and focus on framing surrounding two of the major protest events in the US GJM: the 1999 WTO protest in Seattle Washington, and the 2000 IMF/World Bank protest in Washington D.C. To examine counter-hegemonic framing, I draw upon archival evidence, which includes media coverage of the protests in the *New York Times*, 47 oral history interview transcripts, and over one hundred archived documents such as fliers, press releases, and position statements.

I present the findings of this analysis in four ways. First, I present frames that comprise the GJM's repertoire of interpretation, which includes counter-hegemonic frames deployed by the GJM, which contest neoliberalism. One of the most salient frames deployed was the *democratic deficit frame* that emerged empirically in a frame dispute over the possibility of reform and abolition of the WTO and IMF/World Bank. Within this discussion, I outline the *corporate power frame*, which attributes agency to corporate actors in the establishment of neoliberal globalization. Second, following the neoliberal diagnostic frame, I present what I call *symptom/injustice frames* that are linked to a broader diagnostic frame of neoliberalism (e.g., increased inequality and the "race to the bottom"). Third, I make an argument that the structure of the GJM's master frame is as follows: *neoliberal globalization is a corporate project that seeks to reduce environmental protections, human rights, and labor rights by eroding sovereignty in order to open markets and increase corporate profits.*

WORLD-HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION

In order to grasp the goals, motives, and context of the GJM, I provide a brief summary of the rise of neoliberal globalization. Although I have already discussed the

ascendance of neoliberalism in chapter II, the globalization project has a decidedly

neoliberal character. If modern globalization is "globalization on steroids," then

neoliberalism is the steroids. In both cases, they arise out of historically specific relations

of production and balance of class forces, and establish consent among individuals and

civil society. In what follows, I briefly review the rise of the globalization project since

the early 1970s by situating it within the context of the economic crisis of the 1970s and

the decline of the development model.

Modern globalization and neoliberalism are linked to structural crises of

capitalism and the strategy of development. Kiely (2005) echoes this in an attempt to

describe the context in which movements emerged in opposition to globalization. Here,

globalization is conceptualized in two ways: 1) as a "period specific to neo-liberal

capitalism" and 2) as an ideology and political project, which began in response to the

economic crisis of the 1970s, which marked "the end of the post-war Golden Age of

capitalism" (p. 5). Globalization emerged as an important aspect of the accumulation

strategy implemented to spur stagnant economic growth in the US. During this period,

corporate actors, motivated by neoliberal ideas, began to push for free trade, and

deregulation of the global financial system. In some cases, capital simply took advantage

of its structural power by using the threat of factory closures to influence unions and the

state, thus creating the "race to the bottom" that became a resonant aspect of anti-

neoliberal framing by the aspects of the GJM.

Global institutions, which I later describe as neoliberal institutions, such as the

IMF and World Bank, existed prior to the rise of neoliberalism, which produced a shift in

global development policy, which can be traced to the Bretton Woods agreement. The

1944 Bretton Woods agreement is widely considered a pivotal moment in the history of globalization (McMichael 2012; Kiely 2005; Smith 2007; Stiglitz 2002). Bretton Woods laid the foundation for the development project from which the globalization project emerged. The development project was rooted in the realities of the end of World War II, the erosion of colonialism, and is "based on the ideal of self-governing states composed of citizens [as opposed to colonial subjects] united by the ideology of nationalism" (McMichael 2012:4). However, it carried with it the assumption, articulated by Rostow (1960), that there was a linier path to development, which Third World nations were to follow, and wealthy First World nations simply occupied the apex of this evolutionary trajectory.[13] At this meeting in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, forty-four financial ministers met with the intention of forming an international banking system. It was at this meeting that the "twin sisters" of the IMF and World Bank emerged with the influence of the US Treasury (McMichael 2012). These agencies were to perform several functions. First, the IMF was to "stabilize national finances and revitalize international trade; underwrite national economic growth by funding Third World imports of First World infrastructural technologies; and to expand Third World primary exports to earn foreign currency for purchasing First World imports" (McMichael 2012:58). The World Bank was then charged with providing large-scale loans for national infrastructure projects to developing nations.

Despite these seemingly internationalist mandates, both the IMF and World Bank were dominated by large stakeholders such as the United States, and reflected First World priorities in the types of projects they supported (Danaher and Yunus 1999; Goldman

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[13] For sociological critiques of the development model, see Wallerstein (2004); Gunder Frank (1966); and McMichael (2012).

2005; McMichael 2012; Woods 2006)[14]. With the rise of neoliberalism throughout the world in the 1970s, and the failures of the development project, international institutions and agencies that once were central to the development project came to operate as institutions of neoliberal governance (McMichael 2012). For example, the IMF began requiring neoliberal reforms as conditions for loans, which were termed structural adjustment programs that I discuss in further detail below.

Philip McMichael's (2012) *Development and Social Change* also outlines the emergence of the globalization project, which he argues is supported by an underlying neoliberal doctrine defined as "an emerging vision of the world and its resources as a globally organized and managed free trade/free enterprise economy pursued by the largely unaccountable political and economic elite" (McMichael 2012: 366). In conceptualizing globalization as a project, McMichael emphasizes the political aspect of the rise of neoliberal globalization, which is the outcome of policy choices, rather than the inevitable outcome of technological advances. For McMichael, the globalization project emerged from the failure of the development project. The globalization project thus represented a shift to "market rule" and essentially privatized development.

Globalization is a social process with its own specific effects. In the US globalization has had a profound effect. Scholars argue globalization has contributed to deindustrialization, and increased income inequality (Korzenievics and Moran 2009), and the decline of unions in the US (Clawson and Clawson 1999; Silver 2003). For example, union density was at 24% in 1973 and plummeted to 13.5 in 2000 (Hirch and MacPherson 2013), and the number of union recognition elections and the number of

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[14] Chwieroth (2010), argues that this is overstated and takes an institutionalist approach to the neoliberal character of the IMF, pointing to the neoliberal training of IMF staff.

victories in these elections fell precipitously during this period (Tope and Jacobs 2009).

The impact of these shifts profoundly affected the well-being of African Americans in

urban centers (Wilson 1997), and the discourse surrounding race, as well as the

strengthened the mechanics of structural racism (Barlow 2003). Furthermore,

globalization has profound implications for the lives of women, especially in terms of

global reproductive labor chains, and the structure of labor markets (Marchand and

Runyan 2000).

Relaxed trade barriers also facilitated the tendency toward de-industrialization. As

a result, corporations could more easily shift production out of the United States and

further reduce the power of unions (Bernhardt et al 2008; Ayres and Macdonald

2009).The shift from the development project to the globalization project, along with an

adversarial domestic political climate severely weakened progressive social movements

and labor (Wallace, Fullerton, and Gurbuz 2009). It was not until the SEIU's Justice for

Janitors campaigns in various cities beginning in the late 1980s (Milkman 2006), and

then the UPS strike of 1997 at the national level, that labor won a battle during the

neoliberal era (Isaacs 2004; Kumar 2008). The eventual rise of the GJM provided a

worthy counter-movement to neoliberalism, and challenged neoliberal globalization

directly while contributing to the globalization project's crisis of legitimacy.

THE GLOBAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT

The global justice movement (GJM) can broadly be described as a movement

against neoliberal globalization (Smith 2008; Evans 2008). Hosseini (2010) describes the

GJM's grievances broadly, and includes: "International financial institutions (e.g., the

WTO), free trade agreement the World Bank and regional banks' plans, related domestic and foreign policy adjustments such as the privatization of public assets, financial deregulations, tax cuts and cut backs, international debt, global inequality, climate change, multinational corporations, and war" (p. xvi). Although different actors shared similar grievances, characterizing the GJM as "a movement" in the singular sense is an exercise in abstraction. In reality, the GJM is a "movement of movements" composed of several constituents, organizations, and identities (Mertes 2004). Thus, the GJM is a "broad coalition of smaller (anti-sweatshops, debt relief, fair trade, AIDS, etc,) and larger (human rights, organized labor, international hunger, etc,) movements and draws participants and participating organizations from a diversity of ideologies (anarchists, socialists, liberal reformists, etc,)" (Buttel & Gould 2004:39). At the meso-organizational level, one could characterize the GJM as a movement comprised of "coalitions of coalitions". This massive diversity within the GJM causes obvious differences in terms of what and how to conceptualize resistance. For example, some accepted the neoliberal market logic while simultaneously voicing serious criticisms. Closely tied to concerns about trade and international debt, the GJM has opposed and mobilized opposition to several specific institutions and agreements. These have included, but are not limited to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), NAFTA, the WTO, IMF, and the World Bank (Ayres 2004; Podobnik and Reifer 2009; Dreiling and Silvaggio 2008; Harvey 2005). For the US based GJM, NAFTA provided the first policy battleground under which trade liberalization and economic globalization came under attack (Ayers and MacDonald 2009). Enacted in 1994, NAFTA instituted broad trade liberalization between the US, Canada, and Mexico, and represented US

acceptance of globalization in an attempt to create "hemispheric integration" along the lines of other attempts at economic integration in Europe and Asia (Sousa 2005). Critics pointed out that NAFTA would be disastrous to workers and the environment (Audley 1997: Wallach and Sforza 1999). In addition, there were serious challenges to NAFTA from outside the US, perhaps none more serious than the Zapitista uprising of 1994 in Chiapas Mexico using the slogan, "against neoliberalism and for humanity" (Quoted in Smith 2008).

I present a snapshot of the GJM protest wave between 1999 and 2006 as reported in the *New York Times* in Figure 4.1. The most significant event in the United States was the 1999 "Battle of Seattle" in which 50,000 demonstrators played a role in shutting down talks at the World Trade Organization ministerial meeting. The Seattle protest, which begins the wave, was the largest demonstration, drawing in 50,000 protesters. Following Seattle, the movement in the US carried out "days of action" against the IMF and World Bank as well as trade agreement meetings such as NAFTA, and the FTAA. The April 2000 IMF/ World Bank protest, which was until that point, the largest of the anti-IMF/World Bank protests in the US immediately followed Seattle. Although the April 2000 IMF/World Bank protest was smaller than subsequent IMF/ World Bank protests, activists view it as the second major battle for the US GJM. Later IMF/World Bank protests in 2001 and 2002 each drew 20,000 protesters. I include several multi-issue events that were organized by organizations associated with the GJM. For example, the protests at the January 2001 inauguration of George W. Bush drew 20,000 protesters. Other significant events include demonstrations against the World Economic Forum in

January of 2002 and the Miami Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) protest in

November 2003.
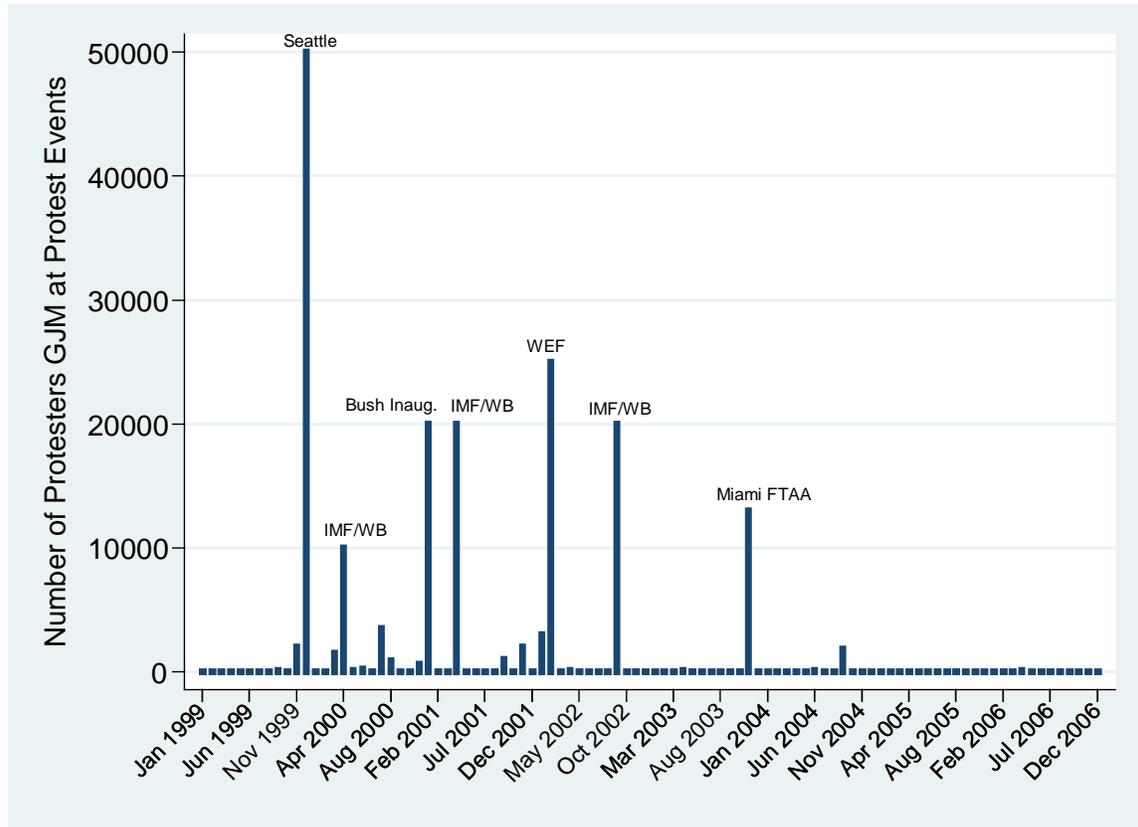
Figure 4.1.   GJM Protest Wave, United States 1999-2006

Globally, the GJM has formed large international bodies of their own, such as the

World Social Forum in 2001 (Reese, Smith, Byrd, and Smythe 2011). Although this

chapter focuses on the GJM in the US, the GJM also has significant transnational ties

(Smith 2007; della Porta and Tarrow 2005). The transnational character of the GJM

became a major focus of inquiry several scholars. Perhaps the most significant work on

the GJM as an anti-neoliberal movement is Jackie Smith's (2007) *Social Movements for*

Global Democracy. In this work, she takes a global perspective, highlighting the

international scale of the GJM. Most importantly, Smith contextualizes the GJM within a

field of conflict between the "neoliberal globalizers" on one hand, and "global

democratizers" on the other. In keeping with other scholars of transnational capitalism (e.g., Sklair 2001; Robinson 2004), Smith conceptualizes a transnational corporate network that is not necessarily linked to the interests of a particular nation-state and a network of opposition that forms an alliance and conflict system. One example of transnational character of the movement was the World Social Forum, which was essentially a GJM version of the World Economic Forum. The first World Social Forum took place in Porto Alegre Brazil and directly challenged the dominant view that "there is no alternative" to neoliberalism by offering the slogan: "another world is possible (Fisher and Ponniah 2003; Ayres 2005). While the transnational analysis is useful, my unit of analysis scales down this approach and focuses on the major GJM mobilizations in the United States; the center of the capitalist world-system.

The GJM targeted neoliberalism within movement-generated discourse. In Adler and Mittleman's (2004) case study of an anti-globalization protest in April 2002, against the World Bank and IMF, they list some features associated with globalization. These include: altering local cultures, reducing government spending, privatization, export promotion, increasing migration, and greater availability of consumer goods. In their study, they asked respondents which of these features they consider benefits, and which they consider costs of globalization. They found "altering local cultures" was unanimously categorized a cost. Interestingly, respondents overwhelmingly defined reducing government spending, privatizations, and export promotion as costs. As Adler and Mittleman point out, "…the protesters views do not indicate a complete rejection – 'antiglobalization' – but a selective rejection of aspects of globalization, especially neoliberal policies and institutions that seek to universalize them" (p. 207-208).

In addition to economic concerns, ecological issues were also prominent in the GJM. Many of the most important grievances were linked to the impact of global trade and economic policy on the environment. GJM activists often engaged in frame bridging by including environmental concerns with other concerns. The most well known example is the "Teamsters and Turtles together at last" slogan from the Seattle demonstrations. This inter-movement solidarity dates back to contention over NAFTA, and has been theorized as part of a Polanyian protective double movement against neoliberal globalization (Ayers and MacDonald 2009; Dreiling 2001; Evans 2008). However, the "environmentalism of the trade and globalization issue" reached a peak and was followed by "de-environmentalization" after the Seattle demonstration (Buttel and Gould 2004).

The GJM in the United States began to decline and stagnate following the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York on September 11th 2001. The GJM found itself in a drastically different political context, and contending with a strengthened repressive state apparatus. Hadden and Tarrow (2007) found that three factors led to this decline: (1) an increasingly repressive atmosphere; (2) "political linkage between global terrorism and transnational activism of all kinds"; and (3) social movement spill-out. Furthermore, they found that the escalating calls for war constrained the political opportunities available to the GJM in terms of the public openness to the "Seattle model" (Hadden and Tarrow 2007: 360).

The GJM is especially important because it provides the most glaring connections between grievances and global political-economic trends. As a result, there is a wealth of theory and research on the GJM's opposition to neoliberalism (Ayres 2004; Smith 2008; Evans 2008; Husseini 2010; McBride 2009; Podobnik and Reifer 2009). As Ayres (2004)

points out, "The mobilization of beliefs and interpretations critical of neoliberal globalization had been central to the eruption of a protest movement that achieved global proportions by 2003" (p. 27).

Coalitions and Organizations at the Battle of Seattle and A16

On November 30th 1999, activists representing unions, environmental, religious, leftist, and student groups descended on Seattle to voice their opposition to the WTO Ministerial meeting (Thomas 2000). Estimates of the size range from 14,000 protesters, according to police estimates, and 50,000 protesters according to organizers (Smith 2001). The organizing for the WTO protest was a long process beginning before organizers chose Seattle as the meeting site for WTO Ministerial. Once Seattle was chosen over San Diego, organizations such as Ralph Nader's Public Citizen and the King County Labor Council, associated with the AFL-CIO, joined with the Direct Action Network (DAN) in the formation of People for Fair Trade/NoWTO. DAN a major coalition in itself, was a web-based network of organizations including: Art and Revolution, The Ruckus Society, and Global Exchange. This coalition would serve as a host organization and base of operations for the protests, rallies, and teach-ins to come. In addition, these organizations played a key role in organizing the Seattle protest and the protests that followed by providing valuable resources and experiences (Fisher, Stanley, Berman, and Neff 2005).

The April 16th, 2000 IMF/World Bank protest was the next meeting related to neoliberal globalization in the US. At this event, around 10,000 to 25,000 protesters converged on the building that housed these institutions in Washington DC. Organizers from Jubilee 2000, 50 Years is Enough, and the Mobilization for Global Justice, among

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others, sought to capitalize on the success of the Seattle protests and build the movement. Activists named the action A16 and were able to garner significant media attention as a result of the success of the "Battle of Seattle."

These events were points that the GJM in the US is identified with, and are high point in the US based mobilizations by the GJM in terms of the scale of mobilization, effectiveness, and the media attention they attracted. Drawing on protest event analysis, I focus on the framing surrounding these protests, since these are two widely attended and discussed protest events by the GJM. In what follows, I present a narrative description of some of the major issue-based and event-based coalitions, coalitions that organized these mobilizations.[15]

Direct Action Network (DAN). DAN is a Coalition founded through web-based contacts by Global Exchange, Art and Revolution, and unaffiliated Anarchist collectivities. DAN played a significant and visible role in the organization of the WTO demonstrations in Seattle as well as subsequent demonstration. The coalition would eventually change its name, and become DAN Continental, which described its mission as follows: "we are creating a movement to overcome corporate globalization and all forms of oppression- a movement united in a common concern for justice, freedom, peace and sustainability of all life, and a commitment to take direct action to realize radical visionary change" (Direct Action Network 2001:1)

Jubilee 2000. Jubilee 2000 is a transnational faith based coalition focusing on the relief of debt imposed on low income countries by the IMF and World Bank. They describe themselves as "A Global campaign to cancel the unpayable debts of the world's

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[15] For a full list of organizations consulted, see the list in Appendix B.

poorest countries by the end of 2000." Jubilee 2000 also facilitated the formation of the

Fifty Years is Enough Network. (Jubilee 2000 Northwest Coalition 1999:1).

Mobilization for Global Justice (MGJ). MGJ was a major event coalition focusing

on organizing convergence centers for specific protest events such as the April 2000

IMF/World Bank Protest. They describe themselves as a "Diverse coalition consisting of

hundred of organizations gathering together for teach-ins, protests and forums

pronouncing the IMF and World Bank negligent in both the alleviation of global poverty

and the promotion of genuine sustainable development" (Mobilization for Global Justice

2000a:1).

50 Years is Enough Network. The 50 Years is Enough Network was formed by

members of Jubilee 2000 in opposition to the IMF and World Bank. They describe the

their emergence in as follows,

> To mark the 50th anniversary of the Bretton Woods conference at which these
> institutions were founded, a diverse group of U.S. organizations established the 50
> Years Is Enough Campaign. (Now the 50 Years Is Enough: U.S. Network for
> Global Economic Justice). "50 Years Is Enough" was chosen as the slogan to
> express the strongly held belief by growing numbers of people around the globe
> that the type of development that the World Bank and IMF promote could not be
> allowed to continue."(50 Years is Enough Network 2002:1)

People for Fair Trade/ Network Opposed to the WTO (PFT/NO2WTO).

PFT/NOWTO was the local event coalition in the Seattle mobilization, that acted as a

base for key national organizations such as Public Citizen, the AFL-CIO's King County

affiliates, and DAN. PFT/NOWTO was in many ways defined by the cleavages within

the organization between moderate and radical factions, which even manifested itself in

the name of the coalition.

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Global Exchange (GE). GE is a nongovernmental organization founded in 1988 focusing on trade policy and reality tours. GE was heavily involved in contention over NAFTA, the IMF, World Bank, and the WTO. Founding organization of the Direct Action Network. GE later joined the antiwar movement where prominent members helped form Codepink. Contributed to the production of several popular pamphlets and leaflets, a role that continued into the antiwar movement.

American Federation of Labor –Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). The AFL-CIO is the Major umbrella organization for organized labor and is often represented in the Seattle demonstrations by the King Country Labor Council. According to their mission: "The mission of the AFL-CIO is to improve the lives of working families—to bring economic justice to the workplace and social justice to our nation. To accomplish this mission we will *build* and *change* the American labor movement" (AFL-CIO 1999a).

Rainforest Action Network (RAN). RAN is an environmental direct action network which focuses on grassroots mobilization to protect forests and fight corporate power. RAN has a history of close alliances and worked closely with DAN and Ruckus society during Seattle mobilization, co-sponsored a direct action training camp.

Public Citizen. Public Citizen is a nongovernmental organization founded by Ralph Nader, which facilitates local mobilization (Smith 2008) Also played major role in formation of PFT/NO2WTO coalition, and are closely linked to Global Trade Watch and Citizen's Trade Campaign, which also worked extensively on opposition to NAFTA.

Ruckus Society. Direct action organization focusing on nonviolence and street theatre primarily. Before the WTO protests Ruckus worked primarily on forest defense in conjunction with Earth First!, Rainforest Action Network and Green Peace.

Sierra Club. The Sierra Club is a liberal environmental organization with over 600,000 members whose focus is typically in the electoral arena, litigation, and legislation. Their stated purpose is "Explore, enjoy, and protect the wild places of the earth; practice and promote the responsible use of the earth's ecosystems and resources; educate and enlist humanity to protect and restore the quality of the natural and human environment; Use all lawful means to carry out these objectives" (Sierra Club 2000).

The above list of coalitions and organizations is not exhaustive, but is meant to provide a cast of characters who played integral roles in the mobilization for the Seattle WTO protest and the April 16th 2000 IMF/ World Bank Protest. In the next section, I turn to the framing that key segments of the GJM engaged in.

THE GJM'S FRAMING REPERTOIRE

The GJM deployed a wide range of frames relating to issues of control, legitimacy, and the accountability of neoliberal institutions. This specifically applies to the WTO, IMF, and World Bank. Within a cycle of contention, social movements may construct multiple master frames. In table 4.1, I outline the framing repertoire of the GJM, paying close attention to the most dominant frames, especially the political-economic aspects. This section covers a lot of ground, with the intention of providing an overall snapshot, not a census of all GJM frames. To start, I analyze the frame dispute of

the undemocratic nature of the institutions, the reform/abolition dispute, and the

corporate power frame.

Table 4.1. The Framing Repertoire of the Global Justice Movement at WTO and
IMF/World Bank Demonstrations

Democratic Deficit	Social Protections	Symptoms/Injustice
Relates to legitimacy, and accountability of neoliberal institutions, specifically the WTO, IMF and World Bank,	Refers to targets of corporate policy which are reduced or removed. (Negative Integration).	Frames that support diagnostic frame by pointing to consequences of neoliberalism.
Reform Prognostic frame that the functions of the institutions or agreement can be altered for the benefit of rights and the environment. *Abolition* Prognostic frame that neoliberal institutions cannot be reformed and must be abolished. *Pluralist* Argues that the goals of the movement should be to get elites who run institutions to listen to criticisms. This is also associated with pluralist views of the state. Sees corporate power as contingent. *Corporate power* Institutions act the way they do because of disproportionate corporate influence. *Structure of Capitalism* Structural position that neoliberal globalization is a the outgrowth of processes inherent to capitalism (e.g., imperialism) Neoliberal institutions are part of an inherently undemocratic economic and social system.	*Sovereignty* Carried out through Structural Adjustment Policies and Investor-to-state lawsuits *Environmental Regulations* Laws, regulations, and ministries that focus on different types of pollution and emotions are undermined. Closely linked to health standards. *Labor Rights* Rights to collective bargaining and humane working conditions are undermined in order to increase profits. *Human Rights* Rights laws that are undermined	*Inequality*: Increases inequality within and between countries. *Environmental Degradation* Linked to the removal of environmental regulations *Deindustrialization:* Movement of manufacturing jobs from core to periphery, and is associated with capital flight. *Race to the Bottom:* The movement of manufacturing throughout the world in search of low wages, and reduced regulations. *Concentrated Power* Globalization concentrates power in rich countries and in a small number of transnational corporations. *Debt* Prevents LDCs from developing, LDCs must pay debt instead of spend on social services. *Privatization and Austerity* Refers to shifting a public good or service into the market for distribution, as well as cuts in social welfare spending *Labor Conditions* Sweatshops, child labor, etc. *Race Oppression* Neoliberal globalization is especially harmful for people of color in the US. *Gender oppression* Neoliberal globalization disproportionately impacts the lives of women, and all other symptoms can be gendered.

The Democratic Deficit of the WTO, IMF, and World Bank

The GJM framed the primary institutions of globalization as undemocratic, or

suffering a democratic deficit. Consistent with this research (Sklair 2002; Ayers 2004,

Smith 2008), I also found that the GJM frames neoliberal institutions in terms of a

democratic deficit. However, I push the analysis further by examining the GJM's

arguments surrounding control of these institutions and prognostic frames. The GJM

often addressed questions about the legitimacy of global institutions, which they

answered in different, and sometimes contradictory, ways. Still, there is clearly evidence

of a frame dispute over these questions.

Nearly all SMOs involved in the Seattle protest described the WTO as

unaccountable to the demands of civil society; that it makes decisions in a top down

manner; and often undermines democratic institutions. This included criticisms that the

WTO ministerial as an unaccountable "closed door meeting." This characterization is

explicitly stated in several documents, and is prominently described in a widely

circulated pamphlet titled the *Citizen's Guide to the World Trade Organization:*[16]

> The WTO's lack of democratic process or accountable decision-making is
> epitomized by the WTO Dispute Settlement Process. The WTO allows countries
> to challenge each others' laws and regulations as violations of WTO rules. Cases
> are decided by a panel of three trade bureaucrats. There are no conflict of interest
> rules and the panelists often have little appreciation of domestic law or of
> government responsibility to protect workers, the environment or human rights.
> Thus, it is not surprising that every single environmental or public health law

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[16] SMOs in the GJM would often cite The *Citizens Guide* and make it available as a web link. Public
Citizen, Global Exchange, and Ruckus Society where major GJM organizations that referred to it in their
own documents. The *Citizens Guide* was published by the Working Group on the
WTO / MAI, which was cosponsored by several organizations including: Alliance for Democracy,
Americans for Democratic Action, American Lands Alliance, Association of State Green Parties,
Defenders of Wildlife, 50 Years is Enough Network, Friends of the Earth, International Brotherhood of
Teamsters, Institute for Agricultural and trade Policy, Pacific Environment and Resources Center, the
Preamble Center, Public Citizen, United Steelworkers of America District 11, Women's Division,
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The pamphlet remains available here:
http://www.citizen.org/documents/wto-book.pdf (retrieved April 2012)

challenged at WTO has been ruled illegal…WTO tribunals operate in secret. Documents, hearings and briefs are confidential (Working Group on the WTO / MAI 1999:5).

Although the above segment focuses on how the WTO violates democratic principles, the GJM argued that democracy is undermined when it poses a barrier to the market, which is not necessarily consistent with neoliberal principles, but is consistent with neoliberal practice.

The AFL-CIO framed the WTO in a similar manner. In a flier distributed by the People for Fair Trade/ NO2WTO WTO Labor Mobilization Committee (1999a), they describe the ministerial with the following bullet points:

- Meeting of trade bureaucrats from 134 countries
- No elected Officials
- No accountability or open-ness of meeting and decision-making (p. 1).

The IMF and World Bank also received similar criticisms, though not to the same degree as the WTO. A common aspect of the resistance to the IMF is the impact of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs)[17]. SAPs are framed by Jubilee 2000 and the 50 Years is Enough Network as undemocratic, because "There is no formal process to solicit input from ordinary people who must live under SAPs" (Jubilee 2000/USA 1999:3); and "…have consistently denied citizens information about, and involvement in, major decisions affecting their societies" (50 Year is Enough Platform 2000:2). Flowing from the democratic deficit frame, a debate emerges on the possibility of reform, and the influence of economic elites on these institutions.

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[17] SAPs are defined by "Balamm & Veseth (2005) as "Economic policies that seek to reduce state power and introduce free-market reforms to help LDCs [less developed countries] establish a foundation for economic growth. The IMF often makes the adoption of structural adjustment policies a condition for financial assistance" (511).

Similar to most political movements, there are debates between reformists and revolutionaries. In this section, I explore framing which centered on whether the WTO can be reformed, or should be abolished. In other words, I examine a prognostic frame dispute which is closely linked to this debate is one over who controls these institutions. Here, GJM organizations and coalitions may frame neoliberal institutions as potential allies in a pluralist sense, or influenced, and even dominated by corporations.

Reform and Abolition

The debate over whether or not it was possible to reform WTO took a central role in one of the major coalitions: People for Fair Trade/ No2WTO. In fact, the hybrid name for the coalition emerged from a stalemate within the coalition on this very issue:

> Essentially, to boil it down and simplify it, there was a pretty significant split between activists in Seattle, of some who wanted to put forth the message that we need to just stop the WTO and reform it and make it work; the camp that really was behind the concept of fair trade. And, there were a lot of other people, including some students and some of the people of color organizations, who would say, "Sorry. There isn't really any fair trade in the current system and we need to abolish the WTO." Sort of reformists versus the abolitionists, right? (Simer 2000:8).

Obviously, there are political aspects of this debate that lead certain ideological affiliations to fall on different sides. Referring back to my theoretical argument in chapter II, these differences should be expected, given that civil society is a key battleground for hegemony. Differences and disputes are indicative of "the war of position" and attempts to undermine neoliberal "senso cumune" within the movement itself.

On the reformist side, organizations such as the AFL- CIO and the Sierra club voiced a "fair trade" or reform frame, arguing that provisions that protect labor and the environment could be enforced by the WTO. The reform frame was by far the most common in the interviews and the documents. Since interviewees labeled the AFL-CIO

and the Sierra Club as key proponents of the reform frame, I present examples of from their documents. Although most scholars regard the Sierra Club as one of the most well know mainstream environmental organizations, they also participated in contentious politics over trade policy. As part of the GJM, they took a staunch reformist stance to the WTO. The following excerpt, from one of their mailings, provides an example of how the Sierra Club (1999) deployed this frame:

> Make Trade Clean, Green, and Fair!
> To make trade clean, green and fair, the Sierra Club is urging the Clinton administration to take executive action to:
> - fix current trade rules so that they no longer undermine environmental and health standards;
> - open the WTO to citizen participation; and
> - conduct a thorough, objective, and participatory environmental assessment of the WTO (p. 1).

Notice there is an emphasis on the notion that trade could be better, that trade can be fixed. Sierra Club members also expressed this in oral history interviews. Dan Seligman (2000) stated in his interview that their main goal is to advocate for responsible trade and "tweak the trade rules so they cannot be used as anti-environmental instruments" (p. 3). This framing of the WTO also emerges in the AFL-CIO.

The AFL-CIO is a moderate organization composed of many unions, and has close ties to the Democratic Party. However, there are differences in opinion between the different unions that are members of the AFL-CIO. For example, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters tended toward a protectionist stance on trade policy, while the AFL-CIO takes a reformist stance to the WTO. Verlene Wilder (2000), a member of the King Country Labor Council, affiliated with the AFL-CIO, describes their position as follows:

…the position was that the AFL-CIO was not in favor of the WTO as it exists right now, because it has an ability to apply sanctions and there's no rules in their process that protect labor and environment, families, communities. That in order for it to be effective, it needed to implement those rules and that our position, the AFL-CIO's position was that the WTO should not continue to operate as they are presently operating, without the institution of those rules. (P. 1)

There should be no illusion of a reform consensus within and among the major organizations and coalitions. Within these frame disputes factions vie for hegemony, in the sense of leadership and consent within movements. For example, some factions deploy frames in response to frames that other segments of the movement are deploying. As an alternative to the reform approach to the WTO, several activists and organizations voiced an abolitionist frame. Jason Adams (2000), a self-described member of the Industrial Workers of the World discusses how they actively engaged the reformist orientation of the AFL-CIO:

We had this big banner….and it said, "Capitalism Cannot be Reformed". We made that on purpose for the labor march, because the AFL-CIO's position was to reform the WTO. So we wanted to make a kind of radical statement (p. 21).

In the above segments we clearly see a frame dispute between two wings of the movement in their orientation toward the WTO.

Identifying the possibility of change and attributing blame are key framing processes. In what follows, I identify frames that are designed to paint a picture of the intent of the WTO, and IMF/WB, which leads to different prognostications of how SMOs can engage them. Specifically, these frames include the reform frame, the abolition frame, the pluralist frame, the corporate power frame, and the structure of capitalism frame.

The notion that neoliberal institutions can act as regulatory bodies that can erect and enforce labor, environmental, and human rights protections was a popular standpoint

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for reformists. Aside from the "Clean, Green, and Fair" slogan of the Sierra club,

examples include, "fair trade," and "responsible trade." This framing can also be traced

back to contention over NAFTA (Sierra Club 1999). In an especially poignant example,

the AFL-CIO states: "We must use trade and investment agreements to reward those

governments that respect worker's rights, protect the environment and allow democracy

to flourish, not those that create the most hospitable climate for foreign investment,

regardless of social concerns" (AFL-CIO 1999b:1).

In another case, Mike Dolan (1999), of Public Citizen vividly describes how this

difference manifested itself in the debate between People for Fair Trade and NO2WTO

by drawing attention to the radical tactical positions as well as the "message" of some of

the more militant constituencies, and finishing with a prognostic vision for the WTO:

> …it's not just about action; it's also about message. NO2WTO is all about
> destroying corporate capitalism in general, that the WTO is an illegitimate
> institution and we must destroy it. Some of the message of People for Fair Trade
> is, incorporate core labor standards, environmental and consumer protections, into
> the agreements negotiated under the auspices of the WTO and you've reformed
> the institution, especially if you include basic transparency, democracy and
> accountability into the WTO. (P. 5)

Here, Dolan is making the case that the message is important, specifically his

organization's reform frame. The reform frame was sometimes linked to the corporate

power frame, which stipulate that corporations have disproportionate influence on these

agreements and institutions. Dolan (1999) also states:

> See the way I look at this as a strategic deal is on the one side you've got the
> transnational corporate free trade lobby. On the other side, you've got civil
> society, all those constituencies that I mentioned. In the middle are the political
> elites and the international media. This is a fight for the hearts and minds – all
> right, at least the minds – of the political elites. That's the geography of this, the
> topography, that's the schematic. We win if we can wean the political elites from
> the corporate elite's teat. I blush. But, basically to peel off enough of the political
> elites from the slavish devotion to the corporate free trade agenda to deny the

WTO its political mandate to move forward with trade expansion according to the corporate agenda. (P. 6-7)

This approach paints a kind of dysfunctional pluralism, which views corporate influence as a contingent pathology, which can be ameliorated if the GJM's message resonates with elites. In this view, the pro-corporate policies of these institutions are unfortunate consequences of corporate power. There is an assumption that institutional actors are charged with considering popular concerns and remaining accountable to people that are affected by their policies. From this perspective, corporations are a rival interest group. Following this logic, challengers simply need to gain enough influence to generate autonomy from interest groups with more influence.

Corporate Power Frame

Conversely, there is also a direct counter-frame to the idea that these institutions can oversee basic social protections, which I call the corporate power frame. Some organizations take the corporate power frame even further, by taking a more radical perspective and connecting corporate power to capitalism. Art and Revolution, an artist and activist group that was part of the original formation of DAN, ties their abolitionist position to the influence of corporations. After describing a list of grievances and cases of perceived wrongdoing by the WTO, Art and Revolution state, "Reforms lead nowhere when corporations and their governmental counterparts are in charge. We need to globalize solidarity and liberation not capitalism, and fight for a participatory and sustainable global village. The WTO must be shut down" (Art and Revolution 1999:1). Others, such as David Hyde (2000) of the UW Network opposed to the WTO, defined the WTO as a "supra-national institution of corporate domination" (p. 2); that "only serves the interests of multinational corporations." Moving beyond the WTO and including the

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IMF and World Bank, Mobilization for Global Justice attacks "the big three" for being, "undemocratic institutions dominated by corporate interests" and "the chief instruments used by political and corporate elites to create today's unjust, destructive global economic order" MGJ 1999:2). Nadine Bloch (2000) of the Direct Action Network also expresses concern about corporate domination when discussing how activist were jailed at the Seattle demonstration. She ties police repression of protesters to corporate power, "So this is the big iron fist of the corporate agenda here at home. When people hear about that, they're really forced to confront the fact that the corporations are trying to set every aspect of their life" (p. 7-8). Finally, the Citizen's Guide describes the WTO as "one of the main mechanisms of corporate globalization" and "a comprehensive system of corporate managed trade" (Working Group on WTO/MAI 1999:2).

In sum, there is a salient debate over the legitimacy of the WTO, IMF and World Bank. Throughout the GJM, frames that problematize corporate influence are deployed. The corporate power frame, if resonant, sets up the rest of the framing repertoire of the GJM, and answers the classic question, "who stands to gain?", and more importantly, it conjures a villain for their broader narrative about how neoliberal globalization undermines social protections and has negative consequences for society.

Neoliberal Globalization Undermines Social Protections

Large segments of the GJM criticized the WTO for its role in undermining social protections. These concerns were extremely salient in the oral history interviews from the WTO history archive. For example, Victor Menotti (2000) of the International Forum on Globalization stated:

> Well, we understand the WTO as an agreement between our government and the
> rest of the world's government that they are not going to regulate the behavior of

corporations. That's what the WTO is: It is a binding contract in which our governments agree to constrain themselves from intervening in the marketplace, whether it is to protect food safety, or environment, or what have you. Our role is to put that message out for people (p. 3).

The content of that "message" and others in the GJM's repertoire are precisely what this chapter seeks to clarify.

If the objective of neoliberal globalization is to open markets, we must also ask, what stands in the way of markets? The GJM emphasizes aspects of national policies that in the view of the GJM, are undermined or removed, as part of the "transnational corporate agenda." From the standpoint of academic economists and economic sociologists these policies are termed negative integration (Fligstein 2005), but from a Polanyian standpoint, these policies are social protections (Polanyi 1944; Evans 2008), which are undermined by neoliberal institutions. Moving from broad social protections to more specific ones, these include sovereignty, environmental regulations, labor rights, human rights, and health standards. A pamphlet authored by the International Forum on Globalization (1999) ties the erosion of these protections the WTO:

> The WTO's primary mandate is to diminish the regulatory powers of nation-states and local communities—particularly our rights to make laws about public health, food safety, environment, labor, culture, democracy and sovereignty—while increasing the powers and freedoms of global corporations to act without any controls (p.1).

The argument that economic globalization erodes sovereignty of nations has been quite popular among academics and activists alike. Although neoliberal aspects of globalization have been widely acknowledged, social movement scholars have given scant attention to how the GJM made these connections for themselves.

The GJM provides concrete reasons why neoliberal globalization undermines sovereignty. Several documents link the erosion of national sovereignty, and the ability of

nations to enforce social protections to investor-to-state lawsuits. Similar framing occurs related to NAFTA, the WTO, and structural adjustment programs in the case of the IMF and World Bank. The salience of sovereignty has a long history in the GJM, reaching a highpoint during struggles against NAFTA, and continuing into contention over the inclusion of the Multilateral Agreement on Investments (MAI) in the WTO. Although the MAI talks collapsed in the 1998 meeting of the Organization for Economic Corporation and Development (OECD), Public Citizen claims that there were new proposals in the WTO that included many of the same provisions in the MAI that they oppose. As Public Citizen (n.d.) states in their *Pocket Trade Lawyer* pamphlet, the MAI "…would have expanded the few NAFTA provisions on investment, including a new right not included in the WTO agreements: the ability of corporations to sue governments for cash damages over any regulatory action affecting profits" (p. 6). Global Exchange (1999) tied attacks on sovereignty to investor-to-state lawsuits and corporate power. This is expressed in their flier titled, *Top Ten Reasons to Oppose the WTO*, "The WTO undermines national sovereignty…by creating a supranational court system that has the power to levy big fines on countries to force them to comply with its rulings, the WTO has essentially replaced national governments with an unaccountable, corporate-backed government" (p. 1).

A corporation's ability to sue national governments was condemned by several organizations including: the AFL-CIO, the PFT/NO2WTO coalition, Art and Revolution, the Sierra Club, and Public Citizen. For example, a Public Citizen news release explains that, "domestic laws that set commercial terms on labor or human rights considerations are deemed illegal barriers to trade" (1999:1). However, trade agreements are only part of

the story, similar criticisms are levied at the IMF and World Banks' notorious SAPs.

SAPs are conditions placed on loans. These conditions enforce neoliberalism and often

include privatization, elimination of environmental regulations, and labor and human

rights, global financial institutions undermine national sovereignty. As Jubilee 2000

(1998) states, SAPs are "economic policy 'reforms' that profoundly alter the nature of a

country's economy and the role of its government" (p. 1). Other organizations duplicated

this claim. In an action guide containing talking points for A16, the Mobilization for

Global Justice (2000) answers the question, "What are the IMF and World Bank and why

are they bad?" After labeling the IMF and World Bank "the world's biggest loan-sharks",

they explain the connection between SAPs and neoliberal policies:

> When the Bank and IMF lend money to debtor countries, the money comes with
> strings attached, usually in the form of "structural adjustment" programs that
> require debtor countries to slash government spending on health care, education,
> and other social programs, and to lower labor and environmental standards in
> order to make the countries more attractive to transnational corporations (p. 1).

These "strings attached" are also viewed as a benefit to transnational corporations. This

view is also echoed by several originations including DAN, Global Exchange, Public

Citizen, the AFL-CIO, 50 Years is Enough, and Jubilee 2000 among others. This

indicates that SAPs are a major part of how the GJM as whole frames their grievances

with the World Bank and IMF.

Environmental concerns were also a major issue in this movement in general and

are mentioned, at least, in passing, by nearly every organization. While some may claim

that environmental concerns represent a separate articulation to economic concerns, this

notion begins to lose credibility when we consider that several actors in the GJM framed

environmental regulations and protections as one of the central targets of neoliberal

institutions (Dreiling 2000). For Example, Global Exchange (1999) includes

environmental devastation in their *Top Ten Reasons to Oppose the World Trade*

Organization: "The WTO is destroying the environment. The WTO is being used by

corporations to dismantle hard-won environmental protections, which are attacked as

'barriers to trade" (p.1).

Global Exchange was not the only organization making these claims, and similar

frames were deployed in relation to the IMF. The Mobilization for Global Justice's

(2000) news release, titled *Top Ten Reasons to Oppose the IMF,* explained how the IMF

helps erode environmental protections:

> IMF loans and bailout packages are paving the way for natural resource
> exploitation on a staggering scale. The IMF does not consider environmental
> impacts of lending policies; and environmental ministries and groups are not
> included in policy making…Government cutbacks inevitably target the
> environmental ministry as one of the first agencies to come under the budget axe.
> (P. 7)

In addition, several organizations cite specific regulations as being in jeopardy. These

include regulations related to species extinction, deforestation, agricultural practices, and

the use of biotechnology. Many environmental regulations exist for health reasons, which

would explain why the GJM often links environmental and health concerns. The impact

of these policies is also important, and is explored further below in terms of the

symptoms of neoliberal globalization.

Neoliberal trade agreements and institutions are also targeted because of the threat

they pose to labor rights, and humane labor conditions. In the US, the GJM expressed a

great deal of solidarity with workers in LDCs. Moreover, the AFL-CIO (1999) described

their approach in their resolution on the WTO: "America's unions are committed to a new

internationalism focused on building international solidarity around a progressive, pro-

worker, pro-environment and pro-community international economic policy" (p.1) This

also affected the way people think about the products they buy. Many SMOs criticized

specific corporations such as Nike, Gap, and Old Navy. Han Shan (2000) of the Ruckus

Society describes some of the actions carried out by the Ruckus Society and Global

Exchange in which they linked the WTO to sweatshop labor:

> We coordinated an action with Global Exchange that was a banner hung on
> Old Navy's flagship store that said, "Sweatshops – Free Trade or Corporate
> Slavery?" Basically, wanting to tackle an issue that would make sense as far
> as what the WTO does, but a sub-focus, really. But put a human face on what
> kind of globalization the WTO really means. People have said, and I don't
> know if it's Global Exchange's slogan or if it's against sweatshops as a whole,
> "The road to free trade is paved with sweatshops." We thought that was an
> intriguing target, and we'd hopefully kind of tear it down and make it make
> sense to some folks. When we talk about the WTO, we're talking about
> forests being cut down. We're talking about sea turtles. We're talking about
> sweatshops (p. 7).

Social movement frames are often so ubiquitous that they can be difficult to notice. For

example, labeling an apparel manufacturing facility as a sweatshop, is itself evidence of

successful framing. This type of framing not only undermines hegemony, but also

undermines the commodity fetishism of capitalism. GJM organizations went to great

lengths to expose the child labor used to produce clothing from the GAP and athletic

shoes from Nike.

Symptom/Injustice Frames

It is well documented that diagnostic and prognostic framing are central framing

tasks (Benford and Snow 2000). In this section, I draw on Gamson's (1992) concept of

the injustice frame and tie it closer to diagnostic framing through what I call

symptom/injustice frames which are used to amplify the severity, and provide evidence of

the overarching diagnostic master frame: neoliberalism. Within a counter-hegemonic

framing perspective, symptom frames are a way for social movements to explain and

justify claims of an existing system of domination, and connect experiences in the day-to-

day lives of individuals to broader social processes. In the same way a physician would

emphasize certain symptoms to generate a diagnosis, social movements also engage in

symptom framing. Symptom/injustice frames add another dimension to diagnostic and

prognostic framing processes. If neoliberalism is an ongoing project that has already

produced effects, social movement framing then would focus on the consequences of

neoliberalism.

     Race to the bottom. One of the most prominent is the "race to the bottom" frame

that describes the impact of trade liberalization policies that are designed to maximize the

use of "comparative advantage," though not in a Ricardian sense, by allowing capital to

move to regions with lower labor costs and fewer environmental regulations (Buttel &

Gould 2004; Ayers 2004; Smith 2007).[18] Neoliberal institutions seek to exacerbate this

process. Larry Dohrs (2000), a member of the Free Burma Coalition, an organization

involved in People for Fair Trade/NO2WTO, described how the "race to the bottom"

frame emerged as part of a speech delivered by President Clinton to the International

Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Drawing on this history, Dohrs (2000) wanted the

race to the bottom language included in a document:

> When they wouldn't put "race to the bottom," I said, okay, lax environmental laws
> constitutes comparative advantage. Lax labor laws constitutes comparative
> advantage. So if you're only going to use comparative advantage, even though
> you really have to say race to the bottom, because it's in the text with President
> Clinton saying it. It still didn't make it in there. So I think there was, among
> economists, people sort of educated in the mainstream of economic theory, a real
> discomfort with even acknowledging that there is a race to the bottom, that there
> can be a race to the bottom, and that comparative advantage can have its negative

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[18] Ricardo assumed capital and labor were not internationally mobile. Comparative advantage today usually
refers to absolute advantage.

side, as well as its positive side (p. 3-4). (Larry Dohrs, Free Burma Coalition, October 10, 2000).

Dohrs describes how he wanted the "race to the bottom" language included at a teach-in. He then props up the more positive sounding "comparative advantage" and reworks it to frame this basic economic concept and supposed advantage of trade liberalization. Other activists and organizations also voiced this including, People for Fair Trade/NO2WTO (1999a), "The WTO contributes to lower wages, job insecurity and a "race to the bottom" in workers' rights around the world" (p. 1) It also appears in a list of talking points distributed at the A16, protest against the World Bank by the Mobilization for Global Justice (2000c). In a section titled "Why are you protesting the IMF and World Bank?" it reads, "We're part of a growing movement to put the brakes on the global race to the bottom in living standards. The IMF and the World Bank are leading the charge towards global poverty, and we're here to stop them" MGJ 2000:6). In the US, many SMOs regard deindustrialization as a negative impact of globalization that is tied to the global race to the bottom.

Deindustrialization. US based unions also highlighted the dangers of capital flight by drawing attention to the role globalization has in the decline in manufacturing jobs and the deindustrialization of the United States. Deindustrialization refers to the closure of US based manufacturing jobs which usually move elsewhere in search of lower wages and lax regulations. Often referred to by the less abstract practices of plant closures, or loss of manufacturing jobs, deindustrialization is a major issue for US based mobilization against economic globalization. Although this trend has been around for quite some time, many scholars and activists argue that increased economic globalization exacerbates this

process. The King County Labor Council, which is affiliated with the AFL-CIO, listed

two strategies related to deindustrialization including:

- Exploit all options for increasing "competitiveness" in the global economy: contracting out, downsizing, out-sourcing, closing enterprises, de-industrializing areas in developing countries.
- Relocate to places where labor is cheaper…developing countries, right to work states, free trade zones (King County Labor Council 1999:1).

The GJM drew on their experience with NAFTA in making these claims, in fact,

PFT/NO2WTO Labor Committee (1999a) simply states that the WTO is similar to

NAFTA. For example, "The World Trade Organization…Don't believe a word they

say…That's what corporate free trade fanatics said about NAFTA. Jobs! Jobs! Jobs! And

all we got was lost jobs…The WTO is NAFTA on Steroids" (p. 1). The GJM linked the

loss of jobs in manufacturing to NAFTA, but did not make it as as prominent in the

framing directed at the IMF and World Bank, unlike austerity; the next symptom.

Austerity and Privatization.   Austerity, or decreases in public spending also

feature prominently in the framing of the GJM. Along the same lines of framing of labor

rights, most criticisms of austerity come from a solidaritisic perspective. Austerity is an

important component of the IMF SAPs that require cuts in spending and privatization in

order to receive aid. However, there are concerns over austerity and the decline of public

welfare spending. SMOs often pointed to cases of "globalization in our own backyard,"

such as welfare reform, privatization of schools. This pamphlet drew parallels between

these reforms and SAPs, under the heading, "Structural Adjustment Comes Home" where

the Alliance for Global Justice (2000) links to austerity is privatization.

Privatization refers to the practice of placing a public good or service into the

realm of the market. As a major component of the implementation of neoliberalism,

Mobilization for Global Justice (2000) ties privatization to SAP's which "…often call for the selling off of government owned enterprises to private owners, often foreign investors. Privatization is typically associated with layoffs and pay cuts for workers in privatized enterprises (p. 1). This is practically echoed by Jubilee 2000. The AFL-CIO focuses on privatization more domestically highlighting how the WTO could lead to privatized education and healthcare.

Inequality. Economic globalization increases inequality within and between countries. Beyond evidence from social scientists (McMichael 2012), the GJM also makes this case repeatedly, and ties increasing inequality to WTO, IMF, and World Bank policies. After listing public health issues in LDCs, Kevin Danaher (2000) points the blame to inequality, and specifically ties it to the market, "This is stuff that shouldn't be happening. The reason it is happening is because of inequality. The market only moves product to people with money. People without money die" (p. 13). Interestingly, the persistent mentions of inequality as a symptom adds another dimension to the neoliberal diagnostic frame.

Concentrates power in rich countries. Neoliberal globalization concentrates power in rich countries. This frame ranges from the enrichment of core countries as an unfortunate consequence, to part of a broader imperialist agenda. One of the major criticisms of economic globalization is the disproportionate power of developed countries. Kevin Danaher (2000) also of Global Exchange voices this position:

> The way these trade negotiations typically have worked is the big industrial country governments get together. They work out the plan of what they want, and then they present it to the Third World countries as a fait accompli, and they say, "You want to sell stuff in our countries? You're going to sign on to this." So all this talk about, "Oh, the WTO is democratic because each government gets one vote." It's bullshit. I mean, it just doesn't work that way. (p. 5).

The IMF and World Bank are singled out for their role in the providing aid to poor countries. The organizations in the GJM, such as Global Exchange and the broader coalition Mobilization for Global Justice, criticize the development mission of the IMF and World Bank and frame it as a new form of colonialism. Global Exchange (1999b) makes this argument in one of their statements:

The real function of institutions such as the World Bank is not to promote "development" but rather to integrate ruling elites of third world countries into the global system of rewards and punishments. Because direct colonial control of the third world is no longer tolerated, northern elites need an indirect way to control policies implemented by third world governments (p. 1).

Others take a more radical position and state explicitly that economic globalization is a form of imperialism, such as members of Peoples Assembly, Basement Nation, Ruckus Society, and the 50 Years is Enough Network.

Racism. Discussion of colonialism and imperialism cannot be separated from the racial ideology that has historically served as its justification. Due to the social and political bases of the GJM, which is mostly white, reformist, and middle class, the important counter-hegemonic framing of organizations and activists of color were often marginalized. Within the Seattle coalition, many activists of color felt frustration over the lack of openness and desire to organize within communities of color. Moreover, some mentioned that they did not feel comfortable within the white dominated coalitions. For example, Lydia Cabasco (2000), of People for Fair trade/NOWTO explains that much of the framing deployed by the GJM was not particularly salient or resonant to these communities:

When you have black men being hauled off to jail, or you have environmental justice issues, and then you have people talking about the WTO, and then talking about saving the dolphins and the turtles and beef, that doesn't relate to people of color. People couldn't find a way to connect to those issues (p.3).

On the other hand, largely as the result of the direct impact of NAFTA on the Mexican economy, some aspects were highly resonant among some groups. For example, the

Zapatista uprising in Chiapas Mexico inspired many activists, especially those working around Latino and indigenous issues. Miguel Bocangegra (2000) of the University of Washington chapter of MECHA says,

> The links were really easy to make, because this kind of work has been going on in our community since 1994 and before that around globalization. So when a lot of white people started talking about globalization and free trade and stuff like that, it was an old issue for us. It was something we had been talking about since 1994, and the Zapatistas had been fighting and dying for in Mexico since '94. ... So it wasn't like an issue that we had a hard time making connections with. But I think the connections with other communities of color was a little bit more difficult (p. 6)

When other organizations did make point about racism, such as the AFL-CIO it was couched it in a corporate or elite driven "divide and conquer" strategy. Others took a much more intersectional approach and argued that all issues are related. Then there were others who simply included racism in a long list of grievances in an attempt to extend their organization's frame.

Gender Oppression. As mentioned above, the voices of women, and the impact of neoliberal globalization on women was also marginalized within the GJM. Still, some organization such as Mobilization for Global Justice (2000a), were quick to point out that "SAPs hurt women the most…Women have also become more exploited in the private sector workforce as regulations rolled back and sweatshops abound" One important case was the formation of a group which put together the *Woman's Guide to the WTO.* Anne Slater (2000) of Seattle Radical Women describes their intention to emphasize the impact of globalization on women.

> …besides saying the WTO is bad, but looking at the fact that what they were going to do on agriculture was going to primarily impact women, who were growing food for subsistence or affect the kinds of seeds that the women could use, that they had been using for hundreds of years (p.2).

The battle on behalf of marginalized groups to include issues that are resonant and have concern to them is a central counter-hegemonic practice. These attempted interventions into the discourse of civil society, which challenge the racism and sexism of society and the movement itself, may help to undermine these ideologies, which have supported neoliberal hegemony.

CONCLUSION

Drawing on archival sources, I provided evidence that there is an anti-neoliberal master frame which can summarized as follows: *Neoliberal globalization is a corporate led effort to undermine sovereignty, and protections for labor, human rights, and the environment in order to open markets and increase profits.* This evidence includes three parts. First, a corporate power frame emerges from the classic reform versus abolition prognostic frame dispute, which is closely tied to specific diagnostic frames related to the nature of the WTO, IMF, and World Bank. The corporate power frame emerged from this debate, which is consistent with the description of the political-economy master frame described by Carroll & Ratner (1996). Second, I demonstrated that the GJM values protections for national sovereignty, labor right, human rights, and environmental safeguards from neoliberal corporate actors that seek to undermine them through strategies such as investor-to-state lawsuits and SAPs. Third, I highlighted what I call *symptom/ injustice frames* linked to the anti-neoliberal diagnostic frame that extends current understanding of how the GJM frames neoliberalism.

This chapter is an empirical application of a Gramscian approach to collective action frames, which I call the counter-hegemonic framing approach. This approach

highlights how the GJM links political and economic conceptions of power, and deploys

frames which contest neoliberal hegemony in the context of globalization. Han Shan

(2001), of the Ruckus society illustrated the importance of political economic issues

when addressing the significance of the GJM:

> It certainly is something that fills us with hope, that there is this burgeoning
> movement, that there are young people with incredibly sophisticated critiques of
> global capital and people who are looking at the roots and not just the leaves, to
> quote Thoreau…There are people recognizing that we need to work on symptoms,
> for sure, but as we treat the symptoms, we need to also be treating the underlying
> disease. So, what the WTO symbolized for Ruckus and for a lot of people was,
> "Yeah. We're going to work on these environmental struggles. We're going to
> work on these labor struggles. We're going to work on human rights and social
> justice," while also recognizing that there are underlying economic paradigms,
> that there are international financial institutions. There are unaccountable
> bureaucrats and governments that are driving this stuff. That loggers don't cut
> down trees; multi-national corporations do. That it's deeper, and I think we're all
> really excited at that kind of change in the way that people look at campaigns, at
> grass roots organizing (p.11).

The GJM countered many of the claims made by proponents of neoliberal

globalization through counter-hegemonic framing. These include claims that free trade

benefits everyone and that "there is no alternative" To neoliberal globalization. As

explained above several organizations argued that neoliberal institutions, such as the

WTO, IMF, and World Bank, are at the very least influenced by corporations, and

possibly controlled by them. In addition to control, the GJM made the case that

corporations and government bureaucrats seek to undermine social protections,

specifically the sovereignty of nation states, to erode regulations that may stand in the

way of the ability of multinational corporations to conduct business. Although human

rights, nature, and labor are not the only targets of neoliberalism, they are the primary

targets named by the majority of organizations. For example, many environmentally

focused SMOs mention labor, and many labor oriented SMOs mentions the environment.

The GJM exposed the neoliberal offensive that began in the 1970s. However, they missed

several aspects of the neoliberal agenda, such as financialization, and emphasized

problems with development at the expense of the domestic impact of neoliberalism. The

protests against the WTO, IMF, and World Bank were a turning point that provided

fertilization for criticism of neoliberalism in subsequent movements.

In this chapter, I demonstrated how social movement framing can serve to

contest hegemonic ideas. In the area of social movement studies, I have provided a

fruitful an parsimonious method of critical social movement research that combines

Gramscian hegemony with the conceptual tools of framing processes. This approach also

examines disputes between groups within a movement, which can be conceptualized as

battles for hegemony. The analysis of counter-hegemonic framing allows for the formal

investigation of ideational phenomena without abandoning the research program of

historical materialism. In addition, it contributes to the dynamics of contention

perspective by including capitalist power in the analysis. From a substantive and

strategic-political perspective, it is feasible that the GJM provided a master frame for an

emergent historic bloc that seeks to turn the tide against the neoliberal offensive, and

possibly even transcend the capitalist system that generated the power relations,

mechanisms, and tendencies that made the ascendance neoliberalism possible.

CHAPTER V

MONEY FOR JOBS AND EDUCATION, NOT FOR WAR AND OCCUPATION:

HOW THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT FRAMED NEOLIBERALISM

The antiwar movement (AWM) of the 2000s mobilized unprecedented opposition to the US invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq within a context of renewed opposition to neoliberalism. In this chapter, I use the counter-hegemonic framing approach (CHFA) to explore how the AWM drew upon the context of neoliberalism developed a broad master frame that contested neoliberal hegemony. This master frame may not necessarily be the dominant master frame, but one of several within the broader framing repertoire. Drawing upon archival evidence, I explore the following questions:

1. What are the dominant frames deployed within the AWM's framing repertoire?

2. In what ways did the AWM draw upon the context of neoliberalism in their framing?

3. What was the structure of the anti-neoliberal master frame in the US AWM?

In my analysis, I found that the AWM contested neoliberalism in four ways. First, the AWM provided continuity for US based opposition to neoliberal globalization initiated by the Global Justice Movement (GJM). Second, the AWM consistently drew upon the context of neoliberal rollback by connecting aspects of austerity to the costs of war by highlighting the trade-off between massive military spending, and spending on social services and programs. Thus, by using slogans such as, "Money for jobs and education, not for war and occupation," the AWM positioned resistance to war within the context of a receding welfare state and the neoliberal offensive. Third, segments of the AWM framed the Iraq war as the outcome of embedded corporate interests, especially oil

interests, within the Bush administration. Fourth, the AWM articulated opposition to the surveillance and paternalism, which accompanied anti-terrorism measures such as the PATRIOT ACT, which represent manifestations of neoliberal rollout. In the sections that follow, I situate the AWM in world-historical context; discuss existing research on the AWM; describe the major protest events; and present findings that relate to opposition to neoliberal globalization, neoliberal rollback, corporate economic interests in war making, and neoliberal rollout of the War on Terror.

THE US ANTIWAR MOVEMENT IN WORLD-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The events of September 11, 2001 created a situation of threat and opportunity for peace and antiwar activists. Although the increasingly jingoistic climate that emerged was hostile to their goals, the AWM managed to mobilize significant numbers within the US, a comparatively unfavorable place for progressive social movements (Beyeler and Rucht 2010). Still, the AWM did not spontaneously arise after September 11. Even though mobilization increased in response to these events, many organizations traced their roots to anti-nuclear activism and the Vietnam War. In addition, many organizations and religious groups mobilize against the broader issue of militarism, which also exists in the absence of open military conflict. Other sections of the movement trace their roots to mobilization against the first Gulf War (Cortright 2004; 2008; Klandermans 2010).

There were important differences in how segments of the AWM responded to Afghanistan and Iraq. Many progressives viewed the invasion of Afghanistan and War on Terror as wars of self-defense, which would serve to protect US citizens from further attacks by Al-Qaida. Conversely, there were activists with convictions that war and

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violence were never an appropriate response, and those who saw the war as having imperialist motivations linked to resources in the region (Reese, Petit, and Meyer 2010).[19] As a result, segments of the AWM opposed the Iraq war while supporting the invasion of Afghanistan; the AWM includes opposition to both. I assume a great deal of overlap in terms of the opposition to these conflicts, given that many of the initial coalitions coalesced immediately following September 11th. Furthermore, many of these organizations emerged by taking advantage of close social ties between antiwar activists in various factions (Corrigall-Brown and Meyer 2010).

An overview of US foreign policy regarding the Middle East and Iraq is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, some introduction to the shifts in policy toward terrorism and Iraq are necessary, since these shifts influenced AWM framing. Within the AWM, there was widespread understanding that the Iraq War had imperial motivations. As one observer noted, "This is partly because there are some on the right who are now openly defending a policy of imperialism. But it also reflects a widespread understanding in the antiwar movement that the attack on Iraq was one component of a larger agenda of world domination" (Epstein 2003:110). Following September 11, the Bush administration began pushing for an attack on Iraq, and eventually secured authorization to attack Iraq in October 2002 (Verhulst 2010 especially pages 4-5 for timeline).[20]

The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq occurred at a moment in history where the US found itself in the position of declining hegemonic status, yet was still the world's

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[19] Although supporters of these wars framed Afghanistan and the War on Terror as wars self defense, critics highlight the imperial nature of these wars (Callinicos 2009; Harvey 2005; Foster 2006).

[20] Contrary to popular belief, and even the beliefs of a large segment of the antiwar movement, the doctrine of regime change in Iraq dates to the Iraqi Liberation Act of 1998, signed by President Clinton, citing a lack of cooperation by Saddam Hussein.

dominant hegemonic power (Wallerstien 2004; de Graaff and Apeldoorn 2010). However, this power was economically multipolar and militarily unipolar (Krauthammer 1991). With the rise of China and a European economic bloc, some policy makers began advocating the use of military power to ensure the United States' economic power by securing key resources through a doctrine of pre-emptive military action and regime change in order to prevent the rise of a peer competitor (Roberts, Secor and Parke 2003).

George W. Bush, Neoconservatives, and Neoliberalism

The antiwar movement was able to mobilize at such a large scale in a short period of time in large part due to existing political opportunities. Reese, Petit, and Meyer (2010:270) list the following five contextual factors that facilitated mobilization: First, George W. Bush assumed the presidency following a controversial and contentious election. Second, Bush's aggressive foreign and domestic policy changes "encouraged diverse organizations to cooperate in common struggle" (p. 270). Third, there was significant opposition to the Iraq war internationally and among elites. Fourth, "the absence of apparently viable institutional strategies for opposing the war" may have encouraged a turn toward protest.   As a result of all of these factors, the antiwar movement emerged from "an emergent anti-Bush coalition" which was motivated by opposition to Bush's neoliberal policies (Reese et al. 2010:286). Literally from day one, the Bush presidency was often confronted by massive protests. For example, his inauguration on January 20, 2000, was met with between 10,000 and 20,000 demonstrators voicing concerns related to various issues including global trade, civil rights, abortion, and corporate power (Rosenbaum 2001; Reese et al 2010).

The invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan figure into the context of neoliberal hegemony in specific ways. Citing political shifts in the global south, Egan (2010) argues that as a result of the mobilizations against institutions such as the WTO, IMF and World Bank, many countries did not consent to the neoliberal model as readily as they did in the 1990s . Drawing on Gramsci, Egan argues that if hegemony is the combination of consent *and* force, then in a situation where consent by semi-peripheral and peripheral nations has seriously eroded, force may become a likely option to enforce the corporate neoliberal agenda. Movement intellectuals such as Naomi Klein (2007) also argued that the use of force in the invasion of Iraq imposed the neoliberal model, or "shock treatment" on Iraq. De Graaf and Apeldoorn (2010) also argue that the neoconservative project "remained firmly committed to the accumulation strategy that had previously underpinned neoliberal globalization by emphasizing *coercion* in the geopolitical realm" (p. 3 my italics). In addition, Tabb (2006) points out that, "In a sense the U.S. priorities of free markets over meeting basic needs in the less developed world, its insistence on neoliberal privatization, deregulation, and shrinking government are the economic accompaniment of its diplomacy of hegemony, pre-emption and unilateralism" (p. 177). Other accounts of the AWM such as Cortright (2004) found that leaders within the movement, such as Leslie Cagan of UFPJ, also drew these connections. For example Cagan stated in an interview that, "militarization was just another arm of the corporate agenda" (Quoted Cortright 2004:5).

The rise of the anti-Bush coalition, declining US hegemony, the events of September 11, and the emergence of neoliberalism in neoconservative packaging set the stage for antiwar mobilization. However, massive military spending coupled with

austerity is a major contradiction that the AWM capitalized on in the US. In the next

section, I explore this contradiction in more detail.

War in the Context of Rollback Neoliberalism

Opponents of war and militarism have long criticized the social costs associated

with maintaining militarism and armed conflicts. The neoliberal project of marketizing

the state by privatizing social services (Tonkiss 2008), provides a unique historical

context for the classic "guns or butter" debate. I build on arguments made by Francis Fox

Piven's (2004) book *The War at Home,* where she explores the connection between

domestic policies that are rooted in neoliberalism and the War on Terror and Iraq War.

Piven makes three major points. First, there is always "domestic fallout" as result

of aggressive foreign policy, which was advanced by the military establishment and

networks of neoconservative think tanks. The climate following September 11 also

helped erase the differences between right wing think tanks, making them more cohesive.

This approach, which focuses on the policy formation network, specifically the role of

the Project for a New American Century, also emerges in the framing of the AWM,

which I will explore in my findings. Second, the political-economic implications of war

do not just occur overseas, as elites often make use of these conflicts to push domestic

agendas. This agenda included tax cuts for wealthy individuals, an emphasis on social

spending cuts, and deregulation (Reese at al. 2010). As Piven (2004) explains, "The

agenda was predatory, not in the imperial sense of extracting wealth from foreign

peoples, but in the pedestrian sense of extracting wealth from the American people" (p.

13). In other words, workers and subaltern groups were less likely to resist these policies

because of a "rally around the flag" effect, which occurred in the wake of September 11

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and continued through the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq War. Third, during other conflicts there were expansions of social services and democratic rights, in an effort to mobilize support for these wars. As Piven explains, "As war continued and the rush for patriotic fervor faded, governments tried to shore up support by expanding democratic rights, making the rich share some of the costs through increased taxation, and initiating social welfare programs" (P. 3). None of these things occurred during the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Social movement opposition to war, militarism, and imperialism occurred at the same time as the neoliberal rollback agenda was being continued and escalated by the Bush administration. This rollback agenda, as I will show below, is a key aspect of neoliberalism, which the AWM both opposed and drew upon to gain support. But first, we need to understand the emergence of the AWM in the 2000s.

The Resurgence of the US Antiwar Movement

The AWM, like the GJM, was a "movement of movements" comprised of several factions including pacifists, anti-imperialists, socialists, feminists, and other constituencies, not to mention significant involvement by sections of the global justice movement (Walgrave and Rucht 2010; Reitan 2009). Reese et al (2010) point to the role of "movement crossovers" that existed in overlapping activist networks, multi-issue organizations, and multiple movements. The AWM was unique in terms of scale, transnational ties, diversity, and movement crossovers from labor, feminist, and global justice organizations. There was also a substantial transnational dimension to the massive mobilizations against the war in Iraq. The World Social Forum, originally conceived by the transnational GJM, became an important node in the global AWM. Global Justice activism overlapped with antiwar activism immensely. Reitan (2009) found that the

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World Social Forum facilitated "bridge building" between activists in different countries. As a result, demonstration occurred in nearly every country (Walrave and Rucht 2010). Labor also played a role in AWM, the AFL-CIO passed a resolution opposing the invasions of Iraq, and a rank and file organization of union locals formed US Labor Against the War. Despite this ideological diversity, there was limited involvement of people of color. However, some organizations mobilized more diverse groups of people than others. For example, ANSWER and UFPJ did better than the more mainstream organizations such as Win Without War (Epstein 2003).

One of the AWM's most noteworthy characteristics was the scale of mobilization compared to previous peace and antiwar movements. As Barbara Epstein (2003) described it:

> The movement against the war in Iraq was the largest antiwar movement that has ever taken place. Even in the United States, where opposition to the war was not as large as in other parts of the world, demonstrations against the war grew in astonishing rapidity. Before the war began demonstrations had reached sizes that, during the war in Vietnam, took years of organizing to mobilize. (P. 109)

Beyond the US, the global day of action against the Iraq war on February 15th 2003 was the largest antiwar action in human history (Epstein 2003; Walgrave and Rucht 2010). In a wave of demonstrations around the world, 10 million people voiced their opposition to the impending Iraq war.[21] In the table 5.1, I provide figures for the size of US based protests, which were significant in themselves.

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[21] For an excellent collection of research on the February 15th, 2003 protests, see Walgrave and Rucht (2010), which I relied on for much of the introduction to the AWM and the protests.

Table 5.1. US Antiwar Protests by City and Estimated Turnout on February 15, 2003

New York City—500,000-1 Million
Los Angeles—100,000-200,000
San Francisco--250,000
Seattle—50,000
Rest of the United States—1,500,000

Source: Simonson (2003) and Verhulst (2010).

 In fact, following the February 15th protests, major media outlets dubbed the antiwar movement as another super-power (Tyler 2003; Schell 2003). As Tyler (2003) wrote in the *New York Times* following the protests, *"*The fracturing of the Western alliance over Iraq and the huge antiwar demonstrations around the world this weekend are reminders that there may still be two superpowers on the planet: the United States and world public opinion" (p. A1). Even in the US, the scale of the protests organized by the AWM dwarfs the largest GJM protests. Figure 5.1 presents the largest demonstrations in a given month as reported in the *New York Times*. The reader should notice that, even using a measure that obscures multiple protests in a given month or day, there are five AWM protests that drew at least 100,000 protesters. The major demonstrations in figure 5.1 represent a significant protest wave. In the US AWM, large coalitions began organizing demonstrations following September 11. In October of 2002, ANSWER helped organize large demonstrations, which drew an estimated 200,000 protesters to the streets of Washington D.C, and 40,000 to the streets of San Francisco (Zernike 2002; Cortright 2004; Simonson 2003). Despite ANSWER's initial success, these demonstrations provided what ANSWER organizer Brian Becker characterized as "a huge gust of wind in the sails of the antiwar movement" (Quoted in Zernike 2002:A17). However, it was UFPJ who "would become a moderate pillar of the U.S. peace movement, and the catalyst for the February 15 protests on U.S. soil" (Verhulst 2010:10). The second major

protest was the February 15, 2003 protest in New York, where the *New York Times* estimated that 400,000 protesters attended, while some estimates were closer to one million. Surprisingly, the largest protest reported in response to the initial bombing of Iraq numbered 15,000 protesters. In 2004, the AWM organized demonstrations at the Republican National Convention in New York, which was followed by the 2005 ANSWER sponsored protest, in Washington D.C. This protest capitalized on widespread anger surrounding the federal response to hurricane Katrina, which occurred while massive amounts of resources were used to fight the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. At this protest, activist used slogans that drew upon the context of neoliberal rollback with signage connecting the lack of resources to the prioritization of war. For example "make levees not war" and "From New Orleans to Iraq: Stop the war on the poor" (Janovsky 2005:26). Yet these massive protests failed to stop the war. The success of these protests, or lack thereof, is explained by Cortright (2004), "This meager result reflected not the weakness of the movement, but the failures of democracy in the U.S. and U.K., where majorities of people opposed a war fought without UN support or international allies" (p. 1).

Major National Coalitions in the US Antiwar Movement

Multiple coalitions played important roles in the AWM by providing spaces for multiple perspectives and by mobilizing resources from various sources. ANSWER, UFPJ, Win Without War, the National Network to End the War in Iraq, and Not In Our Name were major national coalitions which played large roles in the AWM. I provide descriptions of these coalitions below.
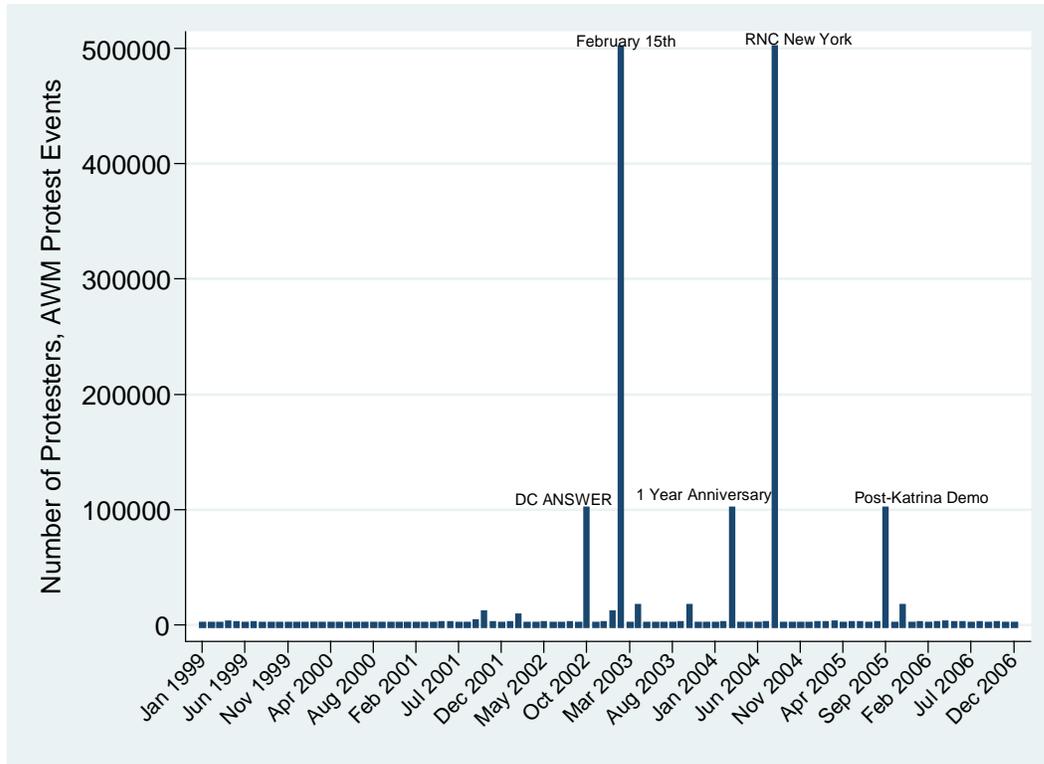
Figure 5.1. The AWM Protest Wave in the United States 1999-2006

Act Now to Stop War and End Racism (ANSWER). ANSWER was one of the first

coalitions to call for national days of action against the war in Afghanistan and the Iraq

War. ANSWER, which has connections to the International Action Center and Workers

World Party, organized many of the mass demonstrations that took place following

September 11, such as the April 20 and October 26, 2002 protests in Washington

(Cortright 2004).

United For Peace and Justice(UFPJ). This coalition was originally named United

for Peace and was based on website created by Global Exchange. UFPJ's first major

decision was to add "Justice" to the name to reflect their concerns with racial and

economic justice. Their website became a central bulletin board for the AWM (Cortright

2004). UFPJ took leading role on the east coast (Epstein 2003).

Win Without War (WWW). WWW was the major mainstream coalition of liberal organizations that emphasized the need to remove Saddam Hussein from power without using military force. WWW primarily wanted to attract constituency organizations such as, NOW, NAACP, and the Sierra Club. Due to its moderate stance, WWW had limited coordination with UFPJ and ANSWER, but had several overlapping organizations such as AFSC, Peace Action, and Global Exchange. The primary way they framed their opposition to war, which in many ways defined the coalition, was by identifying themselves with patriotism and "supporting the troops" (Cortright 2004; Corrigal-Brown and Meyer 2010).

Not in Our Name (NION). NION was initiated in New York by several activist organizations with the goal of trying to "strengthen and expand resistance to the U.S. government's course in the wake of September 11, 2001 (NION 2003:1). They gained significant support from other individuals and organizations. Sponsored huge demonstration in San Francisco in October 2002, drawing an estimated 50,000 demonstrators (Cortright 2004).

National Network to End the War in Iraq. National coalition who describes themselves as follows: "The National Network to End the War Against Iraq is a nation-wide coalition of over 140 peace and justice, student and faith-based organizations united to work for a common cause: ending the illegal, unjust, and inhumane war being waged against the people of Iraq by member states of the United Nations, led by the United States. Guided by the spirit of grassroots democracy…" (NNEWI 2003:1).

Important Organizations in the US Antiwar Movement.

The AWM was also supported by several NGOs, SMOs, and religious

organizations, and campaigns. I describe a sample of these in the following paragraphs,

and provide a more extensive list of the coalitions and SMOs I consulted in Appendix B.

Moveon.org. Moveon.org originated in 1998 by software entrepreneurs to stop

impeachment of Bill Clinton. Moveon.org eventually became a leading force in internet

activism, eventually leading a virtual march on Washington in 2003, as well providing

significant financial resources to the AWM (Cortright 2004). Their stated aim is to "bring

ordinary people back into politics" by functioning as a "catalyst for a new kind of

grassroots involvement" in a network of online activists. Moveon.org tended to focus

much of their resources toward political elections, fundraising, and lobbying on behalf of

liberal democrats (Moveon.org 2003:1).

Codepink: Women for Peace. Codepink emerged with the intension of being the a

women's wing of the peace movement that employed campy and flamboyant tactics in

confrontation with members of Bush administration (Cortright 2004). Media Benjamin

(also a leading member ofn Global Exchange), Starhawk, Jodie Evans, and Diane Wilson

and around 100 other women founded it in 2002. The name of the organization color

coded homeland security advisory system, as they explain, "While Bush's color coded

alerts are based on fear, the Code Pink alert is based on compassion and is a feisty call for

women and men to "wage peace" (Codepink 2004:1).

Global Exchange. Global Exchange was also a major organization in the GJM.[22]

After their shift to antiwar work, they described themselves as a "leading force in the

peace movement" on their website, while referencing their involvement in Codepink and

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[22] See Table 4.1 in chapter IV.

UJPJ. Other antiwar activities that Global exchange was involved in include speaking on

behalf of veterans and military families; and acting as a watchdog for "war profiteering

companies like Halliburton" (Global Exchange 2004:2).

Cities for Peace (CFP). Cities for Peace campaigned to pass antiwar resolutions

at the municipal level. According to their website:

> Cities for Peace continues to function as a resource and outlet for municipal
> actions, resolutions and campaigns aimed at promoting peace and prosperity for
> all at home and abroad. As States and municipalities face the worst fiscal crisis in
> over half a century, citizens and local elected officials are deeply skeptical of an
> emerging "perpetual-war economy" and its devastating effects on state and local
> budgets, on America's role in the international community and on a sustainable
> future for our children. Cities and towns are calling for a reordering of Cities and
> towns are calling for a reordering of national priorities such that diplomacy and
> international law will sustain peace and foster prosperity in the world, in our
> nation and in our struggling states and localities (Cities for Peace 2003a:1).

War Times. War Times was an important Publication that started in January 2002,

addressed issues related to war such as immigration and racial minorities. At its peak *War*

Times would eventually gained 130,000 subscribers. The mission of the publication was

to, "report hidden truths, to put a human face on events, and explore the real interests

behind the "permanent war" (War Times 2002:2) Despite its mission as a publication,

War Times also served an important organizational role in the AWM. For example,

managing editor, Bob Wing became major figure in UFPJ.

Veterans for Peace. VFP is a non-profit educational and humanitarian

organization that seeks to "serve the cause of world peace by applying the concept of

engaging conflict peacefully, without violence" (Veterans For Peace n.d.:1). They also

described themselves as seeking to "Increase public awareness of the total costs of war.

Restrain our government from intervening, overtly or covertly, in the internal affairs of

other nations. Abolish war as an instrument of foreign/international policy" (Veterans for Peace n.d.1).

THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT'S FRAMING REPERTOIRE

There are numerous studies of framing within the antiwar, or peace movement, which are worthy of discussion. In my findings, I build on existing findings to include framing related to political-economy and neoliberalism, but present the overall framing repertoire based on primary and secondary sources.

In a survey distributed to participants, Rucht and Verhulst (2010) conducted a content analysis of an open ended question related to the motivations for participating in the protest. They found several frames that were even more differentiated across countries. Within the United States, the most common frames were related to the reasons for going to war, which are presented in Table 5.2 below. What is most important for our purposes, is that there was a small minority who opposed American political-economic hegemony (2.8%) and targeted the capitalistic economic order (1.5%).

Oselin and Corrigal-Brown (2010) found evidence that the framing of the AWM was affected by time, place, and the presence of counter-movements. In their ethnographic studies of a beach city and an industrial city in California, they find that political context is a factor. Antiwar framing in general focused on consequences of war, identity assertions, government deceit, and the promotion of critical thinking.

In Hedley and Clark's (2007) analysis of antiwar framing on a university listserv, they found several different ways of framing opposition to the Iraq war. These included: 1) a pacifist position against all war; 2) opposition to the unilateral nature of the Iraq invasion: 3) the necessity of removing Saddam Hussein; 3) calling for United Nations

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approval; 4) opposition to the necessity of attacking Iraq as part of the War on Terror; 5) opposition to preemptive strikes; and finally 6) concern about the cost in human lives and financial terms.

Table 5.2. Reasons to Participate in February 15th 2003 Antiwar Protest by US Respondents

Reason Given	Percent
Criticisms of reasons for war	23.9
Active policy-making or responsibility to civil society	18.9
Criticism of Bush government	17.3
Proclaiming own opinion	15.9
Other reasons	11.3
Pacifism	8.2
Danger for democracy	5.6
Support social movements	5
War breaks international law	4.4
Solidarity with Iraqi People and Muslims	2.9
Against political-military hegemony	2.8
Against capitalistic economic order	1.5
Personal Worries	0.6
Social incentives or curiosity	0.1
Criticism of own government supporting Bush	-
Anti-Americanism	-
N	4956
Total	121.3

Source: Rucht and Verhulst 2010:244)

Maney, Woehrle, and Coy (2005) explored how the AWM strategically harnessed or challenged hegemony. They define antiwar framing that challenges hegemony in terms of how it "counters not only specific pro-war framing, but also broader ideas from the dominant symbolic repertoire that give pro-war framing its potency." Conversely, antiwar framing that harnesses hegemony, which is seen as strictly top down, "mirrors pro-war framing—the symbolic contents are the same—but the diagnostic and prognostic attributions are reversed." An example of this would be the "peace is patriotic" slogan.

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Maney et al, see the differences as strategic, rather than the outcome of ideology, or as part of a frame dispute within the movement.

Most studies of AWM framing are done in broad terms, which describe a general set of disagreements with specific reasons for war with Iraq which are impacted by different aspects of the political context. My analysis attempts to make a meso-macro connection between the framing processes of antiwar organizations and coalitions to point out how their framing is contextualized by neoliberalism.

In my analysis, The AWM generated a political-economy frame that was empirically and experientially resonant to potential constituents, and demystified the connections between class actors, specifically corporations and the states capacity to wage war. This analysis ties framing to political and economic context in a movement that is not directly articulated toward economic grievances. In what follows, I argue that the context of neoliberalism informed the AWM, which also generated critiques of the neoliberal offensive in their own framing repertoire.

The AWM's opposition to neoliberalism emerged in three ways. First, I argue that the AWM picked up where the GJM left off and deployed framing that positioned neoliberal globalization as an important concern of the AWM. Second, activists highlight the domestic "war at home," in which the war is used to justify cuts in social spending, also referred to as neoliberal rollback. Third, the AWM drew attention to corporate domination in a number of ways. These include:

- consistently emphasizing the connections key members of the Bush administration had with various aspects of the corporate community, especially the oil industry;

- exposing the corporate domination of US foreign policy by framing the Iraq war as the outcome of a policy agenda;

- and by illuminating the neoliberal character of the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan by drawing attention to "war profiteers" who benefitted from taking part in the occupation and reconstruction effort.

Below, I explore each of these aspects of opposition to neoliberalism as they emerged from data spanning the movement as a whole, as well as the February 15th 2003 protest. Before exploring anti-neoliberal framing, I first sketch a broad description of the AWM's framing repertoire.

As discussed above, this chapter is not the first to explore AWM framing in general terms (see Hedley 2007 and Verhulst 2010). However, based on my analysis I confirm some existing findings, but focus more attention on the political-economy frames of the AWM. In table 5.3 below, I present a distilled collection of common frames within the AWM's framing repertoire. I categorize these into moral/affective, strategic/necessity and causal framing. It is important to note that there can be significant overlap between categories of frames, which should be viewed as ideal types (Johnston 1995).

Moral/affective framing. The moral/affective framing involves critiques of the war that speak to the morality, ethics, and draw on emotional cues to claim the war is ethically wrong. The most dominant among these is the pacifist/peace frame, which posits that peace and nonviolence should be both the goal and the means of the AWM. This is usually expressed though the condemnation of state violence. Casualty frames attempt to bring the deadly character of war to the forefront, by focusing on civilian, children, and soldiers who will die or have died in an armed conflict.

Table 5.3. Antiwar Movement Framing Repertoire

Moral/Affective Relates to moral, ethical, and emotional critiques of war.	Strategic Necessity Refers to arguments against Iraq war based on strategic and national security concerns.	Causality Diagnostic frames related to the origins war policy.
Peace/ Pacifism War is always wrong. Nonviolence is both a means and an ends. *Casualties* Too many innocent people will be killed, or too many US soldiers will be killed. *Illegitimate/ No Support* War does not have support among political constituencies. The people do not want war, or the AWM represents the majority of the population. *Solidarity* Empathy and solidarity with Afghans and Iraqis, also associated with internationalism. **Rights** War is a violation of human rights, and will undermine civil rights. **Antiracism** War and national security policies encourage xenophobia and racism.	*No Threat* Iraq is not a military threat, containment may be better approach. *Iraq War is counterproductive to War on Terror* The real goal should be to destroy Al-Qaida and bring them to justice. The real goal should be to destroy *Inspections* The IAEA inspections were working and should continue. *Preemptive/Unilateral action* Pre-emptive strike alienates US from the rest of the world and are illegal. *International Law/UN* The war violates international law, and the problems associated with Iraq regime can be solved through international law and diplomacy. *Domestic Costs* War costs money, that could be better spent domestically for human needs.	**Imperialism** War has systemic roots within the economic system. The US engages in war too gain access to resources, markets, or increase relative power vis-à-vis rival countries. **Bush Advisors/Administration interlocks** Key bush advisors and cabinet members have either financial or ideological interests in war. Neoconservatives, the Project for a New American Century are often mentioned. **Corporate Power** War is the result of the power of Oil companies or the "military industrial complex" **Oil** Oil is the primary reason the US invaded/will invade Iraq. **War Profiteers** Several corporations are pushing for war/ benefit from the war financially. *"Crazy Cowboy" frame* Individualized blame placed on President Bush.

Note: Bold Italics indicates political economy frames linked to neoliberalism.

For example, Not in Our Name stated in their *Pledge of Resistance,* "Not in our name will you invade countries bomb civilians, kill more children letting history take its

course over the graves of the nameless" (NION 2003a). By framing the war as illegitimate, the AWM was able to point to the lack of popular support for war. For example, one of the most popular slogans was "the world says no to war." Solidarity framing is associated with internationalist views, and seeks to present unity with Iraqi and Afghan people. Activists who deployed the rights frame emphasized opposing the war in terms of violations of human rights, or attacks on civil liberties (e.g., opposing the PATRIOT Act). This appealed to activists working in different movements who were concerned with human rights and served to draw in constituents (Carty and Onyett 2007). Finally, anti-racist frames drew attention to the impact the war and national security policies had on people of color, especially, people of Middle Eastern dissent. The specific practices and policies that were opposed by anti-racists often characterize neoliberal rollout.

Strategic necessity frames. Leading up to the start of the Iraq war, a debate emerged in the popular discourse over whether or not an invasion of Iraq and regime change were sound ideas, which I categorize as strategic/necessity frames. One should note that these frames are not always consistent with one another, and originated from different segments of the AWM. The Bush administration's case for war rested on the assumption that Iraq posed a threat to the US, and possessed weapons of mass destruction. The AWM deployed a counter frame that Iraq was not a threat and did not have weapons of mass destruction. For example, former weapons inspector, Scott Ritter was cited in documents making this point before the invasion (Global Exchange 2003; Khalil and Ucelli 2002). As the occupation wore on, this claim was later confirmed by the absence of such weapons.

Others in the AWM argued that the Iraq War was counterproductive to the War on Terror. Organizations and individuals who supported the invasion of Afghanistan and the broader War on Terror, but opposed the invasion of Iraq often made these claims. They argued that there was not a significant link between the regime of Saddam Hussein and Al-Qaida, led by Osama Bin Laden. In other words the Iraq war was a distraction from the more legitimate and necessary global War on Terror. Another commonly used prognostic frame related to the "problem" of Saddam Hussein's alleged stockpile of weapons of mass destruction, where AWM participants called for more weapons inspections in Iraq. Several organizations and participants in the February 15 protest opposed unilateral and preemptive attack on Iraq, arguing that doing so would alienate the US from the rest of the world. In some cases, individuals argued for UN approval, or a more international force to intervene. Closely related to this frame is the characterization of the war on Iraq as a violation of international law or as a war crime. As I will explain later, others commented on the financial cost, which would burden federal, state, and municipal governments.

Causality frames. The AWM also made an effort to explain the origins of the war on Iraq, most of these were linked to political-economic aspects of society, with a notable exception which pointed to personality characteristics of George W. Bush. An imperialism frame continued through several organizations. The imperialism frame is rooted in an ideological position, which views the US as an imperial power motivated by geostrategic incentives and the need to secure resources and open markets.[23] Another explanation, directly related to the imperialism frame pointed to the neoconservative

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[23] This often includes references to neoconservatives, the Project for a New American Century, and the National Security Strategy of the United States. (aka the Bush Doctrine)

ideology and corporate connections that existed in the Bush administration. Activists

coupled this frame with the corporate power frame, which I discuss in much more detail

below, and may have diffused from the global justice movement via movement

crossovers (Reese et al 2010). Oil is by far the most readily accepted and deployed frame

used to explain the Iraq war, hence the slogan "No Blood for Oil." Klandermans (2010)

presents findings from the International Peace Protest Survey (IPPS), related to attitudes

toward the war in Iraq, and finds on the question, "The USA wants to invade Iraq to

secure national oil supply," the mean score given by US respondents was 4.2 (with 1

being "completely disagree," and 5 being "completely disagree"). This is closely linked

to the war profiteer frame attached to corporations that assisted the invasion, and

occupation. The most individualistic frame was what I call the *crazy cowboy* frame,

which individualized the Iraq war, rooting the conflict in the mental health and

intelligence of George W. Bush.

The framing repertoire of the AWM was quite broad. Embedded within it is a

master frame which challenges neoliberalism. Below I address how this emerged in terms

of the AWM acting as a continuation of opposition to neoliberal globalization, connected

the war to domestic spending cuts, and exposed corporate agency behind the war.

Opposition to Neoliberal Globalization

Globalization did not end on September 11th, neither did the Global Justice

Movement. The continued opposition to globalization reveals the importance of situating

movements within the context of existing social relations and contexts. Equally important

is the looming collective memory and identity of subaltern groups of previous

movements. Klandermans (2010b) found opposition to neoliberal globalization

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embedded in opposition to the Iraq war in each country in his comparative study, including the United States. However, Klandermans cautions that opposition to neoliberal globalization was just one among many sentiments feeding the mobilization of protestors on February 15. On the other hand, both the GJM and the AWM effectively appropriated a passage by neoliberal apologist, Thomas Friedman, who famously wrote, "The hidden hand of the market will never work without a hidden fist. McDonald's cannot flourish without McDonnell Douglas, the designer of the F-15. And the hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technologies to flourish is called the US Army, Air Force, Navy and Marine Corps" (Friedman 1999:8). In many respects anti-imperialist framing of globalization found fertile ground to be rearticulated by the AWM.

Opposition to neoliberal globalization emerged across the AWM. One leaflet distributed by NION (2003b), included sections related to opposing the war in Iraq, but also prominently included a section on the global economy. It read as follows:

> The Global Economy: Who's Winning and Who's Losing?
> The gap between the world's rich and poor is growing, and the disparity is being built on environmental degradation, sweatshop and child labor, and global political manipulation by gargantuan trans-national corporations like ENRON. (P. 1).

As I discussed in chapter IV, environmental degradation and labor rights were key aspects of GJM framing. One should also note the use of Enron as a signifier of corporate corruption and crony capitalism.[24] Individuals participating in the February 15th 2003 protest also pointed to cultural globalization. As one respondent stated, "I believe the war against terrorism is an excuse for the U.S. to reinstate cultural dominance of globalization. We need to ask why Islamic culture is so angry with us" (Media,

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[24] During the collapse of Enron, crony capitalism, and price manipulation, which was the result of deregulation in the industry, came under scrutiny in the US.

Movements and Politics Research Group 2003). Another respondent characterized opposition to the Iraq war as an expression of resistance to globalization, stating, "Opposition to neo-colonialism and regime change for oil profits for the obscenely rich. This protest is part of the fight against globalization and a voice for fair trade, living wage and constitutional freedoms at home" (MPRG 2003). Another example comes from United for Peace and Justice (UFPJ), one of the major national coalitions that drafted a "Strategic Action Plan" in 2004, which prioritized opposition to neoliberal globalization. It reads, "Resisting corporate globalization – the economic face of empire-building – while strengthening the ties between the global justice and anti-war movements" (UFPJ 2004:1). Neoliberal globalization was a significant aspect of the broader neoliberal agenda, but the AWM also opposed neoliberalism in a domestic context, linking it to critiques of war and militarism.

Opposition to Neoliberal Rollback

Throughout history, antiwar and peace movements pointed to the costs of war at the expense of resources that could be used to address domestic social problems. The AWM did not differ in this sentiment, but the neoliberal context did. The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq occurred after decades of global and domestic neoliberal policies. Cuts in spending were occurring independently from the context of war, but were linked in the day-to-day experience of people in the US. The context of neoliberalism is exemplified by major victories for neoliberals, which were implemented in the 1990s and early 2000s, which severely weakened the entire progressive social movement sector. These include, among others, the enactment of NAFTA in 1994; the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act (PRWOA) in 1996; and the Bush tax-cuts of

2001. The drive toward war in Iraq, which would be incredibly expensive, was especially

incendiary for individuals that opposed the neoliberal agenda of cutbacks and

privatization. Here, the AWM added aspects of anti-neoliberal framing to the existing

frame of the movement in a poignant example of frame extension.

The impact of budget cuts for social services and programs hit city governments

especially hard. On April 29th 2003, UFPJ organized a rally to oppose New York City

Mayor Michael Bloomberg's proposed budget cuts which would result in layoffs and

reductions in social services. This rally, which was not of major importance for the AWM

as whole, exemplifies how the AWM framed its resistance to neoliberal rollback. In a

UFPJ New York press release on the rally, UFPJ co-chair Leslie Cagan is quoted saying,

"We are marching for peace around the world and justice in our city, highlighting the

connections between military spending and budget cutbacks" (UFPJ 2003:1). The press

release goes on to mention its theme, "Bombs Away, Our Cities Pay." These connections

would play a key role in the framing repertoire of the AWM, which tried to build

alliances through persuasion, a key strategic component of hegemony.

In another case, Cities for Peace (CFP) voiced both opposition to the war and

opposition to budget cuts for cities. CFP (2003) described themselves as "a resource and

outlet for municipal actions, and campaigns aimed at promoting peace and prosperity for

all at home and abroad" (p. 1). In their draft resolution that they provided as a template

for activists, they confronted neoliberal rollback by calling for an "Excess War Profits

Tax." CFP raised the issue of how the burden on the federal and local governments who

"…are paying for war and tax cuts by cutting such vital programs as education, child

care, Medicaid, public safety, infrastructure development, and food stamps programs"

(Cities for Peace 2003:1). CFP drew attention to the shifting of the costs of the war from the corporations that benefit from it to cities and taxpayers citing the fact that George W. Bush requested 74 billion dollars to pay for the first six months of the war.

From the local to the national, parts of the AWM attacked neoliberal rollback. An Editorial in War-Times (2003) focused on the victims of cutbacks. The authors state:

> The people in this country are also being crunched by Bush's bloated military budget and tax cuts for the wealthy. Combined with the economic slowdown, these have caused the deepest budgetary crises of U.S. states and cities in 50 years. Cutbacks, from public education to Medicaid, are ravaging seniors, children and the poor. Bush is pressing anti-abortion, anti-environmental and anti-union policies, even as he provides new tax breaks and huge government contracts to his corporate cronies. (P. 5)

Another major organization in the AWM, the International ANSWER coalition, even described itself in relation to neoliberal rollback. A website for their Vote No War Campaign read, "VoteNoWar.org is a project of International A.N.S.W.E.R. (Act Now to Stop War & End Racism), a national network of tens of thousands of individuals and groups who believe that money should be spent on jobs, health care, schools, child care and human needs and not on war" (Votenowar.org 2003:1). ANSWER also argues that the Bush administration is cutting services, "Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld, Wolfowitz and company are planning to send tens of thousands of young GIs to kill and be killed in another war for Big Oil. Simultaneously, the Bush Administration is diverting billions of dollars to feed military conquest and away from jobs, education, healthcare, childcare and housing " (p. 1).

Even sections of the AWM that are the more religious and retained pacifist views, such as the Peace and Justice Support Network of the Mennonite Church USA, who released a statement immediately following the invasion of Iraq that included the issue of

prioritizing the use of resources for human needs rather than war. They first mourned the

loss of life and called for peace, while condemning "the use of our tax money for

destruction rather than for human needs" (Schraq 2003:1). These statements and actions

are a classic example of the process of frame extension Snow and Benford 2000), and

represent how the AWM attached budget cuts to their general opposition to the war in

Iraq in order to draw individuals into the movement.

Opposition to Neoliberal Rollout

The antiwar movement was also confronted with a dramatic expansion of state

power to increase the surveillance of and imprison citizens. In line with scholars of

neoliberalism who focus on the expanding disciplinary and punitive aspect of

neoliberalism (Wacquant 2009), the increased size of judicial and policing aspects of the

state after September 11, also provided the AWM an opportunity to confront the

neoliberal Centaur state. Along with the emergent government agencies such as the

Department of Homeland Security, policies and practices where put in place that

increased the size of the state. The most famous case of this was the PATRIOT Act,

which was framed in the same terms as other criminal justice or homeland security

measures.

One of the major coalitions, Not in Our Name (2003c) made the case that these

policies were not implemented to protect the population but rather to control the

population, through practices that aspects of the AWM argued were violations of

constitutional rights.

> In our name, the government has brought down a pall of repression over
> society…The so-called USA PATIOT Act—along with a host of similar measures
> on the state level—gives police sweeping new powers of search and seizure,
> supervised, if at all by secret proceedings before secret courts. (P. 2)

The effects of capitalism, neoliberal rollback, and neoliberal rollout are all racialized. In the context of the mass imprisonment of people of color, which accompanied the ascendance of neoliberalism, increased power to arrest and imprison people intimately tied to neoliberalism.

Corporate Domination, Oil, War Profiteers, and the Bush Administration

One of the most common frames in the movement pointed to the existence of massive oil reserves beneath Iraq, and the natural gas in the Caspian region. Several organizations claimed several US based corporations would benefit from the invasion of Iraq, and even provided the impetus for the invasion to go forward. As discussed in the previous chapter, the GJM was explicitly anti-corporate and some sections attributed blame to corporate actors for the rise of neoliberal trade and lending policies. In the case of the AWM, blame was attributed to specific types of corporations with close ties to the Bush administration, specifically the energy and defense industry. In fact, the following list contains corporations, which were specifically named in documents. These corporations include: Bechtel, Haliburton, Enron, BP-Amco, Chevron, Exxon-Mobil, UNOCAL, Kellogg Brown and Root, Intelstat, TRW, Northrop Grunman, Boeing, Raytheon, United Defense Industries, L-3 Communications, Lockheed Martin, and General Dynamics. Most of these corporations listed are either defense contractors or energy companies. Some were listed because of known ties to the Bush administration.

Some organizations made broad claims indicting whole industries and the Bush administration. Direct Action to Stop the War (2003), a San Francisco based organization called for protesters to target oil companies and arms manufacturers. ANSWER (2002)

framed the connection between Bush major corporations and oil as follows in a call for

the October 26th 2002 protests they helped organize:

> There won't be a real national debate on a planned invasion of Iraq until the people are in the streets. We can't leave it to the military establishment to decide when and how they will go to war and to define the debate. We must tell Bush and his corporate and Big Oil patrons that we will not allow this to happen. (P. 2)

War Times echoed this sentiment in a leaflet they distributed, composed by Dayaneni and

Wing (2002): "Big Oil also dominates the Bush administration. The President, Vice

President Dick Cheney and almost all the top ranking officials in the administration have

been top corporate oil executives or have longstanding ties to the industry" (p. 1). The

leaflet goes on to describe the connections members of the Bush administration have to

the oil industry, such as Vice President Dick Cheney's connections to Halliburton, and

National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice's connections to what was then called the

Chevron Corporation. In the first issue of *War Times* (2002), they draw broader

connections "At the highest level, the Bush administration weds the most powerful

conservative and rightwing groups in the country: big oil (Bush and Cheney), the

Christian right (Attorney General Ashcroft), and the military industrial complex (Defense

Secretary Rumsfeld and Secretary of State Powell)" (p. 2). Even the environmentally

focused Greenpeace (2003) sought to expose these connections by stating, "oil runs deep

in the Bush administration" (p. 1). Global Exchange, shifted its focus to the AWM and

called for a week of action against "Bechtel and the Corporate Invasion of Iraq" as well

as protests at a Halliburton shareholders meeting. After the two-year anniversary of the

invasion, Global Exchange stated in a pamphlet, "The only winners so far are Halliburton

and other war profiteering companies" (Global Exchange 2005:1).

Participants in the February 15 protest also made these connections. The two examples from IPPS illustrate this: "I believe US administration is bullying the world into accepting war in Iraq for corporate interests - greed - oil, dominance etc. I truly believe we -as a global community - should do all we can to avoid war and to seek peaceful solutions." Another protest participant stated, "I believe nothing comes from going to war, besides unnecessary deaths along with Cheney's company getting a lot of money. I still believe a peaceful resolution can be reached, with the help of the United Nations the Bush Administration's action."

Opposing the free market transformation of Iraq via contracts to transnational corporations received attention from the start. Perhaps the best known and cited is the work of Naomi Klein who labeled the head of the Provisional Authority, Brenner, as a "one man IMF" (2008). This label makes direct connection between resonant framing that lingered from the GJM targeting neoliberal globalization, and the occupation of Iraq. Many organizations with connections to the GJM raised similar critiques. For example, Global Exchange, a multi-issue organization that was a major player in the GJM, made connections between the invasion and corporate led globalization. Beyond the argument made by Klein, this analysis situates, "shock doctrine" within discursive social movement practice, which is contested by elites, organizations, and individuals who are at times complicit with neoliberal hegemony. The "war of position" is a battle for the "hearts and minds' of individuals outside the movement, as well as within the battlefield of civil society. The correspondence between movement claims and the *Shock Doctrine"* legitimates Klein as an organic intellectual and legitimates the framing practices of the AWM.

The AWM rode the wake of the GJM in its development of counter-hegemonic frames which emerged during the process of building the movement. The counter-hegemonic master frame deployed by the AWM is structured as follows: *The Iraq war and Afghan war exacerbate the rollback of social programs, results in a shift to a more punitive state form, and is carried out in the interest of well connected corporations.*

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I sought to explore the dominant frames of the AWM; how the AWM's framing is situated within the context of neoliberalism; and present an anti-neoliberal master frame. I presented a brief overview of the AWM's framing repertoire. I categorize these types of frames as moral/affective, strategic necessity, and causality frames. Within the AWM framing exists, which was linked to the context of neoliberalism, which is deployed via counter-hegemonic framing. These include critiques of neoliberal rollback, and demystifying concrete corporate interests and connections that make war policy possible and profitable for the dominant segment of the population. In the case of critiquing neoliberal rollback the AWM developed and deployed frames, which are discursive, that are directly linked austerity and budget cut-backs, especially at the municipal level. In the case of corporate interests, the AWM explicitly implicates and demystifies the power structure of contemporary capitalism in terms of corporation-state relationships.

In the field of peace studies and social movements, the framing of movement actors is rarely situated in the context of hegemony. My counter-hegemonic framing approach examines how movements present political opportunity structures and

economic concerns as a dialectical unity. This chapter also lends credibility to the important role movements play in debunking myths and acting as organic intellectuals who are basing their frames on evidence. This is particularly the case with Bush administration's ties to specific corporations. Often these opportunities are constrained by broad global economic forces and must be incorporated into their framing.

The finding of this chapter fill a void in peace research which often excludes the political-economic context, and adds to existing substantive knowledge of social movements during the neoliberal era. Within the AWM, activists used opposition to neoliberalism as a cultural resource, which the AWM used in an attempt to draw in potential participants and define the situation. Furthermore, the opponent of the AWM was not simply war or militarism. Rather, it was an intervention into debates on resource distribution, and worked to counter the hegemony of corporate domination of US society.

CHAPTER VI

IF CAPITAL CAN CROSS BORDERS, SO CAN WE: IMMIGRANT SPRING

IN THE CONTEXT OF NEOLIBERALISM

In the spring of 2006, a tidal wave of contention swept the nation. Across the country there were massive demonstrations, student walkouts, and intense debate on the issue of unauthorized migration. Like other movements that preceded it, such as the Global Justice Movement (GJM) and the Antiwar movement (AWM), the Immigrant Rights movement (IRM) also deployed counter-hegemonic frames that contested neoliberal hegemony. As I argued in previous chapters, The GJM and the AWM raised specific questions about the legitimacy of neoliberal hegemony and deployed frames that helped to demystify the corporate led neoliberal offensive, which utilized lending and trade institutions as well as the military strength of the United States to liberalize foreign markets. As we have seen, neoliberal institutions have sought to undermine the sovereignty of nations and liberalize labor and environmental regulations in order to restore profitability and weaken labor unions in the US. We have also seen that the spectre of terrorism and a general distrust of immigrants created a boon of opportunity for a national security state to emerge along with an immigration industrial complex that is extremely profitable (Fernandes 2007; Varsanyi 2011). In this chapter, I seek to answer the following question:

- How did the IRM incorporate the political-economic context of neoliberalism into their framing repertoire during the massive mobilizations in the spring of 2006?

The "Primavera de los Immigrantes" or Immigrant Spring as it later came to be known (Flores-Gonzáles and Gutiérrez 2010), was one of the largest waves of protest in the

United States. In over 350 demonstrations across the United States, close to 5 million people took to the streets to oppose a harsh immigration bill, H.R. 4437, *The Border Protection, Anti-terrorism and Illegal Immigration Control Act* (Wallace, Zepeda-Millan, and Jones Correa 2013). H.R. 4437 was authored by Jim Sensenbrenner, a Republican Senator from Wisconsin who also introduced the Patriot Act. H.R. 4437 passed the House of Representatives in December of 2005, and was a major point in a long history of racism, discrimination, and harassment of immigrants, which provided a threat to spur fuel for the mobilization. While some observers have used the sleeping giant metaphor to describe the mobilization of Latinos, immigrants and their allies, it is important to note that these rallies where the product of organizing which went back years, if not decades. Furthermore, simply categorizing this movement a reaction to a specific piece of legislation is a mistake (Diaz 2011). These rallies were the culmination of a rich history of struggle against anti-immigrant legislation, especially in California, and counter-demonstrations against rightist border vigilantes such as The Minutemen Project (Gonzales 2009).[25]

Before discussing my findings, it is necessary to provide an overview of the history and context of the movement. I begin by presenting several contextual factors leading up to the Immigrant Spring, paying special attention to immigration policy in the context of the neoliberal turn in both the US and in Mexico as well as Central America. As discussed in chapter II, by 2006 it was clear that neoliberalism moved from being an ideology emphasizing freedom, to being characterized by both rollout and rollback. Here, I briefly review the recent history of immigration politics in the US and outline the

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[25] The Minutemen project was an anti-immigrant vigilante organization, which organized patrols of the US-Mexico border.

impact of economic integration on the movement of people from Mexico and Central America to the United States. Second, I examine the historical rise of the IRM in terms of its relationship to the Chicano movement, prior struggles for amnesty, and opposition to Proposition 187 in California. Third, I describe the specific issues and contexts around the Immigrant Spring such as resistance to anti-immigrant vigilantes and H.R. 4437. Finally, I present dominant frames deployed by the IRM, including those that drew upon the context of neoliberalism.

Based on a triangulated research design drawing on archival evidence, interviews, and protest event data from the *New York Times*, I found that the IRM was shaped by and contested neoliberalism in the three ways. First, the IRM contested neoliberalism by emphasizing their support of worker's rights in their response to anti-immigrant scapegoating by bridging immigrant rights, human rights, and workers' rights frames. Second, the IRM deflected blame for the various social problems by pointing out the impact of neoliberal policies on these social problems and pointing to neoliberal globalization as an important factor leading to migration. In addition, the IRM deflected blame by emphasizing the economic necessity of immigrants in the US economy. Third, the IRM contested aspects of neoliberal rollout by opposing criminalization and the immigration industrial complex. Although the prison reform, restorative justice, and prison abolition movements may have been responsible for the development of these frames, none of these movements resulted in mobilizations at the scale of the Immigrant Spring of 2006. Coalitions and movements present a wide range of frames that also become sources of debate and division. Some of these debates emerged over the course of sustained activity and emerge through tactical discussions. As in previous chapters, I

utilized the counter-hegemonic framing approach to situate the framing practices of coalitions and organizations within the political-economic context of neoliberalism. The IRM has been studied by scholars hailing from a wide range of disciplines such as Latino Studies, Political Science, and Anthropology. Most critical studies of the IRM (e.g., Diaz 2011; Gonzales 2009 Navarro 2009), rightly emphasize the racial politics associated with the "browning of America," and the IRM as a coalescing Latino historic bloc standing in opposition to white hegemony. As Gonzales (2009) explains, the massive rallies and marches "constitute a counter-hegemonic moment that was made possible by the work of organic intellectuals who were able to organize what I term the Latino Historic Bloc. The *Mega Marches* were a counter-hegemonic moment because, for the first time, Latino migrants and US-born Latino were able to wield moral and intellectual leadership on the issue of migration control in civil society in the spring of 2006" (p. 33). I build upon these arguments by adding a political-economic dimension to existing critical research on the IRM, without sacrificing attention on race. In other words, the IRM was not just a Latino historic bloc, it was also a subaltern historic bloc emerging from broad concrete economic and political contradictions, which intersect with race and class. Within the framework of social movement studies, I attempt to present immigration politics as a contentious struggle over questions of both race and class, which are mutually constitutive in shaping the social order, and its neoliberal variant.

Some scholars of the IRM argue that the IRM did not provide opposition to neoliberalism and was not counter-hegemonic. I complicate these explanations by pointing to counter-hegemonic framing that existed alongside framing which was complicit with neoliberalism. While contradictions and debate are to be expected, I argue

that the counter-hegemonic and anti-neoliberal aspects of the movement deserve attention. For example, I counter Chavez's (2008) argument that the protesters in the Marches of 2006 were a capitulating to neoliberalism. Chavez states that, "When immigrants marched en masse they performed the role of citizen-subjects, but citizens of a particular sensibility: the economically contributing, entrepreneurial, government services-avoiding neoliberal citizen-subject" (p. 18). Baker-Cristales (2009) echoes this, but acknowledges that the neoliberal model of citizenship was promoted in Spanish language media rather than the protesters themselves. I argue that a significant portion of IRM framing was intended to counter the scapegoating of immigrants, specifically the blame placed on immigrants for the impact of neoliberal policies. Furthermore, it is difficult to imagine how a movement that generated the "Great American Boycott," a de facto general strike, can be considered acquiescent to neoliberal hegemony. Rather, the blame and scapegoating of immigrants, and the "Latino Threat" that Chavez describes, is an aspect of neoliberal hegemony which shifts blame and attention away from neoliberal capitalism and names immigrants, who themselves are displaced by neoliberal policies in their home countries, as the cause of social problems (Robinson and Santos 2014).[26] As Gonzales (2009), also argues "The long-term strategic goal of the *Migrante Struggle* is to challenge and transform ideological and structural conditions (racism and global capitalism) that force people to migrate and that justify state and civil society violence against them" (32 cf 1). This is the basis of the IRM's repeated framing of the economic contributions of immigrants.

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[26] Chavez (2008) describes anti-immigrant sentiment as "the Latino Threat narrative" which "posits that Latinos are not like previous immigrant groups who ultimately became part of the nation…Rather they are part of an invading force from south of the border that is bent on reconquering land that was formerly theirs (the U.S. Southwest) and destroying the American way of life" (p2).

The IRM also engaged in anti-systemic framing. In Wallace et al's (2013) research on the impact the spring 2006 protests on political attitudes; they find that being in close proximity to a large protest was associated with decreased political efficacy. In their discussion of why this occurred, they explain that the master frame of the movement was one linked to patriotism, however, they also argue that attendees were also subjected to "anti-systemic frames of radical activists" which may have undermined their belief in the possibility of change through electoral politics. In this chapter, I explore this anti-systemic, or what I call counter-hegemonic framing, with greater detail and nuance than scholars previously have. Perhaps the most important contribution is my attempt to elevate the IRM to the same status of the Global Justice Movement in terms of its legacy in contesting neoliberal capitalism. This is significant because scholars seeking to understand anti-systemic, counter-hegemonic, and anti-neoliberal movements, have largely ignored the IRM, although Robinson (2008) and Robinson and Santos (2014) are notable exceptions. This is especially puzzling considering the attention that transnational movements have received by social movement scholars and world-systems theorists (e.g., Reifer 2004; Smith 2007). For sociologists taking world-systems, world-historical, or political-economy approaches, the IRM should provide an especially interesting case, considering that it is born out of the contradictions endemic to the economic integration of the core (US) and the semi-periphery (Central America) who share a border that is used to transport capital and contain labor. It provides a transnational example of Wacquant's (2009) characterization of the neoliberal "centaur state" which organizes laissez-faire at the top of society and punishment and control at the bottom.

NEOLIBERALISM, IMMIGRATION, AND ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

Immigrants have been arriving in North America for various reasons since the beginning of the colonial period, but in terms of unauthorized migration as it is understood today, there have been significant increases in migration and the number of resident immigrants in the US, during periods of increased economic integration between the US and Central America. Immigration has become a contentious issue, which some frame as a immigration crisis. Navarro (2009) argues that, this "immigration crisis" stems from two sources. First, at its core, the immigration crises is best understood as an economic crisis stemming from neoliberal policies implemented within and between the US, Mexico, and Latin America. Second, it stems from demographic changes, often referred to as the "browning of America" occurring in the US, which engender anti-immigrant sentiment. In the contemporary context of immigration policy, most workers who chose, or are forced to emigrate, come to the United States from Mexico and Central America. As a result, immigration is a complex issue involving broad social, economic, and cultural factors in both the US and the immigrant's nation of origin (Massey 2003; Donato and Armenta 2011). Furthermore, the very notion of "illegality" is a social construct (Nevins 2002; Pontoja, Menjívar and Magaña 2008; Chomsky 2014). As (Chavez 2008) points out, "Being an unauthorized migrant, an "illegal" is a status conferred by the state, and it becomes written upon the bodies of migrants themselves because illegality is both produced and experienced" (p. 25). In addition, the increased criminalization of immigrants has created a political opportunity for vigilante groups and anti-immigrant sentiment citing the perceived threat of criminality (Nevins 2002; Chavez 2008; Massey 2003).

Neoliberal ideology in its purest form, and many neoliberal ideologues, especially the libertarian variant, actually support relaxed immigration policy and open borders. These neoliberals are consistent in their view that labor markets should be unencumbered by government regulation via immigration law. On the other hand, there are concrete difficulties in maintaining class rule in capitalist democracies, even ossified ones like the United States. Throughout the history of the United States, race has played a crucial role in preventing unified opposition to capital (Davis 1986). In the realm of social policy and the assault on the welfare state, through the creation of a racialized category of "undeserving others," neoliberals were able to build support for eliminating social protections by drawing on racist sentiment. In other words, by providing the proverbial carrot of whiteness, capitalist and neoliberal hegemony are maintained.

The US as Core of the Capitalist World-System

Understanding the IRM in the United States requires a discussion of the United States' relationship, as a core country, to Central America, a peripheral region in the global economy. To complicate matters further, the geographic proximity between the US and Central American countries, especially Mexico, coupled with economic integration impact the role of the state in terms of immigration. In response to the argument that national boundaries are no longer relevant in a globalized world, Nevins (2002) argues that states, play a gatekeeping role that "entails maximizing the perceived benefits of globalization while 'protecting' against perceived detriments of increasing transnational flows—especially unauthorized immigrants" (P. 7). Furthermore, Nevins goes on to point out that efforts to maintain this gatekeeping function are most prevalent along borders between countries with "divergent levels of socioeconomic development"

(7). Massey (2002) also argues that understanding the role of political-economic factors and immigration from a sociological perspective requires one to expand their understanding of the motivations of individuals beyond vulgar rational-choice economics, and its neoliberal biases, which posit that workers are simply selling their labor on a market to the highest bidder, who happens to be north of the border. Rather, one must examine relational factors related to the displacement and dispossession of workers in sending countries and the racialized segmented labor markets of the receiving countries. From a world-systems perspective, Massey (2002) explains the importance of these factors:

> Driven by a desire for higher profits and greater wealth, owners and managers of large firms in developed nations enter poor countries on the periphery of the world economy in search of land, raw materials, labor and markets. Migration is a natural outgrowth of the disruptions and dislocations that occur in this process of market expansion and penetration. As land, raw materials, and labor come under the control of markets, flows of migrants are generated (p. 13).

Beyond the dislocation of workers in peripheral regions, economic integration, like colonialism, creates links that act as bridges between core nations and peripheral nations. In other words, trade routes, cultural ties, and resources build an infrastructure, which facilitates the movement of people between countries that forge these economic linkages.

Economic Inequality

Economic inequality, in addition to economic integration, also contributes to the system of migration. As Aviva Chomsky (2007) poignantly states in here explanation of why modern migration is intricately linked to global inequality:

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High levels of migration are a symptom of a global economic system that privileges the few at the expense of the many. It could be called capitalism, it could be called neoliberalism, it could be called globalization, it could be called neocolonialism. As long as it keeps resources unequally distributed in the world, you're going to have people escaping the regions that are deliberately kept poor and violent and seeking freedom in places where the world's resources have been concentrated: in countries that have controlled, and been the beneficiaries of, the global economic system that took shape after 1492 (p. 188).

Economic inequality, both within and between countries, has been the hallmark of neoliberal globalization. In addition, immigrant labor in core countries has historically played an important role in the management of labor markets in core countries, especially the US. Immigrant labor has historically been used to both push down wages of workers and, in the case of the US's segmented labor market where cheap labor can be "in-sourced" from neighboring peripheral regions in order to lower labor costs.

These processes also rely heavily on the gendered nature of neoliberal capitalism. The use of immigrant labor for domestic care work produces care chains spanning international borders (Ehrenreich and Hochshield 2004; Hondagneu-Sotelo 2007; Robinson 2011). The feminization of domestic labor generates a global care chain of paid and unpaid reproductive labor has supported the standard of living that many US households, especially among affluent households. To the point, the neoliberal offensive has shifted the burden of carework onto immigrants, especially immigrant women, in what Gunduz (2013) describes as "a kind of limited recompense for the shrinking welfare state" (p 33).

The Criminalization of Immigrants

The increased criminalization of immigrants also plays a key role in the neoliberal global economy. As Nevins (2002) points out, "the rise of 'illegal immigration' and the

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criminalization of the immigrant have intersected with efforts by conservative and

neoliberal politicians and activists to redirect state resources away from redistributive

endeavors and toward those of control" (p.144). Criminalization is also profitable. In

addition, the growing enforcement apparatus, militarism, and criminalization of the

immigrant population created distinct class fractions, which benefit economically from

the creation of an immigration industrial complex (Fernandes 2007). As Diaz (2011b)

explains, "The continued criminalization of immigrant workers fuels an emerging

privately owned and maintained machine that has reaped the benefits and has grown to

unprecedented proportion" (p. 43). For Robinson and Santos (2014) racialization and

criminalization go hand in hand. They state:

> The dilemma for capital, dominant groups, affluent and privileged strata become
> how to assure a steady supply of immigrant labor while at the same time
> promoting anti-immigrant practices and ideologies. The instruments for achieving
> the dual goals of super-exploitability and super-controllability are: 1) the
> division of the working class into immigrant and citizen, and; 2) racialization and
> criminalization of the former. In this way, race and class converge. Racialization
> is an instrument in the politics of domination. (P.6)

Robinson and Santos (2014) argue that criminalization creates a super exploitable

workforce that capitalists can easily replace and control through the threat of deportation.

They further argue that the rise of for profit detention centers has created an important

source of capitalist accumulation. Most importantly, they point out that these policies,

"help turn attention away from the crisis of global capitalism among more privileged

sectors of the working class, such as middle layers in the global South or white workers

in the North, and convert immigrant workers into scapegoats for the crisis, thus

deflecting attention from the root causes of the crisis and undermining working class

unity" (p. 1).

The Mexico-US Case

I focus on the political-economic relationship between the US and Mexico, who share the southern border that many immigrants must cross. Although only about 52% of all unauthorized immigrants hail from Mexico according to the PEW Hispanic Research Center (Krogstad and Passel 2014), most of the rhetoric and mobilization focuses on Mexico and Mexican immigrants and is often generalized onto all Latinos (Chavez 2008). A focus on Mexico is also supported by the fact that during the 2006 mobilization, Mexican-American activists spearheaded most of the mobilization.

Mexico provides an illustrative case of the impact of neoliberal lending and trade policies. Mexico has been tied to the US economically and politically since the conquest and annexation of a significant amount of Mexican territory by the United States in 19th century. In recent years, Mexico was on the receiving end of externalities, which arose during the implementation of neoliberal policies in the US, such as the "Volcker Shock," which drove Mexico into default from 1982-1984, forcing Mexico to accept a program of structural adjustment from the IMF and World Bank (Harvey 2005). Another major indicator of Mexico's neoliberal shift was their entrance into the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1986. Perhaps the most important aspect of neoliberalism that has affected the relationship between Mexico and the US was the North American Free trade Agreement (NAFTA), which was formally adopted on January 1, 1994. The imposition of NAFTA had profound effects on the conditions of workers and farmers in Mexico. NAFTA was designed to liberalize trade between countries Mexico, Canada, and the US in order to facilitate the movement of commodities and capital. Paradoxically, this push toward economic integration did not apply to the movement of labor. Indeed,

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Massey (2002) points out that common selling point for NAFTA is was that it would enable Mexico to "export goods and not people" (p. 49). In reality, it did not turn out this way; rather, NAFTA had profound consequences for the population, especially rural farmers, who were forced to migrate to urban centers or north of the border. As Buff (2008) points out, "On the one hand, free trade agreements secure the mobility of capital, while the enduring clamor for immigration reform and immigrant responsibility limits the movement of people across borders and, increasingly, within the nation-state. These contradictions produce a class of semipermanently stateless low-wage workers" (p. 8). Immigration from Mexico increased dramatically after the implementation of neoliberal policies in 1985, but skyrocketed after the implementation of NAFTA, which brought about dramatic increased in trade, business visitors, and intercompany transfers, which facilitate the flow of labor as well (Massey et al 2002). Meanwhile, in the US, immigration became a highly politicized and contentious issue, resulting in various policy proposals and an emergent Immigrant Rights movement.

THE IMMIGRANT RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The IRM arose as a response to xenophobic sentiments (Hagagneu-Sotelo and Salas 2008), which is a distinct movement, yoked to other parallel movements such as the Chicano and Labor movements. Case in point, Latino and immigrant activism has existed for quite some time, and played a cumulative role in the emergence of the IRM in 2006 (Gonzales 2009). Beginning with the United Farmworkers, followed by the Chicano Student Movement, and Bert Carona's Centro De Accion Social Autonoma (CASA) in the 1960s and 1970s, leading up to the protests against anti-immigrant legislation in the

1990s, a cadre of Chicano and Latino activists was developed that had the contacts and experience to make the Immigrant Spring possible. The Chicano movement, which focused on US born Latinos, rather than immigrants contributed a template for activism within the collective memory of Latinos, along with the UFW, and student walkouts (Bloemraad et al. 2011).

The 1986 Mobilization

In 1986, the same year Mexico entered the GATT, President Ronald Reagan signed the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA). While largely ineffective, the law targeted employers of undocumented immigrants and included an amnesty program, which affected more than one million immigrants (Chavez 2008). Its goals were to reduce the number of US jobs available to undocumented immigrants; increase enforcement and deterrence, and offered amnesty to undocumented immigrants who could prove U.S. residence as of January 1, 1982 (Massey et al 2002). This was a period of intense political activity on the part of immigrant advocates such as the Catholic Church, the immergence of the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights Los Angeles (CHIRLA), the National Immigration Forum, and Hermanidad Mexicana among others, who brought "immigrant rights" into national discourse (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Salas 2008). Leading up to the IRCA of 1986, there was an upsurge in activity, including a March of 10,000 people in Los Angeles in 1984, which was, up to that point, the largest pro-immigrant protest up to that point (Rodriquez and Diaz interviewed by Robinson 2007).

Immigrant Rights Battles of the 1990s

The 1990s were especially contentious for immigrants. A series of repressive

measures that affected the day-today lives of immigrants passed at the state and federal

level. These include the California's Proposition 187, the Illegal Immigration Reform and

Immigrant Responsibility Act (IRAIIRA), and the Personal Responsibility and Work

Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA). These three policies accomplished

nationally what Proposition 187 had been unable to do in California—they definitively

barred undocumented migrants from Social Security coverage and means-tested

programs" (Massey et al 2002:96). At the Federal level, Congress enacted IRAIIRA,

which made it more difficult for undocumented immigrants to change their status,

streamlined the process of deportation decisions, and expanded the list of criminal

offenses punishable by deportation (Chavez 2008; Cho 2008). Although, employers

could easily provide false social security numbers (Chavez 2008). In addition, the

IRAIIRA emphasized deterrence more than other legislation, such as the IRCA of 1986,

by freeing up funds for the construction of border fencing in San Diego, military

technology, and the hiring of additional Border Patrol agents (Nevins 2002). As a result,

the passage of IRAIIRA represented a policy shift toward the criminalization of

immigrants.

In 1994, California voters passed an exceptionally anti-immigrant Proposition

187, which barred undocumented immigrants from health and educational service

(Gonzales 2009). Capitalizing on a dominant frame of criminality and austerity the "Save

Our State" measure represented a mobilization of political whiteness which set the stage

for struggles which took place a decade later (Hosang 2010). However, Prop 187 did not

pass without opposition, its passage was met by mass walkouts by thousands of students

in colleges and High Schools throughout California, calling the measure racist (Ayers

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1994). As a movement consequence, the mobilization against Prop 187 produced "battle-tested leadership and organizational skills in conducting walkouts, running voter registration drives, and labor and community organizing (Gonzales 2009:36- 37). These massive rallies and walkouts occurred across the state, including a rally in downtown Los Angeles, were composed of a range of immigrant groups and allies, which drew 70,000 people along with the largest school walk-outs since the Chicano movement (Bloemraad et al. 2011). One speaker, Joe Hicks of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told the crowd that "We've got to send a message to the rest of the nation that California will not stand on a platform of bigotry, racism and scapegoating" (quoted in Ayers 1994:A1). The wave of contention produced around Proposition 187 would provide a rehearsal for the Immigrant Spring (Flores-Gonzalez and Gutierrrez 2010).

Closely following Prop 187 at the federal level, PRWORA, or the Welfare Reform Act was primarily implemented to "end welfare as we know it" by shifting cutting welfare benefits for poor families and children, it included language which targeted immigrants. It restricted access to food stamps, and social security income for legal immigrants (Bloemraad et al. 2011). For undocumented immigrants, it reinforced existing laws, which denied any federal assistance, with the exception of disaster relief and accomplished much of what Prop 187 could not (Chavez 2008). There was also resistance to PRWORA in the immigrant rights community, including the construction of a human rights frame, such as "immigrant rights are human rights" (Fujiwara 2005).

September 11th as Turning Point

September 11, 2001 also caused shifts in immigration policy, and defined immigrants as a threat to national security. Shortly after September 11, the TSA required

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that all workers be American citizens, which sparked rallies and demonstrations in support of airport workers. The PATRIOT Act, and the Enhanced Border Security Act increased enforcement, the militarization of the border, increased the capacity of detention centers, and denied undocumented immigrants driver's licenses (Cho 2008; Fernades 2007). September 11, dealt a severe blow to the aspirations of citizenship or even amnesty, which were long-term goals of the IRM (Bloemraad et al. 2011).

The Role of Labor Unions

Organized labor has not historically had a friendly relationship with immigrants, even claiming at times that immigrants suppress the wages of US born workers (Shaw 2011). This began to change with the Justice for Janitors campaign organized by the SEIU, especially in Los Angeles in the 80s and 90s (Milkman 2006). After successfully organizing immigrants, the AFL-CIO shifted its position after independent organizations such as UNITE HERE and the SEIU, had increased success in organizing undocumented workers. As Hondagneu-Sotelo and Salas (2008) point out, "Overnight, immigrants went from being seen as organized labor's nemesis and lower wage competitor to becoming part of organized labor's winning card" (p. 216). Eventually the AFL-CIO launched their Immigrant Workers Freedom Rides in 2003, which was intended to influence congress to support immigrant rights (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Salas 2008). The freedom rides were launched by a coalition of unions, specifically UNITE-HERE and the SEIU, along with religious groups, students, immigrant rights, and community groups. The freedom rides carried 900 activists on buses to ten major cities, laying important groundwork for the Immigrant Spring (Shaw 2011).

Minutemen and Vigilantes

Anti-immigrant vigilantes were an important part of the IRM's conflict system. The Minutemen Project helped provide a spark for the coalescence of coalitions concerned with nativism and anti-immigrant hysteria. Founded by Jim Gilchrist in 2004, as a citizens patrol of border regions, the Minutemen Project had the following goals: "draw attention to 'illegal immigration' and the lack of border security; (b) reduce the number of apprehensions along the border where the group monitored; and (c) influence the US Congress to put an ten-year moratorium on illegal immigration and cap the number of legal immigrants at 200,000 per year." (Chavez 2008:136). The Minutemen pointed blame to immigrants for the emergence of various social problems in American society, but also pointed blame to neoliberal policies, such as NAFTA, which they argued undermines national sovereignty (Molina 2011). The Minutemen were met with counter-demonstrators from the IRM in exceptionally contentious actions. These counter demonstrations, especially those in Southern California, including individuals that would take on key positions in the March 25th coalition, where activists disrupted the activities of armed members of the Minutemen and Save Our State. These actions helped solidify a core of activists in California who formed a strong bond based on their mutual involvement in this high-risk activism.

H.R. 4437 AND THE RISE OF IMMIGRANT SPRING

The unprecedented protests of 2006 emerged in response to H.R. 4437 which "would in effect criminalize undocumented immigrants or make it a felony to be in the United States illegally and would add more miles of fencing along the Mexican-US

border" (Pontoja et al. 2008:499). In addition, H.R. 4437 increased penalties for hiring undocumented workers, made the very act of living in the US without documentation a felony (Chavez 2008), in effect turning 12 million residents into felons with a stroke of a pen (Cho 2008). The most contentious aspect of the bill was that it not only criminalized undocumented immigrants, it also criminalized anyone who assisted them, such as churches, medical professionals, and charitable organizations (Chavez 2008). As a result, the entire Latino and Chicano alliance system, from Chicano nationalist groups and advocacy networks, to church groups mobilized in oppositions to the bill (Akers Chacon and Davis 2006). These demonstrations were some of the largest and most widespread protests in the history of the US, with the largest two occurring in Los Angeles at 500,000-1,000,000 on March 25th 2006, and the Great American Boycott on May 1st 2006. Nationwide, nearly 5 million protesters mobilized in 150 cities (Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars 2007). In addition to the massive marches, thousands of youth from high schools took to the streets inspired by the HBO film *Walkout* (Olmos 2006), which depicted Chicano student protests in of the early Chicano movement. These walkouts were significant in that they "represented the most natural, militant and volatile sector within the movement" (Gonzales 2009:44). In addition, these demonstrations were, "characterized by an agenda that centers on immigrant rights but also relies on them as a platform for engaging questions of human rights, civil rights, and workers' rights that concern most Latinos and working-class communities of color (Palleres and Flores-Gonzalez 2010:xxii).

Major IRM Demonstrations

   The IRM organized extremely large demonstrations around the country. Due to

how short of a period of time the Immigrant Spring took place in, a chart presenting the

size of protests, as I presented in chapters IV and V, would not be ideal. Rather, in figure

6.1, I present the frequency of IRM protest events in a given month as reported in the

New York Times. As one can see, in figure 6.1 the IRM has been relatively active for

quite some time, and peaked nationally in April of 2006. In the paragraphs that follow, I

describe the scale of major events in more detail.
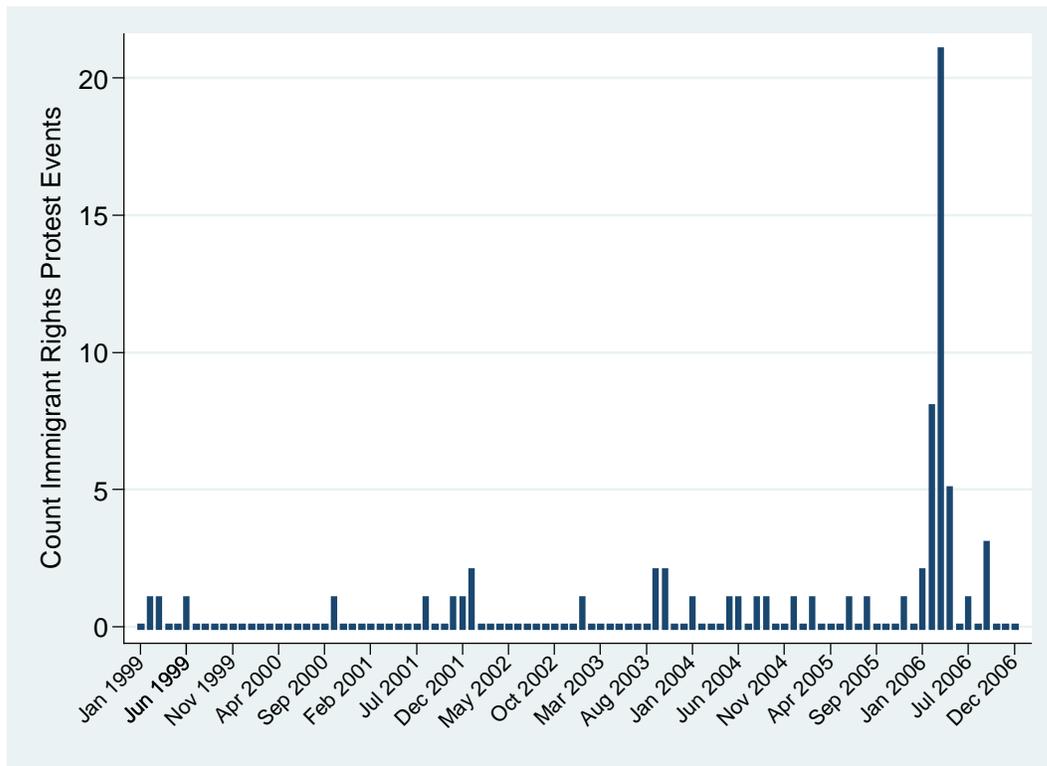
Figure 6.1. IRM Protest Events 1999-2006

On March 10th, 2006 the streets of Chicago were flooded with protesters voicing

their opposition to H.R. 4437 in one of the more diverse protests which included Polish,

Filipino, and Korean immigrants (Flores-González and Gutiérrez 2010), in one of the

first major demonstrations, which was followed by the March 25th mobilization in Los

Angeles, the April 10th day of action where over 100 cities held "record breaking" rallies

(Cho 2008:104), and the May 1st "Great American Boycott."

La Gran Marcha. The largest of these rallies was the March 25th protest, also called La Gran Marcha, in Los Angeles where 500,000 to 1 million people attended. La Gran Marcha was initiated by a coalition of immigrant rights activists, many of whom knew each other from counter-protests against the Minutemen Militia in Campo California in 2005. In a textbook example of resource mobilization, the *March 25th Coalition* as they eventually called themselves, had a million fliers made through a contact with a printing service which contained slogans opposing racism and supporting family unification, human rights, and workers' rights (Diaz interview). Most importantly, the March 25th Coalition gained support from Spanish speaking DJs who granted air time to activists who were able to explain what the impact of H.R. 4437 would be (Baker-Cristales 2009). The long history of activism, and the use of communications technology, especially sympathetic Spanish language radio DJs were key resources that the movement drew upon (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Salas 2008; Marquez and Jennings 2001; Diaz 2011).

April 10th 2006. April 10th was the mass "National Day of Action for Immigrant Rights, which resulted in events in 120 cities. Yet it occurred "everywhere but LA (Diaz Interview), which was "ground zero" for the movement (Pulido 2007). The April 10th action was coordinated by the National Capital Immigrant Coalition in Washington DC, one of the moderate organizations which pushed for patriotic imagery and framing in their fliers, which I discuss further below. In calculations compiled by Bloemraad, Voss, and Lee (2011), The April 10th demonstrations drew 180,000 protesters to Washington D.C., 100,000 to New York and Pheonix, 75,000 to Fort Meyers Florida, and thousands

of protesters to several other cities. In the *New York Times* report, McFadden (2006) reports that a demonstration as large as 500,000 thousand occurred in Dallas.

　　Great American Boycott. May 1st 2006, was a major protest which used the tactic of non-compliance, and especially work stoppages in a major political statement. In fliers produced by the March 25th Coalition, they argued that immigrants and their supporters should highlight their contributions to society with "No Work, No School, No Buying, No Selling…" (March 25th Coalition 2006). Many observers and supporters dubbed the protest, "A Day Without an Immigrant" after the 2004 mockumentary *A Day Without a Mexican* (Baker- Cristales 2009)*.* Boycotting work posed significant risks, and became a point of debate between two wings of the IRM (Cho 2008). The moderate wing, composed of NGOs and unions which opposed the boycott, cited the risk of losing jobs, and created a "We Are America" rally which took place later in the day (Baker-Crisales 2009). Others such as Angela Sanbrano of CARECEN, members of the UFW, and the National Council of La Raza feared a backlash against migrant communities (Gonzales 2009).

Major Organizations and Coalitions

　　Several major coalitions were involved in the organizing of these rallies. Some of these coalitions were relatively new, while others drew upon years of experience organizing on behalf of immigrants in some capacity. The major national organization was the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (NNIRR), which had a history of organizing. NNIRR largely played the role of grassroots think tank (Hondagneau-Sotelo and Salas (2008). Founded in Oakland, NNIRR seeks to "promote a just immigration and refugee policy in the United States and to expand the rights of all

immigrants and refugees, regardless of immigration status" (NNIRR 2002:2). NNIRR has existed informally since the 1970s and coalesced into NNIRR in 1986 at a National Conference on Immigrant Rights, which was followed by the passage of the IRCA, creating a political opportunity for NNIRR and the broader immigrant rights movement. NNIRR has been engaged in a wide range of campaigns including opposition to welfare reform, Prop 187, Immigrant voter drives in 2004, opposition to the Minutemen Project, and in 2006 helped mobilize people for the Immigrant Spring, and coordinated a National Statement for Fair and Just Immigration Reform in response to H.R. 4437 (NNIRR 2011).

By far the most important of the emergent coalitions was the March 25th Coalition which played a leading role strategically in Los Angeles, but also influenced mobilizations across the country. The March 25th Coalition emerged out of ties that were forged in counter-demonstrations against the Minutemen Militia and Save Our State. Grew out of La Tierra es de Todos and Placitas Olivera (Diaz 2010).

Also in Los Angeles, Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights Los Angeles (CHIRLA), was a major coalition which did not initially take a role within the March 25th Coalition, but brought large amounts of resources to the table once they did. The, formed in the wake of organizing around the IRA and the Amnesty provisions enacted during the Reagan administration. CHIRLA's mission is to "advance the human and civil rights of immigrants and efugees in Los Angeles, promote harmonious multi-ethnic and multi-racial human relations and through coalition-building, advocacy, community education and organizing, empower immigrants and their allies to build a more just society" (CHIRLA 2005:1). Angelica Salas, a leading figure in CHIRLA, was seen as a

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spokesperson for the immigrant rights movement in Los Angeles.

In addition to CHIRLA, perhaps the longest standing organization in Southern California was La Hermanidad Mexicana Nacional. La Hermanidad was originally founded as part of CASA in San Diego in the 1950s to protect Mexican immigrant (Pulido 2006) Directed by central movement figure Nativo Lopez, who also served as president of the Mexican American Political Association in 2006, La Hermanidad identified itself as a nonprofit and nongovernmental organization of families of immigrant workers.

While the National Immigrant Solidarity Network (NISN) was national in scope, most activity centered on Southern California. They described themselves as "a coalition of immigrant rights, labor, human rights, religious, and student activist organizations from across the country. We work with leading immigrant rights, students and labor groups. In solidarity with their campaigns, and organize community immigrant rights education campaigns. From legislative letter-writing campaigns to speaker bureaus and educational materials, we organize critical immigrant-worker campaigns that are moving toward justice for all immigrants! (NISN 2006:1)

Although labor played an important role, much of the shift toward a pro-immigrant stance on the part of the AFL-CIO was driven by the SEIU and UNITE HERE as I describe above. It is important to note that labor arrived fairly late on the scene in 2006, but after significant attention, labor began to take a more prominent role, which many organizers in the March 25th coalition saw as an attempt to co-opt the movement. However, this does not diminish their important role in the IRM as a whole. Labor also found themselves as part of the moderate coalition, or faction, which was composed of

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the Catholic Church and mainstream Latino organizations (Flores-González and Guteiréz 2010).

As they did in the GJM and AWM, the American Friends Service Committee, was also active in the IRM. In terms of immigration, AFSC "supports the rights and dignity of all people, regardless of legal status. Through its immigrant rights initiative, Project Voice, the Service Committee combines local and national work to strengthen the voices of immigrant-led organizations in setting the national agenda for immigration policy and immigrants' rights.

THE FRAMING REPERTOIRE OF THE IMMIGRAT RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The IRM engaged in a range framing that countered anti-immigrant sentiment by emphasizing the quality of life that immigrants experience, frames related to movement strategy, and frames that were contextualized by neoliberalism and the US political-economy. I examine each of these, which I present in table 6.1, in turn.

Quality of Life Frames

In what I categorize as framing related to quality of life, I include framing which attempts to clarify the hardships immigrants face such as being separated from families, being considered "second class citizens", and opposing racism and discrimination experienced by immigrants.

Family Unification. One of the most salient issues for the immigrant rights movement was the notion that increased enforcement would destroy families, or that one of the goals of the IRM was to keep families together (Bloemraad and Trost 2011). Along the lines of Snow and Benford's (2000) concept of frame amplification, the IRM

amplified their "family values" in order to gain empathy and support from the general public. Several fliers, distributed by different organizations, brought up the demand to "reunite families" such as the CHIRLA, the March 25th Coalition, The National Immigrant Solidarity Network, NNIRR, and the April 10th Coalition, who argued that immigration policy "rips families apart" (April 10th Coalition 2006).

Table 6.1. Immigrant Rights Movement's Framing Repertoire

Quality of Life Framing	Strategic Framing	Anti-neoliberal and Political-Economy frames
Relates to day-to-day experiences of immigrants in the US.	Refers to framing that takes various positions on strategic matters facing the movement ranging from identity to action	Frames that center on the political-economy of immigration and anti-immigrant politics.
Family Unification Emphasizes the effect criminalization has on family unity, or the need to include family unity in any reform efforts. *Citizenship* Citizenship and the benefits associated with it, as well as vulnerability form lacking it impacts the lives of immigrants *Racism/Discrimination* Racism and discrimination is a problem faces by immigrants	*We are America* Identification as productive, patriotic citizens. *Electoral Politics* Efforts of the IRM should be directed at electing sympathetic politicians *Immigration reform* Frames calling for immigration reform	*Shift blame to neoliberalism* This entails shifting blame for various social problems from immigrants to neoliberal globalization. *Immigrant Contributions* Shifts blame away from immigrants by emphasizing the contributions immigrants make. *Criminalization* Criminalization is increasingly used to exploit immigrants and is a carried out by neoliberal means.

Stories of the disruption of families, also served as motivational frames, which articulated the severity of the deportations and criminalization of immigrants. To strengthen the resonance of the family frame, the IRM capitalized on events occurred over the course of the protest wave. One case was Elvira Arelleno, who evaded the Department of Homeland Security, by seeking refuge in at Adalberto United Methodist Church in Chicago, so that she could stay with her seven-year-old son who suffered various health problems (May 1st Coalition New York 2006:1). Keeping families united

was also present as part of their prognostic framing, where solutions were presented. The

pro-immigrant Fair Immigration Reform Movement (FIRM) (2006) offered family unity

as major part of their vision of what immigration reform would look like in the

following:

> Reunite Families and Reduce Backlogs. Immigration reform will not be
> successful until we harmonize public policy with one of the main factors driving
> migration: *family unity*. Currently families are separated by visa waiting periods
> and processing delays that can last decades. Comprehensive immigration reform
> must strengthen the family preference system, by increasing both the number of
> visas available both overall and within each category. In addition, the bars to re-
> entry, must be eliminated, so that no one who is eligible for an immigrant visa is
> punished by being separated from their family for many years. (P. 1 my italics)

Here, FIRM makes the case that family is an extremely important problem that makes up

the immigration issue and is worthy of attention.

Calls for keeping families united were also present at many of the demonstrations.

At one demonstration, Mario Limas Hernandez, spoke at a rally about how reuniting

families was an issue the movement was fighting for, by tying family unification with

citizenship, as (McFadden 2006) reported in the in the *New York Times:*

> Out in the crowd, many spoke about paths to citizenship, rights and protections in
> the workplace. But Mario Limas Hernandez, a mechanic, talked of another right -
> - to be with his family. He said that although he was an American citizen, his wife
> was not; she and their children had been sent home to Mexico. 'One of the rights
> of citizenship is that you get to live with your close family,' he said (p. A1).

Clearly, the separation of families played a key role in the framing of the IRM, and was

an issue that they drew upon in motivational and prognostic frames.

Citizenship. Citizenship is an essential part of immigration politics and was also a

major concern to the movement. Several organizations frequently mentioned how

immigration policy created "second class citizens" who did not enjoy the same rights as

other citizens. This was evident in a newsletter distributed by the National Immigrant

Solidarity Network (2006), where they charge that vulnerability and status were essential

problems with H.R. 4437. They write, "For the undocumented, there would be indefinite

conditional temporary status, with no extra provision made to provide a path to

permanent residence outside of a revised family and employment visa preference system.

In effect, millions of the undocumented would be consigned to a permanent second-class

status" (p. 1). UNITE HERE and SEIU (2005), point out that the lack of status results in

the lack of rights and marginalization: "But these rights and opportunities are denied

them due to their lack of immigration status and due to outdated laws, which subject

many of those here in search of the American Dream to abuse, fear, and marginalization"

(p. 1).

Racism/Discrimination. Labeling anti-immigrant policies as racist and the result

of racism was common in IRM framing. When I asked Jesse Diaz what he thought were

the roots of anti-immigrant sentiment, he responded with "Good old fashion racism."

Many in the IRM saw the movement as an antiracist movement challenging long-

standing prejudice and discrimination against immigrants and Latinos. For example, the

March 25th Coalition (2006) argued in a call for support for the May 1st boycott, "The

struggle for immigrant rights is a vital part of the struggle against racism and repression,

and for the full rights of all working people. Let's all be in the streets on May 1 in support

of the call coming from the Los Angeles March 25th Coalition Against H.R. 4437" (p. 2).

Racism was not simply a political issue. Aviva Chomsky also stated that immigrants

were experiencing concrete manifestations of racism. In an interview with her, I asked

her about the role of racism as a factor contributing to the mobilization. She explains:

It's not about inequality and discrimination in the abstract, it's about the inability of people to live their lives because of the discrimination, it's about people being shut out, people having to live in the shadow, people being forced, being unable to go to school or to get a job or being forced in…Being treated as not members of the society in which they live. It's not so much the history or theory of discrimination it's about the everyday reality of it. (Aviva Chomsky Interview)

Framing anti-immigrant legislation as racist was a way to garner support and undermine the legitimacy of the IRM's opponents and mobilize anti-racist allies. More importantly, anti-racist framing was an attempt to link the messaging of the IRM to the day-to-day experiences of potential supporters.

Strategic Frames

Within the IRM several debates about strategy emerged. While it is difficult to separate strategy from framing, there are specific types of framing which reflect these differences. Some of these frames include the "we are America" frame, an electoral politics frame, and framing surrounding the issue of immigration reform.

"We Are America." Appropriating hegemonic identities and hegemonic values to make social movement seem legitimate is a common practice (Bernstein 1997; Maney, Woehrle, and Coy 2005). Aspects of the IRM, usually the moderate wing, also used this strategy to attempt to build legitimacy for the movement. In response to anti-immigrant sentiment, many organizations and activists attempted to prove their American identity by carrying American flags, wearing white and using slogans such as, "We are America." Patriotic slogans and symbols were present across the country at demonstrations that made up the immigrant spring. As the Archibold (2006a) reports in the *New York Times*:

On a balmy spring Saturday, some wrapped themselves in the flags of a score of foreign nations, others waved the Stars and Stripes over their heads, and many did both. Some sang "God Bless America," while others chanted pro-immigration slogans in Spanish. Many pushed along strollers carrying their American-born children, living symbols of the dual identities that have made the debate over

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illegal immigration so charged.

"We came here because we love America and we want to stay here," said Liliana Melgarejo, 31, who immigrated from Argentina 13 years ago and works in Manhattan as a housekeeper. She said she and her husband had two children, both born in the United States. "My children are American. I love my country, too, but there is no future there. Here, they can be a doctor, anything." (P. A1).

The above excerpt provides a vivid example of how the movement used patriotic symbols to try to construct their identity. In another example, a website describing the April 10th Day of Action states, "Immigrant communities are coming together on April 10 to proudly declare that 'We Are America' and that immigration reform must not violate the American values that we cherish" (National Capital Immigration Coalition 2006:1). These appropriations of patriotism were also present in Spanish language fliers, a flier distributed by the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) read, "Si a la prosperidad de EEUU! [Yes to the prosperity of the USA]" underneath an image of a flag and the statue of liberty (LULAC 2006). The "we are America" framing was a deliberate attempt to undermine how immigrants and Latinos were presented as the other. In this case, immigrants and their activists wanted to present themselves as worthy, and as productive Americans. In many ways, the focus on voting and electoral politics was a way to emphasize the latent political power Latinos had to change the political landscape. It's important to note that this was not an argument for voting at the expense of protests. Rather, voting was seen as a more effective strategy that could be built out of the protests.

Electoral Politics. Several of the more moderate organizations and a few politicians pushed to channel the energy of the immigrant spring into electoral politics. At the city level, in Los Angeles, several city council members and the mayor, actually began their political careers involved in the movement, and provided allies for the

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coalitions and organizations organizing the protests. One of the central prognostic frames

that moderate organizations touted was the notion of channeling the power of the

movement to the ballot box with phrases such as "Today we march, tomorrow we vote."

As one organizer reportedly explained in relation to the May 1st Boycott, "We don't want

to hurt the United States economically…We want to show them the buying power of the

immigrant consumer. Right now, the campaign is planning a boycott and a voter

registration drive on the same day, May 1. We are flexing our economic power to gain

political power" (Oscar Sanchez quoted by Swarns 2006:.23).

Immigration Reform. The overarching demand was for comprehensive

immigration reform of some kind. What this meant for the movement, was fairly

contested and resulted in some disputes between factions pushing for amnesty, and those

pushing for a more moderate "path to citizenship." The "reform" frame also provided

space to win over centrists who supported increased enforcement of the border and

immigration. Within this debate, there was also a division over the "guest worker"

proposal, which was largely opposed by the IRM. Overwhelmingly, the main demand

that the movement made was for some kind of legalization. This took various forms

ranging from the simple slogan "No one is illegal." Ruben Arita, makes the plea in a *New

York Times* report:

> Ruben Arita, a 30-year-old illegal immigrant from Honduras who joined the
> demonstration in Washington, said he was marching for the first time because he
> wanted to push Congress to grant citizenship to people living here illegally and to
> recognize their struggles and their humanity…'We want to be legal," said Mr.
> Arita, a construction worker who has lived here for five years. "We want to live
> without hiding, without fear. We have to speak so that our voices are listened to
> and we are taken into account." (Archibold 2006b:12).

Legalization was one of the main demands of the activists in the Si Se Puede

Coalition in San Diego and the March 25th Coalition, as Elva Salinas Explains in relation

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to student activism at San Diego City College:

> I think for us, it was always legalization for everybody, and my students did all these t-shirts that said "No One is Illegal" and that was the thing, we just said that there is no such thing as an illegal person, and so my students were very adamant that, that we wanted legalization for everyone. But, what really got the biggest group of people out, and why we had the huge marches, was because we were saying no to certain things which was, they didn't want to criminalize anyone who was helping immigrants right.

While the broad call for immigration reform united the various segments of the movement, calls for legalization or even amnesty were more contentious. Through-out the documents, and according to interviews there was overwhelming support for what the March 25th Coalition referred to as "residencia permantente" [permanent residence].

Anti-Neoliberal and Political-economic Framing

The IRM drew upon the context of neoliberal globalization in order to deflect blame and mobilize potential allies, and contested the neoliberal rollout in their opposition to policies that would criminalize immigrants. Neoliberal globalization was an important context that the IRM had to navigate Long before the Immigrant Spring, in 1993 the NNIRR stated that the IRM would be navigating a new political and economic context. In a pamphlet titles *Justice Has No Borders* it reads, "The global and economic changes, accompanied by new levels of migration and anti-immigrant battering, pose unprecedented challenges to the immigrant rights movement to advocate for the human and civil rights of our communities and for new avenues of empowerment" (NNIRR 1993:2). Incorporating neoliberal globalization was important to IRM strategically. Hyunhye Cho (2008) found, "introducing an analysis of globalization and its influence on workers has proved an effective tool in deepening a common vision among groups (p. 110-111). Beyond globalization, increased restrictions and enforcement of anti-

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immigrant policy are examples of rollout neoliberalism, where the state is restructured to

discipline and control individuals in a manner that "keeps people in line with the

[neoliberal] project" (Varsanyi 2011: 301) As Varsanyi (2011) further points out,

increased nativist activism and anti-immigrant policies are themselves contestations of

neoliberalism, though not necessarily progressive. In any case, these policies are the

result of three processes.

> (1) continued neoliberal restructuring of state capacity and liberalization of trade
> and other cross-border flows, paired more recently with (2) conservative populist
> and militaristic 'rollout' policies that increasingly constrain the cross-border
> flows of labor and people and (3) shifting immigration demographics and
> settlement patterns. (P. 300).

The context of neoliberalism would become especially salient in how the IRM

responded to the impact of neoliberal trade policy, increased migration, scapegoating,

and the increased criminalization of immigrant workers.

Scapegoating: System Blame and Immigrant Contributions

Much of the framing that emerged during the protests of 2006 was concerned

with countering rightist claims about immigrants by either shifting blame to neoliberal

policies or by highlighting immigrant contributions. In the March 25th protest in Los

Angeles, protesters attempted to legitimize the presence of immigrants and "used a

largely defensive and reactive vocabulary and iconography meant to affirm that

immigrants *are not* criminals and *not* terrorists" (Baker-Cristales 2009:63). Indeed, there

was a shift within the IRM from the rights of immigrants to a focus on the essential role

they play in the functioning of the US economy, as Hyunhye-Cho (2008) argues, "The

2006 mobilizations demonstrated the potential power of the immigrant rights movement,

as well as the vital role played by immigrants in the United States" (p. 95). Because

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policy makers often blamed immigrants for draining the resources of the US economy

and social services, the IRM felt a need to combat these ideas. Both responses are linked

to the position undocumented immigrants play in the economy, and the impact of trade

policies. These include amplifying the contributions of immigrants and shifting blame to

systemic trends such as austerity, globalization, and neoliberalism. The scapegoating of

immigrants for social problems shifts the blame from policy priorities and makes it

necessary for IRM to articulate alternative narratives for the causes of these problems.

One strategy is to point out that immigrants contribute to society as producers and

consumers, the other is shifting blame to broader economic trends such as globalization.

In each case, blame for social problems is placed on immigrants, who then must shift the

blame away from themselves.

The AFSC (2006) explains the scapegoating counter frame at length, by first

exposing the notion that immigrants are being scapegoated, pointing to the policy

consequences, and the contributions of immigrants. Their Trade and Migration section of

their website reads:

> Unfortunately, people tend to look for scapegoats as they become more insecure
> about their economic livelihood and remain badly informed about the
> mechanisms behind the changing economy. The immigrant community has borne
> the brunt of the peoples' fears. In response, U.S. policymakers have:
>
> Limited access to asylum
> Increased border patrols at an unprecedented rate
> Stripped away U.S. social welfare for immigrants
> Increased workplace raids that target undocumented
> immigrants and legal residents alike.
>
> This treatment of immigrants is shortsighted policy that caters to anti-immigrant
> sentiment and fails to look at the root causes of migration. Contrary to U.S. public
> opinion, most immigrants add more to the U.S. economy than they take out. Most
> do not want to leave their homes and migrate, but feel they have no other options.
> (P.5)

Although the "mechanisms" are never spelled out explicitly, AFSC is pointing out that that the causes of the situation need to be defined. As a result, the AFSC, and the IRM, must deploy political-economic frames that clarify what these mechanisms are. In the above excerpt, AFSC points out that there is economic insecurity and many Americans are concerned about their economic livelihood. Unfortunately, immigrants, who in many ways are victims of the same economic changes that NNIRR alluded to, and serve as scapegoats. AFSC then lists the policies that have targeted immigrants, and then points out that there are "root causes," which are ignored, while immigrants actually contributing to the economy. AFSC uses both strategies of shifting blame to economic factors and pushing the contributions of immigrants to the economy. For the sake of simplicity, I will now look at each one as a separate frame, although as the above excerpt suggests, frames are not often neatly separated.

There were cases where specific mechanisms were deployed as part of the IRM's framing. The IRM developed a talking point that used corn subsidies to explain the connections between immigration and trade policy.[27] A key example was the discussion of how US corn subsidies create a situation in which US grown corn is cheaper in Mexico than corn produced by Mexican farmers, thus undermining their livelihood, which make emigration an attractive option. Other examples pointed out that the global economy benefited corporations and gave them free trade, but did not offer the same mobility to labor.

> The movement of capital and people is not treated equally. By protecting the mobility of capital without protecting the mobility of labor, "free trade" further increases the advantage of capital over labor, paving the way for migrants to be exploited. While U.S. free trade agreements provide legal flexibility for investors

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[27] David Bacon (2008) also uses this explanation in relation to economic and political turbulence in Oaxaca in 2006.

to move products, high-skilled labor, and capital across borders, workers still face legal restraints. (AFSC 2006:1).

The AFSC makes the case here that the paradox of neoliberal globalization, which allows for the movement of capital, while limiting the movement of labor, provides further advantage for capital, and suggests that corporations also benefit from this aspect of globalization.

The IRM often had to shift blame for social problems to broader economic factors. This was made extremely clear in an open letter to Lou Dobbs, a dominant media figure who assumed the role of spokesperson for anti-immigrant conservatives on his then nightly program on CNN. The May First Coalition for Immigrant Rights (2006) states, "We believe that no worker in illegal. What should be illegal are US corporate policies abroad as well as at home that force workers to leave their homelands and impoverish people in this country" (P.1). While AFSC and NNIRR were vague about the "root causes." The May 1st Coalition in New York placed blame squarely on "U.S. corporate policies," which in their view, create the circumstances that lead to migration. In an explicit attempt to shift blame the letter lists things immigrants do not do, such as, close factories, deny health care, and sign trade agreements, which are all hallmarks of the neoliberal era Then the letter lists contributions of immigrants including contributing to tax and social security revenue; working hard; and contributing to communities and the economy.

The March 25th Coalition made an explicit connection between action and words by using the boycott to undermine the perception that immigrants were a "drain on the economy." As the flier for The Great American Boycott stated, "No Work, No School, No Selling, No Buying…" (March 25th Coalition 2006). Jesse Diaz also drew on the

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these connections in arguments for the May 1st boycott, in a response to an interview

question referring to the argument for an immigrant boycott, Diaz referred to the

argument that immigrants play a negative role in the economy. He said:

> I find this whole vacuous argument about how immigrants are a drain on society, and an economic drain on society, I thought it was bullshit. Because, that's what the Minutemen were saying. Just all this anti-immigrant rhetoric was that immigrants were a drain on society. So I was like, there's no way. This was coming out of those think tanks. So I said, you know what, we need that boycott to show, based on what happened in 2003, to show that if we don't show up to work across the nation, that they are going to see just how much they need you. And they are going to see that without our help and our work, as the backbone of the workforce, there's a big possibility that we could undermine the economy in a day. Not to the ground, not to destroy it, but certainly to show that we can't do without them (Jesse Diaz Interview).

Jesse Diaz describes a process where the Minutemen were deploying a "drain on

society frame." In response, Diaz states that they are the backbone of society and

removing them from the economy would be detrimental to it.

In keeping with my description of neoliberalism as a corporate political project, I

also emphasize how the IRM was also a class mobilization (Pulido (2007). Several

organizations and coalitions made the link between immigrant rights and workers rights.

The SEIU stated in their newsletter that reported on the March 25th rally in Los Angeles

states in both English and Spanish, that "the struggle of immigrants to improve their lives

is similar to the struggle we all face. The immigration movement is part of the movement

to build the power of all working people**"** (SEIU Local 1977 2006:1). Throughout the

movement, immigrant workers, as opposed to immigrants in general were depicted as the

central subject of the movement.

Criminalization and the Immigration Industrial Complex

One the main motivators for opposition to the H.R. 4437 was the harsh punitive

and criminalizing components. By opposing the criminalization of immigrants, the IRM confronted the carceral aspects of the neoliberal state. Relating to H.R. 4437, Angelica Sanbrano of the Central American Resource Center, and one of the organizers of the March 25th demonstration in Los Angeles,

> "Imagine turning more than 11 million people into criminals, and anyone who helps them…It's outrageous. We needed to send a strong and clear message to Congress and to President Bush that the immigrant community will not allow the criminalization of our people -- and it needed to be very strong because of the anti-immigrant environment that we are experiencing in Congress. (Sanbrano quoted by Bernstein 2006:14)

As discussed in chapter II, the rise in incarceration and increased role of the penal wing of the state is highly associated with neoliberalism. In the context of anti-immigrant sentiment, in which, immigrants were labeled criminals, refuting these claims was an important aspect of the framing deployed by the IRM. In addition, there are specific aspects of an Immigration Industrial Complex. Nearly all organizations and statement made some mention of the criminalization of immigrants, which dates back to policies put into place before the H.R. 4437. Most organizations had simple to the point statements like "NO to Criminalization", others went into more detail and drew connections to the prison industry, or voiced opposition to further detentions and enforcement.

CONCLUSION

The history of the IRM can be traced to the decades before the neoliberal era. However, neoliberal globalization and rollout neoliberalism has been associated with nativist sentiment and policy. This policy climate provided a fertile context, and necessity for IRM to emerge and challenge these policies and ideas, which in fact, represent

contestations to neoliberalism from the right. Throughout the neoliberal era, various political actors blamed immigrants for various social problems, which resulted in concrete neoliberal policy initiatives such as welfare reform and H.R. 4437. In 2006, H.R. 4437 provided a catalyst, in an already contentious climate, for a rise in mobilization that produced some of the largest demonstrations in the history of the United States. Within these demonstrations, the IRM engaged in framing broadly related to the quality of life, strategy, and political economic arrangements. The research question that guided this chapter was, *how did the IRM incorporate the political-economic context of neoliberalism into their framing repertoire during the massive mobilizations in the spring of 2006?* I found the clearest connections to neoliberalism in the way the IRM deflected blame and contested the rollout neoliberalism of criminalizing immigrants. I found that the IRM responded to scapegoating in two ways, one was to highlight the economic contributions that immigrants make to the economy. The other was by deploying antisystem frame pointing to neoliberal trade policy. Assuming that Immigration policy is a perfect example of the centaur state brought about by rollout. The IRM mobilized against rollout policies enacted in order to control and discipline immigrant workers. In addition to rollout and deflecting blame, the IRM drew upon immigrant's identities and power as workers to build support for challenging anti-immigrant policies.

The findings in this chapter have broad implications for critical social movement scholars drawing on Gramscian and world-systems perspectives. It is clear that, given the scale and content of the major protest events organized by the IRM, that this movement belongs in the same category as the other major challenges to neoliberal hegemony, such

as the GJM and the Occupy movement. The IRM's counter-hegemonic framing exposed the other side of the coin that represents neoliberal trade policy and economic integration. Furthermore, in terms of the legacy of the Immigrant Spring and prospects for change the IRM played a leading role in clarifying the economic, and disruptive power, that even the most vulnerable and precarious sections of society possess.

CHAPTER VII

AN INCORPORATED COMPARISON OF ANTI-NEOLIBERAL FRAMING IN THE

GLOBAL JUSTICE, ANTIWAR, AND IMMIGRANT RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

The neoliberal era is characterized by the uninhibited dominance of capital in its

monopoly form. This cultural and economic dominance of corporate elites is best

captured using Gramsci's concept of hegemony. A presupposition of Gramsci's theory of

hegemony is that society is marked by conflict between the dominant group and subaltern

groups, where the balance of power can shift back and forth between the two warring

camps. Hegemony is not exclusively a tool to understand domination. It is also a tool to

understand resistance. Subaltern groups also must win consent and leadership, and use

whatever power they can muster to undermine the *senso comune* of the dominant group

by offering counter-hegemonic collective action frames in order to win leadership and

draw in potential cadre. In terms of social science research, some important questions

emerge from this. How can scholars examine ways that counter-hegemonic movements

organize dissent against neoliberal hegemony? I offer a synthesis of hegemony, a concept

suited to a dialectical assessment of *both* cultural and political-economic contexts, and the

framing perspective in social movement studies which is attuned to contradictory

perspectives, and waves of contention.

Beginning in the 1980s, with the elections of Ronald Reagan, and the end of the

Cold War, the triumph of the market as the best possible way to organize social life,

seemed unstoppable and uncontested until the rise of the GJM in late 1990s. As a result

of the GJM's success, critical and counter-hegemonic articulations of how the world is

and should be organized began to emerge, freeing itself from obscurity to proclaim that

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another world is possible that could be organized around human need, not corporate greed. The AWM and IRM followed suit. In this chapter, I orient my use of the counter-hegemonic framing approach into an incorporated comparison of case studies that will yield a theoretically generalizable conceptualization of movements that is more equipped to take the dynamics of capitalism into account. Specifically, I present a macro framework to make sense of meso-level activity that is modular, and illuminates the development of a counter-hegemonic master frame.

In this chapter, I seek to answer the following question: Did the GJM, AWM, and IRM develop a trans-movement master frame in opposition to neoliberalism? To answer this question I outline a "repertoire of interpretation" that each movement was able to draw from, which provides a basis for such a master frame. In previous chapters, I explored the counter-hegemonic framing of GJM, AWM, and IRM in the 2000s by examining the framing repertoires of these movements and identifying aspects of these repertoires that contested neoliberalism. Using McMichael's (1990) incorporated comparison approach; I explore the specific, yet modular counter-hegemonic framing of these movements and outline how they drew from a repertoire of interpretation specific to neoliberalism. Then I identify an anti-neoliberal master frame within this. In framing theory, social movements draw master frames from a broader repertoire of interpretation, which can be thought of as the ensemble of frames available in a given context (Mooney and Hunt 1996). I follow and extend this by comparing the anti-neoliberal framing of each movement, and presenting synthesized master frame that emerged to challenge neoliberal hegemony. Another point of departure with the previous empirical chapters, is a slightly different temporal focus, where my analysis is no longer tethered to major

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protest events, and discusses the counter-hegemonic framing of these movements in terms of a broader macro-historical episode that these movements provide a glimpse of. This entails a dramatic shift in the scope of analysis from a meso-level approach that focuses on organizations and coalitions within movements to a much more abstract macro-level examination of the movements as a whole. In sum, this chapter is intended to represent the culmination of the incorporated comparison, where after careful analysis of the parts, which made up the anti-neoliberal protest wave, we finally step back further to assess the frames of these movements as a whole and how challenges to neoliberalism emphasized US hegemony, corporate power, economic inequality, and neoliberal policy rollout.

Drawing on previous chapters, and protest event data from each movement between 1999 and 2006, I first distill the anti-neoliberal framing of each movement and examine the similarities and differences in the framing found in each movement in terms of the specific aspects of neoliberal hegemony they attempted to contest through their framing. Second, I present a repertoire of interpretation, based on similarities in the framing of each movement from which a master frame can be drawn from that is specific to neoliberalism. In order to avoid unnecessary overlap with case studies in previous chapters, I will not restate the entire framing repertoires that I found in my analyses, rather I will focus on counter-hegemonic framing that contests neoliberalism.

This multi-movement wave is presented in terms of the maximum size of protest events in a given month between 1999 and 2006. Figure 7.1 presents the largest protests in a given month, for each movement. Perhaps the most surprising aspect of this representation is that the GJM, widely regarded as the archetypal anti-neoliberal

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movement, is dwarfed by the AWM and IRM. The GJM's largest event was the Seattle

WTO protest in 1999 with 50,000 protesters. In comparison, the AWM had a protest with

400,000 and one with 500,000 thousand, while the IRM had two protest events with

500,000 reported protesters in 2006.
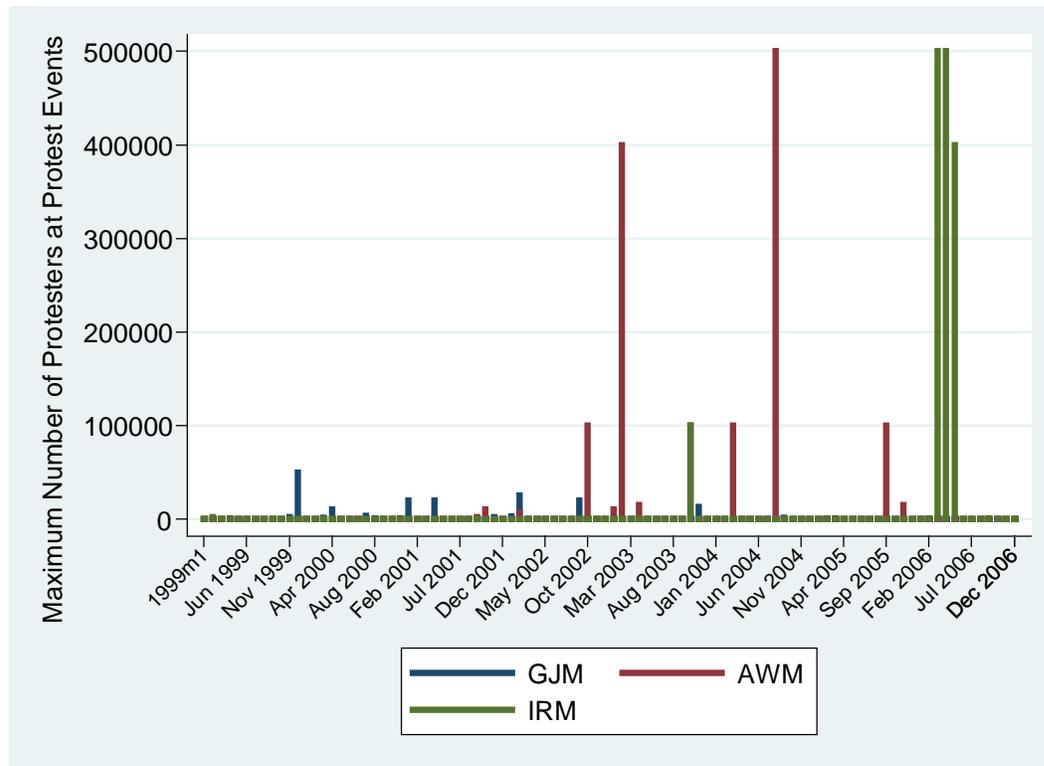
Figure 7.1. Maximum Protest event Size by Month

Before arriving at an incorporated whole related to the framing of each

movement, I first review the counter-hegemonic framing that was critical of

neoliberalism from each case study, as well as anti-neoliberal frames each movement

deployed within a given period, rather than the peaks of the protest waves.

ANTI-NEOLIBERAL FRAMES OF EACH MOVEMENT

In ethnographic content analyses of documents from each movement, I found

particular ways that each movement contested neoliberalism. First, for the GJM, I found

the following master frame: *neoliberal globalization is a corporate project that seeks to reduce environmental protections, human rights, and labor rights by eroding sovereignty in order to open markets and increase corporate profits*. This was drawn from the following categories of frames: a democratic deficit frame, social protections frame, and symptom/injustice frames. All of which were related to the WTO and the IMF/World Bank as institutions that facilitated the spread of neoliberalism.

Second, the antiwar movement incorporated the context of neoliberalism into their framing related to moral/affective framing, the strategic necessity of war, and their explanations for the causes of war. Of the three movements, there is the least variation across time, and the AWM is bound by the presence of a looming military conflict. The most explicitly anti-neoliberal framing of the AWM focused on the necessity of using resources for war in the context of domestic austerity. In addition to these there was an imperialism frame which critiqued both the heavy embeddedness of various industries that stood to gain from these wars, especially in the energy industry. These frames linked corporate power and the need for the US to expand and open markets around the globe.

Third, in the IRM, activists drew upon the context of neoliberalism in the following ways. In other periods, labor took much more of a leading role and was able to bridge class and race. However, the need to deflect blame was constant. One response was to deflect blame for wage and migration pressure on to neoliberal globalization. In addition, the IRM made a point to emphasize the importance of immigrant labor. Finally, in a contestation of neoliberal rollout, the IRM challenged the notion of illegality and articulated opposition to the criminalization of immigrants and their allies.

ANTI-NEOLIBERAL REPERTOIRE OF INTERPRETATION

These movements offered several counter-hegemonic frames to contest

neoliberalism within a wide range of viewpoints and rival frames. First, each movement

problematizes the relationship between the US and the rest of the world. Second,

corporate power and agency are identified in diagnostic framing. Third, growing political

and economic inequality emerge as central problems. Fourth, neoliberal rollout and

repression becomes a growing concern following the repression of the GJM and anti-

terrorism provisions enacted in the wake of 9-11. In sum, these make up key points of an

anti-neoliberal master frame. Table 7.1 below, presents the categories of frames that were

present in all three movements and offers examples of anti-neoliberal framing in each

movement.

Table 7.1. Anti-Neoliberal Repertoire of Interpretation and Master Frame

Anti-Neoliberal Repertoire of Interpretation				
	US Hegemony and Neoliberal Imperialism	**Corporate Power**	**Inequality**	**Neoliberal Rollout**
Global Justice	Trade and financial institutions are dominated by the US and exploit developing countries	NAFTA, WTO, IMF, World Bank FTAA and WEF are tools of multinational corporations	Neoliberal globalization exacerbates inequality	Repression faced by global justice movement was unprecedented.
Antiwar	Force, as an aspect of Imperialism is used to marketize societies.	Oil/Defense industry interlocks	War is also a war on the poor, and was bridged with anti-austerity frames.	Patriot act and national security apparatus which is also privatized in many respects.
Immigrant Rights	Neoliberal reforms imposed on central America via NAFTA create push factors for immigrants	Private immigration industrial complex	Segmented labor market, US economy depends on exploitable workforce	Criminalization of immigrants for profit

US Hegemony

The imposition of neoliberalism reforms to further US hegemony is a diagnostic

frame deployed by each movement. The United States occupies a position of hegemony

within the global world-system. This hegemony has been nearly constant for over a century, began to decline in the late 1960s (Wallerstein 2004), but has since taken on a decidedly neoliberal character. In response the GJM, AWM, and IRM have all offered explanations and articulated frames that emphasize the problematic nature of US hegemony in diagnostic framing that is specific to trade policy, military intervention, and migrant labor. These movements make the case that the neoliberal agenda was implemented by trade institutions, or through military intervention, and results in displaced populations which are pushed into a migrant labor market. For example, the GJM focuses on the role of financial institutions, the AWM focuses on the role of force and imperialism, while the IRM focuses on a shift toward a global migrant labor market. In all cases, there exists a frame that posits that neoliberalism is imposed from above by a hegemonic power: the United States.

The GJM focused attention on shifts in global trade and lending institutions, such as the shift in the IMF and World Bank from the development model of the Bretton Woods agreement to the corporate neoliberal character, all the while dominated by the US, who has majority controlling interest. This frame may have been a consequence of concerns among activists of poverty in the developing countries, and generated solidarity among activists in the US with activists the global south. Organizations such as Jubilee and the 50 Years is Enough Network, capitalized on existing unrest and protest related to debt and structural adjustment policies to build opposition within the US. US protest against the IMF and World Bank took place at the Washington D.C. locations, and included the mobilization of activists in the US. In essence, the GJM was concerned with US imperialism in its neoliberal form, which relies on global financial institutions, as

well as the military. Beyond the WTO and IMF/ World Bank, other trade intuitions and agreements were also included in the GJM's conflict system. As noted, the GJM began in many respects by contesting NAFTA, but continued to organize demonstrations at meeting places for the World Economic Forum, the G8, and the Free Trade Area of the Americas. In relation to IMF and World Bank, the Mobilization for Global Justice (2000a) further emphasized the imperial nature of neoliberal globalization. They explain in a statement that, "The IMF caters to wealthy countries and Wall Street" and asking "Is is a surprise that the IMF then uses its leverage over cash-strapped developing countries to force them to open up to powerful transnational corporations?" (P. 1). Beyond these movement specific targets, the GJM also mobilized for the Republican and Democratic National Conventions in 2000 and 2004.

Antiwar movements have seemingly always offered critiques of imperialism, but with the rise of the AWM after 9-11, US attempts to maintain global power pointed to the neoliberal character of US militarism and imperialism. The AWM explained the US quest for dominance in terms of opening markets, and imposing neoliberal shocks upon nations that ended up within the cross-hairs of the US. In addition, many saw trade, and lending policies as two sides of the same coin. To be sure, AWM critiques of US imperialism, emphasized that there was neoliberal agenda that included the privatization and marketization of foreign assets in occupied countries, as well as the full intention of carrying out a war through neoliberal means, by privatizing as much of the occupation effort as they could by hiring private armies, and contractors to carry out security and logistics functions in Iraq and Afghanistan. The antiwar movement turned attention to the openly imperialist goals of US foreign policy that was driven by neoconservatives at the

time. In sum, many aspects of the AWM's opposition to neoliberalism defused from the

GJM, but there were unique aspects of their opposition that were particular to a post 9-11

neoliberalism.

In addition to anti-imperialism, there were also critiques of unilateralism on the

part of the US. In one example of opposition to unilateralism, the Institute for Policy

Studies released a set of talking points that included several reasons to oppose the Iraq

war, the following focuses on US Hegemony and the use of unilateral and preemptive

force:

> But the super-hawks of the Bush administration have a broader, global empire-
> building plan that goes way beyond the Middle East. Much of it was envisioned
> long before September 11th, but now it is waged under the flag of the "war
> against terrorism." The war in Afghanistan, the creation of a string of U.S.
> military bases in the (also oil- and gas-rich) countries of the Caspian region and
> south-west Asia, the new strategic doctrine of "pre-emptive" wars, and the
> ascension of unilateralism as a principle are all part of their crusade. Attacking
> Iraq is only the next step. (Institute for Policy Studies 2003:3).

The unilateral nature of these invasions coupled with neoliberal intent, lends credibility to

the notion that US dominance had become a key component of anti-neoliberal framing.

This sentiment was echoed by several organizations, including Not in Our Name, Peace

Action, and Win Without War.

The IRM, as I discussed in chapter VI, framed increased migration to the US as

the result of neoliberal policies such as NAFTA. Within this argument, there is the notion

that immigrant sending nations, such as Mexico, are in a dependent relationship with the

United States. That is, the movement identified various push and pull factors in relational

terms. Specifically, the fact that the US is a dominant nation, situated in close proximity

with sending nations was an important component of this. In addition, the IRM was

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always quick to point out that the US depends on this marginalized workforce, which

may explain why many business organizations, that ordinarily endorse neoliberal

policies, also tended to favor relaxed immigration controls. Javier Rodriquez, a key figure

in the IRM in Los Angeles, also names neoliberalism as an important contextual factor in

the emergence of the IRM, especially the re-emergence in the Immigrant Spring of 2006.

Regarding neoliberalism, he states:

> The designed exploitation begun in 1970 with the restructuring of capitalism, has
> caused human displacement and massive migration to the tune of 200 million
> people driven to the more developed countries, primarily to Europe, the United
> States, Japan and the rich oil Arab states. The modern nomads are "the new
> working class," un-regularized, without papers, vulnerable and exploitable, no
> health and social benefits, deplorable housing, no mobility travel rights, subjected
> to an underground human market where a high percentage of women are raped,
> young, and finally without human and working rights to defend themselves. The
> perfect worker for global corporations (2013:2)

While the GJM focused most of their attention on the movement of capital, the IRM

focused on the movement of people. Other examples of how immigration and

neoliberalism overlap was in the fact that many of the organizations overlapped with the

GJM and even attended major demonstrations including SEIU, UNITE-HERE, and

AFSC. These overlaps between movements, and the consistent identification of US

imposed neoliberalism is an important aspect of a broad counter-hegemonic master

frame.

Corporate Power

A key task of framing is the identification of opposition. In the eyes of these

movements, corporations are the main beneficiaries of economic globalization,

imperialism, and the growth of a criminalized migrant population and were targeted

through their framing.

A corporate power frame emerged in each movement, but in the GJM, specific benefactors where often targeted, such as Monsanto, Nike, the Gap. Most of these corporations faced criticism for taking advantage of the "race to the bottom" and the use of "sweatshops" and child labor for manufacturing. The agency of corporate actors was also present in the way the GJM would talk about specific institutions and agreements such as NAFTA, the WTO, and IMF/World Bank, where in terms borrowed from political sociology, these institutions where seen as mediating structures for corporate elites.

As discussed earlier, a key aspect of the AWM was the way that they targeted specific elite and corporate actors, and the revolving door between them. The AWM repeatedly pointed to relationships between corporations such as Haliburton and Exxon, and their connections to state actors such as Vice President Dick Cheney and National Security Advisor Condoleeza Rice. This framing was successful in creating a negative connotation associated with companies such as Haliburton.

Corporate power was not as much of an emphasis for the IRM. Still, there was ample framing that pointed out that the industry responsible for the privatization of immigrant detention centers stood to profit from the criminalization of immigrants. For example, the NNIRR pointed out in their newsletter in 2002 that, "Concerns well beyond immigration influence the mandatory detention policy. The DOJ pays over 400 private prisons and county jails to house immigrant prisoners. Members of Congress from poor districts and corporations with declining revenues are actively lobbying to join the prison industry" (Shahami 2002:9) Here, corporate actors are named as a source of increased immigrant detentions. At one rally in San Jose on May 1st, an SEIU newsletter quoted a

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speech by Dorotero Garcia, who stated: "Greedy corporations and employers use immigration laws to abuse and intimidate workers and to keep the power in their hands—we need to reform our immigration laws to protect all workers" (SEIU Local 1877 2006:2).

Throughout each movement, corporate power, which is the very point of neoliberalism in the US, emerges in specific contexts for each movement, such as globalized production, resource abstraction, and immigration enforcement.

Economic Inequality

While inequality is a fundamental feature of the capitalist system, and levels of inequality vary, inequality increased during the neoliberal era (Pickety 2014). In the US, these movements addressed the specific factors within, such as the "race to the bottom, spending money on war, and deflecting blame from undocumented immigrants. All of these frames emerge from a specific context in the US which is characterized by a decline in living standards and reduction in social programs. Granted, no social movement proclaims that things are fine the way they are, there are still specific aspects of the neoliberal era that shaped each movements framing.

Global inequality was central to the GJM. One excerpt describes how inequality lead one activist to learn more about the WTO. In an article describing protesters at the World Economic Forum in 2002, the *New York Times* read:

> "Seattle was definitely a wake-up call," said Ms. Orem, 48, the mother of two teenagers. "I didn't even know what the World Trade Organization was." But she quickly learned, plowing through books that convinced her that the growing reach of corporations was leading to "a grotesque and dangerous polarization and inequality around the world (Jacobs 2002: A1 Pg15).

For Ms. Orem, contact with GJM ideas made here aware of the role that the WTO, as a

neoliberal institution played in generating global inequality.

For the AWM, most of the focus on inequality was on the impact of austerity and budget cuts. However, there is a deeply resonant critique of inequality that originates from the AWM's opposition to specific political and economic elites. In addition, several organizations such as ANSWER and UFPJ, made economic justice central to their agendas.

The IRM also highlighted economic inequality, but in a way that centered the concerns of immigrant workers. In a Global Exchange press release, they drew connections between globalization, inequality, and immigration.

> Corporate globalization displaces workers, drives down wages and makes it impossible for many people to earn a decent living in their own countries. Instead of dealing with the real causes of immigration, such as the links between U.S. policies and the desperate conditions that force millions to leave their home countries in search of work, Congress and the Bush administration are dead-bent on treating immigration as an isolated and independent phenomenon. (Perez 2006:2)

Here, Global Exchange, which was part of all three movements makes the connection between corporate globalization, increased inequality, and conditions that make immigration likely.

The relationship between neoliberalism and inequality is well documented. Although populist framing is not particularly novel or new, the tendency for movements to connect inequality to broad political-economic trends, that become part of a framing toolkit is. Inequality is fertile soil for social movements and connecting it to globalization, war, and the marginalization and criminalization of immigrants as a symptom of neoliberalism was a strategy each movement pursued.

Neoliberal Rollout

The authoritarian side of neoliberalism both manifested itself in policy and within the framing of each movement. As a perceived problem, neoliberal rollout, which is concretely revealed its presence though aspects of movement resistance that are nor at readily acknowledged as rollback such as repression, surveillance, and criminalization are also major aspects of the neoliberal era.

In the GJM, though addressing the specific institutions targeted at the protests were the primary focus, over the course of the movement, at a much broader scale than the events described in chapter IV, the GJM was targeted by the police in terms of police response to the protests themselves. Perhaps the best example of how police repression emerged over the course of the was the Miami FTAA protest where police cracked down with on the movement with little restraint. Similarly, most white middle class activists at the Seattle WTO demonstration, came into contact with police behavior for the first time, making issues such as police brutality more salient. Additionally, the Prison Industrial Complex, as a key frame contesting rollout, was often listed as a grievance at these protests, although an explicit connection between the WTO and the Prison Industrial Complex was not readily apparent. The disciplinary aspects of neoliberalism are also evident when we examine secondary literature on the GJM, notably Noakes, Klocke, and Gillham's (2005) work that explains how the police strategies for dealing with protests were actually shaped by the success of the GJM. In in data from specific events not discussed in chapter III, legal struggles of activists often found their way into the long list of movement concerns. Critiques of state repression emerged following the Seattle mobilization, and especially after Miami FTAA protest, where changes in the way police

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and other state authorities engaged the protest movements. There were dramatic increases in surveillance, the militarization of riot units, and even infiltration. Militant environmental wings were especially targeted.

In the post-911 political climate there was a reconfiguration of the state's manifest goals of preventing terrorist attacks. This also facilitated the enforcement of discipline through surveillance and immigration control. In relation to the PATRIOT ACT and a newly rolled out national security apparatus, Not In Our Name (NOIN) (2003) emphasizes this shift in their 2002 initiating letter:

> "The government has targeted Arab and Muslim Immigrants, rounding up over 1,000 and still holding hundreds in indefinite detention, refusing even to release their names. They have gutted longstanding civil liberties and unleashed police spying. The executive branch of government has seized vast new powers, unchecked by either the legislature or the judiciary. They have attempted to intimidate all dissenting voices, and tried to make critical thought itself suspect. (P. 2)

NOIN emphasizes the restructuring of the state to control the population. Rollout by definition, refers to the introduction and restructuring of the state's ability to enforce market discipline.

While the experience of the repression of GJM protests, which were followed by the emergent national security state that became a concern of the GJM, and especially the AWM. The IRM addressed rollout in their challenges to the criminalization of migrant workers, and the rise of for profit detention centers focusing on immigrants. As discussed in chapter VI, borders and immigration policy play the role of disciplining a migrant labor force. The criminalization of immigrants was facilitated by the post-911 context. But, in terms of the role of borders themselves, and immigration control policies, the IRM confronted these new aspects of the neoliberal state for over a decade prior to the

Immigrant Spring of 2006.

MASTER FRAME

      Based on empirical case studies of the GJM, AWM, and IRM, I identified framing

repertoires for each movement. Within these repertoires exists counter-hegemonic

framing that contested neoliberalism in specific ways. When we step back, or pan to a

macro perspective from the meso-organizational perspective, modular themes emerge as

part of a historically specific repertoire of interpretation. Social movements draw from

these to construct master frames. Therefore, based on the anti-neoliberal repertoire of

interpretation I laid out above, a master frame is evident. The multi-movement master

frame is one that problematizes US hegemony in the world system; points blame to

corporate power; charges neoliberalism with increasing economic inequality; and along

with rollback, points to new authoritarian and disciplinarian policies that represent

neoliberal rollout. This master frame was deployed in movement specific ways, but

emerged from the context of an anti-neoliberal protest wave led by counter-hegemonic

movements.

CONCLUSION

      In this chapter, I presented evidence that supports the notion that in the aspect of a

counter-hegemonic protest wave, an anti-neoliberal master frame emerged which made

the case that *US imperialism spreads neoliberalism as the result of corporate power, and*

results in increased economic inequality, and a reconfiguration of the state that

characterizes neoliberal rollout. Given the parameters that a master frame is a broad

frame deployed across movements, and across a wave of contention, I used the method of incorporated comparison to arrive at these common aspects of the repertoire of contention that each movement drew upon. Throughout the chapter, I referred to empirical evidence from each movement, that was informed by secondary literature on each movement, which the case studies presented in earlier chapters.

An analysis of collective action frames across movements in a wave of contention is useful to understand broader substantive issues about how movements understand and perceive the conditions they find themselves in. Furthermore, at a much more abstract level, it can provide insights into the counter-hegemonic worldview of a specific historical juncture. It is important to note that this analysis does not start with a definition of neoliberalism, which forms a sort of checklist of issues to identify. Rather, codes and categories that finally became the conceptual category of "frames" remerged through the analysis.

The further research potential of using the counter-hegemonic framing approach, along with incorporated comparison could yield significant substantive insights into other historical periods that were characterized by specific conditions, such as the balance of class forces and capital accumulation strategies. These historical periods and conflicts provide a vehicle for a modular master frame to emerge. For example, an analysis of movement discourse during the progressive era could examine how the economic context of that period provided a toolkit for the socialist, suffragette, labor, and anti-imperialist movements of the time to draw from. An international focus would also be fruitful. Movements do not emerge in isolation, and framing is indeed transnational and as been for quite some time, and the most devastating critiques of capitalism often emerge from

the global south.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

Popular protest is more like a river than a storm; it keeps flowing into new areas, carrying pieces of its earlier life into other realms. We rarely know its consequences until many years afterward, when, if we're lucky, we finally sort out its meandering path. (Swartz 2008:270)

In this dissertation, I sought to explore how counter-hegemonic movements construct a political economy frame specific to neoliberalism across movements, across a wave of contention. I also asked what was the structure of the anti-neoliberal framing of the GJM, AWM, and IRM. Thus, a central argument of this dissertation is that a resonant anti-neoliberal master-frame was articulated by each of these movements at the beginning of a broad counter-mobilization against neoliberalism. Based on this analysis, I have identified counter-hegemonic framing within two levels of analysis. First, at the meso-organizational level I found that each movement that contests neoliberalism in ways specific to the goals and adversaries of each movement. Second, at the macro-movement level, where I identified common aspects of a sustained anti-neoliberal master frame. In this chapter, I have three major tasks. First, I will review major findings in each chapter and in the study as a whole. Second, I will make the case for the implications and significance of this study. Finally, I will offer directions for future research.

SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTERS

I began with a theoretical argument that presented my counter-hegemonic framing approach, which is my largest contribution to social movement studies. While the generalizablity of case studies has been viewed as an "Achilles heel" of the approach. This largely is the result of a focus on inferential statistical generalizations at the expense

of *theoretical generalization.* In this dissertation, I set out to generate an approach to social movement studies that is based on a synthesis of Gramcian theory and the framing perspective in social movements. Another goal of this dissertation was to use an incorporated comparison of three movements that contested neoliberalism through their counter-hegemonic framing.

I also provided a methods chapter. Using ethnographic content analysis and political claims analysis allowed me to examine the rich nuance of the discursive work of these movements. The PCA brought the words, ideas, and concerns of organizations and participants that are usually lost in protest event data. All of these approaches are utilized in broader incorporated comparison of these findings at the movement level. I also discussed how, I went about a purposive and theoretical sample of archival evidence in which the direction of the research was determined by existing research on these movements, and secondary passes through each available resources from each movement, that were based on previous passes through the data. In sum, the methods of this study are best characterized by multiple waves of data collection, and multiple iterations of coding.

In chapter IV, I presented a case study of the Global Justice movement that began by contextualizing the movement in shifts in development paradigms, namely the shift from a development project to a neoliberal globalization project. The GJM provided a significant case because it was one of the first major contestations of the neoliberal project in the US. I asked the following questions: *What was the content of the GJM's political-economic framing repertoire, and what was the anti-neoliberal master frame?* I found that through a democratic deficit, corporate power, and symptom/injustice frames the GJM painted the picture of neoliberal globalization as a corporate project, that seeks

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to reduce environmental protections, human rights, and labor rights by eroding national sovereignty in order to open and liberalize foreign markets. The key findings related to a debate around the control and accountability of neoliberal institutions such as the WTO and IMF. Here, aspects of the movement fought to emphasize the control of corporations.

In Chapter V, I presented a case study of the AWM that explored how critiques of neoliberalism were present in their framing repertoire. I asked, *what aspects of the GJM's critique continue into the AWM's framing repertoire?* I found that in an example of frame extension, the AWM tied opposition to war with opposition to globalization by pointing out that they are part of the same process. A secondary question was *how did the movement develop framing that contested neoliberalism, and what was structure of the anti-neoliberal master frame?* Based on my analysis, the AWM drew upon the context of neoliberal rollback, such as budget cutbacks, to build opposition to military interventions by emphasizing the costs associated with them. In addition, they contributed to an anti-neoliberal master frame by connecting the neoliberal project to imperial projects that the US was engaged in. When new agencies and policies that were part of the national security apparatus where rolled out, they also focused attention on this aspect of neoliberalism in its rollout phase.

In chapter VI, I examined how the IRM incorporated political-economy frames, and whether they developed a repertoire of anti-neoliberal frames. I found that the IRM countered a dominant notion that immigrants were a drain on society by deploying two political-economy frames. One that shifts blame onto neoliberal policies and one that emphasizes the economic contributions of immigrants. In addition, the IRM challenges the criminalization of immigration.

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In chapter VII, I presented an incorporated comparison of the threee movements in order to arrive at the possibility of a multi-movement anti-neoliberal master frame. This master frame that emphasizes the hegemonic position of the US in the capitalist world-system, corporate power, economic inequality, and the neoliberal rollout. Each movement made their contributions to this frame. The GJM emphasized the corporate power aspect; the AWM emphasized US hegemony; and the IRM emphasized rollout and criminalization. This chapter also provided an application of the counter-hegemonic framing approach to a multi-movement wave of contention.

IMPLICATIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE

The historical and empirical analysis I produced makes the case that there was a surge of activity within the broader left social movement sector. This surge occurred in the beginning of the 1990s continued through to 2006. During this period, the left was confronted with over 20 years of defeat on nearly all fronts that the left could be reasonably identified with. Along with this defeat, there was a sense that the left had no representation within institutional political structures which were dominated by a bipartisan neoliberal "Washington consensus." If the left was to gain any traction, or even slow down the neoliberal onslaught that was poised to result in devastating consequences for the environment, the labor movement, and the racialized minorities, they would need to do something. There was an urgent need for coherent and resonant articulations of what exactly had been happening for the last 20 years of defeat, and most importantly, how could they stem the tide of a continuing neoliberal offensive characterized by economic globalization, imperialist military actions, and the

scapegoating of immigrants. For reasons described throughout this dissertation, the left was finally able to mobilize significant and unprecedented numbers of people to engage these issues. Within these movements, which are far from homogenous, seasoned activists developed an analysis of defeat, and continued attacks that we now call neoliberalism. Along with issue specific articulations, and major differences in these articulations within these movements, there was an analysis that emphasized US hegemony, corporate power, economic inequality, and a growing carceral state. A key point is that, even in the face of defeat, the left emerged from its slumber. This dissertation represents an empirical observation of this resistance to neoliberal hegemony, and how they offered counter articulations to emphasize what was happening and why it should be resisted. This work is not done. Neoliberalism and corporate power especially, has proven to be much more entrenched than many observers thought, which was made clear in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis. But the continuation of neoliberalism has higher stakes than political power. The triple crises of ecological devastation, imperialism, and economic collapse, along with other failures of neoliberal capitalism have yet to be addressed in any meaningful sense. This means that subaltern groups must pick up where they left off and explain what is happening, why it's happening, and why we should do something about it. This is why it is important for people to study and learn from the Global Justice, Antiwar, and Immigrant rights movements.

This dissertation yields significant contributions to the fields of sociological theory, social movement studies, and activist practice. For social movement scholars, concerned with power, conflict, and resistance I present a theoretical approach that takes

these factors seriously while still engaging and utilizing key tools offered by mainstream social movement scholars, namely framing, and the associated methods. I also bring Gramsci's concept of hegemony back to its original home, as a theory of social movement strategy and practice in affluent capitalist societies.

Although this dissertation is designed to fulfill the requirements for a PhD in academic sociology, it would be completely useless if it did not have any significance to activists. For activists, one of my goals is to provide a narrative that can be included in the history of resistance to varieties of capitalism in the United States. In periods of inactivity, activists can often feel as though there is no point in grappling with questions of organization, framing, and repression. During these periods it is important to look back at the histories of resistance, so that mistakes can be learned from, and during the next upsurge, activists do not have to "reinvent the wheel." A few useful talking points can be taken from this dissertation.

- Though not at the same scale, the 1960s were not the only period of widespread contention in the US.
- Framing can successfully change the way people think about an issue (e.g., sweatshops and war for oil).
- There is mobilizing potential in the US.

These aspects of this study make it a distinctive and original piece that will contribute to each of these.

FUTURE RESEARCH

As discussed in previous chapters, there is potential for future research. First,

applying the counter-hegemonic approach to more contexts than the neoliberal era.

Would be fruitful for historical sociologists seeking to understand the intersections

between political-economies, and framing practices of movements, from within a

Gramcian framework that acknowledges political-economy, as well as the strategic work

of movements. Second, while this study does incorporate several aspects of social

movement activity that are not always combined, there is much more work to be done in

terms of the relationship between movements and organizational repertoires and modes of

decision making. Possible questions that emerge would look at how counter-hegemonic

framing takes place in horizontalist or hierarchical and centralized movements, coalitions,

and organizations. Third, the frames deployed by movements is only one aspect of

contentious politics. Therefore, future studies could also include examinations of the

resonance of counter-hegemonic framing. This could possibly be done with the inclusion

of public opinion or polling data. Finally, formal quantitative methods of measuring

waves of contention and discursive phenomena could also yield important findings that

would more easily have access to mainstream publishing outlets.

In this chapter, I presented the research questions, and provided answers to these

questions by reviewing the key findings of this dissertation. I also examined the questions

and answers in each chapter and finally the broad research question of the dissertation.

Next, I explained the significance to the field of social movements, sociological theory,

and activist practice. Finally, I discussed the limitations and prospects of future research.

In closing, It is my hope that this dissertation helped provide a space within the field of

social movements for scholarly work that can both illuminate how movements challenge

the existing social system, without throwing the rich contributions of the social

movement field "out with the bathwater."

APPENDIX A

SAMPLING AND CODING SCHEME

My sampling strategy follows procedures outlined in ethnographic methods, particularly conventions associated with grounded theory. Although the overall study design does not qualify as a grounded theoretical piece of research, categories emerged through my analysis, which was informed by the literature. My sampling strategy involved a series of waves in which organizations and events were identified in the literature and emerged during data collection and analysis, resulting in multiple passes through the data, in a manner represented in the model below:

Literature→Data collection→ Analysis→Data collection→ Final analysis

I conducted each case study in chronological order, but began by reviewing the literature on each movement. Based on the literature I identified key events and organizations that characterize each movement, and collected data based on these. After a preliminary analysis, more events and organizations were identified, which were sampled in an additional pass through the data. After I reached a saturation point where new organizations and content were no longer emerging, I conducted a final analysis using an open and iterative coding process. I carried out the same process with the IRM drawing on literature and previous data analysis. After each case study was completed, I made a final pass through the data based on insights gained from all of the case studies. For example, after completing the analysis of the IRM, I returned to the GJM and AWM data for a final analysis of each movement. I do not present counts of materials sampled, because of the largely ephemeral nature of some of the data. For example, counting a

pamphlet in the same way I would count an event flier would not reveal anything significant about the data.

CODING SCHEME FOR NEW YORK TIMES PROTEST EVENT DATA

While there are several problems with newspaper data, I use the data as part of a triangulated approach which provides insights into part of the puzzle, but does not adequately provide valid data on its own. Despite these issues, and lack of nuance in the NYT data, there were not contradictory findings, only partial findings, which are supplemented by other data sources. I developed codes by using an iterative coding scheme to asses both the count of events and to qualitatively analyze the content of the claims. In the first wave of coding, I identified articles related to events associated with each movement. I then coded articles which references protest events for major themes, event size, and the names of the SMOs involved. An event is coded as one event if the activity is continuous across a 24 hour period in a metropolitan area.. thus the Battle of Seattle is considered one event that the size of the event is the maximum reported size. Contrary to other event data sets who separate campaigns from events, I count multiple protest on the same day for the same reason as separate events, because I primarily am concerned with the scale of the protests.

I qualitatively analyzed statements that were reported in the *New York Times*, whether or not they were summarized or quoted, generated event counts and recorded the reported size of these events. While quantitative in nature, are descriptive and should be thought of as providing description of the scale of protests, along with the meaning making involved across a time period.

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APPENDIX B

ORGANIZATIONS AND COALITIONS

<u>Global Justice Movement Organizations and Coalitions</u>

Global Justice Organizations and Coalitions
50 years is enough
AFL-CIO
Art and Revolution
Asia Pacific Environmental…
Basement Nation
Brown Collective
Cancun
Citizen's Trade Campaign
Community Coalition for Environmental Justice
Direct Action Network
Earth Justice
El Centro de La Raza
Global Exchange
Global Trade Watch
ILWU
IMF/WB
Industrial Workers of the World
Inependent Media Center
International Brotherhood of Teamsters
International Forum on Globalization
Jobs with Justice
Jubilee 2000
King County Labor Council
MEChA
Mobilization for Global Justice
National Lawyers Guild
Northwest Labor and Employment Office
People for Fair Trade/NOWTO
People's Assembly
Public Citizen
Public education for Free Burma
Radical Women
Rainforest Action Network
Ruckus Society
Seattle Radical Women
Sierra Club
Teamsters
The Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy
United Students Against Sweatshops

WSF
WTO Seattle

Antiwar Movement Organizations and Coalitions

ANSWER
Black Voices for Peace
Campaign for Peace and Democracy
Campus Antiwar Network
Church World Service
Cities For Peace
Code Pink
Direct Action to Stop the War
Global exchange
Greenpeace
Institute For Policy Studies
International Action center
International Socialist Organization
Iraq Peace Team
Military Families
Moveon.org
National Network to End the War in Iraq
Not in Our Name
Peace Action
Peace and Justice Support Network of the Mennonite Church
United For Peace and Justice
US Labor Against the War
Veterans for Peace
Voices in the Wilderness
War Times
Win Without War
Veterans for Common Sense

Immigrant Rights Organizations and Coalitions

ActionLA
American Friends Service Committee
ANSWER
April 10 Mobilization
Border Angels
CARACEN
Chirla
Coalition For Human Rights for Immigrants
Delete the Border
Detention Watch
Estamos Unidos
Fair Immigration Reform Movement

Freedom Socialist Party
Gente Unida
Global Exchange
Illinois Immigrant and Refugee Rights Coalition
Immigrant March San Diego
Immigrant Solidarity Network
Immigrant Solidarity Network for Immigrant Rights
Immigrant Workers Freedom Ride
International Action Center
International Human Rights Organization
International Socialist Organization
La Hermanidad Mexicana National
Liberation Ink
LULAC
March 25th Coalition
MECHA
Mexican American Poltical Association
National Council of La Raza
National Immigration Forum
National Network For Immigrant and refugee rights
No More Deaths
Radical Women
Raza Rights Coalition
SEIU
Si Se Puede Coalition
Unite-Here
We Are America Coalition

APPENDIX C

WTO HISTORY PROJECT INTERVIEWS

http://depts.washington.edu/wtohist/interview_index.htm

Name	Affiliation
Bill Aal	People for Fair Trade/Network Opposed to WTO
Jason Adams	Industrial Workers of the World (IWW)
Martha Baskin	King County Labor Council, AFL-CIO
Nadine Bloch	Direct Action Network
Juan Bocanegra	Northwest Labor Employment Law Office (LELO)
Miguel Bocanegra	UW MEChA
Dick Burton	Seattle Community College Federation of Labor
Margaret Butler	Portland Jobs with Justice
Lydia Cabasco	People for Fair Trade/Network Opposed to WTO, Worker's Voices Coalition
Lydia Cabasco	People for Fair Trade/Network Opposed to WTO, Worker's Voices Coalition
Denise Cooper	Basement Nation/Brown Collective
Denise Cooper	Basement Nation/Brown Collective
Jane Cover	UW National Lawyer's Guild
Kevin Danaher	Global Exchange
Alesha Daughtrey	Global Trade Watch
Robin Denburg	People for Fair Trade/Network Opposed to WTO
Larry Dohrs	Global Source Education, Free Burma Coalition
Mike Dolan - Simer	People for Fair Trade/Network Opposed to WTO
Mike Dolan - Pfaff/Murphy	People for Fair Trade/Network Opposed to WTO
Cindy Domingo	Northwest Labor Employment Law Office (LELO)
Rich Feldman	Worker Center, King County Labor Council, AFL-CIO
Patti Goldman	EarthJustice Legal Defense Fund
Bob Gorman	AFL-CIO
Larry Hansen	ILWU Local 19

Bob Hasegawa	Teamsters Local 174
David Hyde	UW Network Opposed to WTO
Ron Judd	King County Labor Council, AFL-CIO
Katie and Elijah	"Seattle Post Intelligence"
Jen Krill	Rainforest Action Network
Margaret Levi	Harry Bridges Center for Labor Studies
Regino Martinez	El Centro de la Raza
Victor Menotti	International Forum on Globalization
Randy Nunez	UW MEChA
Vinnie O'Brien	AFL-CIO
Jim Page	Musician
Jeff Perlstein	Independent Media Center
James Puckett	Asia Pacific Environmental Exchange
Alan Rabinowitz	Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy
Paul Richmond	UW National Lawyer's Guild
Mark Ritchie	Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy
Ace Saturay	People's Assembly
Tyree Scott	Northwest Labor Employment Law Office (LELO)
Dan Seligman	Sierra Club
Han Shan	Ruckus Society
Jeremy Simer	People for Fair Trade/Network Opposed to WTO
Anne Slater	Seattle Radical Women
David Solnit	Direct Action Network
Robbie Stern	Washington State Labor Council, AFL-CIO
Todd Tollefson	Jobs With Justice
Verlene Wilder	King County Labor Council, AFL-CIO
Steve Williamson	King County Labor Council, AFL-CIO
Kristine Wong	Community Coalition for Environmental Justice

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

*Note: "The Movement" refers to either the global justice, anti-war, or immigrant rights movement. The specific name will be used where it is appropriate.

Personal Background

- ☐ What is your position in the organization?
- ☐ How did you get involved in activism?
- ☐ What organizations did you belong to?

Organizational Activities

- ☐ Can you describe the organization you belong to?
- ☐ Can you describe your involvement?
- ☐ Why was your organization involved in the movement?

Sources of movement grievances

- ☐ What are some of the grievances that led to the rise of the movement
- ☐ What would you say is the root of the problem?

Event History
- ☐ What protests did you go to?
- ☐ Why did you attend?
- ☐ Was there a message that the movement was trying to get across?
  Other Movements

Other Movements

- ☐ What other movements have you been involved with?
- ☐ What other movements has your organization supported?
- ☐ Can you describe why your organization was involved in those movements?

Closing Questions
- ☐ I am also using documents for my research. Can I have copies…statement of mission and principles, copies of newsletters, statements regarding globalization, war, and immigration?
- ☐ Are there any individuals in this organization of in others that could help me learn more about these movements? Can I have their contact information?

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