

## **Gramsci and Goffman, together at last: toward a counter-hegemonic framing approach to movement research**

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### **Abstract**

*This article offers a synthesis of the framing perspective and Gramscian hegemony. Framing processes in social movements have been linked to discussions of how social movements subvert hegemony. However, a link to Gramscian hegemony has not been fully developed. This article proposes a counterhegemonic framing approach (CHFA) which can be used to examine the discursive work within social movements that is contextualized by capitalist hegemony. The CHFA corrects for the myopic and ahistorical tendency to ignore capitalism's relationship to social movements; allows for researchers to situate frames within a conjuncture while acknowledging power differences; and is equipped to navigate the contradictory, and contested nature of framing within social movements, organizations, and coalitions. By bringing the framing approach into theories of hegemony, a ready-made system of empirical observation of debates that make up counter-hegemonic practices of demystifying social relations and undermining the hegemony can be observed, and provides useful historical templates for movements seeking to build counterhegemony.*

**Keywords:** Hegemony, frames, Gramsci, movement discourse, Marxism

### **Introduction**

The purpose of this article is to develop a theoretical approach to study collective action frames and framing processes within counter-hegemonic movements. By drawing on a wide range of literature in the areas of social movements, social theory, and political economy, this paper proposes a counter-hegemonic framing approach (CHFA) to study the discursive work of movements. I argue that a synthesis of the framing perspective and Gramscian hegemony provides a theoretical lens to systematically examine how social movements engage in framing which demystifies social relations and orients movements to contest hegemony. Framing and hegemony are commonly used terms in both academic and activist spaces. Framing refers to how movements draw in participants, and identify and describe important issues, grievances, and possible solutions. Hegemony, rooted in Marxism, describes how cultural and ideological leadership achieved by social groups. Usually hegemony is applied to how a ruling class exercises domination through consent. In tandem, framing is how movements explain and highlight aspects of capitalist modernity and systemic oppression they contest. Moreover, through framing grievances

movements undermine the legitimacy of the status quo and articulate alternatives.

This theoretical synthesis shifts the framing perspective from one that is solely associated with the cultural turn, to one that emphasizes the historically specific nature of capitalism, as well as the sense making of movement actors.

Furthermore, the CHFA emphasizes the dialectical unity between movements, framing, and historical conjuncture, while acknowledging the contradictory notions of resistance and consent to capitalist hegemony. This approach assumes that the ideational and discursive work of framing is not divorced from the historical balance of forces and neoliberal accumulation strategies. At the same time, it acknowledges the fact that organizations often deploy contradictory frames that affirm hegemony, while other frames may contest it. In debates within movements (frame disputes), counter-hegemonic actors try to win leadership and consent of other movement actors. Therefore, the target of framing is not necessarily a movement's opposition, but their allies and potential constituents. I intend to cover two broad topics before arriving at a theoretical synthesis that will orient my research. First, I will briefly review the literature on social movements stemming from Marxism and political-economy. Second, I will review Gramsci's theory of hegemony and its application to social movement studies.

### **Marxian and Political-Economy Approaches**

In contemporary social movement studies, very few scholars have incorporated capitalism into the analysis of social movements. Nevertheless, there are a few recent exceptions that examine anti-austerity movements, such as the emergence of Occupy Wall Street and the Arab Spring that resulted of a crisis in neoliberalism's legitimacy (Cox and Nilsen 2014; Della Porta 2015). One of the most notable is Hetland and Goodwin's (2013) widely discussed paper on political economy and social movement studies, appropriately titled "The Strange Disappearance of Capitalism from Social Movement Studies." They question the theoretical turn away from capitalism and make the case for re-incorporating capitalism into social movement studies. This review endeavors to bring the political-economy back into social movement analysis, and is situated within a newly revitalized body of Marxian social movement studies (Boswell and Dixon 1993; Hogan 2005; Cox and Nilsen 2007; Nilsen 2009; Carroll 2010;). Barker, Cox, Krinsky, and Nilsen 2013).

Within this body of Marxian movement studies, I propose a theoretical position between orthodox Marxist explanations of social movements and post-Marxist explanations (see Boggs 1986). I strike this balance by incorporating three elements: 1) from the framing perspective, taking discursive and symbolic practices of social movements seriously; 2) from Marxism, historicizing movements within the balance of class forces and political economic conjuncture; and 3) from both framing and Gramscian theory, maintaining an acknowledgement that consciousness develops unevenly.

For an example of the balancing act we can examine my approach in relation to Laclau and Mouffe (1985), perhaps the best example of the post-Marxist perspective, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*, which argues that objective categories such as social class are no longer necessary, that new social movements with “hegemonic articulations” may represent the expression of a radical pluralist and democratic alternative to capitalism. Further, they argue that the primary practice of social movements is discursive, but they reject any logical connection between movements and the metabolic, social reproduction, and accumulation problems inherent in the capitalist system. At first glance, this seems satisfactory and useful for understanding social movements in the late capitalist society. However, questions remain as to the extent that “objective historical forces” can be theorized out of existence. In social movement terms, this also poses questions about whether and how organizations are built that can transcend these problems, as well as how resources are mobilized in ways that tangibly engage with the existing social structure. After all, goods and services are still produced and distributed, and someone needs to produce and distribute them. Nevertheless, if we acknowledge that these material factors exist and can be understood to some degree, we can then choose whether to ignore these material and economic factors through a process of abstraction. Likewise, we can choose whether to ignore the cultural and semiotic aspects of society as well. The fact remains that political struggles include both objective and subjective conditions that determine the success of social movements. Understanding how social movements acknowledge and articulate the objective conditions they find themselves in, may require interpretive and discursive methods, but does not require that we fall into the postmodern abyss. In terms of these discursive methods, the framing approach from mainstream social movement studies is incredibly useful.

### **The framing perspective**

The analysis of collective action frames has become the dominant approach to studying the ideational and discursive work of social movements. Framing is an important tool in the sociological study of social movements but lacks the ability to systematically address power relations that are rooted in the political economy, and the strategic imperative of social movements to explain and interpret a given historical conjuncture and social relations.

The framing perspective can be traced to symbolic interactionism, which has its own roots in American pragmatism, where it is applied to cognitive frameworks that “define the situation” for actors (Goffman 1974; Johnston 2005). The concept of framing relies heavily on the work of Thomas and Thomas (1928), who argued that actors behave in accordance to an agreed upon “definition of the situation.” Goffman (1974) seeks to identify the “basic elements” of a definition of a situation, which he refers to as “frames,” and offers frame analysis to “try to isolate the basic frameworks of understanding available in our society for making sense of events and to analyse the special vulnerabilities to which these frames of reference are subject” (p.10).

Research on framing has moved from within the confines of symbolic interactionism to become one of the most widely used approaches to the study of social movements. The use of framing in social movement studies is credited to the work of David Snow and his colleagues (Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford 1986). They sought to outline the process of frame alignment which is concerned with “the linkage of individual and SMO [social movement organization] interpretive orientation, such that some set of individual interests, values, and beliefs and SMO activities, goals and ideology are congruent and complimentary” (p. 464). These frames, which social movement actors deploy, are defined by Snow and Benford (1992) as “interpretive schema that simplifies and condenses the ‘world out there’ by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of one’s present or past environments” (p. 137). To simplify, frames can be thought of as “slogans” that are constructed by movements and organizations, which dramaturgically present the values and ideologies of these movements, and as definitions of reality. Most importantly, “By rendering events and occurrences meaningful, frames function to organize experience and guide action, whether individual or collective” (Snow, Rochford, Worden, and Benford 1986:464). Methodologically, they penetrate the “black box of mental life” in movements and contribute to meaning making and meaning maintaining for constituents and bystanders (Johnston 2002:63).

Beyond a method of analysis, scholars recognize that framing is an important task for social movement actors. Movement actors utilize framing tasks and processes to identify and present grievances, propose solutions, and make attributions of blame. Snow and Benford (1988) identified three core framing tasks: diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational framing. Diagnostic frames identify what movement actors identify as the problem. For example, the modern environmental movement devotes a significant amount of time to pointing out that pollution and climate change are indeed problems that need to be addressed by policy makers. In many cases, movements must define the actions of an antagonist as a problem. Prognostic framing offers solutions, or presents a positive vision of what a given movement would like to bring about, or makes an argument for a strategic plan. An important aspect of prognostic framing is that it “typically includes refutations of the logic or efficacy of solutions advocated by opponents,” as is the case in counterframing, “as well as a rationale for its own remedies” (Benford and Snow 2000:617). Finally, motivational framing focuses on the agency and efficacy of social movements, as well as the urgency of action, and severity of a given issue.

Framing also provides a linkage between structural threats/opportunities and mobilization. As Gamson and Meyer (1996) point out, “There is a component of political opportunity involving the perception of possible change that is, above all else, a social construction” (p. 283). In other words, a political opportunity is a situation that social movements need to define. On the other hand, political opportunities shape framing, while framing shapes political opportunities. In a similar vein, Borgias and Braun (2016) argue for the incorporation of the political process model and framing by pointing out that frames are often

shaped by factors that are often defined as political opportunities. Most importantly, seizing on opportunities as they present themselves impacts the resonance of these frames.

In addition to framing tasks, processes, and political opportunities, it is important to discuss how framing is carried out. Within organizations and coalitions, frames are often generated through contested and mediated processes. The most well-known concept that attempts to capture differences of opinion is the frame dispute (Benford 1993). Benford's main contribution is that he makes the case for studying frames at the meso-level, and that there are often nuanced differences within and among coalitions. As I will argue in more detail below, the analysis of frame disputes provides an entry point to analyze how counter-hegemonic movements, and even organizations within coalitions, attempt to gain leadership. Rather than simply exploring the differences that occur between radical and moderate fractions, which Benford sees as a force which undermines movements, I characterize these frame disputes as major aspects of how different segments of movements attempt to win hegemony.

In terms of integrating these differences within and among activists, Croteau and Hicks (2003) push the analysis beyond SMOs to focus on framing processes in coalitions by building on Curtis and Zurcher's (1973) and Klandermans' (1992) characterization of movements as being composed of a "multi-organizational field," and that we should conceptualize coalition frames as "the emergent products of ongoing intra- and inter-organizational dynamics, and help specify framing's links to mobilizing structures and political opportunity" (p. 251). In other words, coalition frames are the product of negotiation between and among the various SMOs and factions within a given coalition. These form a "consonant framing pyramid" that "integrates into a consonant whole people's individual frames, with the organizational frames developed by coalition members, with the coalition's own frame" (p. 253).

Why not simply assess the ideology of a given movement? While framing and ideology are distinct but related concepts, framing is the most empirically available. The differences and linkages between ideology and framing are complex, and have generated substantial debate in the field, starting with Oliver and Johnston's (2000; 2005) argument that framing is not an adequate replacement of ideology, and should be used as a separate concept. They criticize the "...concomitant tendency of many researchers to use 'frame' uncritically as a synonym for 'ideology'" (2005). Thus, they explain that "framing points to process, while ideology points to content" (186). In response, Snow and Benford (2000) argue that while frames and ideologies are distinct concepts, they are not unrelated. Frames are often derivative of ideology, and constrained by ideology. They critique Oliver and Johnston's (2005) argument that frames are purely cognitive phenomena, arguing that framing is more accurately described as signifying work. However, in terms of social movement research, "framing in contrast to ideology, is empirically observable activity," which is analyzed through various texts generated by movements (Oliver and Johnston 2005).

To sum up, I reviewed the origins of framing, explained some key processes, and explained why framing can lead to more empirical research than ideology. But there is one area where Gramsci's work has already inserted itself. In the process of framing, movement actors can work to undermine hegemonic conceptions of reality. Furthermore, given the assumption that social movements help alter and undermine commonly accepted notions about society, they therefore generate "oppositional knowledge" (Coy and Woehrlé 1996:290). In relation to generating this oppositional knowledge, Snow and Benford (1993) take the time to cite Gramsci to remind us that framing is also involved in the battles over hegemonic ideas, though the linkage is underdeveloped. To further solidify this link, I turn to Gramscian hegemony.

### **Gramscian hegemony**

The concept of hegemony cannot be understood in isolation from Gramsci's larger ensemble of concepts, which he generated as part of his ambitious intellectual project. His goal was an "attempt to elaborate a political theory which would be adequate to give expression to—and, just as importantly, to shape and guide—the popular and subaltern classes' attempts to awaken from the nightmares of their histories and to assume social and political leadership" (Thomas 2009:159).

The concept of hegemony was first used in Russian Social Democratic circles (Anderson 1976; Thomas 2009), then popularized by Antonio Gramsci (1971). The concept emerged in response to economic determinism and an overemphasis on institutional politics, at the expense of culture, social movements, and civil society. The concept of hegemony has been articulated in several different ways as a result of the conditions under which Gramsci's prison notebooks were written. Anderson (1976) argues that the guiding thread in Gramsci's thought is coming to grips with how to carry out revolutionary socialist praxis in "western" parliamentary democracies.

Most explanations of Gramsci's thought begin with hegemony and then explain other Gramscian concepts. Following Thomas' (2009) advice, I begin with the integral state, which was "intended as a dialectical unity in the moments of civil society and political society. Civil society is the terrain upon which social classes compete for social and political leadership or hegemony over the other classes" (137). This conception of the state has strategic consequences. Thomas (2009) explains:

The state was no longer merely an instrument of coercion, imposing the interests of the dominant class from above. Now in its integral form, it had become a network of social relations for the production of consent, for the integration of the subaltern classes into the expansive project of historical development of the leading group...Hegemony, then, emerges as a new "consensual" political practice distinct from mere coercion (a dominant means of previous ruling classes) on this new terrain of civil society; but like civil society, integrally linked to the state,

hegemony's full meaning only becomes apparent when it is related to its dialectical distinction of coercion. Hegemony in civil society functions as the basis of the dominant class's political power in the state apparatus, which in turn reinforces its initiatives in civil society. The integral state, understood in this broader sense, is the process of the condensation and transformation of these class relations into institutional form (143-144).

For Gramsci, bourgeois democracy, along with civil society, present a unique challenge to revolutionary socialist practice. Parliamentary democracy magnifies the temptation of opportunism for subaltern groups. In other words, the openness and legitimacy of western states leads to an illusionary situation where these states could represent the interests of the working class, and its allies, while providing a path for significant social change. Here, "...the state constitutes only the outer ditch of civil society, which can resist demolition" (Anderson 1976:10). Civil society represents the system of fortresses and armories behind the metaphorical front line or outer ditch. From this, two important concepts emerge: war of position and war of maneuver.

Gramsci contrasts the metaphors of "war of maneuver" and "war of position" to explain hegemony as a strategic approach. War of maneuver involves quick decapitating strikes on the enemy. In the context of social movements, this means attacking the state apparatus and taking power. On the other hand, the war of position represents long drawn out trench warfare with an extended front line. In Gramsci's thought, the main strategy employed in a war of position is hegemony. However, social actors on both sides of the conflict exercise hegemony. Going back to the trench warfare metaphor, holding the line in this type of battle requires a unified force, or united front, composed of the working class and allied subaltern groups. Hegemony, especially in Lenin's earlier conception, is the process of providing leadership and gaining consent to build this united front (Anderson 2017). On the other hand, drawing on Marx's point that the "the ruling ideas in every society are the ideas of the ruling class," the ruling class utilizes hegemony to maintain their rule, and subaltern classes consent to their own subordination. Considering that the ruling class constitutes such a small minority, winning hegemony is crucial to maintaining power.

Within this framework that emphasizes politics and culture, the traditional definition of hegemony makes more sense. According to Gramsci (1971), hegemony is "The 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production" (p. 12). In other words, hegemony is the prize which belongs to a class, which is used as a floating referent, which establishes political and social leadership (Anderson 1976). Furthermore, hegemony is the manifestation of their rule in a historically specific mode of production (Sassoon 1988). However, classes come to rule through a complicated process of revolutionary struggle and mediation.

Therefore, one should not overlook the contested nature of hegemony, especially when examining social movements.

Hegemony is a dynamic and socially constructed process. As Raymond Williams points out, “hegemony is not a metaphysical force, it is actively created, maintained, and reproduced” (Williams 1973, cited in Ransome 1992). This works in two ways. On one hand, hegemony is generated and maintained by subaltern groups, who consent to their own domination. On the other hand, subaltern groups are also subjects of history who have agency. If hegemony is created and reproduced, it can be undermined through social movement practice and possibly replaced by a new “subaltern” hegemony during the course of a revolutionary transformation of society, which is a long and complicated process to say the least.

In contemporary capitalist society, hegemony takes on a historically specific form. Carroll (2010) lists three parameters of contemporary hegemony: postmodern fragmentation, the neoliberalization of political-economic relations, and capitalist globalization. First, the postmodern fragmentation includes the commodification of everyday life and the hybridity of social identities. Second, the neoliberalization of political-economic relations refers to the attempt to impose the self-regulating market into all aspects of society. Finally, capitalist globalization refers to the increasingly transnational scope of multinational corporations and trade networks.

A key aspect of Gramsci’s theorizing is that subaltern groups must win hegemony in the “battle of ideas” about the nature of society. This is where social movements come into play. Social movements organize counterhegemony, which Carroll and Ratner (1996) describe as “a political project of mobilizing broad, diverse opposition to entrenched economic, political, and cultural power, counterhegemony entails a tendential movement toward *comprehensive critiques of domination* [emphasis added] and toward comprehensive networks of activism” (p. 601). One aspect of organizing counterhegemony, aside from building civil society organizations, is to challenge the existing hegemonic “common sense” or *senso comune* through providing alternate definitions of the real (Adler and Mittelman 2004).<sup>1</sup>

### **The counter-hegemonic framing approach**

Linking the framing perspective, and Gramsci’s theory of hegemony helps extend the reach of each perspective in its application in social movement research. By taking cultural and discursive aspects of resistance seriously,

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<sup>1</sup> Common sense is a literal translation from the Italian *senso comune*, which has different connotations in Italian than it does in English. Following Thomas (2009), I use the Italian term because it is a central philosophical concept in Gramsci’s thought, which “places a strong emphasis upon those elements that are ‘common’ i.e. a subject’s integration into an existing system of cultural reference and meaning, tending to devalorize processes of individuation and often with negative connotation” (cf p. 61).

linking these battles over definitions of reality to political and economic context, and the power relations inherent within it, a more complete picture of the difficult work that social movements do is possible. Moreover, I argue that the CHFA provides an entry point of analysis that allows for a more logical, and empirically observable, connection between the theories.

There are a handful of scholars who integrate framing and hegemony (Carroll and Ratner 1996; Smith and Weist 2012.) Using a world-systems approach, Smith and Wiest (2012) briefly describe how framing can be integrated into an approach utilizing insights from political economy. They argue that world-systems theory acknowledges the link between framing, ideas and hegemony, and argue that resonance tends to vary, but is highest during periods of crisis. However, the argument that crisis makes frames resonant lends itself to the same critiques as relative deprivation theories. One could always argue that the world-system is in a state of accumulation, legitimation, and ecological crisis. Nevertheless, Smith and Wiest are correct to argue that “Movement frames can challenge concepts that are essential to the world-system and its supporting geoculture, such as markets and sovereignty, and can disrupt dominant logics that define collective identities, agendas, and priorities” (2012:40). For example, within the Global Justice Movement of the early 2000s, activists seized on a “race to the bottom” frame to explain how sovereignty is eroded by trade agreements such as NAFTA and the WTO. In a more contemporary example, Occupy Wall Street deployed a “We are the 99%” frame to establish a wide class based collective identity.

In a more explicit attempt to incorporate Gramsci, Maney, Woehltre and Coy (2005) ground their analysis of framing in the US Peace movement in Gramsci’s theory of hegemony, defining it as “persuasion as a form of control” and “cultural processes that contribute to the legitimacy of power holders and their policies.” Their analysis is useful because it situates the social construction of reality within differences in power. In addition, they argue that social movements can respond to hegemony by challenging it, harnessing it, or some combination of the two. However, their approach uses the commonly used version of hegemony to purely signify dominant cultural ideas. This effectively drops the strategic aspect linked to the war of position and the “leadership based on consent” aspect that subaltern social movements are aspiring to.

Gramsci’s thought is integrally concerned with social movement strategy. As Humphrys (2013) explains, “Gramsci’s theory of social change, as set out in the Notebooks, represents a thoroughgoing and systematic attempt to link Marxist conceptions of historical development—and hence class struggle—with the nature of strategic questions raised by, and within, actually existing social movements in the advanced capitalist world” (p. 369). I argue that frame disputes within coalitions are arenas of counter-hegemonic practice where these strategic questions are raised.

The CHFA corrects for the myopic and ahistorical tendency to ignore the relationship between capitalism and social movements; allows for frames to be situated within conjuncture while acknowledging power differences; and is

equipped to navigate the contradictory, and contested nature of framing within social movements, organizations, and coalitions. In addition, viewing frame disputes as examples of the “war of position” in practice within civil society helps explain the broader political and strategic issues behind frame disputes. This is an insight that Goffman (1974) made in *Frame Analysis*, where he makes the disclaimer that,

This book is about the organization of experience—something that an individual actor can take into his mind—and not the organization of society.... The analysis developed does not catch at the differences between the advantaged and disadvantaged classes and can be said to direct attention away from such matters. I think that it is true. I can only suggest that he [sic] who would combat false consciousness and awaken people to their true interests has much to do, because the sleep is very deep. And I do not intend here to provide a lullaby but merely sneak in and watch the way people snore (13-14).

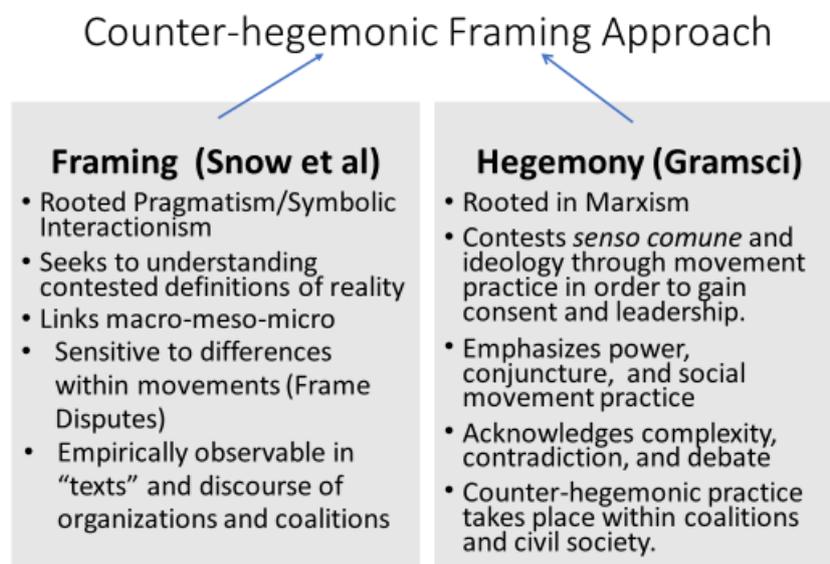
By bringing the framing approach into theories of hegemony, a ready-made system of empirical observation of debates, that make up counter-hegemonic practice of undermining the existing *senso commune* can be observed. Moreover, this provides useful historical templates for movements seeking to build counterhegemony. For example, eco-socialists of different types make use of the “system change, not climate change” slogan, and peace activists have often recycled frames critiquing the political economy of war making for frames such as “money for jobs, not for war.”

Most importantly, the framing perspective in social movements is drawn from the social constructionist approach which is congruent with aspects of Marxism that emphasize historical agency, as well as objective social conditions. This runs counter to some arguments made by Marxist and political-economy oriented social movement scholars, who have counterposed research on framing and with their research on social movements. If counter-hegemonic practice requires undermining existing *senso comune*, it is indeed necessary to “watch people snore” by examining framing that is complicit with hegemony, as well as how they “awaken from historical nightmares” through counter-hegemonic practice. In Table 1, I outline how framing and hegemony complement each other. The strength of this synthesis is that the framing perspective provides an entry point for an empirical analysis of how social movements engage in counterhegemony.

Developing theoretical syntheses of concepts is a practice that is often amounts to simply using multiple theoretical lenses, rather than a synthesis. Synthesizing theory is analogous to grafting different plant species together. For example, the pomato plant is a hybrid plant where a tomato plant is the scion and the rootstock is a potato plant. The key point is that you cannot graft any two plants together. There must be something in common. The same holds true for a theoretical synthesis. While framing is rooted in symbolic interactionism and hegemony is rooted in Marxism there are several points where they provide a

basis for grafting. First, they both seek to understand and examine how dominant notions of *senso comune* or a socially defined reality is constructed and even undermined. Second, the practice of building hegemony plays out within a multiorganizational field in which different actors put forth differing frames. These differences of opinion, or frame disputes, constitute the arena in which counterhegemonic practice occurs. After all, counterhegemonic actors must win the consent of those involved as well as undermine and overcome the hegemony of the ruling group. Third, the units of analysis are parallel. Counterhegemonic practice and the deployment of frames occurs within the text and discourse of organizations and coalitions.

**Table 1. Theoretical Components of the Counter-hegemonic Framing Approach**



## Conclusion

In this paper I reviewed recent attempts by scholars from political economy and Marxian approaches to interpret social movements. Within this the main takeaway is that capitalism matters. I also outlined the framing perspective in social movements alongside the Gramscian concept of hegemony and its application within social movement theory. I used these approaches to generate the CHFA, which combines theories of hegemony and the framing perspective from social movement studies to examine how social movements contest hegemony.

There is potential for future research that utilizes the CFHA. First, applying the counter-hegemonic approach to more contexts than the neoliberal era would be fruitful for historical sociologists seeking to understand the intersections between political-economies, and framing practices of movements. Second, there is much more work to be done in terms of the relationship between movements, organizational repertoires, and modes of decision making. Possible questions that emerge would look at how counter-hegemonic framing takes place in horizontalist or hierarchical and centralized movements. Third, the frames deployed by movements are only one aspect of contentious politics. Therefore, future studies could also include examinations of the resonance of counter-hegemonic framing. This could possibly be done with the inclusion of public opinion or polling data. Finally, qualitative and archival research along with formal quantitative methods of measuring waves of contention and discursive phenomena could also yield important findings that would more easily have access to mainstream publishing outlets.

Social movements draw upon the historical economic context as a cultural resource. Within movements, framing which contests *senso comune* entails attempts to persuade and win potential allies within coalitions to counter-hegemonic viewpoints and strategic outlooks. Here, frame disputes within coalitions, take on a much more profound meaning and significance. The CHFA provides an entry point for analysis of the discourse of movements from a perspective that sees these movements as the product of the historical trajectory of capitalism, and the balance of class forces, while still taking culture and discourse seriously.

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