Robbins: most protest is ultimately against the capitalist system
  - that is, it opposes the system: it is “antisystemic”
  - capitalism requires constant change
    - one person’s progress is another person’s unemployment or abuse
  - change and growth may bring net benefits in the long run
    - but people don’t live in the long run
    - they need to survive decently now
    - so they will often resist change

Revolution(s) of 1848
  - Uprisings of the poor and middle class
  - Started in France
  - Spread to much of Europe
  - Mostly put down quickly with little political effect
  - Causes were highly varied
    - peasants gradually forced off land into urban labor pool
    - factory and early industrial production abused labor
    - economic downturn starting in 1846: hunger
    - potato blight, crop failures, especially in 1846: hunger
    - cholera in poor slums due to contaminated water
    - popular press raised consciousness, improved communication
    - people blamed their governments, rebelling against them
  - All due to rise of capitalism?
  - Specifics:
    - France: overthrew the monarchy for democracy
      - the only revolution of 1848 that was fully successful
    - Denmark: tried to overthrow the monarchy
      - got a new constitution creating a democratic constitutional monarchy
    - German states: demanded unity and representation
      - little immediate effect
    - Hungary: demanded freedom from Austria
      - briefly succeeded, Austria returned and clamped down
    - Even Brazil, and others...
      - “those who had nothing united in common envy, and those who had anything united in common terror.” (Alexis de Tocqueville)
  - One long-term result:
    - Established labor movements
      - some developing unions and voting power
      - some promoting revolution
    - Led to:
− eventual end of lingering feudalism
− better conditions for workers
− reduced poverty
− in the capitalist West:
  − “welfare” states with social insurance and decent wages
  − accepted by capitalists in order to quiet labor unrest
  − although they constantly try to reverse gains, squeeze workers
− in communist Eastern Europe:
  − socialized production and state support for citizens
  − more secure but lower standard of living
− Another long-term result, in the periphery:
  − Established national liberation movements, seeking freedom from colonial rule
    − Latin America, Africa, Southeast Asia
  − Led to:
    − dismantling European colonial empires
    − creating local elites that replaced foreign ones
− Revolution(s) of 1968
  − Specifics:
    − US and England: Riots against the Vietnam war
    − US: Civil rights riots
    − Poland and Czechoslovakia: Riots against communist government
      − Polish government responded with a massive wave of anti-Semitic policies and purges
        as a distraction
    − France: Students and later 2/3 of all workers strike
      − opposed to consumer society and conservative ideology
      − almost brought down the government
    − Peru: Left-wing military coup, Juan Velasco
      − redistributed large landholdings as many plots to workers
        − arguably a disaster: production plummeted
        − nationalized most industries (including Standard Oil...)
        − a slower disaster: drill rigs broke down, telephone system never updated, patronage hiring, etc.
    − Mexico: Students protested government suppression when they demanded jobs and government reform
      − Tlatelolco massacre: hundreds or more killed at a peaceful demonstration
      − and others...
    − Again due to globalization and the culture of capitalism?
    − Varied, but...
      − Vietnam war began as resistance to French colonization
      − Civil rights issues due to slave trade and colonialism
      − French students objected to consumerism, class inequality, etc.
      − Velasco (Peru) tried to help poor recover from colonial landownership and capitalist concentration of wealth
- Mexican students incensed by poverty, unemployment, authoritarian government supporting capitalist interests
- How do movements against communist governments fit in?

- Some examples of antisystemic protest
  - Coal miners in 19th-century Pennsylvania
    - resisted very dangerous working conditions
    - and low pay for it
    - with unions and strikes
    - marches, sabotage, work slowdowns, etc.
  - ethnic conflicts between Irish and others
    - recall: the labor class is typically segmented
  - owners tried to prevent union organization, discredit labor leaders and groups, use force, fire people, etc.
- similar to today’s labor movements in other marginally profitable industries
- The roles of globalization and capitalism are pretty obvious here...

- Feminist resistance
  - Some feminist complaints:
    - US: women’s suffrage (right to vote) not until 1920
    - women in all societies do most of the domestic work
    - women produce “over 50%” of the world’s food
      - whatever that actually means...
    - 2/3 of all adult poor are women
    - many societies allow women fewer ownership and inheritance rights
  - Role of capitalism in oppression of women
    - 1. alienates people from land, other means of production
      - separates subsistence production from the household
      - where roles of men and women were intertwined and obviously both necessary
      - where roles of men and women were equally visible and public
      - pushing men into wage labor
        - where they earn cash that they control
        - where they are visible in public, interact with other men, network, may access power
      - leaving women with domestic work
        - which produces no product or cash that they control
        - where they are isolated and hidden, with less access to power
        - they are dependent on men for cash to buy necessities
    - 2. promotes nuclear families, rather than kin networks
      - nuclear families suit capitalism because
        - buy more goods than kin networks do
        - are more able to sell land, etc.
        - are less able to resist or threaten the state
        - are more mobile, less tied down, so can go where workers are needed
      - encouraged by
capitalists dealing only with men
colonial governments recognizing only male ownership and inheritance
missionaries promoting male authority
results:
recognition of males as heads of households gives them more power
typically, the man is older, wealthier, more educated, legally favored
men’s control of women is less restrained by kin
women have less access to social support
women have less access to kin’s resources
Role of capitalism in oppression of women
3. In the periphery, creates lots of low-paying factory jobs for women
4. IMF, WTO, and investor pressure tend to reduce government programs for the poor
who are disproportionately women
Feminist resistance
Since women’s problems are tied to capitalism, they have played large roles in many revolutionairy movements
but often without much long-term gain
Are feminist complaints a different kind of problem?
that more requires cultural relativism?
as in the example of “Sisters in Islam"
Ecological resistance
The impact of globalization and capitalism on the environment is obvious
it harms peasants and other poor the most
loss of land to development projects, dams, etc.
degradation of land due to deforestation, high density, etc.
pollution tends to be less controlled when directed at the poor
benefits from ecological harm go more to the wealthy
products that the wealthy can buy but the poor cannot
some of the wealthy care for the environment anyway
for practical reasons of sustainability
for aesthetic or spiritual reasons
so environmental and indigenous resistance are often allied
Point: we can see most protest as caused by, or involving, globalization and capitalism
such as:
labor protests
nationalist, anti-colonialist movements
anti-war protests
civil (ethnic or racial) rights movements
anti-government movements opposed to corruption, authoritarian methods, etc.
peasant or other poor people’s demands for land, subsidies, tariff protections, etc.
rejection of consumerism and class inequality
feminist resistance
ecological resistance
– Yet it rarely tries to change the whole system
  – usually attacks the immediate agent of the problem
– So these protests…
  – sometimes improve specific complaints
  – but will never solve the general problem
– What would?