IDEOLOGY, FRAME RESONANCE, AND PARTICIPANT MOBILIZATION

David A. Snow and Robert D. Benford

The relationship between ideological factors—values, beliefs, meanings—and identification with social movements and participation in their activities has rarely been treated systematically or dialectically in either the theoretical or empirical literature. With the exception of a few general discussions of social movements (Turner and Killian 1987; Wilson 1973) and a scattering of critical essays (Ferree and Miller 1985; Zurcher and Snow 1981), ideational elements tend to be treated in primarily descriptive rather than analytical terms. What this treatment typically involves is a description of movement ideology or value orientation as prefatory to the analytic task of explaining the emergence and operation of social movements.

This tendency to sidestep or gloss ideological considerations in favor of other factors is particularly evident in the two current fashionable approaches to the analysis of social movements—the new social movements approach in Western Europe and the resource mobilization perspective in the United States. In the case of the former, movements are seen primarily as the carriers or transmitters of programs for action that arise from new structural dislocations. Collective action or social movement activity is seemingly contingent upon a kind of

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The core proposition can be illustrated in part with reference to the PACE model. This model of movement involves the integration of postural control, sensory integration, and cognitive control. The model postulates that successful movement depends on the coordinated interaction of these three components. If any of these aspects fail, movement is impaired. Following this model, the success of any movement task depends on how well these components support each other. If one component performs poorly, the entire movement task is compromised. Therefore, it is crucial to address deficits in any of these areas to improve movement outcomes.
that its special dimensions are interconnected such that each successively
introduces" and "contains" the others, it suggests the present manipulation is only a new form of
interrogation. The present question is: are all the observations, descrip-
tions, and categories that have been studied, and are being studied, more
than just the average of the present data? Is it possible that the present
approach is not just a new form of questioning, but is also a new form of
thinking? If so, what are the implications of this for the future of ob-
serverhip and the future of science itself?

Variation in the context of probabilistic terms within the sequence of

C. Motivational Frame

To date, the present manifestation of the "need for science" has been
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questions about the nature of the universe, the nature of the human
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In the contemporary context, the need for science is not only a
response to the need for knowledge, but also a response to the need for
power, the need for control, and the need for organization. The present
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The purpose of a diagnostic frame is not only to suggest solutions to the
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human condition, and the nature of consciousness.
The possibility that the brain can stop the formation of new memories by the process of consolidation is a major cell to action. Which is, clearly, if we can stop the formation of new memories by the process of consolidation.

The consolidation of memory is the process by which memories are transferred from a short-term to a long-term memory. This process involves the strengthening of neural connections in the brain, which can take place in the minutes or hours following the acquisition of a new memory.

However, recent research has shown that memories can be 'erased' or 'repressed' under certain circumstances. This process is known as memory repression, and it can occur when a person is under a high level of stress or trauma.

The process of memory repression is thought to involve the reactivation of the neural circuitry associated with the original memory, followed by the suppression of this reactivation. This suppression can result in the temporary or permanent loss of the memory.

In some cases, memory repression may be necessary to protect an individual from overwhelming emotional or psychological distress. However, it is important to note that memory repression can also have negative consequences, as it can lead to a failure to learn from past experiences and to make appropriate decisions in the future.
Contributions to participants in the movement. The nature of the more detailed aspects of the social movement, the structure of the participants, and their role in the movement, are understood as emerging from the interactions between the movement and the participants. The social movement is defined as the collective action of people who share a common goal and who are organized to achieve that goal. The movement is characterized by the presence of a core group of individuals who are committed to the movement and who are willing to take action to achieve the movement's goals. The movement is also characterized by the presence of a network of individuals who are connected to the movement and who are able to provide support and assistance to the movement. The movement is also characterized by the presence of a set of strategies and tactics that are used by the movement to achieve its goals.
The peace movement, the framing heuristic has been frequently encountered by defense enthusiasts. But it is hard to deny that the problem of defense is a complex one. In fact, it is often difficult to resist the temptation to overestimate the importance of the defense issue. This is especially true when one considers the potential consequences of defense policies, such as the threat of global nuclear war.

In the context of this complex issue, the peace movement has played a crucial role. It has raised awareness about the dangers of nuclear arms and has encouraged people to think critically about the role of the military. However, it is important to recognize that the peace movement is not a panacea for the problems of defense. It is crucial to understand the underlying issues and to approach them with a critical eye.

This is where the framing heuristic comes into play. By framing an issue in a particular way, we can influence how people think about it. The peace movement, for example, has often been portrayed as a group of idealists who care more about the well-being of humanity than about the needs of the military. This framing can be effective in shaping public opinion, but it can also be misleading. It is important to consider the full range of perspectives and to avoid oversimplifying complex issues.

In conclusion, the framing heuristic is a powerful tool that can be used to shape public opinion. However, it is important to use it responsibly and to recognize its limitations. By doing so, we can work towards a more nuanced understanding of the defense issue and the peace movement.

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in the United States as a proud nation.

The United States is a nation of immigrants. It is a culture that is diverse and dynamic, with a history of innovation and progress. The United States is a nation of dreams, a place where anyone can come and build a better life for themselves and their families. The United States is a nation of freedom, a place where people are free to speak their minds, worship as they please, and live their lives as they choose.
cycles of protest, including the counter-resistant and countercultural resistance forms. These forms are characterized by their ability to resist and transform the existing social order. The counter-resistant form is characterized by its focus on direct action and the use of symbolic resistance, such as demonstrations and protests. The countercultural resistance form, on the other hand, is characterized by its emphasis on cultural change and the development of new social norms and values.

In conclusion, the dynamics of cycles of protest provide valuable insights into the processes of social change and the role of protest in shaping the course of history. By understanding these dynamics, we can better appreciate the complexity of social movements and the challenges they face. It is important to recognize that the success of any social movement is not guaranteed and that resistance is often met with resistance. Therefore, it is crucial to continue to study and analyze the dynamics of cycles of protest in order to better understand the processes of social change and to develop effective strategies for resistance.
CONCLUSION

Viewing movements as shrinking areas involved in the framing of events and coordination among actors involved in the framing of events.

States for which discussion and debate within the peace movement in the 1980s. The attention focused on the framing of events, and coordination among actors involved in the framing of events.

These findings suggest that the framing of events, and coordination among actors involved in the framing of events, are crucial for understanding the dynamics of peace movements.

We expect this general proposition to extend to all peace movements, at least to the extent that they are framed around geopolitical issues.

Recent research also highlights the importance of framing for the success of peace movements.

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prospective participants is far more interactive, dynamic, and dialectic than generally appreciated in the contemporary literature. A second implication, following from the first, is that consensus mobilization is multidimensional and that the ways in which its dimensions are framed may inadvertently impede, as well as facilitate, action mobilization. A third implication is the possibility of answers to a number of vexing questions regarding the relationship between structure and collective action: the failure of mobilization efforts when structural conditions seem otherwise ripe may be attributable in part to the absence of resonant mobilizing frames; or a decline in social movement activity when the structural conditions remain fertile may be due to the failure of movements to frame changing events and conditions in relevant ways. In both cases, latent structural potential fails to manifest itself fully.

A final implication of our observations is that they direct attention to a side or face of movement activity that has rarely been explored. The most visible side of social movements is their public side, the one that is constituted by confrontational and obstructionist activities such as marches, rallies, boycotts, strikes, and sit-ins. Since this is the side that is captured, catalogued, and archived by the media, and since many researchers today have a penchant for examining collective action via such data sources, it is not surprising that it is the side which is featured most prominently in the literature. Social movements, however, have another side, one that is not clearly understood. It is on this side that one finds the framing efforts, negotiations, and disputes that we have discussed and that are part and parcel of the signifying work of such movements. However, these activities are fully accessible only through ongoing encounters with participants in movement activities and by firsthand contact with the international workings and operations of movement organizations as they unfold and evolve over time.

NOTES

1. For overviews of this perspective, see Klandermans (1986), Melucci (1980), and Tarrow (1986).
2. For critical overviews and discussions of this perspective, see Jenkins (1983), Klandermans (1986), Tarrow (1986), and Zurcher and Snow (1981).
3. The term “frame” is borrowed from Goffman (1974, p. 21) to denote “schemata of interpretation” that enable individuals “to locate, perceive, identify, and label” occurrences within their life space and the world at large. By rendering events or occurrences meaningful, frames function to organize experience and guide action, whether individual or collective.
4. The four frame alignment processes include: (1) frame bridging, which involves “the linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem” (Snow et al. 1986, p. 467); (2) frame amplification, which refers to “the clarification and invigoration of an interpretive frame that bears on a particular issue, problem, or set of events” (Snow 1986, p. 469); (3) frame extension, which involves the expansion of the boundaries of a “movement’s primary framework so as to encompass interests or points of view that are incidental to its primary objectives but of considerable salience to potential adherents” (1986, p. 472); and (4) frame transformation, which refers to the redefinition of “activities, events, and biographies that are already meaningful from the standpoint of some primary framework, such that they are now seen by the participants to be quite something else” (1986, p. 474).
5. It is important to keep in mind that framing efforts can vary considerably depending on the target of mobilization or influence. Perusal of the literature suggests that there are at least seven target groups that are relevant to the life histories of movements: adherents, constituents, bystander publics, media, potential allies, antagonists or countermovements, and elite decision makers. As we have indicated, our focus is on the participants, who include adherents (those who subscribe to movement objectives but do not contribute resources) and constituents (those who devote resources and are thus activated on behalf of the cause).
6. This research, which has focused primarily on the peace movement in the United States, entailed the following data gathering techniques: extensive ethnographic participation in local and regional peace movement activities and organizations; formal and informal interviews with local participants and local and national-level activists; and analyses of movement-generated documents and periodicals. The research was conducted over a four-year period by the second author (see Benford 1984; 1987; 1988) under the supervision of the senior author, among others.
7. A recent Public Agenda Foundation study (Yankelovich and Dobie 1984, p. 33) that was based upon several national surveys of public attitudes concluded that an overwhelming majority of Americans (89%) agree that “there can be no winner in an all-out nuclear war.” Similarly, 83% believe that “we cannot be certain that life on earth will continue after a nuclear war” (1983, p. 34). Moreover, a smaller but still sizable majority (68%) agree that if current trends in the nuclear arms race continue, “it is only a matter of time before they [nuclear weapons] are used.” When the first item is compared to a 1955 survey in which only 27% of the U.S. public agreed that “mankind would be destroyed in an all-out atomic or hydrogen bomb war,” the size of the 1984 majority is all the more dramatic. While it would be erroneous to credit the peace movement alone for this shift in reported attitudes, these data support our contention that the diagnostic task of problem identification is not particularly problematical for disarmament activists.
8. It is interesting to note that even opponents of the nuclear disarmament movement frequently espouse technological solutions, such as achieving a more stable nuclear deterrent by improving certain technical aspects of the weaponry or, as in the case of the Strategic Defense Initiative proponents, by developing an impenetrable shield that could destroy enemy missiles before they reached their intended targets.
9. For an insightful and critical discussion of the selective incentive concept and the logic of the rational calculus model see Fireman and Gamson (1979).
10. PSR’s recommendations included “support for a bilateral nuclear weapons freeze and a comprehensive test ban, and opposition to destabilizing first strike weapons and civil defense plans against nuclear attack” (Rizzo 1983, p. 11).
11. These observations perhaps suggest, to borrow Althusser’s (1970) terminology, that most movements are structurally or materially overdetermined, a situation which for us underscores all the more the importance of framing.

REFERENCES

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