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POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND POLITICS OF THE POSSIBLE: A
COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF POLITICAL ACTIVISM IN FRANCE AND

MAINE

by

Jennifer Leigh Ferguson

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for a Degree with Honors
(Political Science)

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Abstract

Political activism and political culture provide great insight into how movements not only form but attempt to enact change within society. However, political culture will vary by nation due to the divergent historical foundations and the use of tactics that resonate with citizens as the most effective way to promote change in a government. Therefore, it is critical to cross-nationally examine the effect that political culture can have on current social movements. In this thesis, I examine the impact of political culture on recent social movement activity in France and the state of Maine, with a focus on debates over the legalization of same-sex marriage. Through firsthand experience and case study analysis, this thesis demonstrates the different strategies movements utilize to promote the same cause, adopting different tactics and framing strategies. I argue that this reflects differing cultural influences in each society. In fact, I will argue that divergent collective memories of respective revolutions and the forms of government that resulted from the framers of each nation contribute to the organization and execution of same-sex marriage social movements today.

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Introduction

In Alexis de Tocqueville's nineteenth-century observations of American and European government and society, he suggested that "... [m]ost Europeans look upon associations as a weapon which is to be hastily fashioned and immediately tried in the conflict" (1994, 196). De Tocqueville eloquently captured the root of how American and French societies view political activism and participation. Although his writings took place over 150 years ago, the fundamental framework of his observations remains today. The core argument seen in de Tocqueville's observations holds true to the way American and French societies view and react to the social issues that are currently prominent in society.

Although many factors have changed since de Tocqueville's time, the parallels that are seen today have roots in the origins of each country's respective revolutions for liberty and democracy. Even though the manner and outcomes of the revolutions differed greatly, the ideas were grounded in the same desire for equality and freedom. Susan Dunn insightfully describes what she believes as the fundamental difference in ideology between the two countries and perhaps how their different understanding of government impacted the diverse outcomes. She states:

"While Americans had opted for governmental stability, the French hungered for energetic, decisive, effective government. It was a stagnation that they feared, not the concentration of power. The American solution- factions and conflict, the separation of powers, checks and balances- seemed wildly inappropriate to most French revolutionaries certain that it would only thwart the radical steps they wanted revolutionary government to take" (1999, 72).

This ideology, unique to each of the two revolutions, appears to continue to serve as a foundation to the political theory and practice of each country today.

In the United States and France, recent struggles over gay marriage have catalyzed the two countries to react to this social movement. However, with differing political cultures, the activism and participation seen in each movement differs. Social movement theory can provide an interpretive lens to understand how political systems interpret and respond to social issues. In recent years, global movements for gay rights have shown that "... the lesbian and gay movement has been altered from a movement for cultural transformation through sexual liberation to one that seeks achievement of political rights through a narrow, ethnic-like interest- group politics" (Bernstein 2009, 264). Treating sexual orientation and sexual rights as a political interest group defines the social movement within a political context as never before. Each country has seen greater acceptance and approval for LGBT rights within the political system. However, the strategic political action by which these populations sought approval and acceptance has greatly differed.

General Thesis Outline

Similar in outlook to the observations of de Tocqueville during his time in America, after completing a semester abroad in Paris, France, I viewed the striking differences in the quality and impacts of American and French political activism. This Honors Thesis will blend these firsthand experiences and observations with reflection on the origins of, and major similarities or differences between, French and American democracy. The analysis of this thesis will generally be divided into four sections.

In Section I, I give a perspective on the current state of political participation and activism in each nation viewed through the lens of collective memory. I will offer thoughts on the historical importance of the revolutions by engaging in analysis of the (1) development of democracy following each respective revolution, (2) the intellectuals who led the movements, and (3) the initial and long-term influences that those leaders had on their respective countries.

In Section II, I examine the political culture in each country as a result of the political thought developed during the French and American Revolutions. Protest tactics of past movements in particular will be examined and directly related to political culture of each nation.

In Section III, I provide a comparative case study of the modern same-sex marriage movement in France and the state of Maine and will illustrate the core differences in modern political activism grounded in the historical context of each country's democratic origins through an analysis of (1) contemporary news and media coverage of the movements in each country with a comparative assessment of the news sources, (2) scholarly documentation defining the social movement and examining the content and implementation of the movements, and (3) the similarities and differences in each country and the influence of democracy within the movement.

In Section IV, I will offer a summary and conclusion assessing the premise that the defining relationships in the origins and practice of American and French democracy still prevail. I will argue that the differing strategies that activists employ to achieve their movement goals, as seen through the recent legalization of gay marriage in France and

Maine, are directly related to the differing practices set in motion by French and American democracies emerging from their respective revolutions.

Theoretical Framework

Throughout this thesis, and my case analysis, I employ concepts and theoretical constructs from the field of social movement studies, the study of political culture, and collective memory theory. What follows is an examination of these terms and their relevance and significance to this study. In addition, I discuss how utilizing these concepts can help us understand the strategies and likelihood of success for a social movement.

Social Movement Studies

Social movement studies provides an effective and insightful tool for comparatively analyzing movements cross-nationally. When conducting the cross-national same-sex marriage case study in France and Maine, the framework of social movement studies is utilized to examine the trajectory and impact a movement is able to have on a society. Social movement studies operate from the assumption that, "... social movements are best understood not as groups or organizations but as clusters of contentious interactive performances or protest events" (Taylor and Van Dyke 2004, 263). These events often demonstrate how a culture reacts to problems in their society. Some protests are beneficial and result in change, while others never make a meaningful impact on society. The key to an impactful social movement often depends upon a clear alignment to societal standards and desires.

Social movements are sometimes conflated with political parties and interests groups because they are both organized entities that aim to shape society. However, this is not an accurate definition as the latter are more conventional, formalized, and may lack a “grass-roots,” bottom-up character. However not any collectivity can be considered a social movement. As Oliver notes, we “... all too often we speak of movement strategy, tactics, leadership, membership, recruitment, division of labor, success and failure [are] terms which strictly apply only to coherent decision-making entities (that is, organizations or groups), not to crowds, collectivities, or whole social movements” (Oliver 1989, 4). Social movements studies offers us “... a theory of how the stakes and the central actors of social conflict are modified under changing structural conditions” (Della Porta and Diani 2006, 29). The actors and participants in a social movement are engaged in political participation. Therefore by studying social movements, we are able to gain great insight into how groups obtain policy change outside of conventional models of participation.

These social movements often develop “... when a feeling of dissatisfaction spreads, and insufficiently flexible institutions are unable to respond” (Della Porta and Diani 2006, 13). Inequality is usually at the heart of the dissatisfaction felt by a movement. In order to stop further discrimination and end the inequality felt by the participants social movements form to combat the issues facing a society.

When examining social movements cross-nationally, there are two key variables that allow scholars to better understand how these movements form and react in relation to their societies. First, the nature of political culture gives great insight into the protest tactics and mobilization that the movement utilizes. Furthermore, collective memory

provides the necessary historical identity that a movement often latches on to in order to gain credibility within a political structure. In order to understand social movements, we must first grasp these two concepts.

Political Culture

By understanding political culture, researchers can gain insight into how a society or nation organizes political participation and political activism. By definition, political culture represents the relationship and interaction a society has with each other and their government. Furthermore, political culture is “based on communication and persuasion, a culture of consensus and diversity, a culture that [permits] change but [moderates] it” (Almond and Verba 1963, 8). When engaging in cross-national analysis, political culture can be essential to understanding the different forms of activism present in the societies being studied, in this case, France and Maine. Due to the large scope and diversity within a nation, we must sometimes make broad generalizations regarding a political culture, particularly at the national level. However, despite these general over-arching generalizations, if done carefully, researchers can generate insights about how a society views and reacts to political and social needs.

Political cultures shape the different forms of protest politics and social movements seen in a nation, for each society will utilize a form of protest that best capture the attention of fellow citizens and the government. Sociologists Taylor and Van Dyke suggest that:

“Protests can encompass a wide variety of actions, ranging from conventional strategies of political persuasion such as lobbying, voting, and petitioning; confrontational tactics such as marches, strikes, and demonstrations that disrupt

the day-to-day life of a community; violent acts that inflict material and economic damage and loss of life, and cultural forms of political expression such as rituals, spectacles, music, art, poetry, film, literature, and cultural practices of everyday life” (263).

Movements may take on the conventional forms or they may take on more violent and visible forms of participation. It will largely depend upon the political culture in which the movements are operating and the resources and avenues available to the movements. If these scholars of social movements are correct, we should expect to see significant difference in the types of protest tactics and political actions we see in different locations.

Furthermore, political culture can have a significant impact on whether or not a movement mobilizes at all. For example, “[t]he capacity for mobilization depends on the material resources (work, money, concrete benefits, services) and/or nonmaterial resources (authority, moral engagement, faith, friendship) available to the group” (Della Porta and Diani 2006, 15). Societies often organize and protest in ways with which they are culturally familiar, and therefore a pattern can be detected in protest tactics within a culture. Therefore, understanding the political culture of a nation can offer a basis for understanding how and why social movements adopt certain strategies in interacting with their society as a whole.

Collective Memory

Collective memory is defined by one scholar as “... the set of symbols and practices referring to the past which are commonly shared by a community of people” (Zamponi 2013, 225). Collective memory assists in the understanding of how political groups organize, mobilize, and attempt to enact meaningful change in society. By

tapping into collective memory, groups fashion a collective identity that unites all the participants in one cause through the "... formation of new, collectively based, identities as the outcome of participation in forms of collective behavior like social movements" (Eyerman 2002, 5). Collective memory contributes to the way in which a movement shapes the participation of the members of the organization. Society's view of its cultural heritage greatly impacts the role in which the collective memory can be used by participants in the movement. It has been observed that "the collective identity process of a movement draws on and responds to the cultures in which the movement is found and from which it emerges... the collective memory framework brings cultural elements forward" (Gongaware 2012, 228). This process also allows movements to gain political and social relevance. By creating a link to a country's national identity, a movement gains credibility through its appeal to a historically rooted national identity (Gabel 2013, 251). Furthermore, existing movements are able to gain momentum and relevance by framing their grievance or cause in relation to a cultural heritage and tradition.

Social movement theories and the use of collective memory can provide insight into how activists shape a connection to their nation's past and a desire to preserve their ideal future. The movements become meaningful and effective within society because "the social movement maintains a sense of continuity in its collective identity, in part, through the reproduction over time of certain collective identity elements such as shared notions about ends, means, fields of action, activation of shared relations, and emotional investments" (Gongaware 2012, 234). Groups can exploit this identity to maintain cohesiveness by forming a bond that recognizes their "collective past." Members are linked together by accepting and identifying with the struggles that were present in their

cultural histories and using these circumstances to unite the population in a new movement for progress. Anyone who does not personally take on these burdens to enact change is seen as an outsider (Gabel 2013, 251). Identification with the past is a key component to success in social movements that utilize elements of collective memory.

Impact of Political Culture on Movement Strategy and Success

In order to comprehensively study social movements, political culture must be examined as it provides significant insight into movement strategy and success. In the study of social movements, "... the so-called 'new political culture' perspective, which calls for a new interest in the role of culture in politics... echoes the topics of the cultural turn in social movement studies, and the interest in the symbolic construction of conflict" (Zamponi 2013, 226). By utilizing the framework of social movement studies, scholars can examine the political culture of a society and its link to contemporary collective memory. Doing so enables us to explain why movements adopt the tactics they do and assess the determinants of success and failure for movements within a particular society.

Below, I examine the importance of these frameworks and concepts in previous research conducted in relation to social movements. The existing research provides the backdrop for my own analysis of the political participation and activism present in France and Maine.

Literature Review

The Emergence of "New" Social Movements

Social movement research focuses on "... how ideals, individuals, events, and organizations are linked to each other in broader processes of collective action with some continuity over time" (Della Porta and Diani 2006, 5). When studying social movements,

scholars usually focus on “individuals, organizations, or events, in the best instances trying to capture the interdependence between them” (2). Historically, social movement research developed rapidly in the 1960s and 1970s. Globally, we tend to think of this period as one in which social movements were beginning to emerge, with the civil rights and anti-war initiatives in the United States and student protests in Europe, particularly the events of May 1968 (1). However, in the study of social movements, these widely recognized movements are actually considered the *second* wave of social movements.

Prior to the 1960s expansion of social movements, the study of these groups was largely focused on protest related to economic concerns. These movements were mainly associated with labor unions, working to ensure that the basic needs of society and workers were being met. Graeme Chesters states that these “old” social movements tended to focus on “wages, food, housing [and] what we might call ‘bread and butter issues.’” However, the “‘new movements’ were characterized by their support of demands and values that were described as ‘post-material’ because they were concerned with questions of culture, power and identity” (2011, 15). This evolution in social movements is critical to understanding social movements of today. This period marked the beginning of a time in which “marginal social actors, students, women, black and ethnic minorities, young people, lesbians, gays and bisexuals, and the unemployed represented a new radical constituency with the capacity for systemic social change” (12). Today, the sociological study of social movements is a sophisticated endeavor, and a great deal of research has been conducted on social movements to more clearly understand political movements and activism in society. The most influential social

movements reflect the shift to less economic and more identity-based and cultural grievances.

Della Porta and Diani explain the importance of social movements and the necessity of this field of research by detailing three main concepts related to social movement research: 1) collective action against an opposing organization, 2) connection with rich informal networks, and 3) sharing a unique collective identity (2006, 20). By understanding these components of a social movement, one can better understand how these movements emerge, the methods they use to organize and the political influence they have on society around them.

Early studies of social movements did not focus on these ideals and beliefs in attempting to understand social movements. Rather, these early studies, particularly those rooted in resource mobilization theory, were mainly focused on the resources movements had at their disposal and were concerned with “more structural, rationalistic and goal-driven explanations for the emergence and persistence of movements” (Fominaya 2010, 393). At this time, the “... emergence and operation of social movements, with mobilizing ideas and beliefs [was] not just placed on the back burner but metaphorically taken off the stove” (Snow 382). Theories regarding the relationship between the meaning of a movement and the way in which that movement mobilized were not even considered at this time (383). Collective memory and the theory of framing, which delve into the cultural identities that support the mobilization of movements, have only been studied recently.

In more recent research, the theory of framing is used because the way that a grievance or injustice is articulated that can constitute a “central dynamic in

understanding the character and course of social movements” (Benford and Snow 2000, 611). Specifically:

“[c]ollective action frames, like picture frames, focus attention by punctuating or specifying what in our sensual field is relevant and what is irrelevant, what is ‘in frame’ and what is ‘out of frame,’ in relation to the object of orientation... [and] more importantly, as articulation mechanisms in the sense of tying together the various punctuated elements of the scene so that one set of meanings rather than another is told” (Snow 2004, 384).

Framing helps illustrate the meaning actors give to movements and why a particular movement is significant to that group of people (Benford and Snow 2000, 613). Social movement theorist Erving Goffman developed the theory of framing and states:

“[c]ollective action frames... perform this interpretive function by simplifying and condensing aspects of the ‘world out there,’ but in ways that are ‘intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists” (614). However, framing is effective only if the movement has credibility.

Credibility “of any framing is a function of three factors: frame consistency, empirical credibility, and credibility of the frame articulators or claims makers” (619). Frame consistency refers to the universal articulation of a movement’s “beliefs, claims, and actions.” Inconsistency in a movement’s message is detrimental and can contribute to a movement’s failure. Empirical credibility refers to the relevance of the movement to the world around them. If a movement cannot display the significance and importance of their cause, their movement cannot gain momentum in society. Lastly, the credibility of the actors in the movement shapes the organization’s likelihood for success. The “frame

articulators or claims makers” must not only be viewed as knowledgeable but trustworthy as well for the claims they are making to be viewed as legitimate (620). Credibility is crucial to how “essential the beliefs, values, and ideas associated with movement frames are to the lives of the targets of mobilization” (621). Framing, combined with the credibility of the movement, helps explain the activism and participation seen in social movements.

Furthermore, through the development and understanding of social movements framing has given a richer perspective on the movement’s underlying interests and goals. According to David A. Snow, “[i]n contrast to the traditional view of social movements as carriers of extant, preconfigured ideas and beliefs, the framing perspective views movements as signifying agents engaged in the production and maintenance of meaning for protagonists, antagonists, and bystanders” (384). Framing provides context and meaning to social movements and allows researchers to better see how a movement engages in the ongoing definition of its goal.

Studying Variation in Social Movement Tactics

When analyzing tactics of social movements, the terminology “repertoires of contention” is most often used to describe the specific methods they utilize to attempt to achieve their political goal. Repertoires of contention, a term coined by sociologist and political scientist Charles Tilly, “... describe the distinctive constellations of tactics and strategies developed over time and used by protest groups to act collectively in order to make claims on individuals and groups” (Taylor and Van Dyke 2004, 265). Specifically, Taylor and Van Dyke note that variations that can occur in effective protest tactics along the following dimensions: “novelty, militancy, variety, size, and cultural resonance”

(279). No matter what movement is being examined, the organization will either adopt new and radical strategies or stay true to traditional mobilization tactics. Within these strategies the movement will be militant or confrontational, and the organization will employ a variety of tactics or focus on a few key forms to attempt to organize a meaningful and impactful movement. The degree to which tactics resonate with a given culture is significant to contributing to movement success.

Towards this end, actors involved in social movement tactics "... draw on established cultural schemas that structure social life... [and take] conventional symbols and modify them in ways that allow them to take on new meaning. This is one means by which collective actors create "new and innovative forms of protest" (276). This strategy is a major indicator of the success or failure of a social movement. Research demonstrates that "movement success and failure depends, in part, on a group's ability to frame collective actions in ways that link participants' grievances to mainstream beliefs and values" (282). Cultural resonance in protest tactics is a key indicator for success in a social movement.

In a social movement case study conducted by Verta Taylor, she demonstrates the importance of cultural resonance and "how tactical decisions and innovations are linked to a challenging group's framing of their grievances." She specifically examined the movement tactics for pro-choice activists in Ireland and how they gained positive attention through their movement choices that promoted Irish cultural traditions and ideals and therefore gained widespread support for the movement from the nation (276). This case study demonstrates the importance cultural resonance holds in the tactical decisions in of social movements.

Similar to the impact that framing and cultural resonance tactics have on social movements, collective memory helps attract actors to participate in the movement and contributes to the widespread impact of a movement's ideals. Timothy B. Gongaware, a current sociologist and theorist in social movement studies, describes his findings examining how collective memory and references to the past provides a form of stability to a movement:

“All social groups- from the smallest clique to the largest society- rely on an ability to connect the dots of past, present, and future; to establish, in meaningful ways, both their unity as well as their continuity through time and space. Collective memory has been shown to aid in that goal... [and] as social movements attempt to make claims about the present and posit visions of the future, they necessarily must draw upon and highlight images from the past” (2012, 218).

Gongaware found that social movements that anchor in a collective past or memory are able to successfully establish continuity with the past. Recently, scholars have been looking at not only how collective memory helps shapes the impact and trajectory of the movement but also how the movement itself frames and adapts the collective memory around the movement (129). Furthermore, Gongaware elaborates that “... the collective identity of a social movement implies the unity of a shared sense that it is a coherent actor with shared ends, means and fields of action, shared relationships, and shared emotional investments” (486). Social movements gain cohesiveness from the development of their collective history and are responsible for the development, longevity and success of a movement. To ensure the longevity of a social movement

many groups experience collective memory maintenance. This is to ensure that "... recollections from the distant past are carried forward to the present" (504). The use of collective memory maintenance helps display the important, and significant, role collective memory plays in social movements because the longevity of the collective history is maintained.

However, collective memory is a developing aspect of social movement research and many scholars disagree on how to study collective memory in a movement. Kevin McDonald even argues that "collective identity is a conceptual liability, and that scholars should go beyond the collective identity paradigm... and instead conceptualize collective action as 'the public expression of self'" (McDonald 2002). However, others believe that "... scholarship in this area has not only served to illuminate key processes that sustain or debilitate movements over time, but has also contributed to a growing body of literature that focuses on cultural and emotional dynamics of mobilization" (401). Although some may argue as to how best to study collective memory theory, research does highlight the significant role collective memory plays in movement continuity and cohesiveness.

Not only does collective memory theory help provide a movement with a tie to a nation's collective history and cultural continuity, collective memory assists in directing movement actors. Collective memory provides movements "with the interpretative process by providing insurgents with information to make judgments about what course of action, if any, to consider (Harris 2006, 22). Fredrick C. Harris studied the influence of collective memory theory on the Civil Rights Movement. In his study, he found that the movement used events that took place, in some cases, thirty years prior, such as the Scottsboro Trials, the Brown Board of Education ruling, the murder of Emmett Till, and

the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Although these were key collective memory identifiers in the Civil Rights Movement and contributed greatly to their cause, in the survey conducted by Harris, only about 40-60% of the participants actually remembered these events (25-26). However, these stories and memories are often preserved by being passed down through generations and contributing to the sense of community and deep connection among potential movement members. These collective histories provide the movement leaders with direction and precedence (27). The cultural background of a movement is crucial to understanding how a movement will act and react.

McAdam argues that “continuous processes of sense-making and collective attribution are arguably more important in movements insofar as the latter require participants to reject institutionalized routines and taken for granted assumptions about the world and to fashion new world views and lines of interaction” (1999, xxi). This is how movements produce innovative ways to integrate their collective past into current movement tactics. However, “[i]f memory processes do not sustain a particular memory or if memory processes are weak altogether, then entrepreneurs might find it difficult to appropriate and frame a particular memory or any collective memories in behalf of collective action” (Harris 2006, 24). Collective memory is successful when there is a strong, historically rooted, collective identity.

For instance, a recent study examined the role of collective memory in social movements within Bolivia. Linda Farthing and Benjamin Kohl conducted an in-depth case study on indigenous collective memory in Bolivia and found that: “Part of what has enabled Bolivia’s social movements to forge such strong patterns of contention is the degree that indigenous cultural practices have been adopted throughout the society. Even

upper class, thoroughly westernized Bolivians, for example, routinely make libations to the Pachamama (Earth Mother) when they drink alcohol” (2013, 364). Furthermore, Farthing and Kohl state: “... Bolivia’s social movements suggest how vital it is to take into account how differences in culture and history affect the shape of mobilization in different sites” (370). Although recent case studies like this one conducted by Farthing and Kohl provide great insight into the role that collective memory can play in social movements, limited research has been conducted examining cross-national variation in how collective memory operates in movements seeking similar goals.

Studying Social Movements in a Cross-National Context

The comparative study of social movements cross-nationally is less developed than studies providing in-depth analysis of individual cases within a single country. However, one important dimension of such cross-national research is that many movements adopt characteristics of other successful movements. These movements do not always share identical components but “... it is more that cultural expressions resemble each other, perhaps through the borrowing or adoption of rhetoric from movements in other countries” (Adam et al 1999, 348). This concept of multiple causes utilizing the same protest and organizational tactics is often referred to as “modularity” and can result in a transnational “diffusion” where similar movements and movement tactics appear in different national settings.

Sidney Tarrow, a specialist in European politics and society, has done extensive research and developed the concept of modularity in the study of social movements. In his work *The New Transnationalism*, Tarrow examines how collective action spreads. Social media and advanced technology for instant communication are largely responsible

for the rapidity with which information can be sent and collective action can be organized (2005, 103). In a case study provided in his text, Tarrow examines modularity in the trans-national diffusion of non-violent resistance in India, the United States, former socialist countries and solidarity networks in Chiapas and North America. Through his examination of these movements, he concludes that though “we cannot predict outcomes from processes, we can hypothesize that these processes will vary in their effects according to their major driving mechanism” (118). Tarrow highlights in his conclusion that modularity may not provide significant information as to the success of a movement but aids in the analysis and comparisons cross-nationally. Therefore, we can more deeply understand the formation and impact of cross-national social movements by engaging in a trans-national study than we could understand solely by looking at a single national context.

Studying Same-Sex Equality Movements in a Cross-National Context

Currently, many nations are witnessing movements to legalize same-sex marriage. Therefore, “... the international context was and is of importance in understanding the emergence and development of lesbian and gay movements. Transnational diffusion is an important facilitating condition for movement development” (Adam et al. 1999, 368). The comparison of cross-national same-sex marriage movements allows scholars to interpret the dimensions of these movements, how they organize, and how they are successful or unsuccessful in their endeavors.

Movements for the legalization of same-sex marriage and gay and lesbian rights can be seen as a continuation of the social movements that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. The progress that these previous movements forged can foreshadow the success

of same-sex marriage movements because “[c]ountries lacking [the civil rights, women’s, and student movements] lag behind in the development of gay and lesbian movements” (358). Therefore, it can be inferred that countries that have witnessed the success of previous social movements are more likely to accept the reforms for gay and lesbian rights.

The major issue world-wide in the efforts of organizations to legalize same-sex marriage is the essential conflict between this reform and the adverse effect that the anti-same-sex marriage movements believe it will have on the traditional family structure. Many liken this social movement to “... the war over religious and political orthodoxy that preceded it, the battle over homosexuality is part of the war between the enforcement of a single orthodoxy in family formation and an agenda of personal choice among plural options in personal relationships” (356). In an examination of the theological perspectives of traditionalist Christianity and Judaism on the issue, researchers found that people who believe marriage is the joining a man and woman into one flesh, were against same-sex marriage because “[b]y definition, homosexual marriage is incapable of achieving this ‘one flesh’ union. Therefore, [they] reject the notion that homosexual marriage is equal to heterosexual marriage.” Furthermore, in various other faiths such as Islam, the religious texts warn against homosexual actions as being against God (Wald and Glover 2007, 111). Believers of these traditional views, many who adhere to more strictly orthodox religious doctrines, strongly oppose the global movement of same-sex marriage. This conflict can be seen cross-nationally and demonstrates the origin of polarization that can result from these debates. However, it is too early to determine if this is any indication for the success or failure of these movements.

Many other factors contribute to the success or failure of same-sex marriage movements within a national context. Not only does the political structure and cultural heritage of a nation affect the success or failure of same-sex marriage legalization in a nation, recent studies have shown the definitive influence of demographics, specifically the size of younger generations within society. Younger generations tend to be much more accepting than older generations on this issue. Research has shown that "...in most countries younger people are more tolerant toward homosexuality than are older generations, and an increasing proportion of the younger cohorts of the population now regard sexual freedom as more important than traditional sexual morality" (Adam et al 1999, 360). This evolution in public opinion has created an environment that has allowed the same-sex marriage movements to gain momentum and strength.

Furthermore, political culture greatly influences the effectiveness of political activism, and "[c]ountries marked by a more participatory political culture allow more social and political space for groups that feel deprived or discriminated against" (365). The political impact that a social movement can have depends on the acceptance of a nation's political culture to the idea of social reform. A key variable in the success of a social movement is the identity in which the movement can take hold. In social movements, "[i]dentity is, by definition, an emotional attachment based on one's feelings about a set of principles or persons... [they] are largely based on shared norms and values that dominate within a group but can also emerge and strengthen through the very transformative experience of activism..." (Grotsky 2012, 14). Advanced western nations tend to be more accepting than the Middle East or non-western developing nations, and their more participatory political cultures allow social reforms to take hold in society.

These cross-national differences can be systematically examined through public opinion and approval ratings for same-sex marriage. A study conducted by Tom W. Smith analyzed public opinion and approval ratings for same-sex marriage rights in forty-two countries between 1991 and 2008. Smith posed the question to the respondents in countries being studied, “Is homosexual behavior wrong?” The responses came back as either “not wrong at all” or “always wrong” with few middle ground responses (3). Through this cross-national study, Smith was able to detail trends in public approval of same-sex marriage and witnessed the overall increase in approval ratings over the span of years observed (2011, 2). Furthermore, the conclusion of this study highlighted the many cross-national differences in opinion related to same sex marriage. While this provides great insight into a large cross-national examination of public opinion related to the early studies of gay and lesbian rights, there are no developed cross-national studies as to how these opinions form through the activities of social movements, what historical and cultural factors influence the nature of these movements, and how these movements have a meaningful impact a society.

Although social movements have been observed since the mid-twentieth century, same-sex marriage movements are still evolving. Even though some preliminary research has been done on the same-sex marriage movement and many developments have been made in this study domestically and internationally, the study of LGBT movements “... has remained peripheral to most fields in the social sciences and almost non-existent in the discipline of politics” (Kollman and Waites 2009, 2). A cross-national examination of the same-sex marriage movement is crucial to understand how these organizations form in society and impact their political surroundings.

However, the same-sex marriage movement is only one way in which to comparatively analyze the influence that political culture has on movements. A similar case analysis could have been conducted on the women's rights movements or other social movements present within each society. The focus of this project is to analyze cross-nationally the variations in social movements due to differing political cultures and collective identity, using the recent example of same-sex marriage. However, there is limited research related to the recent same-sex marriage cases on a cross-national level, and therefore, limited sources from which to draw regarding these movements.

According to the theory of modularity and transnational diffusion, movements cross-nationally should express similar tactics despite the different regions and settings. However, if political culture and collective memory do in fact influence a movement's tactics then variation should be seen across movements in different countries. Therefore, a comparative, cross-national examination of protest tactics can serve as a means to decipher whether modularity is in fact occurring, or if a nation's collective memory and culture play a larger role in shaping the nature of the mobilization and determining the success of a movement.

Research Design/Methodology

This thesis is a cross-national comparative case study on social movements in France and Maine, with a special focus on protest tactics. This case study analyzes the recent legalization of same-sex marriage in France and Maine and compares political participation and activism as it relates to the underlying social movements associated with same-sex marriage in France and Maine.

Case Selection

Many factors contributed to the case selection of France and Maine as the research focus for this project. After studying abroad in Paris, France for a semester, I wanted to focus on a comparative case study that analyzed similarities and differences in the style of politics practiced in France and the United States. Since both countries had recently experienced the legalization of same-sex marriage, this topic seemed both timely and relevant for such a case analysis, and provided an area of research that needs further exploration. I especially wanted to examine political participation and activism in France and the United States on this global issue since these two nations, although similar in democratic origins, seemed to demonstrate such significant differences in contemporary politics and values.

These cases have significant similarities because both settings faced extensive movements to legalize gay marriage within the same year. Although there was widespread support, both France and Maine saw great resistance from their conservative, older generations. Finally, although France and the United States have a different national structure of government, the comparison at the state level in Maine provides a direct parallel to France.

The major challenge in comparing legalization of same-sex marriage in these two nations is the differing governmental structures. France, a unitary state, has a legislative structure operating primarily at the national level. Therefore, when examining the same-sex marriage legislation in France, this must be done by studying national legislation on the issue. In contrast, the United States has a federalist structure that legislates at both national and state level governments. The legalization of same-sex marriage in the United States has taken place incrementally at the state level. Therefore, in order to

appropriately study units which are relatively similar in their legal and decision-making structure, the state of Maine was chosen as opposed to the entire United States. Maine was one of the first states to legalize same-sex marriage and has a remarkably active citizenry that allows a unique and compelling comparison to France.

The differences between these two nations also provide a compelling argument for comparison. Mainly, their individual histories have shaped very different political cultures. As a result, this comparison enables us to examine the ways that historical development impacts movement formation and movement success. If history plays a different role across these two contexts, this would suggest that there are limits to the theory of modularity proposed by Tarrow and others. Distinctive trajectories would instead suggest that the collective memory and cultural identity of a nation are more significant factors in shaping the protest organization and tactics among the population.

Data Collection

Due to the recent legalization of same-sex marriage in France and Maine and the limited scholarly analysis of this cross-national examination thus far, a majority of the data utilized in these studies has been collected from news media sources and from the various proponents or antagonists of same-sex marriage present in each country through their movement literature. In addition, public opinion polling numbers are utilized to provide context on how society has reacted to the legalization of same-sex marriage, and demographic information will further explain who in society was opposed to the movement or supported the legislation. Secondary scholarly journal articles and books were used to provide supplemental historical background to the case studies and demonstrate the significant role that collective memory can play in the organizational

tactics of social movements. Lastly, I will be drawing upon my semester abroad in Paris, France where I lived and studied for five months. During this time I was fully immersed in the French culture and witnessed first-hand a number of protests and observed how this society reacted to issues that were facing them.

Framework for Analysis

By comparatively examining collective memory and protest tactics within social movements in France and Maine, I will conduct a comprehensive, cross-national analysis. In what follows, I engage in systematic examination of the political participation and activism of each same-sex marriage movement. The thesis question will be addressed by comparing the nature of each country's protest tactics and whether we see widespread variation in the tactics and framing strategies employed by movements across these two settings. By examining examination the influence of collective memory in France and Maine, the protest mobilization tactics specific to each nation, and the specific case study of the same-sex marriage movement cross-nationally, I aim to assess the extent of cultural influence on political participation and activism in these two societies.

In comparison to the existing literature, there should be one of two results at the end of this study. If researchers such as Tarrow, who emphasize modularity and transnational diffusion, are correct, the difference in tactics and framing in two different settings should be insignificant. However, if those who emphasize the importance of collective memory are correct, we should be able to see variation in tactics and framing strategies used by the two movements.

Analysis

Part I: Collective Memory and the Revolutions: Connecting the Present Protest to the Past

Collective memory plays a large role in understanding how France and the United States frame political activism today. Collective memory helps us embed political activism and current movements within the cultural and historical background of the past. Many movements gain momentum by incorporating a historical outlook that gives current members affirmation and purpose for their cause. As one scholar notes, we witness collective memory in politics when “participants bring the past forward, by means of narrative commemorations, and link it to the formulation of a presently considered collective identity element... such that the current development comes to mirror the past formulation” (Gongaware 2012, 218). Political activism in France and the United States can be studied and explored by examining the impact and use of collective memory.

In particular, the collective memory of the respective French and American democratic revolutions contributes to how the people believe they are best able to enact change and promote new political policies. Furthermore, the collective memory of the revolutions has shaped the political institutions and structure of the two nations today. Collective memory sets in motion the institutional heritage that is seen today and has influenced the ideologies of each nation.

Susan Dunn highlights the key concepts from the revolutions that contributed to the political structures we see in the French and American governments today. Dunn sees “[t]umult, division, and competing interest groups in the United States vs. concord, unity, and community in France” (1999, 24). Unlike the American Republic, the French

Republic is highly centralized as a unitary state. This form of government was formed after the French Revolution in 1789 and France has since experienced five regimes, or Republics. France is currently in the Fifth Republic which has been in place since 1957. Although over the last twenty-five years, France has slowly moved toward some decentralization of authority to locally elected officials, France is still one of the most centralized countries in Europe. This must be taken into account when comparing France and the United States. Legislation in France will not occur at the departmental level, which is comparable to a US state. Legislation in France will only occur at the national level unlike the state legislative process conducted in the United States. In this respect, the theorists of each revolution when constructing the democratic institutions and legislative processes contributed to the framework of government that can be seen today. Despite the many changes in the French government since the French Revolution is responsible for the political culture in France and still shapes how the French view political participation.

Furthermore, the political minds of the French Revolution helped articulate a universalist view of politics that greatly influences French political activism and participation to this day. In contrast, the United States has adopted a view of exceptionalism, which has also impacted the forms that political activism and participation take in America. Although each nation has formed two different political ideologies, the role that collective memory plays in social movements applies for both nations and influences the political participation and activism present in their societies today.

France and French Universalism

Charles de Gaulle, President of the French Fifth Republic from 1959-1969, may have reflected the concept of French universalism in suggesting that: “there is only one duty and one law and that is French unity. There is only one interest that counts, that of France. There is only one duty that exists for us, and that is to unite and rally around her” (Dunn 1999, 25). De Gaulle captured in his speech to the French nation the great influence universalist ideology contributes to French political thought. Not only is universalism responsible for the political structure in France, France’s political culture and political thought are largely influenced by its national roots in universalist philosophy.

Impact of Enlightenment thinkers on French universalism

The ideology of the French Revolution was strongly influenced by ideas of Enlightenment thinkers. In hopes of abandoning their suffering past and starting over, French revolutionaries dismissed the ideas of experienced men and instead opted for those of philosophers. One of the most famous groups of these thinkers in France was known as the “men of letters” or “philosophes.” These theorists, such as Voltaire and Jean Jacques Rousseau, were no longer alive when the Revolution began, yet their writings held great authority with the activists engaged in this upheaval. However, Alexis de Tocqueville believed those leading the Revolution took these ideals and translated them to their fight in the Revolution, and they were largely responsible for the violent and unnecessary extreme actions that took place during and after the Revolution. He condemned these men stating that “[i]t was the brutal and violent character of the Revolution, not its underlying political principles, aims, or vision... [de Tocqueville] did

blame the naïve, arrogant manner in which they went about this ‘necessary destruction’” (33). As will be seen with these Enlightenment principles of forward thinking and revolutionary ideals, political action and participation in France can be linked to the ideology that was borne out of the Enlightenment.

Jean Jacques Rousseau was one of the most influential Enlightenment thinkers and had a large impact during the time of the French Revolution. His theories on the social contract greatly shaped the political minds of the Revolution and influenced the political structure that France adopted. In Rousseau’s social contract he states: “... if all the citizens assembled of one accord to break the compact, it is impossible to doubt that it would be very legitimately broken” (2001, 73-74). Rousseau believed that if the government no longer was serving the needs of a nation, it was the nation’s duty to strike out and change the current structure. This ideology was adopted by the French revolutionaries. As a nation, the French wanted to end the government that was no longer serving them because it was not what was best for France. Cries during the Revolution of “vive la France” and “vive la Nation” demonstrate the nationalistic views of the revolutionaries and the universalist ideology that drove this movement. Rousseau’s philosophy enables us to see the roots of the French nationalistic society that is anchored in universalist ideology.

Furthermore, one commentator on French culture stated: “To be French is to be the member of both a particular nation and a representative of a universal ideal, to be other is (at minimum) to be only particular, a condition that may be escaped only by becoming French” (Lionnet 1998, 119). This was the ideology that drove the French Revolution, and still influences French political culture and society today. Although

Rousseau may have not imagined his ideas leading to violence, the French Revolutionaries used the basis of his ideals to fuel their cause.

Through Enlightenment thinkers, the foundation for universalism in France originated. France was exposed to universalism through the many political theorists contributing ideas during the French Revolution. The attitude of universalism:

“... expressed itself through the belief in universal knowledge, through the advances of science, and its application, through technology, to increasing industrial production, greater economic wealth, trade and prosperity. It also expressed itself through a belief in the progress of the human race itself, on the physical, moral, political and cultural planes” (Majumdar 2005, 17).

The French political minds leading the Revolution incorporated these ideals of universalism into the foundation of their new republic, with their Constitution in 1791. The constitution states: “The representatives chosen in the departments will represent not a particular department but the whole nation; they have no special mandate from the department” (Scott 2005, 14). In many ways, this statement provides the framework for French institutions of government today. Instead of the division of powers as seen in the US government, France has a unitary structure of power. The governing of the French nation is to be conducted with a universal and national mindset. Individual interests are not at the forefront of French political agenda. This universalist perspective greatly influences the manner in which political activism is able to take form as individual interests are overshadowed by universal ideology. In addition to shaping the formation of institutions, the political culture that results from this universalist mindset shapes the political activism and participation that is seen in France

Although France has experienced many reforms and regimes since the French Revolution and the writing of the Constitution, the theory of universalism in France has stayed true to its core (Majumdar 2005, 19). Not only has universalism been at the root of French political thought since the Revolution, French society can be seen using the historical roots of France in order to promote current agendas and reforms. Joan Wallach Scott suggests that:

“Unlike the architects of the American system... who saw legislatures as arenas of conflicting interests and defined representatives as voices for particular social and economic groups or factions, the French revolutionaries took the abstraction of the nation as the referent for representation. Representatives were the tangible embodiment of the nation as a whole; it was a nation one and indivisible” (2005, 13).

French society, influenced by the minds of its Revolution, uses the collective memory of the Revolution and the foundation of universalist thought to identify current political and social movements with the ideals of the highly revered Revolution of its past.

Edward Said, a literary theorist in the 1970s, further explained the origins of French universalism demonstrated not only the characterization of the French state itself but its colonial holdings throughout the world: “... the French empire was uniquely connected to the French national identity, its brilliance, civilizational energy, special geographic, social and historical development” (Majumdar 2005, 19). This connection to national identity and heritage is a means by which to bring society together and form a bond that unites different coalitions. Social movements, as will be seen with the current

same-sex marriage movement, often rely on the ideals and standards that are historically rooted in the collective memory of France and French universalism.

The United States and American Exceptionalism

President Abraham Lincoln, after his election in 1860, reflected on the American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence by saying that they “gave liberty not alone to the people of this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time... in due time the weights would be lifted from the shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance” (Dunn 1999, 163). Lincoln drew on the ideals of the American Revolution and utilized the collective memory of that event to unite the nation in a new cause. He also demonstrated the ideology of American exceptionalism and the influence this ideology continues to have on American politics.

Although the term “exceptionalism” has only been coined in recent history, the origin and endurance of the concept can be seen in the American Revolution and throughout American history. Academics offer many different definitions that contribute to this multidimensional concept. Often conservatives and liberals will have their own interpretation of the term as it relates to their specific views. However, American exceptionalism, viewed through the understanding of collective memory theory, details the way in which American citizens view their role in the world as a unique nation with a specific mission.

James Ceasar states that the root of American exceptionalism encompasses two main concepts: “(a) the possession of a certain quality or (b) the embrace of a task or

mission” (2012, 7). Although there currently is robust discussion on the topic of exceptionalism with a range of opinions, the United States is often viewed by many as a nation with a mission to spread liberty and the ideals of democracy throughout the world. From the perspective of collective memory, the adherents to American exceptionalism express the belief that Americans are role models for effective democracy, and the success of the American Revolution and subsequent ascendancy of the US as a world power serve as a source for this ideology. The French even observed and tried to emulate the success of the American Revolution for their own cause. A French newspaper wrote during the onset of the French Revolution that “America was the hope and the model of the human race” (Dunn 1999, 11). When constructing the foundation of American government “... the quest of the Fathers reduced primarily to a search for constitutional devices that would force various interests to check and control one another” (Hofstadter 1974, 11-12). This ideology is still seen in political rhetoric today and collective memory grounded in the American Revolution contributes to the ways that social movements engage in framing and organizing.

Alexis de Toqueville, one of the most influential observers of American politics, noted that “in America the liberty of association for political purposes is unlimited” (1994, 193). Although the terminology of American exceptionalism had not yet been used widely Toqueville observed the concept in his writing. Toqueville saw the framework of American government as unlike anything he had witnessed before. This ideology of the United States being unique and different and worthy to be spread worldwide is at the foundation of American exceptionalism.

American political framers, such as Thomas Jefferson and James Madison, expressed their notions of American exceptionalism in their early writings on the structure of American government. Unlike the universalism seen in France, “[u]nity for Jefferson could only mean a shared commitment to core democratic values and to a republic that, though ‘indivisible,’ permitted political fragmentation and unruly- though moderate- ideological division” (Dunn 1999, 23). Jefferson did not view a successful democracy without competition and debate. This was a key aspect to preserving the ideals of the nation.

Furthermore, James Madison stated: “Liberty is to faction what air is to fire... But it could not be less folly to abolish liberty, which is essential to political life, because it nourishes factions, than it would be to wish the annihilation of air” (Dunn 1999, 55). The American framers did not share the French ideology of universalism and instead preferred the individualist aspects of democracy.

Unlike the universalist French government, “... the architects of the American system... saw legislatures as arenas of conflicting interests and defined representatives as voices for particular social and economic groups or factions” (Scott 2005, 13). The American government does not wish to be one voice, but rather to have many conflicting voices that contribute to national goals. This ideology is the framework for the federalist system seen in the United States. Power and responsibility are divided between the state and federal authorities, and this system encourages individualism and celebration of competition and diverse perspectives. The emphasis of this ideology and framework in America:

“... has been on the individual. Citizens have been expected to demand and protect their rights and personal basis. The exceptional focus on law here as compared to Europe, derived from the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, has stressed rights against the state and other powers. America began and continues as the most anti-statist, legalistic, and rights-oriented nation.” (Lipset 1996, 20).

The construction of this political participation greatly influences the activism and helps shape the political mobilization of social movements seen in the United States and can be highlighted with the way in which the American society has reacted and participated in the same-sex marriage movement.

French Universalism vs. American Exceptionalism

Therefore, from this perspective, when comparing these two ideologies as core factors of the nations' collective memories, one could summarize the difference by examining perspectives on the importance of the individual. French universalism, which often reflects a collectivist view, places the emphasis on the nation state and the good of France as a whole. However, this is often pursued at the risk of the individual. The interests of the individual are often compromised in order to promote the needs of the state as a whole. In comparison, American exceptionalism places the entire emphasis on the individual. This displays the importance on the individual being exceptional, and deserving of rights and personal autonomy. The ideology reinforces the idea that individual autonomy contributes to the nation's exceptionalism. This is in essence, the fundamental driver of capitalism. The importance of the individual, and the unique viewpoints that France and the United States hold towards the individual, play a large role in how their movements gain support and attention for their cause. The ideological

differences between France and the United States regarding the value of the individual significantly affect their political culture, which is reflected in the protest tactics of their respective social movements.

Part II: Political Culture and Protest Tactics: How Movements Form in Different Cultures

Impactful protests must draw upon and illustrate a clear alignment to social standards and desires. Studies of social movements argue that movements are best captured by being viewed not as formal organizations but dynamic upheavals with many different participants (Taylor and Van Dyke 2004, 263). These events often demonstrate how a culture reacts to problems in their society. The political culture present in a society contributes to the type of protest tactics that are most available and effective for participants to use.

In order for protest tactics to be successful “the event must be collective, involving more than one person; the actors must be making a claim or expressing a grievance either to change or preserve the system; and the event must be public” (267). Furthermore, “movement success and failure depends, in part, on a group’s ability to frame collective actions in ways that link participants’ grievances to mainstream beliefs and values” (282). Although a nation may exhibit multiple forms of protest tactics, in general, a consistent pattern can be determined.

France and French Protest Tactics:

France has witnessed many forms of protests, some displaying more violent tendencies while others align more with conventional political strategies such as petitioning and political persuasion. However, in general, protests in France tend to be large-scale disruptive protests. As one commentator notes, “... France has been a hotbed

of rebellion and dissent and a powerhouse of political ideas that spread to the rest of the world. From the French Revolution to the 1968 student protests, the French typically are inclined to express their ideas on the street” (*Stratfor*). Here, I will make the case that the more confrontational and disruptive mode of contention we witness in France is linked in important ways to its underlying political culture.

For example, French President Francois Holland witnessed great unrest in early 2013 when he reformed unions to ensure France’s competitive industry. This reform means “more job security for workers on short-term contracts, but makes it easier for firms to put staff on shorter hours if orders dry up. It also gives them new rights to dismiss any who refuse to participate” (*Reuters*). However, the two main labor unions in France, the CGT and FO, did not support this reform and took to the streets to protest the proposed reforms.

A news article examining the unrest explained that: “[t]he hardline CGT and FO, backed by two smaller unions, had called for protests in some 200 towns. The Paris march was due to head to the Socialist-controlled National Assembly, which is set to pass a law based on the accord...” (*Reuters*). This was a large scale, disruptive protest that spanned multiple cities. Labor unions, in particular, are known to create disruptive scenes such as this in France. Although not always the case, protests in France often employ similar large-scale and disruptive tactics.

Studying in Paris, France provided me a first-hand view of how French society organizes and produces protests, a view that parallels the above description. During my four months abroad, I witnessed multiple protests for multiple movements, yet they all held a common component in how they were organized. These protests used

confrontational tactics and were disruptive, affecting and interfering with people's daily lives. For example, on a day in which a protest would take place all of the roads would be shut down and blocked off in the protest area in order to accommodate the protestors. This meant that all above-ground public transportation would be shut down and cars and pedestrians would be unable to enter through these roadways. The police would often surround the protest to ensure it did not get out of hand, and the city street sweepers would immediately follow the protest, cleaning up debris left by the activists.

I witnessed the protest conducted by the CGT and FO labor unions detailed above. I was unaware of this protest in advance, but soon learned of it as I exited class from La Sorbonne for the day. My bus home was canceled, and all of the roads were completely blocked off. However, protests did not stop the Metro, and I was able to take the underground subway home. This alternate mode of transportation often allows citizens to avoid the disruptive nature of a French protest. Nevertheless, these protests are very visible and everyone knows they are taking place.



Figure 1: Labor Union Protest, Paris, France (*Photography by Jennifer Ferguson 2013*)



Figure 2: Public Bus Transportation Cancellation due to Protest, Paris, France (*Photography by Jennifer Ferguson, 2013*)

Although one may think a very public and disruptive protest like this would generate a great deal of attention for a particular cause, protests such as these are so common in France that they often do not gain as much attention as one would expect. The protests are generally organized far in advance and often the notice of public

transportation closure is offered prior to the protest taking place. From my observance of these protests, citizens appear to pay no attention to them. Protests are a large aspect of French political participation and effective when they utilize the militant traditional French style of protests.

In the section to come (Part III), an analysis of protest activism related to the recent same-sex marriage case study will assess whether the type of activism present in France is an effective form of participation.

United States and Maine Protest Tactics:

Alexis de Tocqueville, through his analysis in *Democracy in America*, observed that “Most Europeans look upon association as a weapon which is to be hastily fashioned and immediately tried in the conflict... Such, however, is not the manner in which the right of association is understood in the United States” (1994, 196).

Maine, and the United States generally, approach activism differently than France. Although, as with France or any country, there are multiple variables that contribute to the way in which a society protests, patterns can be seen. The United States has witnessed many violent and disruptive protests throughout its history. For example, many protests emerging from, the Civil Rights Movement and the anti-Vietnam War efforts of the 1960s were quintessential disruptive and destructive protests. However, viewed for the nation as a whole, the majority of protests are not conducted in this way.

Maine is a unique state and offers a unique and fairly dynamic case study for political participation and activism. This state displays many qualities that emphasize a passion for grassroots organizing, which allows Maine to “keep politics dynamic and close to home.” Furthermore, “[t]he state regularly ranks among the top tier of states in

voter turnout in national elections, a habit that makes Maine an exception to many other high-turnout states, where voting behavior is linked to above-average levels of income and education in the population, characteristics less common in Maine” (Palmer 2010, 27-28). Thus, Maine offers an insightful case study for participation and activism in the United States, as there are widespread instances of participation to consider.

According to theorist Daniel Elazar’s examination of political culture in the United States, there are three main political cultures that typify state-level politics: traditionalistic, individualistic, and moral. In political cultures with “traditionalistic” tendencies, traditional elites oversee governments that have a large presence in society, and their power is focused on securing the current social order. States with “individualistic” forms of government are largely driven by business elites and politics take on a business-like character. By contrast, Maine falls within a political culture that Elazar refers to “moralistic.” In a society that exercises this form of political culture, “[s]erving the community is the core of the political relationship even at the expense of individual loyalties and political friendships” (Elazar 1972). Grassroots organizations and political participation are dominant in these societies because political issues are important and the citizens are highly active and engaged.

The theory of moralistic political culture provides insight into the way Maine political institutions have evolved over time. Citizens are highly active and engaged but rather than undertake disruptive and confrontational protest, they channel their energies into a variety of political institutions that provide them direct access to political decision-making. Maine has “Citizen’s Initiative” and “People’s Veto” procedures which enable citizens to directly initiate or overturn pieces of legislation with which they disagree. It

has small legislative districts and a citizen legislature, which enables them to lobby their representatives directly and ensures their legislators are likely individuals within the community who they know and can contact. At the local level, “town meeting” decision-making gives citizens an outlet to express their frustration and block procedures and policies they view as negative. As a result, though citizens are more likely to be highly knowledgeable and active in politics, policy mechanisms exist for them to impact policy directly.

A recent movement that demonstrates the notion of political activism in Maine is the ongoing debate over the East-West Highway. The East-West Highway aims to create a highway that runs “from the Maritime provinces to Sherbrooke, Quebec, where it would connect to major highways serving the American Midwest” (*Seacoast*). Proponents of this addition in Maine argue that the East-West Highway would provide jobs and economic opportunities to regions of the state (notably the North and West of the state) that have high levels of poverty and limited job-creating industries.

However, this proposal has met with resistance from a number of Maine citizens. Some citizens worry they may be displaced from their homes, while others worry about the environmental damage this project may cause on the Maine wilderness and landscape (*Seacoast*).

The city of Dover-Foxcroft in Central Maine witnessed one protest of the East-West Highway in mid-2012. The *Portland Press Herald* described the event as: “The atmosphere was festive, with a folk guitar duo playing in the warm afternoon. Participants mingled around, some wearing blaze orange T-shirts... Other people carried

signs” (Turkel 2012). This was not a disruptive or violent protest. Citizens petitioned voters to oppose the East-West Highway.

Maine’s active, yet non-disruptive, political culture can also be explained by the relatively late development of its labor movement which only emerged as a meaningful political force in the state in the 1950s. In France, contemporary social movements are shaped by active and confrontational protests that have a long history in French politics. Labor movements, however, formed much later in Maine than they did in France, and they were dominated by a coalition of Republicans and industrial elites. During this time, “an alliance of lumber and paper, textile, and utility interests supported the Republican Party wholeheartedly in return for weak environmental policies, defense from rate cutters or competitors, and favorable tax policies (Palmer 2009, 25). However, as Charles Scontras, an expert on Maine’s political labor movements noted in 1976: “[Maine’s] industries are so diversified and so divided and scattered among smaller towns, that it has in the past been practically impossible for anything like an army of workmen having interests and aims in common to gather for united action in a given locality” (1976, 326). Maine’s historical absence of a longstanding, active, confrontational labor movement shapes the tactics employed by contemporary movements. Due to its rural and widespread landscape, it is also unable to organize collectively and take action publicly as easily as the more urban France has done. Lastly, Maine’s political system is structured differently than France. With widespread options for direct citizen participation in democratic decision-making, large-scale confrontational protests are simply unnecessary; they might even end up being harmful to the overall cause.

As a result, Maine protests are often conducted very differently than protests seen in France. These protests usually are not as disruptive and often use political argument and persuasion to portray their personal agendas instead. Even though demonstrations may take place, they do not directly affect the daily routines of Maine citizens. Maine, however, does actively participate in local politics and easily mobilizes to utilize more conventional protest tactics.

The Nature of French and Maine Political Cultures:

France and Maine display very different core values as a foundation by which they organize protests and political activism. Evidence suggests that their deliberate actions are a result of the variables in history and how citizens have access to the political systems. France, which experienced a violent revolution, often exhibits forceful protests. The United States, having experienced a dynamic revolution but not as violent as France, does not commonly exhibit protests as disruptive as the French generally organize. The nature of protests in each nation is largely linked to the political culture that was initiated after each respective revolution. Taylor and Van Dyke point out that in any given cultural and historical setting, “tactics of protest are, to the contrary, fairly predictable, limited, and bounded by the repertoires that protestors have learned” (2004, 265). These learned behaviors that are responsible for how citizens view appropriate and effective protest enable us to understand how a particular social movement in a certain culture and nation will organize and promote their cause.

Part III: Legalizing Gay Marriage: The Context of Global Politics

Since the mid-1990s, equal rights movements for same-sex marriage have been active throughout the world. The same-sex marriage movement, similar to other social movements, is “unique in that they are less concerned with economic redistribution and policy changes than with issues of the quality of life, personal growth and autonomy, and identity and self-affirmation” (Taylor and Van Dyke 2004, 273). These movements frame same-sex marriage as a human rights issue and engage with the political system on the basis that they are exposing, and attempting to rectify, as an injustice against society.

The movement for same-sex marriage has been a more recent initiative in many westernized nations. Among these nations, fourteen nations have created civil unions or other protection for same-sex couples. Currently, sixteen nations allow same-sex marriage, and two nations (the United States included) have regional legislation on same-sex marriage (*Freedom to Marry*). The same-sex marriage movements “...have directed their demands to the heart of heteronormative society: marriage should be opened for gay and lesbian couples and adoption no longer the exclusive privilege of heterosexuals” (Adam, et al 1999, 353). Human rights and equality among all citizens are the foundational argument for these movements.

However, same-sex marriage is a contentious issue in many nations. Conservative groups have sprung up in response to the push for same-sex marriage. The issue with same-sex marriage in many nations lies in how marriage is traditionally defined and the implications that redefinition might have on the traditional nuclear family. In many Western nations, France and the United States included, conservative

values and the influence of the Catholic Church can still be seen in the society. A divide in the nation can occur when the Church “exerts state power through a dominant religious party and its ancillary organizations, the liberation of gays and lesbians is severely hampered.” In societies that have a strong religious influence, they sometimes can have a very low acceptance of homosexuality (353). Governments, especially in Western Europe, that are influenced by the traditions of the Church or have historically religious societies often obstruct the work of movements seeking same-sex marriage. It is much more difficult for same-sex marriage legislation to be passed when the government is grounded in an anti-same-sex marriage ideology.

Nevertheless, as will be seen with the same-sex marriage cases in France and the state of Maine, equality for same-sex marriage is witnessing not only acceptance in society but also success in legislation. The correlation between the same-sex marriage movements and the civil rights movements of the past have created a “... language of moral claims, human rights has gone global by going local, by establishing its universal appeal in local languages of dignity and freedom” (Ignatieff 2005, 25). Ignatieff suggests the validity of modularity but also stresses the influence of culturally specific attributes to movements. I suggest that the same-sex marriage movements in France and Maine were successful because they connected their historical roots in universalism and exceptionalism to their current movement to gain acceptance and success.

France and the Same-Sex Marriage Movement

On April 23, 2013, France legalized same-sex marriage after much debate between the far right conservatives and the socialist government under President Francois Holland. The legislation passed in the French Assembly by a 331-225 vote (Hinnant

2013). Leading up to the vote on this legislation, France saw the emergence of two strong same-sex marriage advocates. The Inter-LGBT and the *L'Autre Cercle* are two prominent organizations that have fought for the rights of same-sex couples in France. They promoted the slogan “Le Mariage Pour Tous” or “Marriage for All.” To counteract the efforts of these groups, the conservative right in France formed the movement “La Manif Pour Tous” or “The Protest for All.” Both groups used quintessential French protest tactics to attract French national attention to their cause.

The group Inter-LGBT was originally formed in 1999 under the name Lesbian & Gay Pride Ile-de-France. They desire to “fight against discrimination based on morals, orientation or gender identity in the context of the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms” (*Inter-LGBT*). There are over sixty French LGBT rights associations that unite under this umbrella organization. *L'Autre Cercle* is one of those organizations that falls under Inter-LGBT. It aims to specifically promote equality in different work-related environments in business industry (*L'Autre Cercle*). These groups have organized by the masses and utilize traditional French protest tactics in order to promote same-sex marriage legislation in France.

The Inter-LGBT group organized multiple protests across France, largely focusing in the large cities of Paris and Lyon. In one protest, police estimated that “close to 125,000 people turned out for the demonstration in [Paris], which featured people in costumes as well as rainbow-colored banners and slogans” (Zaimov 2013). This style of protest in LGBT demonstrations is very common globally. French protests, and particularly those that take place in Paris, will be very similar in organization style as this one: a large number of participants that convene an area in order to halt all regular

activity in order to focus on the message of the protest. This organization utilized protest tactics to specifically gain the attention of Paris and the French government.

Furthermore, the strongest opposition to the ideals of *Mariage Pour Tous* is *La Manif Pour Tous*. Not only has this organization been a strong opponent to the legislation, it is very visible in France. *La Manif Pour Tous* aims to protect families in France as they believe the legalization of same-sex marriage will destroy the traditional family and put French children at risk. The organization uses the slogans: “Madame, Monsieur le député, allez-vous me priver d’un père ou d’une mère?” (Madame and Sir, are you going to deprive me of a father or a mother?) and “Maman et Papa, y a pas mieux pour un enfant” (Mom and Dad, there is no better for a child) (*Le Point*). Furthermore, the imagery in their signs and organizational literature provided by the movement promote traditional gender roles and family structures. The signs that protestors hold are either pink or blue (representing specific gender identities) and have an image of a mother and father holding the hands of two children, in representation of what this movement believes the traditional French family should look like. The historical influence of the Catholic Church is the driving factor in the conservative movement that opposes same-sex marriage.



Figure 3: Police Guards at the Manif Pour Tous Protest at the Louvre Museum, Paris, France (Photograph by Jennifer Ferguson, 2013)



Figure 4: Manif Pour Tous Protest at the Louvre Museum, Paris, France (Photography by Jennifer Ferguson, 2013)

Although expressing a different policy agenda from the Mariage Pour Tous movement, Le Manif Pour Tous utilizes the same tradition of French protest tactics. In one protest that took place in Paris, protestors chanted “The rights *of* children trump the right *to* children.” This protest included unexpected allies as it was organized by homosexuals who disagreed with the Mariage Pour Tous statement and movement. One man expressed his belief in the French nation over his individual rights by stating: “In France, marriage is not designed to protect the love between two people. French Marriage is specifically designed to provide children with families” (Wright 2013). The opposition to same-sex marriage in France primarily focuses on family relations and the traditions of French family life.

The focus of Manif Pour Tous can be related back to the origins of French universalism. The debate for same sex marriage is not an issue of equality in France but rather a collective decision on what is best for France as a whole. Those associated with this view believe the future of French traditions could be in danger if the structure of traditional French marriage is changed. The idea that same-sex couples would fight for individual rights, instead of supporting the traditions and standards of families in France is, in large part, the most contentious issue with the debate of same-sex marriage and directly correlates to the collective memory of France.

However, here, we see tactics that resonate with France’s tumultuous and participatory political culture. The disruptive protest tactics used by French citizens can be described as “... the paradigm of an exclusive French identity [which] was, and is, profoundly reactionary both in culture and in politics. It holds that there can be only one way to participate in the culture of a country and only one natural political organization

that fits the society” (Lebovics xiii). Manif Pour Tous’ name is derived from the nature of French protests. The word “manif” is an abbreviation for the French word “manifestation” which means protest in French. This tactics used by Manif Pour Tous and Mariage Pour Tous demonstrate French political culture, a tradition of disruptive protest in which many French citizens take great pride.

Mariage Pour Tous and Manif Pour Tous, although expressing different opinions on the legislation on same-sex marriage, used the same protest tactics to appeal to the political culture in France. Disruptive and public protests, an example of militant tactics, are the means by which French citizens participate politically. The fact that both sides of this debate utilized the same protest tactics due to France’s political culture demonstrates the importance and impact political culture and historical political patterns has on the participation of political activists.

Although the conservative right has protested the legislation, recent polls demonstrate that 63% of the French population supports gay marriage. Furthermore, although the percent of the population that approves of same-sex couples adopting is still lower, the approval rating has risen from 46% to 49% (Pilgrim 2013). Despite the attempts of the conservative movement to frame their view through the traditions of French universalism, and depict same-sex marriage as a threat to French families and identity, recent polls suggest that a majority of the French population views the equality of all groups to be crucial for the success of the nation. According to the ideals of French universalism, what is best for France is maintaining French unity and national identity. This is the underlying movement statement that the Mariage Pour Tous group effectively portrayed to French citizens.

Same-Sex Marriage and the Connection with French Universalism

As seen with the protests present in Paris, “[t]he movement for the legal recognition of homosexual partnerships invoked the rhetoric, not surprisingly, of universalism; it sought equality for- not special treatment of- an interest group” (Scott 2005, 104). The successful adoption of same-sex marriage in France has its roots in French universalism. The unity of France could have been in jeopardy if the same-sex couples were not accepted as equals alongside other French citizens.

The Mariage Pour Tous movement successfully appealed to this dimension of French national identity and understanding notions of collective memory can help explain why this movement was successful in France. However, the anti-same-sex marriage movement in France was fundamentally opposed to the legislation of gay marriage because it viewed the success of the movement as an alteration to the traditions of France. These two organizations demonstrated appeals to the same French ideal of universalism but interpreted the solutions very differently. Joan Wallach Scott details this perspective in her book that focuses on sexual equality and the crisis of French universalism by stating:

“Sexual difference, in the shape of heterosexual couple, became a way of figuring national identity; protecting this couple then meant defending the values of the republic, maintaining the integrity of France. At stake was the notion of French national character, one in which republicanism and sexual difference were inextricably intertwined” (115).

From the conservative French perspective not only was their definition of marriage in jeopardy, but the stability of the Republic of France could also be forever altered. The protestors in Le Manif Pour Tous could not reconcile the acceptance of French universalism with the legislation of gay marriage.

However, Mariage Pour Tous movement was able to capture the essence of French universalism in their movement. The same-sex marriage movement draws upon many similarities to the women's rights movement in France years before. The unequal rights witnessed between men and women were seen as a threat to French universalism. Equality between men and women "... corrected the false universalism of an abstract individualism that had privileged men's power by holding up a single (male) model of the human. A true universalism would recognize that individuals came in two sexes, that 'humanity is universally sexed'" (Scott 2005, 116). Similarly to the women's rights movement, advocates for same-sex marriage argued that the false universalism of Manif Pour Tous deprived same-sex couples of the same rights as heterosexual couples in France. From the French perspective, which is still rooted in the universalist desires of the French Revolution, universalism can only be successful, and maintained, when all citizens are equal. This provides perspective on why the Mariage Pour Tous movement was able to be successful in France.

Despite both organizations in France utilizing the notions of French universalism, collective memory helps explain the success of the Mariage Pour Tous movement. Roselyn Bachelot, a deputy in the French nationalistic Rally for the Republic group, commended the groups seeking equality because:

“The virtue of these associations was that they rejected communitarian solutions, which are necessarily stigmatizing, in order to construct a project that has room for each and every one of us, male or female, together with our children and our parents, at one moment or another of our lives; for in the end we recognize only one community: the Republic” (Scott 2005, 104-105).

Bachelot captured the essence of French political culture and universalism that motivated both groups’ framing strategies. The *Mariage Pour Tous* movement pushed French unity and French political identity as the necessity for societal success in France. Being French was the universal commonality within this organization’s identity. However, the *Manif Pour Tous* movement advocated French unity based on a more selective, traditional, and largely religious, understanding of the societal standards of France. Both organizations drew upon the ideals of French universalism but interpreted the content of this ideal very differently.

As seen with the successful passage of the same-sex marriage legislation, the *Mariage Pour Tous* movement in France was successful despite the efforts of *Manif Pour Tous*. In both movements, the universalist French Republic is always at the focus of their framing of the same-sex marriage issue. However, in the opinion of a majority of French society today, inequality, which same-sex couples were facing, had to be eliminated in order to maintain and preserve the unity of the Republic.

Maine and the Same-Sex Marriage Movement

Unlike the national legislation of the same-sex marriage case in France, Maine witnessed a state-wide referendum for the equality of same-sex marriage in Maine. The 2012 referendum for same-sex marriage passed 53-47% (Cody 2013, 117). This was the

second referendum in Maine. In 2010, a people's veto had shut down legislation to legally recognize same-sex marriage. This organizational feature of the federal system in the United States, and its widespread use in Maine, makes the use of disruptive, unruly protests unnecessary. Unlike citizens in France, citizens in Maine use more pragmatic tactics of political participation to enact change in their political system. Equality Maine, the major proponent for same-sex marriage in Maine, used key protest tactics to appeal to Maine voters, which included grassroots and one-on-one interactions, and resulted in the success of the second referendum. Stand for Marriage Maine, the major opponent for marriage equality, in contrast, was unsuccessful in its efforts to reach Maine voters with their political participation tactics.

Equality Maine provides a clear example of the political participation commonly known in this New England state. The campaigns leading up to the referendum in 2012 utilized:

“... grassroots activity and national groups, with the increasing use of campaign tactics such as voter identification, the widespread use of volunteers to mobilize voters and focused campaign messaging, delivered through media, spokespeople, and paid and volunteer campaign workers” (Fried and Shaw 9).

The same-sex marriage initiatives in Maine once again display Maine politics as being personal and close to home. One participant in a Portland area rally stated that: “This isn't politics. This is personal” (*NBC News*). The ownership of this political issue is what motivated many citizens to participate and created the success of the grassroots movement.

Equality Maine "... had volunteers in target legislative districts talking one-on-one with voters at their door and over the phone" (Fried and Shaw 11). These tactics were essential in getting those who agreed with same-sex marriage to the polls in order to vote and typified the more conventional political participation tactics utilized in Maine. Have one-on-one contact and personal testimonies were exceedingly effective in catalyzing individuals to vote in the referendum. Equality Maine was organized in their endeavor to reach out to individuals that would be supportive of same-sex marriage. Through their efforts to reach out to Maine voters in an organized, sophisticated way, this movement appealed to the moralistic political culture of Maine and encouraged the conventional participation of voting that enacts change in Maine politics. Through this organization and personal outreach by Equality Maine, this movement was able to utilize tactics that effectively reached Maine citizens.

The opposition group formed in response to the same-sex marriage movement was Stand for Marriage Maine. Stand for Marriage is strongly rooted in conservative values and proclaims the importance of the traditional definition of marriage. In 2009, Stand for Marriage Maine was largely responsible for repealing the same-sex marriage law. However, due to financial reasons, Stand for Maine did not have the momentum behind their grassroots appeal to be as successful as their opponent in 2012. According to the Maine Ethics Commission, Equality Maine raised \$21,549 for the issue in 2012. However, Stand for Marriage Maine was not even a large enough contributor to be included in the financial report (*Portland Press Herald*).

Furthermore, Stand for Marriage Maine attempted the same political tactics of appealing to likely voters as Equality Maine but was unable to attract enough support.

Unlike the rhetoric used by the French anti-same-sex marriage movement regarding same-sex couples and the effect on children and family, anti-same-sex marriage movements in Maine focused on portraying same-sex couples with negative qualities. The National Organization for Marriage, a national movement that helped fund Stand for Marriage Maine would “[seek] to cast same-sex marriage in a negative light by linking it to other issues, such as pornography and sexualizing of children” (Kim 2012). As evident by the failed attempt to prevent the legalization of same-sex marriage in Maine, this organization did not effectively utilize protest tactics to appeal to Maine voters. Stand for Marriage Maine was unsuccessful because they were out-strategized by a more organized movement that appealed to the collective memory of Maine citizens.

Maine and the Connection with American Exceptionalism

Successful legislation of same-sex marriage in Maine, despite the influential American conservative movements, can be seen as a result of American exceptionalism in the United States. The rights of US citizens “... have been employed in the service of a political tradition that has been consistently more critical of government, more insistent on individual responsibility, and more concerned to defend individual freedom than [other nations]” (Ignatieff 2005, 11). The individualistic component that shapes American political ideology greatly influences the need for equal rights and the desire for the legalization of same-sex marriage.

Furthermore, the presence of such highly organized movements such as Equality Maine that cater and react to their voter demographic and organize grassroots mobilization, demonstrate the importance of personal political tactics in Maine. Maine politics are rooted in individualism and value the participation of an active citizenry.

When these components are utilized effectively, movements in Maine are able to witness success.

Using collective memory to help explain the success of the same-sex marriage movement, it becomes apparent why the legislation was passed in Maine. The historical importance of the American Revolution demonstrates that:

“[t]hese rights, authored in the name of ‘we are the people,’ are anchored in the historical project of the American Revolution: a free people establishing a republic based on popular sovereignty. A realist account would explain exceptionalism as an attempt to define U.S. sovereignty and power” (Ignatieff 2005, 14).

These American ideals have taken shape in Maine through institutions such as citizen’s initiative, people’s veto, town meeting government, and citizen legislature. By tying social movements into these ideals, movements, such as Equality Maine, are able to witness success.

Impact of Political Foundation on Current Movements

Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, scholars of social movement theory, describe the significance of social movements in society. They believe that social movements arise in society “[w]hen traditional norms no longer succeed in providing a satisfactory structure for behavior [therefore,] the individual is forced to challenge the social order through various forms of non-conformity” (2006, 13). The same-sex marriage movements in France and the state of Maine are similar to other same-sex marriage movements that can be seen globally. However, what makes these cases unique is the utilization of different collective memories based on a national history. The

historical interpretation of each country's national identity provides insight into why these social movements experienced similar legislative success in different places and contexts.

As seen through the case studies presented in this thesis, France has a collective history of unity with a strong nationalist belief that the Republic of France is the central focus. Individual differences within the French state, such as inequalities for different sexual orientations, cannot be allowed because French universalism will be compromised. However, respecting individual differences as part of a richly diverse nation is what makes the United States unique, and as some would say exceptional. Those differences, although they may not be liked by all, are accepted and preserved as a valued piece of American democracy. Therefore, inequality in anyone's status is indefensible. A fundamental aspect of American collective memory displays the belief that all are created equal and discrimination is not tolerated. Despite viewing the same-sex marriage movements in France and Maine from two perspectives of inequality, each can be seen as successful because they drew upon the fundamental themes at their nation's core.

Conclusion

The same-sex marriage movements in France and Maine exemplify how the use of collective memory by a movement and the formation of political participation in a nation can contribute to the tactics used to enact political change. Movements gain their momentum by associating with key national and historical ideals. The same-sex marriage movements in France and Maine witnessed success because they appealed to the ideals grounded in their respective democratic ideals and standards.

According to Susan Dunn:

“If the United States and France wish to ensure the renewal and health of their societies, they might do well to recall that revolution means return... But revolution also entails audacity. As we contemplate fresh solutions to fresh problems, let us audaciously hurl a few experimental bolts of lightning into our sky of eighteenth-century light” (1999, 207-208).

At the time Dunn’s work was written, the same-sex marriage movements had not yet been fully developed nor witnessed any form of success. However, both nations did witness a cultural revolution in regards to human rights with the successful legislation of same-sex marriage.

This case analysis of same-sex marriage cross-nationally in France and Maine demonstrates key concepts of social movements and highlights the important influence collective memory can contribute to the political culture in a nation. Through this analysis, it is believed that the historical influence of a nation’s view of their collective past can influence citizens and the way in which they react and participate in society.

To fully understand a society and how citizens participate politically, it is crucial to examine and understand the foundation in which the nation was created. Through the lens of collective memory, contemporary political culture and action can be better understood and interpreted.

However, research in this area of study is only just beginning. There are many different avenues this project could take on given unlimited resources. A further analysis of the use of media within these movements could be useful in regards to the framing used by members of social movements. Furthermore, personal interviews with movement leaders and governmental personnel involved in the legislation process could

provide great insight on the tactics used by movements and organizations within each nation. Both of these components could further demonstrate the claims of collective memory and political culture made in this thesis.

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