

# BRINGING DOWN DIVIDES

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RESEARCH IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS,  
CONFLICTS AND CHANGE VOLUME 43

**BRINGING DOWN DIVIDES:  
SPECIAL ISSUE  
COMMEMORATING THE  
WORK OF GREGORY  
MANEY (1967–2017)**

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INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

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*Bringing Down Divides* is a labor of love in honor of Greg Maney and advances the scholarship that Greg enjoyed and supported. Maney was the Wachtel Distinguished Professor for the Study of Nonviolent Social Change, a Professor of Sociology, and the Director of the Center for Civic Engagement at Hofstra University. Being a scholar, especially one who wore so many hats and devoted extensive time to mentoring undergraduates and other scholars, surely took Greg's time away from his family. Thus, we hope this volume will help his wife Mary Coyle and son Enzo see the impact of that time and how grateful so many of us are for the work of our colleague and friend.

A number of scholars were needed to make this book a reality. First, the extraordinary remembrance of Greg's life at Hofstra University in October 2017 brought together people who appreciated Greg's life and work, and culminated in the idea of this volume. The speakers informed the editors about the breadth of Greg's work and influence, well beyond those we had worked on with Greg. As Editor of RSMCC, Patrick G. Coy suggested this series as the perfect home for advancing knowledge in the spirit of Greg's work.

We are grateful to the contributors to *Bringing Down Divides*. The authors of the lead chapters, Lee A. Smithey, Joshua Satre, Sharon Erickson Nepstad, Charlotte Ryan, and Gregory Squires provided excellent submissions illuminating each type of divide. We also thank all the authors who submitted work to this volume, whether or not they made it into the book, because they saw the value of this topic. Those published herein, Michelle I. Gawerc, William F. Danaher, Trisha L. Crawshaw, Mustafa Yavaş, Cécile Mouly, Esperanza Hernández Delgado, María Belén Garrido, Vera Heuer, and Pamela Oliver, advance the field and impressively connected their research to *Bringing Down Divides*. The afterword was written under tight timing constraints, and we thank Patrick G. Coy and Lynne M. Woehrle for fondly providing more details about Greg's scholarship.

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# INTRODUCTION: THINKING ABOUT DIVIDES

Eitan Y. Alimi and Lisa Leitz\*

“Divide” is a central concept in the social sciences, embodying one of the most fundamental features of socio-political life – that of having two individuals or collectivities separated. This separation may be into two or more spaces, social groups, or be a divergence over issues, positions or ideas. The notion of divides has expectedly been central to the work of both classical and more contemporary socio-political thinkers, such as Marx, Martineau, Durkheim, Weber, Simmel, Bourdieu, Butler, Foucault, Giddens, Goffman, Mills, and Rokkan. Within their work, issues of power, injustice, and discontent were seen as both effects and causes of some of the most known and studied divide-based categories, such as class, gender, status, knowledge, or race. Some highlighted the ways that divides are social constructs and could be both the medium and the outcome of social change. It is not surprising, therefore, that divide-related terms like boundaries and categories permeate almost any research field or sub-field in the social sciences, leading [Lamont and Molnár \(2002\)](#) to suggest treating them as “part of the classical conceptual tool-kit of social scientists” (p. 167).

Divides stand at the heart of social movements, conflicts, and change. They unfold in the context of oppositional relationships between collective actors – challengers, incumbents, or authorities – with incompatible goals, who make

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\*Author order is alphabetical, and both authors contributed equally to this introduction, in particular, and to bring this book to fruition. We thank out-going RSMCC Editor, Patrick Coy, for encouraging this book, the authors for their contributions, and the many anonymous reviewers for their valuable critiques of the chapters. They all help continue the crucial work that was so important to Gregory M. Maney, and has been inspiring to so many scholars, activists, and practitioners (including the editors of this volume) inside and outside the United States.

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consequential claims on each other for the purpose of either promoting or resisting change (della Porta & Diani, 2006; Kriesberg, 1973; McAdam, Tarrow, & Tilly, 2001; Miall, Ramsbotham, & Woodhouse, 1999). Investigations into social movements, conflicts, and change require examining causes of divides, their various operations and outcomes, as well as attempts to bridge them. Divides, be they symbolic or social, material or nonmaterial, suggest a great deal about why ordinary people take it to the streets; how they organize, the type of resource they seek to mobilize; how they manage to form and maintain relationships with the multiple actors and parties in different fields, or to use Jasper's (2004) term, arenas of interaction; the type of contextual changes and developments, which influence their claims-making; and how do authorities, elites, opponents, and supporters respond to these claims.

Indeed, divides are both root causes, drivers, and consequences of conflictual, contentious collective action. Divides reflect various types and forms of interaction and relations of difference and exclusion, opposition, discrimination, and domination. They lie at the core of many causal social mechanisms, such as dissociation, boundary activation, category formation, and distancing; and, they play roles in the processes along which different consequences of conflict behavior and change take form and shape at different levels and forms of human interaction, such as cultural codes, social practices and organizations, and institutional norms and policies.

The case of the United States Civil Rights Movement's "freedom summer" illustrates how various divides can be strategically utilized, as when Northern white activists came to Mississippi in order to assist African-American activists in voter registration and empowerment. As McAdam (1988) demonstrated, while white activists attracted national media attention and helped their communities to understand issues of racism and poverty, this reinforced the less-overt forms of racism rampant throughout the United States and led to radicalization among African-American activists. Additionally, gender divides influenced activists' roles and official rules within the campaign, mobilization and recruitment efforts, and the effects of freedom summer on activists' lives and other movements (especially women's liberation) (McAdam, 1988, 1992).

Divides, finally, seldom work alone or operate singlehandedly, and rarely do they carry the same weight and consequentiality, not only across cases, but also over time or in the course of cycles of conflict and contention. As research has shown, divides and their related categories and boundaries often operate in conjunction and in intersection. These recurring features require a historically specific and nuanced analysis both of how and which divides are intertwined, interconnected, and mutually reinforce each other, as well as of how and when the structure of what can be called a "network of divides," and its center of gravity or key-divide change (or persist) across time and space (Anthias & Yuval-Davis, 1992; Epstein, 2007; Pachucki, Pendergrass, & Lamont, 2007; Wimmer, 2008).

Additionally, discussions of divides often result in oversimplified dichotomies, which obscure the multitude of groups to which one belongs or the numerous sides involved in conflicts. Some divides are dyadic (center vs periphery), some



are triadic (Ultra-orthodox Jews, Conservative Jews vs Reformist Jews), and other still are polyadic (Catholic vs Protestants vs Muslims vs Jews). Often smaller divides cluster around a more central divide, highlighting a distinction between primary and derivative divides. Fundamental divides can become the basis for additional extended divides usually in other domains or realms of human interaction. For example, Irish and English national divides extended to Catholic and Protestant religious divides and extended further to various more concrete and mundane divides, such as rival soccer teams and their fans. Scholarship on divides would surely benefit from continuing to investigate the intersectionality of divides (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991) and carefully examine how various divides may co-constitute identities and experiences (Hancock, 2007).

This collective endeavor is inspired by Gregory M. Maney's scholarship in the fields of social movements, peace/conflicts, and community-engaged scholarship, wherein divides and attempts to challenge divides at different levels of authorities and across the globe were a primary focus. Inspired by Maney's work, we present chapters that advance knowledge about how ordinary people mobilize to challenge institutional norms, practices, and policies that legitimize and preserve divides, as well as how state actors, other powerholders, publics, and opponents react to these challenges. The forthcoming chapters present geographically diverse examples of divides, which move beyond examining the divide between activists and their targets, to also exploring divides between activists due to organizational, generational, and tactical differences. Equally important and in clear connection to the theme of this volume, our contributors point to ways to bring down divides.

## STUDYING AND RESEARCHING DIVIDES

The notion of divides immediately and associatively brings up sundry, related concepts. On top of those associated concepts to which we already alluded, a non-exhaustive, yet fairly comprehensive list of equivalent concepts or terms that are often used interchangeably by academics and non-academics alike would include boundaries, polarizations, categories, differentiations, cleavages, splits, partitions, divergences, factionalisms, fragmentations, segregations, and dissociations. An attempt to formulate the relationship among these many concepts and terms is beyond the scope of this introductory chapter, and of this special issue more generally. We can, however, think of two possible reasons for this state of affair. The first reason for such a flood of concepts and terms concerns the fact that *divide* is a multifaceted, multi-dimensional concept with many real-life manifestations, unfolding in different levels and forms of human interaction. This is why the study of divides would unquestionably benefit from a multi-disciplinary and multilevel approach. The second reason is that similar to other phenomena in the social sciences, the study of, and research on divides has been carried out through several perspectives and approaches, each with its own set of terms and focus on particular divides.

Far from treating them as monolithic, staunchly mutually exclusive, or wedded to one particular type of divides, we nevertheless identify three main

approaches in the vast literature on the topic: “structuralism,” “culturalism,” and “interactional-relationalism.” Structuralist accounts of divides focus on those material conditions, broadly conceived to include socio-economic conditions of living, as well as geographical and demographic features (e.g., city size, demographic profile, regional differences in terms of industrialization or modernization). Structuralists treat divides as determinants or key factors of social and political processes and phenomena, such as electoral behavior and democratic institutional performances (Lipset & Rokkan, 1967; Putnam, 1993; Tarrow, 1967), and conflict dynamics (Guelke, 2012; Maddison, 2015). Expectedly, scholars in this tradition use terms like segregation, partition and barrier, and focus on divides like periphery vs center, mountaineers vs lowlanders, and developed vs developing societies.

Culturalist accounts of divides, rather, focus on those nonmaterial, cultural and symbolic conditions, inclusive of ideological, ideational, or perceptual elements (e.g., cultural tradition, political consciousness, discourse, institutional codes). Cultural perspectives treat divides as forces that not only interact with those structural divides, but in fact extend to have compelling influence and consequentiality on numerous social processes, such as collective memory (Vinitzki-Serusi, 2002), alliance formation (Cornfield & McCammon, 2019), or legitimization of violence (Demetriou, 2007). Terms like categorie, identity, cleavage, and polarization are usually employed when studying divides between political Left and Right, inter-religious (e.g., Jews vs Muslims) or intrareligious (e.g., Catholics vs Protestants) hostility.

In between these approaches, interactionist/relationalist accounts remind us that divides develop in the context of interaction and that changing patterns of contacts and ties mediate the influence of cultural and ideational forces, and the degree to which structural factors inform social and political processes (e.g., political involvement (Tarrow, 1977), framing political issues (Gamson, 1992), identity (Tilly, 2005), and radicalization (Alimi, Demetriou, & Lorenzo, 2015)). Accordingly, interactionists/relationalists focus on the same divides as those of the structuralists and the culturalists, albeit employing different terms like convergence or divergence, and alliance or rivalry. Works in this approach capture and analyze the mechanisms (e.g., brokerage) or contexts (e.g., submerged networks or free spaces) that either bring groups together or pull them apart in the making and unmaking of boundaries, be they class, race, ethnic or gender-based (Croteau, 1995; Lamont & Molnár, 2002; McAdam & Kloos, 2015; Mueller, 1994; Polletta, 1999; Wimmer, 2008).

In addition to illuminating divides of different types, all the above approaches (and others) are also utilized to examine how to bridge divides. The differences between “us” and “them” are often exaggerated during conflict, with similarities obscured.

## TYPES OF DIVIDES

Scholarship regularly examines the relations between two sides of a divide, be it center vs periphery, religious vs secular, sacred vs profane, men vs women,

rightist vs leftist, pro-life vs pro-choice, Jews vs Christians, and north vs south. These represent only a fraction of the multitude of boundaries and categories dividing individuals and/or collectives that social scientists have been exploring. Celebrating Maney's work, this volume focuses on three major types of divides:

- (1) Attributional – by which we mean a quality or feature of people around which resources, rights, and powers are distributed unequally (e.g., race, gender, age/generation, class, and ethno-nationality);
- (2) Ideological – by which we mean systems of meanings, ideas, and beliefs and how they may divide and polarize people (e.g., conservative vs progressive; pro-life vs pro-choice; and anti-war vs pro-war); and
- (3) Epistemological – by which we mean types, productions, and usages of knowledge over which contests and conflicts occur (e.g., academic vs activist; scientific vs experiential; and mainstream vs alternative media).

Attributional divides, especially those based on race, ethnicity and class, form the vast majority of the examinations into divides within social movements and conflict analysis, as traditionally scholars have examined fights for labor and/or civil rights, and other material gains. Many societal inequalities have developed from the applications of these divides to law, policies, and other norms. These divides are the most obvious, and often most central, to large-scale conflicts. Gregory M. Maney cut his teeth in the fields of social movements and social conflicts through an examination of the ethnonationalist conflict around Northern Ireland, writing a dissertation entitled, “The Reform-Conflict Paradox in Northern Ireland: Constitutional Logic and Transnational Dimensions of Ethnic Political Contention” (2001). Using statistical analyses of political deaths, disaggregated by ethnicity, he found that there were different causes of violence for Loyalists than there were for Republicans, suggesting that conflict management requires attention to the ways attributional divides shape “the sources, timing and targets of heavy violence” (2005, p. 82). He continued to examine the ways that this attributional divide operated within that conflict throughout his career, further integrating the scholarship of armed resistance, social movements, and contentious politics (see Maney, 2005, 2012a, 2012b; Maney, McCarthy & Yukich, 2012).

Lee Smithey and Joshua Satre bring to print some of the last work Gregory M. Maney did on this conflict with the chapter titled, “Paramilitary Public Symbolic Displays in Northern Ireland: A Content and Geospatial Analysis”. Collaborating with Maney on a systematic mapping and analysis of the content of paramilitary murals and other public symbolic displays in West Belfast between 2009 and 2015, Smithey and Satre show that just as public displays played a central role in reflecting and shaping ethno-national collective identities that justified the conflict, they can be utilized to support the peace process through various measures and practices, such as the removal of murals with violent themes or even redesigning their content with pro-peace themes. The other chapters in this section offer evidence from other places and of other divides, such as that of Israel-Palestine where Palestinian, Israeli, and international

activists engaged in cross-conflict boundary-work, as shown in Gawerc's chapter; and in the United States, Danaher and Crawshaw offer an analysis of the important framing differences in first- and second-wave feminist poetry and songs, which highlight how the movement adapted to sociocultural change.

Scholarship illuminates how ideology also contributes to divides and social movements develop to alter such systems of thought and belief. The second section of this book opens with Sharon Erickson-Nepstad's comparative analysis of Catholic leaders' responses to revolutionary struggles in Chile, Argentina, and El Salvador. As Erickson-Nepstad shows, the conditions and factors that lead religious elites to support the ideology and causes of the revolutionary forces or those of the regime are both state-related (i.e., whether the religious institution is state-funded) and society-related (i.e., whether the religious leaders have direct relational ties to the aggrieved population). Complementing this are two chapters that examine attempts to surmount ideological divides: Mouly, Hernández, and Garrido's chapter on instrumental, reputational, and relational factors that influence armed actors' decision to accept demands for nonviolence by civilians in Colombian peace territories, and the chapter by Yavaş on boundary-blurring work of Turkey's leftwing-Islamist movement, which highlights the importance of *inclusionary* boundary work. Additionally, Heuer's chapter demonstrates the difficulty of creating coalitions by examining how ideological differences among New Delhi, Indian women's rights organizations adversely impacted intra-movement dynamics, and chances of achieving desired goals.

While ideological divides may seem to exist more in our minds than attributional divides, which often seem obviously written on our bodies and living conditions, these divides, as the chapters in this section demonstrate, have proven to be just as deadly when policies call for war or other suppressions of schools of thought. Social movement coalitions must adapt to numerous differences in ideology within their ranks or risk falling apart. Gregory M. Maney's scholarship in partnership with Patrick Coy and Lynne Woehrle (also the authors of this volume's conclusion), offers an important examination of the ideological battle over patriotism and war in the United States from 1990 to 2005. Comparing peace movement organizations' responses to the Gulf War, the terrorist attacks on 9/11, and the Iraq War (Woehrle, Coy, & Maney, 2008), they found that peace movement organizations carefully opposed some and utilized other aspects of hegemonic discourse. Peace movement messaging changed from the Gulf War to the post-9/11 period, becoming more likely to engage with ideas of civil liberties and democracy, given their salience at this time (Maney, Woehrle, & Coy, 2005); importantly, however, these organizations defined democracy with an emphasis on minority rights and in opposition to militarism (Coy, Woehrle, & Maney, 2008). Although peace movement organizations adapted to the changing emotional climate related to perceptions of threat during these periods, they remained ideologically consistent in their critique of the threat of US militarism (Maney, Woehrle, & Coy, 2009).

Within the field, scholars have also examined the importance of challenging knowledge-production, both by social movements and by scholars. Epistemological divides offer a focal point to get at the necessity for change both in society at large

and within scholarship. Although he published prolifically, Gregory M. Maney was never satisfied with being in a position of power over others. Thus Maney, with co-authors including his Hofstra University colleague Margaret Abrahams and others, such as Charlotte Ryan, challenged the construction of knowledge within social movement scholarship. Maney's scholarship often utilized or explained the methodological tools of community-based participatory action research, and the chapter titled, "Social Movement Research with Whom: Potential Contributions of Community-based Research Methods" by Charlotte Ryan and Gregory Squires echoes the value of such an approach, and the need for more scholars to use this research method. Based on their invaluable, decades-long research and theoretical work in this area, Ryan and Squires argue in favor of a co-production of knowledge between scholars of social movements and social movement activists. They also lay out collaborative methods, which constitute useful tools for such co-production.

Maney implemented some of these methods in studying divides over immigration, and through direct engagement of researchers with organizations, was able to suggest concrete strategies for challenging structural disadvantage (Abraham & Maney, 2012). He not only published in academic outlets, however, Maney also published detailed accounts and recommendations in trade journals about workplace justice and organizing of immigrants (Maney, 2010; Maney, Campisi, Molina, & Canales, 2007) and offered research-based reports to improve non-profits, such as one that quantified the scope of human trafficking and related service needs (Maney et al., 2011). The chapter by Oliver resonates with this style of research, demonstrating an insider view of a privileged academic working *for* and *with* community groups around issues of racial disparities, while encouraging other scholars to embrace a stance of reflective humility in such interactions.

This volume provides a collection of works by scholars who not only wrestle with different types of divides, including prestige, generational, ethno-national, and attitudes toward violence, but also addresses and generates insights into the development of, and attempts to overcome divides around, the world. These chapters further the work that Gregory M. Maney was dedicated to as both as an academic and an activist: using perspectives from multiple disciplines and fields of research to illuminate and overcome divides. Similar to the following chapters, Maney imported insights and theoretical tools from one discipline to another, utilized numerous research methodologies, and incorporated insights from those at the center of the action to develop knowledge that reflects the real world, thus pointing to solutions for overcoming different types of divides in different settings, including ethno-national conflicts, community housing, and human trafficking. The insights reveal that divides, and their bridges, are both ubiquitous and generic; it is vital that scholars cross disciplines to capture the diversity and the interrelatedness of divides as Maney did through collaboration with scholars from different disciplines (Sociology, Political Science, Communication Studies, Economics, Irish Studies), and different regions (Israel-Palestine, United States, and Northern Ireland).

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