This paper will look at the connection between constitutionally-based demands of social movements and the success of social movements. Using three movements from the United States and three from Spain, I will determine if constitutionally-based demands positively affect the success of social movements.
Success of Social Movements: Looking at Constitutionally-Based Demands to Determine the Potential Success of Social Movements

by

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**Motivation**

Within 2011 alone, the world saw the creation of social movements all over the globe. Citizens formed social movements to initiate the Arab Spring, the austerity riots throughout Europe and the Occupy Movement in the United States. It is these kinds of recent re-occurrences that indicate that social movements should continue to be the focus of scholarly research. The movements had varying degrees of success in terms of the intended outcomes. As a result, the question becomes why there were variations in success, especially in situations and movements that seem similar.

The integration of individuals into communities inadvertently leads to the creation of power structures in society. Within these structures, one person or group holds the power within the community and rules over those without. Occasionally, this community dynamic encourages social unrest. When governments or ruling powers offer no means for public influence in politics, the public must look outside of the system to achieve its goals. The social unrest manifests itself in the form of contentious actions, such as boycotts, public demonstrations and revolutions, against ruling powers are found regularly throughout history (Tarrow 1996).

As society develops and evolves, so do the repertoires of action that accompany the contentious actions. Eventually, members of a society turn to formal institutions to lead the contentious actions as governments easily quell loosely-banded citizens. The creation of social movements allows those unhappy with their situations to organize their actions effectively. As a result, social movements become an important part of society because the movements provide a forum for grievances and demands to be heard. These movements also give citizens an institution outside of the traditional political system to work through.

When the public receives news of a new social movement, either here in the United States or abroad, the media focuses on certain facets of the movement. The media coverage answers only how and why the demonstrations began (Tilly 1978). Special correspondents report and explain the movement’s demands. The extensive coverage centers on reports of the movement’s tactics, whether peaceful or violent. The focus remains on new demonstrations and protests without acknowledging the current ongoing movements or the potential connection between the old and the new. The analysts and special correspondents present the facts, but analysis and an in-depth
explanation are missing. Within this coverage of information, only a few minutes are spared for the analysis of the potential success.

I am interested in that analysis. Are there trends\(^1\) that explain the success of some movements and the failures of others? Are there certain steps that a movement can take to increase its potential for success? If so, what are those? How do movements alter the stated strategies or demands to maximize their potential for success without compromising the goals they wish to achieve? It is this type of analysis of the possible success that can guide the study of social movements into a more promising direction.

**RESEARCH QUESTION**

There are many questions surrounding social movements. Some of those questions include why do social movements exist, how do they gain support and what is their measure of success? Despite all of those questions, this paper will focus on what accounts for social movement success. Scholars are already studying why the 2011 social movements formed around the world, but their studies will mostly fall short of explaining why there were variations in the level of success of these movements. Because of that, I will focus on the measure of success and how it was reached in different social movements.

Therefore, this paper will look into why some social movements are successful while others are not. Assuming that no movement forms without the expectation of success\(^2\), why does the variation exist in movements that are seemingly similar? Using examples of six social movements from Spain and the United States, it will be argued that a constitutional basis of the demands that are made by the social movement leads to a significant effect on the success of the movement. The effect will be studied by determining the constitutional connection to the demands of the social movements and determining which demands were successful in creating change.

There are many promising arguments concerning success that really seem to represent the new direction of research concerning social movements. The arguments build on the social

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\(^1\) In this case, I am using trends in reference to the actions of the movements, the number of supports the movements receive, the demands, etc.

\(^2\) Success means many things to different people, so an operational definition will be introduced in subsequent sections.
psychology arguments typical of formation theories. However, I believe my hypothesis is a more promising angle that can address the gaps in the current literature. It is because of this belief that I will attempt to prove that a constitutional basis of demands does affect the success of social movements.

**Relevant Literature**

There has been a large amount of literature on social movement activity. Within the departments of political science and sociology, scholars focus on what factors cause a social movement to form in the first place. When studying the other factors of social movements, like success, it is important to understand the most common formation theories: resource mobilization, political opportunity structure and framing. These theories typically serve as the basis of understanding social movements.

**Resource Mobilization Theory**

The foundation of resource mobilization theories lies in economic theory (Jenkins 1983). As a result, the resources referenced in the theories typically include access to funding and/or an established market or corporation (McAdams 1986). The theories hypothesize that protests are more likely to occur when there is an organization in place that has the resources for bringing people together to form collective action (McCarthy 1977). Other resources to advance the interests of the movement include time, media access and skills and the ability to use them. When the resources increase, there is a high probability of the protest being successful (Jenkins 1983).

Gamson (1975) made four conclusions about success from his study of 53 American activist groups between 1800-1945: (1) Groups with single issue demands are more successful than groups with multiple issue demands; (2) the use of selective incentives positively correlates with success; (3) the use of violence and disruptive actions associate with success; (4) successful organizations more often than not tend to be more bureaucratized, centralized and homogenous. From these conclusions, Gamson theorized about the importance of internal variables and resource mobilization as determinants of movement success.
Because resource mobilization theory has dominated the literature of social movements, many scholars look to the role of the organizational characteristics within the movements. These scholars argue for a link between government responsiveness and the nature of the movement’s organizational structure and stability (Etzioni 1970). Scholars determine that success is not probable unless movement leaders build a functioning organization (Brill 1971). As a result, it is the institutions that create support and mobilize the supporters to participate.

With these resource mobilization theories, the availability of resources leads to the mobilization of individuals, but some movements lack the normal trigger resources, especially in terms of money or strong institutional groups to lead the movement. If there is no change in the resources or the benefits do not outweigh the costs, why do social movements, like the 1789 French Revolution or the 1979 Iranian Revolution, still form and become successful movements. Resource mobilization theories fail to take into account other potential opportunities, like the presence of charismatic leaders or opportunities from state elections, that lead to successful movements and it cannot explain the initial demonstrators who typically begin the protests despite the high risks.

**POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURE**

The political opportunity structure theorists focus on a window of opportunity in which the demonstrators can organize for collective action and engage in protests. This theory focuses on how political figures create the opportunity, either consciously or unconsciously (Kitschelt 1986). Typically, these windows of opportunity open an avenue through elections, especially in more authoritarian regimes³ (Kriesi 1995). Sometimes, the social movements, like those associated with the Arab Spring, occur when there is no opportunity window for the protestors to capitalize on. On the same note, the reverse is also true at times. There are windows of opportunities that are not capitalized on and no social movements form as a result of these opportunities.

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³ In authoritarian regimes, elections provide the citizens with political avenues that were not necessarily present in the past. Many times, however, the elections do not go far enough for the citizens and people demand more. A widely cited example is Russia. – Colton TJ and McFaul M (2003). Popular choice and managed democracy: The Russian elections.
Drawing upon political opportunity structure theories, Goldstone (1980) developed the political process model to stress the importance of the political environment to determine movement outcomes. Jenkins and Perrow (1997) suggest that when the political environment offers social resources, the movements can capitalize on them to create favorable outcomes. Piven and Cloward (1979) also note the constraints that political institutions can impose. As a result, “protest is more likely to have a real impact when challengers have a central role in institutions and when powerful allies have a stake in those institutions” (Giugni 1998: 381). Therefore, success would depend on the political influence that the movement gains. These potential differences in outcomes as a result of the political environment have brought up questions about the feasibility of using the political opportunity structure theories because using traditional political avenues is not a characteristic of social movements, which operate outside of the system.

Expanding on the political process model⁴, Offe (1985) argues that in Western Europe, social movements resulted from the erosion of political authority, which results in a political opportunity for public actors. He notes “As public policies win a more direct and more visible impact upon citizens, citizens in turn try to win a more immediate and more comprehensive control over political elites by means that are seen frequently to be incompatible with the maintenance of the institutional order of the policy” (Offe 1985: 816). This erosion, according to Huntington (1975) threatens the capacity to govern by the traditional political actors because the boundaries between the political sphere and public are skewed. It is important that they remain separate so that the country maintains its system for governance.

The major shortcoming of the political opportunity structure theories deals with the failure to explain why some successful social movements occur when there is no opportunity window for the movements. For the austerity riots around Europe, citizens living in European Union (EU) member states were unable to use elections because ties to the European Union represent a closing of windows of opportunities.⁵ However, the movements in Europe continued to gain

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⁴ The political process model comes from McAdam’s 1982 study of the Civil Rights Movement. The model focuses on what constitutes political opportunities and shows how the political opportunities flow through local organizations to gain support. The Movement is able to use the model to encourage social movement participation when the political opportunities arise.

⁵ This argument focuses on K Featherstone’s (1994) idea of the democratic deficit resulting from membership in the EU.
success despite the lack of political opportunities, possibly because of how the demands were presented to the public.

**Framing Theory**

Framing theories are more recent and adopted from psychological studies. Framing comes from the discourse of protest itself so that the participants are able to connect with the movement. However, other media sources are able to influence the framing and how the public understands the events (Benford and Snow 2000). The frame, either from the protest discourse or the other sources of media, provides a mental map for the demonstrators and the participation depends on how successfully the movement is framed. Typically, the framing is connected with the shared grievances of the group (Tarrow 2011).

Framing theories contain the most gaps because there is no clear process to link the framing to the protest. As a result, the problem becomes determining how the social movement began when there are multiple framings of the arguments or grievances, or in which way does the movement frames to the demands to gain success. This lack of connection brings in question whether or not the framing of the stated demands leads to the demands being necessary for pushing change or just tools that can be altered to fit the need of the moment.

**Opportunity Structure Theory**

The majority of scholars focus on the three formation theories of resource mobilization, political opportunity structure and framing to explain outcomes and success. However, when these three theories fail to adequately explain the success of social movements, opportunity structure theories in the more general sense are often used to explain specific instances. For example, gendered opportunities, or the relationship between the sexes, explain Women’s Suffrage Movements. McCammon (2001) concluded that changes in the gender relations altered previous views about the position of women in society, and as a result, the gendered opportunities led to the successful attainment of suffrage. It was this environmental opportunity that opened an avenue to success.

Some scholars, including Anduiza (2012), use the 2011 social movements to challenge the conclusions and the importance of resource mobilization. An additional factor must be taken into
account: the framing of the nature of the protest. The use of violence as part of the movement’s repertoire of action leads to varying outcomes. As Gamson (1975) concluded from looking at American movements, the use of disruptive tactics and violence by social movements seemed to increase the potential for successful change. But conclusion was challenged by Snyder and Kelly (1976), who found little evidence to support the claim that violence helped unions and trade groups in the United States and Italy, and more recently by Eskridge (2006) and his study of non-violent civil disobedience.

Giugni (1996) also argues that environmental conditions, such as public opinion, shape the outcome of social movements. Social movements typically use public demonstrations to publicize their message to both the power holders and the general public. Because of these actions, widespread public support could create favorable outcomes as the movement attempts to get its demands met. Burstein (1985), looking at discriminated groups, found links between public opinion, movement activities and congressional action in bring about policy changes. As a result, the likelihood for success could result from framing the movement in such a way that garners positive public opinion.

However, the conditions necessary to create gendered or environmental opportunities typically take decades, even centuries, to meet. The social movements that scholars use for examples in opportunity structure theories are movements that do not generally maintain their strength over a long period of time. In essence, the movements actually occur in waves, and as a result, the environment opportunities only form when society has slowly progressed to a point where a specific wave in the movement can find an opening.

**Constitutional Influence Theories**

In terms of looking at constitutions to explain social movements, Eskridge (2006) studied the importance of constitutional litigation in dealing with identity-based social movements. However, Eskridge limits his scope of study. The identity-based groups, which encompass race, sex and sexual orientation, were only mentioned as example demonstrations and became the

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6 Goodwin and Jasper (2004) argue that opportunity structure theories suffer from the same failings of the political opportunity structure theories. The movements take a lack a defined window of opportunity, so what occurs is a long process of chipping away at the current environment until political actors are pressured by society as a whole to meet the demands of the movement.
center of the study. The parallel use of constitutional litigators working on behalf of the social movements aided the public message. While this argument works for the Civil Rights Movement and the Women’s Rights Movements, not all social movements take the legal approach to push for progress.

In addition, Siegel (2006) looks at the power of the constitution in social movement conflict. He argues the conflict can be both enabled and constrained by the constitutional culture. The constitutional culture enables interaction between the movement and the political actors once the movement begins to work outside of the traditional political structure, but constitutional tradition is slow changing. It is against this tradition that movements must work.

In relationship to the theory presented in this paper, Eskridge and Siegel provide a basis on which I can expand on. The problem with both is the limitation of the scope in the studies. Social movements form with the supports of the movements decide that the traditional political avenues are not working or are no longer sufficient for creating change. Both scholars focus solely on how movements use the political system for progress. Using the case studies of Eskridge, both the Civil Rights Movement and Women’s Right Movement resorted to direct action tactics when the use of the political avenues were slow or when they failed.

DEFINING SUCCESS

It is through the formation theories that scholars develop theories about what leads to the success of movements once formed. In his study of Social Movement Organizations (SMOs), D.M Cress (2000) researches explanations for the outcomes and consequences of SMOs. As he explains, “conceptually, the range of outcomes attributed to social movements varies widely, extending from state-level policy decisions to expansion of a movement’s social capital to changes in participant’s biographies” (Cress 2000: 1064). However, forming an operational definition is possible.

The literature on the outcomes differs greatly on how to define success. In many instances, there is a lack of agreement between movement leaders and participants on goals of the social movements. Despite these limitations, scholars look beyond the demands. Gamson (1975) defines success as the gradual advancement of a social movement’s stated objectives. With this
definition, Gamson acknowledges that the movement can be deemed successful without meeting all of its demands.

Gamson (1990) expanded on his previous definition to argue that measures of success also include the acceptance of challengers as legitimate opponents and the obtainment of advantages for the participants. Rochon and Mazmanian (1993) defined success by its impact. The three spheres of movement impact include policy changes, changes in the policy process and changes in social values. For the scope of this paper, I will refer to the work of Gelb (1989) and Burstein (1985), which centers on outcomes that look at the impact of movements on government policy or legislation.

**MY APPROACH**

The goal of my paper is to determine if there is a relationship between constitutional based demands of a social movement and the success of the social movement. To determine this relationship, I will determine the demands of six social movements in the United States and Spain, and using each country’s respective constitutions, I will determine whether or not there is an explicit reference to the demands. I will then look at the success of the movement’s demands in leading to policy changes.

**CONSTITUTIONS**

Within democratic states, the constitution represents the basic, fundamental law of a state. It sets out how the state will be organized and the powers and authorities given to the government. The constitution in a democratic state also represents the overarching law that a country follows. Because of this connection, it is possible that social movements could use the constitution of their country to their advantage. If the government and the citizens within a country are bound by the constitution, participants in a social movement could use the constitution to strengthen and give legitimacy their demands.

Using constitutionally based demands can also have the effect of pressuring political actors. Governments and political actors in democracies are given their power by the constitution, so using demands found in the constitution can force the political actors to decide whether or not to adhere to the principles and rights given in the constitution. It is through this influence that I
believe that constitutionally based demands have an effect on the success of social movements in democracy.

Examples of ideal countries for this theory are found in the table below. While the list is not all-inclusive, the constitutions of the listed countries are representative of the constitutional differences found throughout the world. The categories represent features of the constitution that I believe could be critical for the success of social movements. The answers are determined based on explicit reference within the ratified constitution.

The first category is in regards to what form the “rights” are included within the constitutions. In line with the Constitutional Project of Zachary Elkins, the options include “incorporated” into various parts of the constitution, “included” as a separate heading in the constitution, “attached” as a separate document or not specified. The second and third categories focus on the state’s role in providing rights to its citizens. The fourth category looks at whether the constitutions apply the law equally to all citizens. The final category looks at specifically for its connection to social movements, centers on whether the citizens within the country have the right to assemble or the freedom of association.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>1. Form that “rights” are included</th>
<th>2. Mention of a state duty to provide rights</th>
<th>3. Inclusion of positive rights</th>
<th>4. Reference to equality before the law</th>
<th>5. Provide for the freedom of association</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>Attached</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>Incorporated</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Incorporated</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>Included</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>Included</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>Included</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>Included</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have decided to focus on Spain and the United States because of each country’s constitutional differences. In terms of representing constitutions, these two countries are examples of positive and negative rights. Spain’s 1978 Constitution is one with positive rights. Spain’s constitution holds the government accountable for providing services for its citizens that protect the rights
enumerated in the constitution. On the other hand, the United States 1776 Constitution permits inaction by the government. In essence, the US Constitution protects its citizens against the government by putting limits on governmental power in relation inhibiting actions that infringe on the “basic” rights of citizens.

While Spain and the United States do not represent either end of the spectrum in terms of constitutional differences, they are ideal cases to consider because they are representative of a general ideological difference in regards to constitutions. This difference manifests itself in the role of the state in society, or generally, whether the state provides for the welfare of its citizens or not. In Spain, the 1978 Spanish Constitution declared the newly democratic country a social state. In this type of state, the national government is responsible for providing citizens with welfare and social rights. The United States on the other hand is not a welfare state.

While positive and negative rights are important for understanding constitutional differences, the following case studies will bring into question what services should be given by the government. Within the constitutional comparison of these two countries, there is also expectation by the citizens of their respective countries of the rights that should be offered and/or protected by the government. Takeshi Iida and Tetsuya Matsubayashi refer to it as the issue of social welfare and believe when a country’s national constitution clearly defines a citizen’s right to receive welfare benefits from the government, the welfare services should be provided to the citizens by the government (Iida and Matsubayashi 2010). Spain’s constitution clearly promotes the national government’s role in providing and protecting citizens’ welfare. On the other hand, the U.S. Constitution does not define welfare rights but instead focuses on liberties to protect the citizens from the government.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Before I address the question with my six cases, there needs to be a basic understanding of social movements. Charles Tilly defines social movements as “a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns, by which ordinary people make collective claims on others” (Tilly 2004: 3). Tarrow expands on the series of actions to posit that “social movements is a term I reserve for sequences of contentious politics based on underlying social networks on resident collective action frames and on the capacity to maintain sustained challenges against powerful
opponents” (Tarrow 2000:7). As both definitions imply, the actions of social movements are those activities that take place outside of traditional channels of voting behavior.

From both Tilly’s and Tarrow’s definitions, social movements are defined with three main characteristics. The groups must have sustained, ongoing challenges against their opponent. The groups must also rely on some network of support, albeit a formal institution or a virtual organization. Finally, the groups are working against some powerful opponent. All of the movements used in this study will have all three characteristics of sustained resistance, a support network and an opponent.

Traditionally, this area of literature looks at outcomes and consequences. The consequences, typically both indirect and unintended, provide interesting cases for scholars to determine institutional effects. However, for this study, I will look exclusively at outcomes. I wish to determine success based on the attainment of movement’s established demands. At the formation of social movements, the organizing institution and the members of that institution define the demands of the movement. Successful outcomes rely on the accomplishment of the demands, which leads to gradations of success.

It should be noted that in modern times, some social movements have grown out of the traditional definitions laid out by Tilly and Tarrow. Some movements have developed a level of complexity that makes it difficult to define the movement as a social movement. These movements have switched their focus from valuing an outcome to instead focusing on the process. While I acknowledge this “messy” part of social movements, this paper strives to look at the political side of social movements. I concentrate on the demands in structure and in wants, which allows me to determine the state response to social movements.

**RESEARCH DESIGN**

Within this paper, I would like to determine whether or not a constitutional basis of demands can affect the success of social movements. I hypothesize that a constitutional basis aids the success

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7 The sustained challenges mean there are multiple organized activities against the opponent. Maintaining resistance does not necessarily mean that the time frame should be the focus of the challenge, but instead the number of activities should be the priority in determining sustained resistance.

8 The inclusion of a virtual organization as a network of support is a result from the recent online mobilization groups that led to the creation of social movements like the 15M Movement in Spain, the Occupy Movement, etc.
of movements because the movements use the political system to enhance their argument. To determine the effect, I will focus on three social movements in Spain and three in the United States. I will look at the demands for each of the movements and determine whether or not the demands were achieved. It will also be important to figure out whether the demands correspond to rights given in each country’s respective constitutions.

With these two countries, I compiled a list of social movements. In Spain, the list only includes social movements after the country’s acceptance of democracy and the ratification of the 1978 Constitution. To maintain some level of consistency, I will focus on American social movements after 1960. Based on this time frame and the definition of social movements, I’ve decided to focus on six movements. My Spanish social movements include the Basque Separatist Movement, the Right to Housing Movement and the 15M Movement. My American movements are the Civil Rights Movement, the Anti-War Movement and the Occupy Movement.

The six movements chosen as case studies for this paper were the six that best met the three characteristics of social movements. Within Spain, many of the movements are union-based, which pushes the movement outside of the scope of this study because the unions (UGT and CCOO) are political actors in Spain. In the United States, many potential movements were unable to sustain their resistance, such as the WTO demonstrations in 1999 or the Feminist Movement, which occurred in waves.

As mentioned before, social movements have to meet three criteria to be defined as such. The movement must put up sustained resistance throughout the duration of the movement. It must also have a support network that leads to some organizational structure of the movement. The final criterion is the movement is working against an opponent. The following six movements meet all the criteria as explained in the following section.

The demands for the six social movements have been compiled based on media coverage of the movements as well as the interviews and speeches given by the supporters. For the more recent social movements, the official websites were used to find the demands given by the people organizing the social media message of the movements. The list of demands, although attempted

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9 For my Spanish example, I have included a movement that continued on after the ratification of the Constitution.
10 Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT) y Comisiones Obreras (CCOO)
to be comprehensive, does not include the demands of the more radical segments of the movements as those segments can at times fail to garner public support and as a result typically eschew the message presented to the public.

**BASQUE SEPARATIST MOVEMENT**

During the dictatorship of General Franco, federal laws were used to suppress national identities in the various regions of Spain. The suppression was finally challenged in the 1960s in the Basque region by Euskadi ta Askatasuna (ETA), which translates to Basque for Basque Homeland and Liberty. The Movement began as a student resistance movement opposed to Franco’s repressive military dictatorship and found support throughout the Basque region as well as the neighboring regions (Alonso 2005). It began as an idea for autonomy after a series of strikes throughout Spain threatened the power of Franco. After gaining support, the resistance evolved into a movement and after the transition to democracy, the foundation of a political party.

As a result of the Francoism military presence in the region, the Movement frequently used violence against those associated with the repressive regime, including kidnappings and assassinations (Reinares 2009). The most notable action involved the assassination of the Jefatura de Goberno, Carrero Blanco. As Juan Avilés argued, the death of Blanco changed the course of Spain’s politics and allowed for Juan Carlos to become General Franco’s successor (Avilés 2005). It resulted in ETA becoming the face of the Movement.

The Basque Separatist Movement fought for greater autonomy for over 20 years. The region wants to maintain its cultural homogeneity without influence from a central state. Despite the newly ratified constitution in 1978 bringing the region of two million people home rule, the supporters wanted more (Alonso 2005). The Movement had varying degrees of separatist support, with the more radical group, ETA, fighting a 45-year campaign for Basque independence (Jeffery 2002). However, resistance against the dictatorship then the Suarez

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11 ETA split into two distinct groups after 1973. The focus of this paper will be on the group that considered themselves to have more national idea, and though they approved of violence, the group favored autonomy rather than total independence. For the purpose of this study, the Basque Separatist Movement is not associated with ETA or its goal of an independent Basque country. – McAdams (1998)
12 The 1960s are referred to as the “Dicta-blanda” in Spain because of the public’s attempt to take advantage of a change the laws without the threat of violence from Franco’s military. – Avilés (2005)
government continued from the Movement until 1986 when new legislation increased the competencies for the Basque region.

The Basque Separatist Movement can be summarized as the desire of the Basque people to achieve greater independence. Despite the varying degrees of separatist supports, the majority of the population focuses on gaining more autonomy. This autonomy would come in the form of a regional parliament, a regional police force and regional control of collecting taxes. In addition to demanding these forms of autonomy, the Basque separatists also demanded regional control over its educational system (McAdams 1998).

The 1978 Constitution allowed the Movement to more concretely demand greater independence based on constitutional principles. Article 2 guarantees the right to self-government to all 17 of the nationalities and regions within Spain. Article 27 guarantees to everyone the right to education as well as the freedom of teaching. The fall of the dictatorship and the transition did not immediately lead to more autonomy in the region. Article 31 explains the fair tax system and use of public expenditure by the regions. 13 The Constitution makes no mention of law enforcement agencies.

When comparing the list of demands to the rights given in the Constitution, three of the four demands do correspond to articles in the Constitution. However, the Spanish national government did not provide the regions with their varying levels of autonomy until 1986. In 1986 with the Statute of Autonomy, the Basque region was granted the permission to elect its own parliament as well as form its own police form. 14 These two liberties would operate completely independent of the national government. The region was also given more control over education and collection of its own taxes, although the Basque region still had to meet national policy in these two areas (Jeffery 2002).

African American Civil Rights Movement

The Civil Rights Movement grew out of a grassroots effort determined to achieve racial justice for African Americans. Despite ratification of the XIII Amendment (outlawed slavery), XIV

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13 While not directly quoted, the articles within the Spanish constitution have been translated by the author.
Amendment (gave citizenship to all people born within the United States and provided equal protection under the law to all citizens) and XV Amendment (right to vote to all male citizens regardless of race), African Americans were denied political, economic, educational and social equality by prejudice laws and social customs, particularly laws and customs in the South (Morris 1984). The Movement formed in an effort to fight for desegregation and against discrimination.

The Civil Rights Movement worked under a diverse network of support. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Urban League and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) used the political system as a means to gain full citizenship rights for African Americans (Meier 1973). However, ineffective legislation and the failure to win segregation through *Brown v. the Board of Education* showed that the Movement had to move outside of the traditional political system by using direct action tactics such as bus boycotts, sit-ins, freedom rides and marches. Using the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Student Nonviolence Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), the Movement’s switch of tactics in the 1960s solidified it as a social movement (Ness 2004).

It is important to note that unlike the other social movements focused on in this paper, the Civil Rights Movement’s opponent was not just the government; the Movement was opposing society as well. Previous constitutional amendments and federal legislation failed to provide African Americans with the equality they were seeking because there was a lack of societal support for the changes, especially in the South. The major campaigns of civil resistance were an attempt to influence public opinion and put pressure on the government to change societal-based laws (Branch 1998). The opponent helped to influence the demands and the tactics the supports used.

The goals of the Civil Rights Movement fluctuated throughout the long history of the Movement, but the focus remained on demanding equal human and civil rights. From 1960 to 1968, six official demands came out of the movement. These demands included the end to “Jim Crow”

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15 This resistance can be seen with the prevalence of the Jim Crow Laws and the use of literacy tests in determining voter eligibility in the South. Federal efforts to end those failed until the mid-1960s with more stringent federal laws that threatened federal influence. – Ness (2004)
segregation laws, a massive federal works program, full and fair employment, decent housing, the right to vote regardless of race and adequate integrated education (Ness 2004).

While the American Constitution was an attempt to “promote the general welfare” of American citizens, the Constitution did not realize African Americans as people in general. In Article 1, Section 2, slaves are to be counted as three-fifths of a person. Amendments therefore are the focus of the constitutional connection of the demands. Amendment 13 abolishes slavery and involuntary servitude. Amendment 14 defines citizens, recognizes African Americans as whole people and leads to the creation of the Equal Protection Clause. Amendment 15 provided suffrage for all men regardless of race. Amendment 24 called for voting without a poll tax to deal with laws in the South.

From the Amendments, three of the six demands do come from the Constitution; the right to vote, the end of segregation laws and adequate integrated education. The latter two were achieved with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which mandated equal access to public places. This Act also addressed full and fair employment as it outlawed discrimination in employment. The most important success came with the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which suspended literacy tests and other voter tests, such as a poll tax, and authorized federal supervision of voter registration if such tests were being used. The Movement failed to achieve its demands of a federal works program and decent housing.

ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

In 1955, the U.S. government sent troops to Vietnam to prevent a communist takeover of South Vietnam as part of the U.S. strategy of containment. The U.S. involvement escalated in the early 1960s when the number of troops grew exponentially and the operations crossed into neighboring countries. While a small, core peace movement existed in the U.S. throughout the

16 http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/civil-rights-act/
17 I would argue this demand achieved relative success. In the South, employment opportunities remained limited for African Americans and many were stuck in “legal slavery” because of debts they or their families owed - Southern Center, http://www.secondclassjustice.com/?page_id=42
18 http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/vot/intro/intro_b.php
19 A special report by Diane Sawyer, “True Colors” showed that housing discriminating still exists within the US despite the Civil Rights Act of 1968 which prohibited discrimination when renting or selling lodging. – Yinger (1996)
Cold War era, the Movement did not gain national prominence until 1965 when movements from college campuses, middle-class suburbs and labor unions joined together (Barringer 1999). The Movement consisted of a diverse network of support which included number of these independent interest groups whose only common goal was to unite in opposition to the Vietnam War.21

The members of the college campus unions provided a large and vocal group of sympathizers and many of the members had gained experience in disobedience through their participation in Civil Rights battles in the South. Already accustomed to opposing the government, the various groups organized a march on Washington to protest the bombing of North Vietnam (Burstein 1985). Wider public acceptance grew as Americans became weary of mounting casualty figures and increasing costs (Barringer 1999). Through numerous demonstrations, the Movement staged protests and engaged in mass examples of civil disobedience to show displeasure at continued bombing and America's involvement in the region.

The Movement peaked in 1968 and continued on though the duration of the Vietnam conflict. As the antiwar sentiments grew, media and some government institutions joined in fighting to bring about the end of the conflict. After the disaster at Kent State University, Congress became involved and the antiwar cause became institutionalized.22 The final result was a hastening of US troop withdrawals and the promotion of congressional legislation that severed US funding of the war.

The most important goal of the Antiwar Movement against the Vietnam War was effectively to end the war. However, the Movement developed a progression with its list of demands. Because of the strong support from students at various college campuses, the Movement pushed for the end of military research on campuses. The students also demanded an end to conscription.23 As more groups joined the movement and the public learned that the war was costing about $25

21 These independent groups included the Student Peace Union (SPU), Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Free Speech Movement (FSM) and the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE). These groups were only vaguely allied and contested each other on many other issues. - http://www.ushistory.org/us/55d.asp

22 At Kent State University, the Ohio national guards fired into the crowd of students killing 4 and wounding 16 - http://dept.kent.edu/sociology/lewis/lewihen.htm

23 The average age of American soldiers serving in Vietnam was 19, so these Americans were legally old enough to fight and die for their country, but there were not permitted to vote or drink. - http://www.econlib.org/library/Enc/Conscription.html
billion per year, there was a push for Congress to stop funding the war in general (Barringer 1999).

There are only two references to war in the U.S. Constitution and both are in Article 1: Congress has the power to declare war in Section 8 and no state is allowed to prepare for war without the consent of Congress in Section 10. None of the Antiwar Movement’s demands are constitutionally based, but three of the four demands were met.24 In 1973, the U.S. moved to an all-volunteer military force, which put an end to the draft. In 1971, Congress repealed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution which constrained funding for the Vietnam War and pressured the President to begin troop removal.25 American involvement ended in 1973 with the last U.S. troops withdrawn from Vietnam.

SPAIN’S HOUSING MOVEMENT

Spain’s transition to democracy allowed the socialist party, PSOE, to adopt a Third Way approach that supported free-market policies. These policies helped Spain experience great economic growth, but ever-growing property prices represented a substantial problem for most Spaniards in the early 21st century (Catan 2011). The problem escalated so that a new social movement focused on housing in 2003. While the movement is formally known as the Housing Movement, Spaniards call the movement V de Vivienda, which was the main network of support throughout the demonstrations (Ward 2009).

The Movement challenged the housing policies in the autonomous communities. The Statutes of Autonomy provide the autonomous regions with the power to make their own planning and housing policies. According to federal legislation concerned housing, most first-time buyers on the housing market should qualify for subsidized housing, but the autonomous communities impose additional restrictions in order for the regional governments to save money (Haffner 2006). The regional governments have also limited the supply, which has led to the exploitation of the shortage by private sellers.

24 Military research programs are still common on college campuses and the number of universities offering ROTC programs has increased since the 1960s.
In 2006, the Movement attempted to use formal political avenues with the Popular Legislative Initiative. The Initiative formalized the Movement’s demands, but the Cortes Generales failed to introduce the Initiative to parliament. After remaining on the docket for over 12 months, supporters gathered in Madrid to protest against unbridled urbanism and the difficult access to housing (Godino 2011). The “housing issue” continued to bring in resistance until 2011, when the Movement failed. However, supporters have joined with the demonstrators of the 15M Movement and are able to still push for changes in the housing situation.

The Housing Movement focused solely on demanding the end of the “housing issue” within Spain. The Movement demanded the right to housing, access to social housing and the cessation of evictions that have plagued the country since 2003. These demands are referenced in the Popular Legislative Initiative, but the Initiative becomes more specific. It calls for social housing to come from vacant properties gained from financial companies who have made a profit from the housing crisis (Haffner 2006).

The Spanish Constitution deals with housing in Article 47. The article states “all Spaniards have the right to enjoy decent and adequate housing. The public authorities shall promote the necessary conditions and establish appropriate standards in order to make this effective”. From Article 47, it seems very clear that the citizens should have the right to housing and access to social housing. It is also important to note that under Spanish law, people evicted from their homes are still liable for their remaining mortgage.

However, there has been no governmental legislation passed or even proposed to fix the housing crisis in Spain during the time frame of the Housing Movement. After the Movement joined forces with the 15M Movement, the government temporarily stopped evictions after negative publicity when a string of suicides occurred by people being evicted from their homes. Despite

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26 Spain’s 1978 Constitution allows for the right of initiatives in article 88 so the public can propose a new bill to parliament. - http://www.hic-net.org/news.php?pid=4663
27 From 2003-2006, it has been reported that there have been 420,000 mortgage defaults and 220,000 evictions. Government figures for mortgage defaults and evictions are no longer public record, although estimates speculate that the problem has grown exponentially worse since 2006 as a result of the recession and EU-imposed austerity measures. - Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas poll taken July 2008
28 Translated by author
the Constitutional protections afforded to Spanish citizens in regards to housing, the Movement has failed to achieve its stated demands.

15M MOVEMENT

Since 2011, the 15M Movement has continued to create social unrest in Spain. On 15 May, 1.5 million Spaniards took to the street under the platform calling for Real Democracy Now.30 These demonstrators are revisiting the questions of democratic legitimacy as the traditional governmental actors are, in the eyes of the Spanish citizens, failing. This feeling developed after the collapse of the tripartite system that aided Spain during its years of economic success (Perez 1997). The collapse of the communication occurred when the trade unions and political parties turned away from public dialogue to deal with the pressures of the EU. The Movement wants that line of communication open to bring back direct public participation in the Spanish democracy.

This particular Movement spread information through internet-based social media, which resulted in the rapid diffusion of the Movement’s message among Spaniards. Personal mobilization networks brought the Movement’s grievances to the forefront (Anduiza 2012). Local assemblies, formed after the end of the occupation of public plazas, are still drawing in community members (Gonzalez 2012). As further austerity measures target more social services and more Spaniards feel the consequences of the cuts, the number of participants grows, especially during the national demonstrations. Despite variations in levels of support, el Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS) reports that 73 percent of the population still sympathize with and support the Movement.31

The Movement has maintained support since May 2011. As the government continues its EU-approved austerity measures, the public participation in the Movement activities continues to increase. Despite priding itself on being a leaderless movement, the combination of the small organizations working under the main platform has been the network of support (Anduiza 2012). The main platform organizations and controls social media messaging as well as plans some of

30 ¡Democracia Real Ya! - http://www.democraciarealya.es/
31 CIS is the Spanish version of the Gallup Poll. It is the most widely used statistical group within Spain
the larger demonstrations around Spain. In the end, both the platform group and the participants are opposing the national government.

The 15M Movement began days before the national elections brought the Partido Popular (PP) and Mariano Rajoy to power. The main focus became a call for Spain to become a more democratic country as the participants demanded a return to more liberties and participatory democracy. The Movement also demanded the elimination of privileges taken by the political class and an increase in taxes for the wealthy and for banks (Gonzalez 2012). The supporters want an end to bailouts or capital injections for the banks. They are fighting against unemployment for the return of quality public services and housing rights. The Movement’s final demand is a reduction in military spending.

Democracy is referenced three times in the Spanish Constitution. The State guarantees democratic coexistence under the Constitution and the laws and establishes an advanced democratic society. Spain also declares itself as a democratic state. In referencing work and unemployment, the Constitution mentions the duty and right to work in Article 35 and gives public authorities the ability to maintain a public Social Security system for all citizens in case of hardships such as unemployment in Article 41. Article 40 allows for a more equitable distribution of income within the framework of economic stability policies. Spaniards receive the right to housing in Article 47.

Because of the economic crisis, demands requiring government assistance have not been met, and more often than not, it is these services that are the focus of budget cuts at the regional and national levels. The Movement however has managed to improve internal democracy. Pressures on political parties and trade unions has allowed for a return of internal referendums, primary elections and a general increase in the democracy of these political organizations. The political class has also taken a hit from the crisis as public sector wages are frozen for a third year. Also,

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32 The hopes for participatory democracy included referendums for any measures taken by the EU or measures through legislation that would change the lives of the Spanish citizens. – www.democraciarealya.com
33 The public services are in reference to education, public transport and local social resources.
34 http://www.rtve.es/noticias/movimiento-15m/
since 2008, Spain has seen an 18 percent decrease in its military spending. These demands have been addressed and are successful in relative terms.

For the remaining Movement demands, no changes have been made. Because of the economic crisis and EU-pressure, Spain has focused on budget cuts instead of an increase in taxes (Gonzalez 2012). No tax increases also applies to the wealthy and to banks, which the Movement hoped would be taxed to bring in extra revenue for the State. The austerity measures, suggested by the EU and approved by the government, are specifically targeting social programs, so there has been no assistance for the unemployed or the citizens being evicted from their houses. In addition, the public services such as education and health services continue to become smaller as fewer funds are budgeted for these services.

**OCCUPY MOVEMENT**

The Occupy Wall Street Movement began just 6 days after the 9/11 remembrance ceremonies in New York City in 2011. A small group of activists organized a protest that would lead to millions camping out in Zuccotti Park, a privately owned park in New York’s financial district (Lowenstein 2011). The groups of participants included the unemployed or poorly employed, students, sympathetic celebrities and labor unions. In a similar fashion to the 15M Movement in Spain, the Movement heavily utilized social media outlets and had no traditional leadership structure despite its diverse group of supports (Hampson 2012).

The rallying cry of the Movement was “We are the 99 percent.” The opponent included but was not limited to the government. The participants were fighting against corporate influence in politics, or as related to the slogan, the political influence of the 1 percent (Jacobs 2011). However, it was against the government that the Movement made its demands. The Movement hoped that the public support for Occupy would pressure the government into creating legislation against corporate greed, social inequality and the influence of major banks and corporations within the democratic process (Lowenstein 2011).

By October of 2011, Occupy proved to America that it was a movement with a message to share to the public. National media organizations reported that the Movement occupied 7 percent of

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the nation’s collective news coverage and as a result, Occupy shared its demands and spread its message with the nation (Taylor 2011). Challenges to the sustaining of the Movement arose when local law enforcement officials threatened its visibility by closing down the camps and removing the remaining protesters. While the mass encampments are no longer visible, the Movement maintains that because of social media and the connections that have been made with the public; the Movement no longer needs to use urban campsites to continue demanding change of the current environment.

The Occupy Wall Street Movement prided itself on a lack of specified demands. The argument became that the government, as a representative entity of the people, should be with the people; there should not be a need for the Movement to make demands for change because the government should already understand the grievances of its people (Jacobs 2011). There was also the argument that the Movement is focusing on empowering communities to form assemblies to fight against the “tyranny” of the 1 percent. The local assemblies can then form their own demands, specifically ones that suit the needs of the community. A general determination to fight against corporate tyranny creates a hard measure for determining success (Markay 2011).

However, some of the participants wanted their demands to be known. On the Occupy Wall Street Website, a supporter compiled a list of demands so that national media and the public will know what the Movement is fighting for.36 The demands include transparent elections that do not include the presence of corporate money, the prohibition of gifting requirements in order to meet privately with elected officials and the establishment of term limits for members of Congress. The U.S. should also enact a progressive income tax to reduce the national debt, withdraw all troops from Iraq and Afghanistan and create a system for student loan debt forgiveness. Also, the government should conduct foreign relations that allow the U.S. to compete in World Trade.

36 Another list of 20 demands was also circulated through the media but received less attention was created at http://www.opposingviews.com/i/money/occupy-wall-street-list-demands-shows-ignorance
The American Constitution does not correspond with any of the stated goals of the Occupy Movement.\textsuperscript{37} The only demand met was the withdrawal of American troops in Iraq and the beginning of American troop withdrawal in Afghanistan, which is planned to finish by the end of 2014 (Hampson 2012). Despite not achieving many of its demands, participants and supporters still view the Movement as a success. Occupy changed the political conversation during its time of influence as conversations occurred about income inequality, money in politics and the influence of Wall Street in American democracy (Jacobs 2011). These conversations dictated what topics were addressed in political conversations as well as on the media. So failing to meet to its demands did not hinder the image of Occupy.

**RESULTS**

Of the combined 33 demands made through the various social movements, only 12 demands, or just over a third of the demands, were directly connected with the movements’ respected constitutions. Of the demands connected with the constitutions, 9 were determined to be success while the remaining 3 were not. This could suggest that when demands are constitutionally based, the demands are met 75 percent of the time. In addition, of the 21 demands not connected with the constitutions, 5 demands were met, which shows a 24 percent success rate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Movement</th>
<th>Number of total demands successful</th>
<th>Level of connection to constitution\textsuperscript{38}</th>
<th>Other possible explaining theories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basque Separatist Movement</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Framing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Rights Movement</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Opportunity Structure Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-War Movement</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Opportunity Structure Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain’s Housing Movement</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Framing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15M Movement</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Resource Mobilization Theory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Resource Mobilization</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{37} A possible connection to the American Constitution lies with the 16\textsuperscript{th} Amendment, which gives Congress the “power to lay and collect taxes on incomes.” However, there is no mention within the Amendment of creating a progressive tax, so while I could see a potential connection, the Movement would be unable to use the 16\textsuperscript{th} Amendment as justification for demanding a progressive income tax.

\textsuperscript{38} A high level of connection defined as a majority of the demands were constitutionally based. A medium level of connection defined as about half of the demands were constitutionally based. A low level of connection defined as little to no connection to the constitution.
These numbers show that while there might be a connection between the success of social movements and constitutionally-based demands, it is not definitive. The lack of a definitive question reintroduces the question of what factors determine the success of social movement. In the six social movements studied for this paper, resource mobilization theories failed to account for success. All of the movements gained a large number of participants and formed organizational structures that suited the needs of the movements. Some of the movements also had the added resource of social media, but the effect of that resource varied dramatically. However, not all of the movements enjoyed the same level of success.

Within the context of political opportunity structures, none of the six movements succeeded because of a political window of opportunity. These movements lacked elections that changed the political atmosphere or policy changes that allowed for more radical political changes. The movements that achieved their stated demands resulted from the gradual advancement of the movements’ objectives. Changes in political regimes or the even political environment did not necessarily lead to the success that the scholars of the political opportunity structure theories predict.

To argue against the framing of the demands is difficult because this study framed the demands in terms of the connections to the respective constitutions. As this study found however, there is not a definitive connection nor is there indication that any of the six social movements consciously framed its demands around the country’s constitution. Looking back on a movement and finding potential connections between the demands and the constitution shows only the potential for a correlation between the two.

**Implications**

Typically, it is highly unlikely to prove that a correlation exists in every case 100 percent of the time, but what the data shows is a strong correlation between constitutionally-based demands and successful social movements and a weak correlation between non constitutionally-based demands and successful social movements. This difference in correlation is also seen when comparing the statistical significance of the two types of demands. The statistical significance for
the constitutionally-based demands is 0.872872 while the significance for the non-constitutionally-based demands is 0.1557. Again, the data shows one strong correlation and one weak correlation.

The correlation is also seen using a t-Test and histogram. The following chart shows that constitutionality and non-constitutionality are statistically different from each other in determining success. The t-Test statistic is 0.048009. This is a p-value for constitutionality, and since this value is below .05, it means that constitutionality has a significant connection to success. The chart looks at the connection between success and constitutionality. Constitutionality is represented in the form of C/NC, or constitutional/non-constitutional. For the graph, the bars for frequency correspond to success.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Success</th>
<th>C/NC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>0.484848</td>
<td>0.333333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variance</td>
<td>0.257576</td>
<td>0.229167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Observations</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pooled Variance</td>
<td>0.243371</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypothesized Mean Difference</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>df</td>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t Stat</td>
<td>1.247566</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P(T&lt;=t) one-tail</td>
<td>0.108368</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t Critical one-tail</td>
<td>1.669013</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P(T&lt;=t) two-tail</td>
<td>0.216736</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t Critical two-tail</td>
<td>1.99773</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These correlational differences could be suggestive of a broader political influence on social movements. Despite the traditional thought that social movements are working outside of the political system, there is the potential for success coming from using the political system in addition to using repertoires of actions of social movements. It is possible that using constitutionally-based demands is only one way in which the political system can be used to benefit social movements. Of the six social movements studied in this paper, five utilized the political systems in addition to protesting and demonstrating, with the Occupy Movement being the exception.

There are shortcomings with the existing traditional theories related to success, which can be seen by examining the cases in this study. For the Basque Separatist Movement, framing would seem to be the next best explanation for the success of the movement. With framing, the movement depends heavily on the message presented to the public and to the government, but that message of the Basque Movement was not always consistent throughout the campaign of resistance as seen by the split between the Movement and ETA.

The Spanish Housing Movement suffered from a similar framing problem. The Movement was framed in various ways by different groups, such as the media, the government, the unions and the public. Unlike the 15M Movement, the Housing Movement never gained widespread support because it struggled with delivering a coherent and consistent message. As a result, the national media gave contradicting messages about the movement and the public opinion reflected the confusion.
The Civil Rights Movement and the Anti-War Movement had an opportunity window in the form of the current environment of the country at the time of these two movements. With the Civil Rights Movement, waves of variations of the movement began after the Emancipation Proclamation and the end of the Civil War. However, these waves represented a lack of sustained resistance until the ruling in Brown v. the Broad of Education in 1954. On the other hand, the Anti-War Movement grew out of general dissatisfaction with the war, which opportunity window through the changes in public opinion.

The 15M Movement and Occupy represent resource mobilization theories in a new way. Neither used extensive funding nor a central leader, which are typical factors in resource mobilization. Instead, both relied on virtual institutions in the form of social media. Despite including social media as a potential trigger to aid success in social movements, only of these two movements enjoyed some level of success.

CONCLUSION

I believe my theory presents a step in the right direction for the future study of the success of social movements. Future research on the success of social movements should look to explain variation in success and why that variation could be significant. It is possible that a focus on the demands of the social movements, which this study did to some extent, might be the most useful in explaining success.

With a focus on demands, scholars can determine whether or not some of the demands are more important than others. Movements and governments might be willing to compromise to achieve the demands that the movements find most important. For example, the participants of the 15M Movement in Spain fought more passionately for the return of participatory democracy than they did for reductions in military spending of tax increases on the wealthy and the banks. With that main goal focusing on democracy, it is possible that the Spanish government was able to make concessions with that demand that it was unwilling to make on others.


40 In this case, social media includes Facebook and Twitter and to a lesser extent MySpace, etc.
Future studies on the demands could also show that the government caves to the demand that is the most convenient to meet. For the Ant-War Movement, overtime, the government found it more convenient to cut funding for the war than to end military research on college campuses. For the military research, the government, specifically the Department of Defense, entered into contracts with universities across the United States to carry military research. Congress found it easier to limit the appropriations for the funding of the war than to cancel contracts with universities.

With prevalence of technology, specifically the use of social media, the creation of social movements is not bound by the problems that were present in the 1960s. Today, the internet can provide the trigger necessary for the formation of a movement. Because of this, I would argue that it is no longer sufficient to declare that creating the movement constitutes success. The research should attempt to focus on what occurs after the formation of the movement.
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