

Seeking Theory for INGOs

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Abstract

This paper is a summary of the search for an adequate theory for the research of the World Alliance of YMCAs. It argues that, in order to find theory for international non-governmental organisations (INGO), one must combine the 'pearls' from nonprofit organisation studies (NPO), social movement studies (SM), religious movement studies (RM) and world view studies (WV). Both NPO studies and SM studies underline the importance of religion or ideology in formation of the NPOs and social movement organisations (SMO). Only SM and RM studies try to focus the impact of this ideology but they also take the concept of WV as given. This leads to look closer the concept of WV. The paper refers shortly to the main theories of these four research fields and formulates a general theory for INGOs. The main components of an INGO can be seen as nested circles. From centre out they are: world view, organisational structure, members and adherents, organisational environment. The three latest can be seen as opportunity structures (OS) of an organisation. WV consists of identity, mission and belief system. These along with OS interact with each other and changes in one component cause potential change in others. This model fits as well to the emerge (role) of organisations as the growth (behaviour) of it.

Introduction

The background of this study lies in my research on the change of the mission view of the World Alliance of YMCAs. When I started the research I found out that there is quite little theory neither on international nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) nor on international religious organisations. Existing INGO studies can be summarised with Leon Gordenker and Thomas G. Weiss note that

“theoretical explorations have tended to be few in number and specific to a particular sector of activity, especially aspects of economic and social development and of the environment. A considerable body of writing has a primarily legal character, which overlooks or understates the richness of NGO activity and politics.”¹

This lead at first to studies of national and local level NGOs or third sector. However, third sector studies do not normally recognise the movement character in many organisations. Although there are some bridges to social movement studies, these two subdisciplines do not interact much. Additionally both, while emphasising the importance of religion and ideologies in the formation of movements and organisations, ignore studies of religious movements and world views. This paper argues that in the building of theory on INGOs these four approaches must be taken together. Below I give a short review of each and present my theory on INGOs.

Third Sector Studies

Voluntary associations, guilds, fraternities and foundations have been essential in the West for centuries. However, the academic scholars paid very little attention to non-profit organisations (NPOs) before 1970s. Before I go to the theories, I give first a short historical overview of the sector and then I give a determination.

¹ Gordenker & Weiss 1995,358.

PHILANTHROPY and education - the main fields of nonprofit activities - began both as individual or family activity. Frank M. Loewenberg has studied the ancient roots of philanthropy. He shows that philanthropy was first institutionalised as face-to-face activity in ancient Israel where Mosaic law combined the economic and social aspects. The law ordered to leave certain parts of the growth unharvested so that the poor people could collect it. The background of this thinking was the Hebrew concept of sedek² - righteousness. On the other hand the land was seen as the property of God and thus only as a loan for the peasant. When urbanisation created big amount of poor people, this face-to-face model did not work any more. Parallel to it was developed a nonprofit soup-kitchen system which was connected to synagogue. The tithing system and fund rising campaigns were elaborated to cover the costs. This Jewish model was adopted as the basic model for European philanthropy for almost two millenniums.³

EDUCATION has had a semi-public status since antique⁴. In ancient Rome the education was given either at home or at private but partly city supported schools.⁵ Early upper class Christians chose this Roman model to educate their children and it became the dominant model for European education⁶. The first European universities were created under the authority of the Church. They were regarded to be under Canonic legislation and independent from state control.⁷ This system was challenged by the **Reformation** when **Martin Luther** called for the state responsibility for the education⁸. Later the **pietism** formulated the models for the present

² On sedek, see Achtemeier 1986.

³ Loewenberg 1994; 1995.

⁴ This chapter is based on the joint article **Education, History of** in the Mactopaedia part of Encyclopaedia Britannica.

⁵ Marrou & Bowen 1994.

⁶ Riche & Bowen 1994.

⁷ Riche & Bowen 1994.

⁸ Gelpi & Bowen 1994.

day welfare state⁹. The expansion of the welfare state in Prussia led to clash with the Catholic Church and adaptation of the **subsidiarity principle** which laid responsibility from bottom up - from individual, family, kin, NPOs and state. On the other hand, the higher stage had to see that the lower stage had possibility to fulfil its responsibilities but had not right to interfere if the lower stage managed to do so.¹⁰ In the Lutheran Scandinavia the welfare state was developed on the state responsibility basis.

The crisis of the welfare state in 1980s has shifted the focus again to the nonprofit sector as a tool to reduce the costs without dismantling the welfare state. The privatisation boom swept through Western Europe and state enterprises were privatised. This led also to revitalisation of third sector in many countries. Markets, namely, are not mainly interested of peoples' welfare but profits.

THE AMERICAN NONPROFIT SECTOR evolved from the British philanthropy basis. British government has traditionally been very hesitant to take responsibility of the welfare or education because they were regarded as the sphere of private activity¹¹. In America this was accompanied by the allergy of strong central government. The basic welfare and educational institutions were formed on private nonprofit basis. In 1930s the so called welfare capitalism crashed because it could not respond to the enormous need of the depression and state had to take responsibility of the welfare of the people. However, the system in the US remained in many states NPO based but state supported.¹²

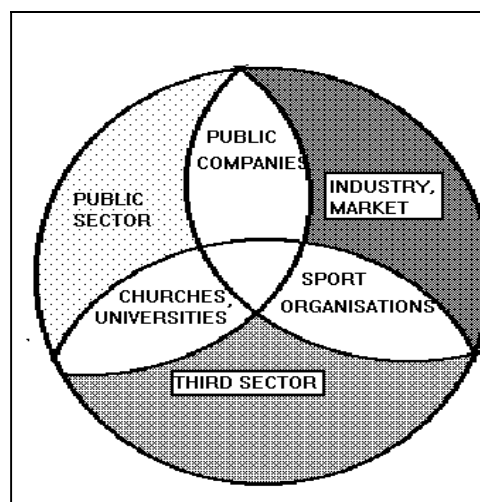
⁹ Ipfling & Chambliss 1994; Sørensen 1998.

¹⁰ Anheier 1992; Chambliss 1994.

¹¹ Thane 1990,1-8.

¹² Hall 1987.

TRICHOTOMY state - market - *third sector* was defined **Amitai Etzioni**¹³ and **T. Lewitt**¹⁴ in 1973 and the influential **Filer Commission** in 1977¹⁵. The term is nowadays linked to all those organisations that do not fit into the dichotomy of for-profit market versus public sector. This is shown in the picture 1.



Picture 1: Third Sector

THE CONCEPTS in various countries are based on the national traditions. They bound something in and something out and thus are not exact synonyms for each other. One of the main concepts has been the American etymons *nonprofit*, which replaced the older concept of *philanthropy*. It stresses the constraint to give any surplus to organisation's patrons. Here it differs from the French concept of *social economy*¹⁶ because it excludes the *mutual benefit organisations* and *co-operatives* which are included in the French concept and German concepts of *communal enterprise* and *public benefit organisation*¹⁷. In these the main point is the purpose, not the form as in the US. The etymon *volunteer* refers to voluntarism and excludes those organisations that are based on paid staff. *Civil society*¹⁸ is the oldest of these terms and means today almost the same as *intermediary organisations*¹⁹, namely, the sphere between state, market and (expanded) family. The difference to

¹³ Etzioni 1973.

¹⁴ Lewitt 1973.

¹⁵ Filer Commission 1977.

¹⁶ See Archambault 1990, 293ff.

¹⁷ See Anheier & Seibel 1993.

¹⁸ See Cohen & Arato 1994; Lehtonen 1988.

third sector, **nonstatutory sector** and **independent sector** is that the these include also the family and other private spheres. In Scandinavia the term has been **social movement**. Actually it differs to these others in that a movement is more a process than only an organisation. It can have even several organisations but the term emphasises the dynamic character of the phenomenon. Finally, there is the concept of **nongovernmental organisation**, which stresses the distinction to state. However, although the name would allow all possible, the meaning has been restricted to resemble the concept of social economy²⁰. Below I use them quite interchangeable following mostly the use in the studies reviewed.

Economic Theories of the Nonprofit Sector

Nonprofit studies started in economics. The main stimulus²¹ for the studies in the US was the 1969 Tax Reform Act. The leaders of American philanthropy realised that it changed the whole universe of their actions. They decided to locate and commission 'reliable' scholars to study the subject. The first report was made in 1974 by **Martin S. Feldstein**²², who was a Harvardian economist and specialist of health care costs. A bit earlier the **Commission on Private Philanthropy and Public Needs (Filer Commission)** was formed. It was a privately funded effort jointly sponsored by the Department of Treaty. It published six weighty volumes of scholarly studies in 1977²³.

THEORIES ON THE ROLES OF NPOS form the first bloc of economic research. They are much based on **Mancur Olson**'s work on public

¹⁹ See Cohen 1982.

²⁰ Gordonker & Weiss 1995,360ff.

²¹ The other stimulus was the rise of the sector in US that begun in 1950s. The amount of tax-exempt charitable organisations increased from 50000 (1950) to 300000 (mid 1960s) and 700000 (mid 1970s). Same time the character of the NPS changed noticeably from philanthropy to service enterprises. Hansmann 1987,27.

²² Feldstein 1971.

goods²⁴. The **role theories** concentrate mainly to the question: 'why nonprofits exist?' The first is **Burton Weismann's public goods theory**²⁵ (or **government failure theory** or **heterogeneity theory**). It states that the government fulfils the needs of the median voter and nonprofits arise to serve the special needs²⁶. The second is **Henry Hansmann's trustworthiness theory** (or **contract failure theory** or **market failure theory**). It argues that when the quality of the service is not clear, the donor or the customer prefers the NPO because the constrain of making profits makes it believable that the money is used to the service and not to profits²⁷. Third theory is **Lester Salamon's third party theory** (or **voluntary failure theory**). This resembles the European subsidiarity principle. It states that the state takes care that the civil society can take care of the responsibilities and intervenes directly only when there is no other possibility²⁸. Finally there is **Estelle James'** version of heterogeneity theory. James' theory is on the same lines than Weisbrod's theory. It holds that the more heterogenic the society the more NPOs are needed because NPOs take care of the needs of ethnic, linguistic, and religious minorities. However, she elaborates the theory with the interaction between elite, non-elite and the state. If the political power is in the hands of elite, NPOs tend to serve lower classes. If elite are excluded from political power, NPOs tend to

²³ Filer Commission 1977.

²⁴ In his book **The Logic of Collective Action** from 1965 Olson dealt the production of public goods and introduced the **free-rider problem** (although he did not use this term). In a nutshell it means that in large groups the impact of one contribution (or the lack of it) has only marginal effect to the system. So some people are willing to use the facilities without paying. In small groups this does not work because the lack of one contribution may cause the collapse of the whole service. See Olson 1994.

²⁵ **Public goods** in the economic sense means that to produce a public good costs the same in spite of to how many it has been produced. The other criterion is that once the good has been produced its use cannot be limited. A classical example of public good is a lighthouse. **Merit goods** are such things that can be limited to some individuals.

²⁶ Weisbrod 1975; 1977; 1988. On critics, see Hansmann 1987,28f.; DiMaggio & Anheier 1990,140.

²⁷ Hansmann 1980; 1987. On critics see James 1990,22f; Salamon 1987p,109,.

²⁸ Salamon 1987m,p.

be elitist. Her contribution widened the studies from American perspective to comparative international perspective²⁹.

The other role theories deal with the costs of philanthropic transactions, employment, and altruism. **Triadic transaction model** states that the philanthropic organisation serves as stock market between donor and beneficiaries and this reduces costs of transactions³⁰. **Employment** became the issue of the roles of NPOs when **Jeremy Rifkin** stated that third sector is the only possibility to create new jobs when industry and service sectors are reducing their labour force³¹. **Altruism theories** state that the starting point of philanthropy is individual care and the implementation of this is only a matter of practice: which sector - state, market, or third sector - is the best in each particular case³².

BEHAVIOUR THEORIES form the other bloc of economic theories of NPOs. They deal mostly such issues as **effectiveness**³³, **recruitment**, and **volunteer labour**. In the effectiveness theories the crucial question is 'how and who is determining the concept of effectiveness³⁴?' The effectiveness has meant goals³⁵, survival, reputation, employees well being, etc³⁶. A variant of **goal accomplishment approach** is **Robert M. Sheehan's mission accomplishment approach** which focuses on the mission statements of organisations and seeks the organisations own measurements how the mission is fulfilled. It does not focus only tactical goals but

²⁹ James 1990,23.

³⁰ Krashinsky 1986; Ben-Ner & van Hoomissen 1991; Anheier 1995,20f.

³¹ Rifkin 1995. See also Rifkin 1996, which is his book compressed to an article.

³² Gassler 1990.

³³ These **optimising theories** are mostly modifications from neo-classical profit maximising theories. Instead of profit maximising, they deal the maximising of quality, quantity or budget. Hansmann 1987,37.

³⁴ Forbes 1998,184f.

³⁵ Sheehan 1996,113f.

³⁶ Forbes 1998,184ff; Sheehan 1996,111f.

also the *raison d'être* of the organisation. Recruitment theories are interested of the comparison of salaries in various sectors³⁷. The voluntarism theories focus on the motivations of the volunteers, the difference of time and money donation and the use of volunteer work³⁸.

Sociological Theories on Third Sector

In the mid and late 1980s the economic theories were challenged by several sociologists. **Carl Milofsky**³⁹, **Paul DiMaggio** and **Walter W Powell**⁴⁰ started to look NPOs with the metaphor of market instead of bureaucracy. This emphasised the links between the NPOs and society when the main stream pointed the managerial and effectiveness elements of NPOs.

Sociological theories can be divided into four classes: general theories, political theories, organisation theories and special themes like voluntarism and philanthropy. The most significant general theory is from Paul J. DiMaggio and **Helmut K. Anheier** from 1990. They had an attempt to draw together the economic, historical, political, sociological and international comparative studies. They formulated the research problems with two questions. Why do nonprofits emerge? How do they behave? The research of these questions should then be seen in three levels: organisational level, sector level and society level. However, they were quite sceptical if the formulation of general theory is possible at all.⁴¹

³⁷ There are two contrasting arguments. First, people in NPOs are paid less than in FPs because they work for the inner vocation. Second, they are paid more because it increases their commitment to the organisation. DiMaggio & Anheier 1990,148; Steinberg 1990,160ff.

³⁸ Steinberg 1990,152,156f. See also Smith 1997,124f.

³⁹ Milofsky Carl 1987.

⁴⁰ DiMaggio & Powell 1988.

⁴¹ DiMaggio & Anheier 1990.

POLITICAL THEORIES tend to look third sector from the macro-perspective. One bloc of theories focuses the co-operation of state and third sector in production of public goods. Nonprofits can serve state in many ways: they develop alternative solutions in situations of conflicting interests⁴²; in difficult situations they give the impression that 'something has been done'⁴³; and they give new working models⁴⁴. Third sector also usually lacks the bureaucracy of the state because they are not bounded to similar procedures and visibility than public sector⁴⁵.

James Douglas divides nonprofit organisations into three classes: charitable organisations, mutual benefit organisations and pressure groups. This division makes a link to social movement studies since they create normally different organisations to serve their purposes. The mechanism in which the different types emerge depends on how wide support the grievance has in society. If the grievance is commonly seen as a problem, there becomes a social movement. However, if the issue is a problem only to small group, it leads either to mutual benefit organisation or charitable organisation.⁴⁶

Roger A. Lohmann has challenged the definitions of the third sector. He sees that the definitions tend to be negative and do not arise from the essence of the field. He proposes a word commons which is derived from Aristotelian *koinonia politikhe*, normally translated as civil society. He sees that it has five dimensions: free and uncoerced participation, common purpose, common holdings, participation involving *philia* (a sense of

⁴² Dahl 1982, 42f.

⁴³ **Wolfgang Seibel** calls them solutions of unsolvable problems. Seibel 1989, 188.

⁴⁴ Douglas 1987, 48f.

⁴⁵ Douglas 1987, 49f.

⁴⁶ Douglas 1987, 51ff.

mutuality) and just social relations. Collectively these dimensions form what the English word commons means.⁴⁷

ORGANISATION STUDIES OF NONPROFITS are based in three theory families. First, there are *adaptation theories* from 1960s that are based on *bureaucratisation theories* and *management theories*⁴⁸. Second, *ecological theory of organisations*⁴⁹ stresses the selection processes that are seen analogous to selection and competition in nature. Third theory basis is *(neo)institutional theory*⁵⁰. The basic argument of this theory has been "that the formal structures of many organisations in post-industrial society dramatically reflect the myths of their institutional environments instead of demands of their work activities⁵¹."

VOLUNTARISM has been the most important of the special themes of nonprofit studies. *David Horton Smith* found in his review that there are six different sets of variables that determine the volunteer participation. They are contextual variables, social background variables, personality variables, attitudinal variables, situational variables and social participation variables⁵².

International Comparative Studies of the Third Sector

In most Western European countries the third sector was studied before 1990s according to *national style approach*. It held the idea that each country has so different traditions, that the third sector in it can not be understood without its national policy style. There is a vast amount of literature on co-operatives,

⁴⁷ Lohmann 1992c, 1992co. 1995.

⁴⁸ Hannan & Freeman 1989,12,28-33.

⁴⁹ Hannan & Freeman 1977; 1989.

⁵⁰ Meyer & Rowan 1977,395.

⁵¹ Meyer & Rowan 1977,341.

⁵² Smith 1994. Compare to Clary & Snyder & Stukas 1996,487.

associations, and firms providing public services, but they had remained in national level and have often been studies of individual organisations or fields than studies of the phenomenon⁵³.

NEED FOR COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS of nonprofit organisations emerge in the beginning of 1980s. Although the terms used for third sector entities identify the core actors, they have still different connotations. For example in Germany the distinction is not so much for-profit versus nonprofit but commercial versus non-commercial. These differences have obviously influenced to the national statistics. The NPS is treated only in few national statistics as an independent entity, and even in those cases it is not in same detail as the for-profit and public sector⁵⁴. When there is a stress to make the statistics internationally comparable, the lack of exact third sector definition dooms it to be excluded. Another impact of the heterogeneity has been that in some countries the research has focused on some particular types of organisations (e.g., co-operatives and public service enterprises) instead the whole sector⁵⁵.

One of the first to present comparative theories of NPOs was Estelle James. Her basic founding was that "the more heterogeneous the society, the larger we would expect the private sector to be"⁵⁶. The logic of this is that different ethnic groups and religious groups form their own organisations to give such services that the society does not give. James stresses also the religious or ideological character of the nonprofit organisations:

⁵³ Many times they are histories of organisations or fields and have the tune 'hey, hey, we are good!' The problem of many organisation histories is that in them the organisational interests determine the research. If they are intended to be readers their intention is to socialise the students in the profession.

⁵⁴ Seibel & Anheier 1990,10.

⁵⁵ Seibel & Anheier 1990,11.

⁵⁶ James 1984, 1986, 1987, 1989.

It is important to note that service-providing nonprofits are typically started not by individual entrepreneurs, but by religious or other ideologically motivated organizations...⁵⁷

She interprets this phenomenon so that the motivation for the religious organisations is to get adherents and not profit with the services.⁵⁸

It is not wrong to say that **Helmut K. Anheier** has been one of the most influencing dynamos to increase the comparative studies of the third sector. During the **Yale Project on Nonprofit Organisations** (PONPO) 1985-6 he produced the first **International directory of Research on Non-Profit Organizations**. There he lists more than 200 researches from over 40 countries⁵⁹. That book laid much the foundations for the international comparative project that has held its headquarters in Johns Hopkins University.

JOHNS HOPKINS COMPARATIVE NONPROFIT SECTOR PROJECT (JHCNSP or JHP) has been the widest international research project on third sector. It started in 1990 under the leadership of Lester Salamon and Helmut Anheier. The aim of the project has been to find common language, concepts and classifications for the research. In 1990 started the first round among twelve countries and in 1996 the second round among 27 countries. In both rounds, the major focus has been in industrialised countries. JHP has been the largest and most systematic attempt to collect and classify information on third sector.

⁵⁷ James 1990, 23.

⁵⁸ James 1990, 23.

⁵⁹ He was also one of the proponents for the first European conferences in 1987 and 1989. The presentations of the conferences were published in books **The Third Sector: Comparative Studies of Nonprofit Organizations** and **Government and the Third Sector**. The importance of these books is that they are summaries of the research done in the field till the end of 1980s.

Credits and Debts of the Third Sector Theories

ECONOMIC THEORIES are based on the utilitarian formulations of rational choice. This basic perspective has both merits and deficiencies. The main deficiency is that it is at least questionable if people act rationally (or rationality must be determined more carefully). This perspective leaves out emotions, commitments, altruism and unconscious decision making.

Utilitarian theories have also their strengths. When pointing the individual rationality they have brought individual actor in the centre of analysis. Human beings are not (only) animals that behave according instincts. They are neither robots that are products of some outer system. They really make choices from their own premises and those choices have influence to society.

In general, the economic theories are based on the legal definition of the US tax code. This excludes the religious, political, mutual benefit and labour organisations as well as small local associations⁶⁰. Majority of the research has been done in education and hospital industry. Additional to this, the field is bound to quite narrow world view: in it an individual is seen only as homo economicus who is calculating all the time what is worth to him/her. The analysis stops often there where it should start: when James notices the importance of religion, she does not ask 'what is important in religion from nonprofit perspective?'

HISTORICAL studies have shown that some basic forms of organisation have emerged quite early in history. The shift between private, nonprofit and public has been continuous. When the economic theories speak of market failure, state failure or nonprofit failure, historical research gives hint of something

⁶⁰ Smith 1995s, 1995m, 1997.

like **church failure**. Established churches have not met the needs of suffering people and often there has been one single religious individual who has tried to do something to help him/her. Sometimes they have got wider support and their works have left permanent paths in world history. But often they have worked alone and their enterprises have remained as shooting stars. Their contribution has been in planting the ideas and models that later have grown to full blossom.

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES are important in two ways. First, general theories form a chart where to put partial theories. There must be some clues between role and behaviour, on the one hand and between different level of studies, on the other hand. Second, partial theories link also the nonprofit sector to other parts of the society. James Douglas' theory of the emergence of different forms of organisations is important because it bounds together charitable organisations, mutual benefit organisations and social movement organisations. When a new idea emerges the potential public support determines which form a new organisation takes. The merit of institutional approach has been in the notion that the organisation reflects the myths in society. In society one can not freely choose the organisational forms for the activities. Instead there are some customs, values and forms that people take for granted. This also requires the knowledge of the beliefs that lie behind these myths.

MOST OF THE THEORIES reviewed in this chapter have focused to the context of the organisation or the organisation structures. These can be seen as **opportunity structures** of organisations. These opportunities and constrains should not be seen as determinants of the organisation development but mere as catalysts or possibilities. They are not, in Weber's terms, the switchmen that lead the direction of the organisation. This role should be given to organisational ideology which I discuss below. The study

of organisational ideologies has not been in the centre of nonprofit studies. However, I claim that the behaviour of nonprofits can not be understood without knowledge of their ideological basis. This aspect is much more alive in social movement studies which I review next.

Social Movement Studies

Social movements are one form of collective action. They have been defined in numerous ways depending of the background philosophy or the world view of the researcher. My own view is closer to those definitions which look the field openly and inclusively without boundaries. I have quite practical reason for this. Social movement studies (not collective behaviour nor collective action⁶¹) have become a sub-discipline of sociology. 'Social movement' is de facto a main concept and it can be then divided to more sophisticated sub-concepts like political movements, reformation movements, religious movements, etc. With too strict preliminary boundaries there is a danger to bound out significant phenomena.

The Classical Approaches

Contemporary approaches to social movements can be understood as descendants of five classical roots: Marxian, Durkheimian, Millian, Weberian⁶² and mass-psychology⁶³. In the social movement studies there is surprisingly little emphasis on classical studies of religious movements.

⁶¹ If these three concepts ought to be in some order, then 'collective behavior' would be the largest category including all collective phenomena, 'social movement' is a sub-category of it and 'collective action' would mean a certain event of action. However, the terminology is unclear and I guess that many scholars would have some critical notes on this definition. In many cases the concepts are used almost as synonyms.

⁶² Tilly 1978,12-51.

KARL MARX, in his analysis of the French Revolution 1848⁶⁴, pointed the interests of different classes and the temporary coalitions they made. Marx's actors acted because of their common interests, mutual awareness, and internal organisation. He paid little attention to the importance of generalised tension, momentary impulses, personal disorganisation, or personal attitudes of the French to the Bonapartian Empire. Marxian tradition has often limited social movements to political movements⁶⁵. The stricter the Marxism, the less it has attributed to states, ethnic movements, religious movements, gender issues, minorities and so on. The neglect of religion has often meant to the Marxian studies that such things that can not be reduced to materialistic factors have been totally ignored. The strength of Marxian tradition is that it sees history and society as dynamic process and not static system as the following Durkheimian tradition. For Marx the movements were a positive phenomenon, not awesome monsters.⁶⁶

EMILE DURKHEIM⁶⁷ pointed out that the society is a system of **collective conscience** of similar individuals. The Durkheimian idea is based on a tension between disintegration (which leads to **anomic collective action**) and integration (which leads to **routine collective action**). Somewhere between these there is the **restorative collective action**⁶⁸. The basic idea in the Durkheimian thinking is that it sees the society as an organ. From this perspective all new things are potentially harmful because they disrupt the perfect system. They are either negative (viruses or

⁶³ Turner & Killian 1987.

⁶⁴ **The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850**. Marx 1958a. **The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte**. Marx 1958b

⁶⁵ Tilly concentrates on conflicts and denies that there would be a model of peaceful collective action. Tilly 1978,50. Touraine sees social movements as same as class struggle. Touraine 1981,94.

⁶⁶ Tilly 1978,12ff.

⁶⁷ **The division of Labor in Society**. Durkheim 1933. **Suicide**. Durkheim 1951.

⁶⁸ Tilly 1978,16ff.

bacteria) or positive (leukocytes) but in both cases they are indicators of disharmony.

JOHN STUART MILL⁶⁹ and utilitarianism saw the collective action as a calculation of individual interests. In contrary to Marx and Durkheim, Mill saw the social phenomena as a sum of individuals acting. For him collective behaviour was a question of individual choices, the collective consequences of alternative decision rules and the interaction of them. The Millian approach has utilised the mathematical models of political arithmeticians and has been strong in different collective choice theories: game theory, public goods, some theories of voting analysis, formal organisation and power⁷⁰. Utilitarian thinking does not normally value altruism, religious belief, ideology or grievances as important factors. When this approach takes these phenomena into account they are normally reduced to some form of cost-benefit calculation. It also ignores the unconscious, ritual and unarticulated behaviour.

CROWD PSYCHOLOGY, COLLECTIVE PSYCHOLOGY or **GROUP PSYCHOLOGY** was the studyfield outside sociology that inflated to social movement studies. The basic idea of this approach is that a crowd consists of 'people going crazy together'⁷¹. The starting point of the studies was the notion that normally respectable and rational citizens can do awful things in crowds. Although the leading theorist of this approach, **Gustave Le Bon**⁷², saw in the crowds also positive elements, such as heroism, the general concern of this tradition was on criminal phenomena. This explains why the

⁶⁹ *Utilitarianism, Liberty, and Repressive Government*. Mill 1950.

⁷⁰ Tilly 1978, 24-35.

⁷¹ **Everet Dean Martin** according to Turner & Killian 1987,5.

⁷² LeBon 1896. Other scholars in this tradition were **Charles Mackay**(1841) in Britain, **Gabriel Tarde**(1890) in France, **Scipio Sighele**(1898) and **Pasquale Rossi**(1900) in Italy, and **Sigmund Freud**(1922) in Austria.

heritage of this tradition is that it determined for a long time all collective action as irrational and deviant⁷³.

Collective Behavior Approach

THE COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR tradition has been closely connected to Chicago school and interactionism. In their textbook⁷⁴ from 1924 **Robert E. Park**⁷⁵ and **Ernest W. Burgess** they defined the concept as follows:

Collective behavior, then, is the behavior of individuals under the influence of an impulse that is common and collective, an impulse, in other words, that is the result of social interaction.⁷⁶

HERBERT BLUMER⁷⁷, Park's pupil, was the next important scholar in this tradition. His main contribution was to present a classification and taxonomy of the movements. He divided the collective behaviour into five categories:

1. Crowdlike behaviour like panic and riots
2. Mass behaviour which is collective but not organised
3. Public and public opinion
4. Propaganda, psychological warfare and communist tactics
5. Social movements (with subtypes)⁷⁸

Blumer did not see movements only as irrational but also as creative. He wrote that social movements are "one of the chief ways through which modern societies are remade⁷⁹." Blumer's importance to theory is in this notion that a grievance should be determined as a grievance before action can happen. As long as something is seen as natural, it is not a cause for a protest.

⁷³ Turner & Killian 1987,4f,19; Hyvärinen 1985,42-52.

⁷⁴ Park & Burgess 1924.

⁷⁵ Park launched the term collective behavior already in his Heidelberg doctoral thesis *Masse und Publikum* in 1903.

⁷⁶ Park & Burgess, 1924,865.

⁷⁷ *Collective Behaviour*. Blumer 1939.

⁷⁸ Neidhardt and Rucht 1991,423,460.

⁷⁹ Blumer 1957,154.

TALCOTT PARSONS started the other string in the American approach. He also began from the context of fascism and tried to explain European turbulence to Americans in an essay in 1942. For him social movements were implications of the unusual events. Big social changes in the background inflame individuals and they react to these changes.⁸⁰

Blumer's and Parsons' approaches formed together the collective behaviour approach. The shared main idea followed the mass psychology approach that people behave differently in groups than individually. Later these approaches differentiated again into two schools with their special emphasis.

INTERACTIONIST string of collective behavior was further developed by *Ralph Turner* and *Lewis Killian* in 1957⁸¹. They saw collective behaviour as a breakdown of well-structured situation but not as irrational. The key of the action lies in *the emergent norms* that orient individuals in the movement formation. Their idea was that when people face an unusual occasion they first form a shared interpretation of their situation and then decide what should be done.⁸²

STRUCTURALIST STRING of collective behavior was led by *Neil Smelser*⁸³. In his theory Smelser addressed five kinds of collective behavior: panic, craze, hostile outburst, norm-oriented movement, and value-oriented movement. His key concept was *structural strain* that caused collective behavior. Structural strain is not an individual sense of frustration or injustice but failure of the social system to work in harmony⁸⁴. In his *value-added approach* the structural conductiveness, the pre-existing (or newly created)

⁸⁰ Eyerman and Jamison 1991,11-12.

⁸¹ Turner & Killian 1957.

⁸² Turner & Killian 1987,25-30.

⁸³ Smelser 1962.

⁸⁴ Turner & Killian 1987,238f.

organisations (= leadership and communication), the precipitating factors, the operation of social control and the formation of **generalised belief** played central role⁸⁵. Smelser defined collective behavior

"as mobilization on the basis of a belief which redefines social action... These beliefs...involve a belief the existence of the extraordinary forces - threats, conspiracies, etc. - which are at work in the universe... The beliefs on which collective behavior is based (we shall call them generalised beliefs) are thus akin to magical beliefs."⁸⁶

OTHER STRINGS of collective behaviour approach have been **mass society tradition** of **William Kornhauser**⁸⁷ and **relative deprivation approach**⁸⁸. The main idea in mass society tradition has been the Durkheimian ideas of the process in which the traditional forms of community have declined and society has become impersonal. Primary ties and community cohesion are weak and people are integrated to large-scale organisations. In relative deprivation tradition the main idea in this approach is that those who feel most deprived are not the ones that objectively are most deprived. The feeling of deprivation depends to whom someone is comparing himself.

THE STUDENT ACTIVISM of 1960s came as a surprise to both sociologists and governments. Neither structure-functionalists nor interactionists could sufficiently fit the students in their theories. Students were not taken seriously and their behaviour was explained by psychological reasons like 'the alienation of youth', 'oedipal complexes', and 'conflict of generations.' When students were displeased to such interpretations Collective behaviour approach lost its reliability. There took place the Kuhnian paradigmatic shift to the **resource mobilisation** approach in 1970s.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ Neidhardt and Rucht 1991,426; Eyerman and Jamison 1991,13-14.

⁸⁶ Smelser 1970,8.

⁸⁷ Kornhauser 1959.

⁸⁸ One of the leading theorists has been **Ted Robert Gurr** (1970).

⁸⁹ Eyerman and Jamison 1991,19-23; Mayer 1991,62.

Resource Mobilisation Theory

THE RESOURCE MOBILISATION THEORY rejected grievances and ideology as explanations of the movements. They do not automatically create a political party or a social movement. The main point is then to look at the process of mobilisation. Why some potentials become movements and some do not when they face same grievances and ideology?⁹⁰

The root metaphor shifted from group or crowd to **American political campaign** or commercial **direct sales campaign**. Social movements are seen simply as politics with other means like lobbies and interest groups. Within this common frame the approach has several competing perspectives. The **organisational string** sees the organisations as catalysts to action⁹¹ and the **political string** argued for the **importance of the structural readiness** of the potential activists and the structure of political support or hindrance⁹².

New Social Movements Approach

The old collective behaviour approach did not die totally along the rise of resource mobilisation theory. In the same time, than interaction between American and European scholars started in the midst of 1980s, emerged also the reviewing of social-psychological work on social movements⁹³. In practice this social psychological work was included as a part of the European New Social Movement Approach. This is perhaps because of the push of

⁹⁰ Mayer 1991,62-63.

⁹¹ McCarthy & Zald 1977,1221ff. John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald spoke of **social movement organizations** (SMO) and **social movement industries** (SMI) that form the **social movement sector** (SMS) in society defined the actors in the field to be **adherents, constituents, potential beneficiaries, bystanders** and **authorities**. McCarthy & Zald 1977,1218-1220.

⁹² **Charles Tilly** and **Sidney Tarrow** have developed the concept of **political opportunity structure** (POS), which has become one of the main concepts of the field (Tilly 1978). The concept was from **Michael Lipsky** (1968).

⁹³ see Snow & Olivier 1995,573.

the Resource Mobilization domination and the pull of European themes. Traditionhistorically they have, however, different roots. In the next chapter I deal the European tradition. Here I introduce the American social psychological perspective which is also labelled as social constructivism. The most important strings are Turner and Killian's emergent norm perspective and the framing perspective of **David A. Snow** and **Robert Benford**.

EMERGENT NORM PERSPECTIVE is a direct heir of earlier interactionist string of collective behaviour approach. In the third edition of *Collective Behavior* from 1987 Turner and Killian distinct the collective behaviour both from the individual behaviour and the group behaviour. So they have a continuum individual - collective - organisational. Social movements are in the border of collective and organisational behaviour⁹⁴.

The emergent norm is so central to their thinking that they point:

Essential to the understanding of social movements is therefore the understanding of processes leading to the development of movement ideology and goals, and the emergent sense of an obligatory mission.⁹⁵

In this way Turner and Killian underline that the important thing in social movement is its *raison d'être*⁹⁶. In this they oppose the Resource Mobilization theoretics who in an opportunistic way proclaim that all the reasons are good and if there are not good reasons, they can be invented.

⁹⁴ Turner & Killian 1987, 3f, 226, 229f.

⁹⁵ Turner & Killian 1987, 241.

⁹⁶ The value orientations of the movement are used in four ways in the movements: 1. for internal guidance; 2. to foster solidarity; 3. in appeal for support from constituency; and 4. to represent the movement to outsiders. For this, they must fulfil the following criteria: 1. to identify the problem in meaningful way; 2. to provide a history and diagnosis of the problem concerned; 3. to organise and sustain attention and activity; 4. to convey assurance of timely success; 5. to establish legitimacy of the movement; and 6. to identify the character of the movement. Turner & Killian 1987, 278-282.

THE FRAME ANALYSIS of *Erving Goffman* can be tied to participation processes of social movements. *David A. Snow* with his colleagues has found that movements try to fix together the frames of the individual participants and the whole movement⁹⁷. These frames then create movement cultures and collective identities. Snow and Benford state that the collective action frame

underscore and embellish the seriousness and injustice of a particular social condition or redefine as unjust and immoral what was previously seen as unfortunate but perhaps tolerable.⁹⁸

NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT STUDIES emerged in Europe with the pioneer work of *Alain Touraine*. For Touraine the social movement and class struggle were synonymous expressions: "There exist no class relations separable from class action." For him the fundamental criterion for a social movement was its sense of *historicity* or historical action. For Touraine there were three main components: *identity*, *opponent* and their shared field which he called *totality*⁹⁹.

Touraine's approach was a typical European approach. The social movement research was not differentiated from the general sociology. The speciality of Touraine was that he developed his general theory of sociology from social movements¹⁰⁰. In other cases it was vice versa. In most countries it has been quite a minimal sub-field of sociology.

OTTHEIM RAMMSTEDT represents the German approach to social movement studies. In his work *Soziale Bewegung* in 1978 he gives an ideal-typical model of a movement's life cycle. Like Touraine,

⁹⁷ Snow David A. & al. 1986.

⁹⁸ Snow and Benford 1992,137.

⁹⁹ Touraine 1981.

also Rammstedt limits the social movement to political movement that aims to the utopia of civil society. His new point is that a movement is a process. Typical to the movement is that it must transform itself all the time from stage to stage. Every stage is determined from the previous. If the context remains the same, this process can be seen as a deterministic development from stage to stage. In every stage there is two possibilities: development to the next stage or remaining to the present stage.¹⁰¹

COLLECTIVE IDENTITY has become one of the key words for the European *new social movement approach*. Touraine's pupil Alberto Melucci has become another remarkable European scholar in this field. He proposed first in 1980 the concept *new social movement* (NSM) and has done much in theorising the collective identity of social movements. He claims that new social movements arise in defence of identity¹⁰². For Melucci the collective identity is nothing stable but "a definition constructed and negotiated through an activation of the social relationships connecting members of a group or a movement¹⁰³." Also the "collective actor is always a composite, a constructed reality which nevertheless presents itself empirically as a unit¹⁰⁴." For him social movement is not an entity but a process¹⁰⁵.

In the new social movement studies the identity has three dimensions: *individual identities*, *collective identities* and *public identities*. Also such concepts as *role strain*, *role change* and *role conflict* are central. These are typical social psychology

¹⁰⁰ Klaus Eder describes the difference of Smelser and Touraine as follows: "Smelser looks at the social system producing collective action, while Touraine looks at collective action producing society. Eder 1982,16.

¹⁰¹ Hyvärinen 1985,98-112.

¹⁰² Melucci 1980,218.

¹⁰³ Melucci 1992f,49.

¹⁰⁴ Melucci 1992f,242.

¹⁰⁵ Melucci 1992f,48.

questions and Melucci has drawn much from the studies from this sub-field.

Combinations of the European and American Approaches

Bert Klandermans has been one of the leading bridge-builders between American and European approaches. In 1986 he wrote the first review of resource mobilisation theory and new social movement approach¹⁰⁶. That article and meetings between European and American scholars brought the two approaches into interaction. After that, much of the discussion has been in the anthologies where both approaches have been dealt. Much of the American new collective behavior and frame studies are now part of the NSM studies.

CULTURAL APPROACH is one string of the new social movement approach. There are at least two main lines in this approach. First there is **Clifford Geertz's** systemic view which concentrates to describe the relationships within cultural systems¹⁰⁷. The other cultural approach is **performative tradition** which is based on the Weberian individual view. **Ann Swindler** has developed an idea of **culture as a tool kit**. She states that people use rituals, symbols, stories, and world views to construct strategies of action. She points that in unsettled times mobilising collectivities reject old ways of thinking and articulate new ones. In this definition process the ritualistic behaviour has crucial role.¹⁰⁸

The third cultural view is **Karl-Werner Brand's zeitgeist-**approach which proposes historical analysis. Zeitgeist is a combination of world views, ideas and emotions, fears and hopes,

¹⁰⁶ Klandermans 1986.

¹⁰⁷ In this approach one can find, e.g., **Aldon Morris, Hank Johnston** and **Michael Billing**

¹⁰⁸ Johnston and Klandermans 1995, 7f.

beliefs and utopias, the feeling of crisis of stability, pessimism or optimism. His basic finding is that collective mobilisation emerges in the time of cultural crisis¹⁰⁹. He borrows the concepts of **protest-cycle** and **political opportunity structure** from **Sidney Tarrow** and launches the concept of **cultural opportunity structure**. It is not an opposite of political opportunity structure but can be combined with it¹¹⁰.

The other 'old' approaches have also contributed their share to the social movement studies. The Marxist oriented scholars and especially **Klaus Eder** have created new concepts of classes and found that the new social movements are much **middle class activity**. When the old class theory ignored the middle class it has now become the centre of the studies.¹¹¹

In the sociology of science **Ron Eyerman** and **Andrew Jamison** have studied the links between new social movements and new disciplines in universities. Their main thesis is that the movements create new spaces for their discourse. The **movement ideology** or culture is articulated by **movement intellectuals** who have a tendency to establish themselves in administration, politics, universities and industry.¹¹² Sociology of religion has vast amount of studies on new religious movements. They challenge the old functionalistic "truths" of religion as a conservative element in society and show that the revival movements, cults and sects are vital forces in society.

Pearls of social Movement Studies

Social movement studies have a long history and it can be seen as a thesis - antithesis - synthesis process. So it is not a

¹⁰⁹ Brand 1990ca, 25-28.

¹¹⁰ Brand 1990cc, 2.

¹¹¹ Eder 1995, 22-37.

¹¹² Eyerman and Jamison 1991, 98f.

surprise that the pearls come from the new studies. Especially the combination of American and European studies has been fruitful. Alberto Melucci has frequently called the American studies the "how" approach when the European studies are "why" approach¹¹³.

In the study of social movements there are same way two time periods than in nonprofits. First the processes of emerge and then the growth and transformation/decline/institutionalisation processes. These processes have been studied in micro, meso and macro levels, in same way than in third sector studies. Resource mobilisation theory resembles the resource dependency theory in NPO studies and focus to the political and economical opportunities. Brand's cultural opportunities are a needed addition but there could be added also religious opportunities. With this I mean that different religious views bound the possibilities differently even in the same culture.

The main contribution of social movement studies is, however, its present emphasis on ideology and identity. They formulate the *raison d'être* of a movement in the same way than in the case of organisations.

If we compare Lohmann's theory of the choice of forming movement or NPO to McCarthy and Zald expressions of social movement organisations, we see an other link between social movements and NPOs. A nonprofit organisation can emerge both as a private effort and as a result of a social movement. Further, these organisations can be a source of both new NPOs and movements.

Eyerman's and Jamison's stress on social movement intellectuals gives theoretical basis for a methodological choice to study an organisation through its publications and official documents. If

¹¹³ E.g., Melucci 1984, 821,

the intellectuals articulate the thoughts of the people, the common frame of the movement can be found in the documents.

There is also an other thing that these two subdisciplines share. Both realise the importance of religion but they do not study it. This leads to religious movement studies.

Religious Movement Studies

Religious movements have been studied in several disciplines. The oldest tradition is, naturally, church history. The others are Anthropology, psychology and sociology of religion. In these disciplines there are one big dividing line how to treat religion and religious phenomena. First there is a tradition that explains religion out by reducing it to some other determinants. In sociology this tendency is in those traditions that build on the works of **August Comte**, **Karl Marx** and **Emile Durkheim**. Comte's famous theory of three stages of mankind (from theology via metaphysics to positivist science) determines that religion is a fading phenomenon. For Marx it was a part of the upper structure that is based on material determinants. And Durkheim held that society is celebrating itself in religion. In anthropology similar reductionism can be seen in the works of **Herbert Spencer**, **Edward Tylor** and **James George Frazer**. Finally, in psychology, **Sigmund Freud** saw religion as an expression of Oedipal complexes. All they were more or less hostile to religion and saw it as a dependent variable.

The other tradition sees religion as an independent variable. Outside theology, the classical proponents of this line have been **Max Weber**, **Carl Jung** and **Mircea Eliade**. When Marx saw that religion is a result of alienation caused by capitalism, Weber claimed that capitalism is a product of religion. All of them

defended the idea that religions should be studied from their own premises.

The main line of studies of religious movements has been in Weberian tradition. Anthropologists have studied the ethno-religious movements and millenarian movements and psychological studies have been mostly studies of individual conversion. In the field of church history the interest has been mainly in past centuries. All these fields are interesting, but I leave them out of this paper and concentrate on sociological studies of religious movements. They start from Weber.

Church-Sect Theory

The cornerstone of studies of religious movements until 1970s has been the **church-sect theory**. The distinction between church and sect was made by Max Weber. It was an elaboration from his earlier distinction between prophet and priest which became also the basis for his studies on charisma and bureaucratisation.

However the theory is normally addressed to **Ernst Troeltsch**¹¹⁴ who elaborated Weber's ideas and defined the characters of both church and sect. The basic ideas in church-sect theory are that when a church becomes too **low tension**¹¹⁵, some members react and recall the original religiosity back. They form their own high tension group apart from the church. When the time passes and the second generation grows, they are closer to medium citizens than their parents. Then there will be the need for a new sectarianism.

¹¹⁴ Troeltsch 1961, 331-341.

¹¹⁵ Concepts of high tension and low tension are from **Charles Y. Glock** and **Rodney Stark** from 1960s (Glock & Stark 1965). Other scholars in this tradition have been **H. Richard Niebuhr** (1954), who elaborated the mechanisms how sects become denominations; **J. Milton Yinger** (1957), who made a continuum from **Universal Church** to **Ecclesia** to **Class Church or Denomination** to **Established Sect** and finally to **Sect**; and **David A. Martin** (1962), who pointed that not all denominations have been first sects.

The problem of the church-sect theory is that it leaves other kind of movements out. **Ari Haavio** makes a distinction between the revival and revival movement. Revival is still unorganised and spontaneous activity. Perhaps even its goals are not yet defined. It can die away if the grievance will be corrected in the church or the organisation process fails. He made a remark that a revival can also stay inside a church and in such a way form an ecclestical revival movement.¹¹⁶ This has been typical in Finland. However, neither this is sufficient. It leaves out the interchurch movements which are either undenominational (Campus Crusade for Christ, Emmaus) or influence inside many churches (YMCA, International Bible Society, Sunday School Movement, Charismatic Movement). These entities are still mostly unstudied.

DIFFUSION MODELS OF INNOVATIONS have been used by **Kirsti Suolinna** and **Juha Kauppinen**. Suolinna found that revival movements found their support basis from countryside and especially in such areas where there were independent peasants. Such areas where the majority of the population were landhirers they did not get much support. Later when labour movement spread over Finland it gained its support from those areas which were left out from revival movements.¹¹⁷ Kauppinen found in similar way that the concepts of need and reject influence to diffusion. In general, an innovation diffuses according to hierarchical mode from national centre to district centres to localities. In such, it would be necessary to add one opportunity structure more in zeitgeist analysis - **religious opportunity structure**.

¹¹⁶ Haavio 1963, 20f, 28.

¹¹⁷ Suolinna 1975, 67.

New Religious Movements

Differentiated from sect, which is a fragment of existing church in society, a **cult** is an organisation with novel beliefs and practices¹¹⁸. It is either totally new or imported from other cultures. Cult is not necessarily a religious phenomenon. However the term is so value-loaded that it has quite commonly been replaced by the concept of **new religious movement** (NRM). NRMs consist both the old concepts of sects and cults.

The boom of NRMs began in 1960s with the Hippie movement. This movement was basically religious and can be regarded as the first modern NRM¹¹⁹. In NRM studies, similar things have happened as in social movement studies: the old theories about deprived people as recruits do not have evidence in empirical studies. **Eileen Barker** notes that they are most

"from the middle-middle and upper-middle classes; 'good' families in which the values of duty and service to others were more likely to be found than those in earning money; they tended to be of average intelligence and to have done well, although not brilliantly, at school; many had started, completed, or were planning to attend university or some kind of further education."¹²⁰

A typology for NRMs classifies them as follows:

1. Movements originating from Christianity
2. Movements bearing the imprint of Western psychology and therapeutic subculture
3. Movements derived from Asiatic religions.¹²¹

The discussion on NRMs has included themes of brainwashing, legal status of new movements (Scientology - religion or business) and the human quest for religiosity. **Reijo Heinonen** has frequently

¹¹⁸ Bainbridge 1997, 24.

¹¹⁹ Damrell 1978, 76. Bellah 1980, 167f.

¹²⁰ Barker 1987, 80.

¹²¹ Hummel 1987, 19.

pointed out in his lessons, that if a society neglects to include religion into the culture, it bursts out in some other way. Fundamentalism and NRMs are the fruits of this attitude.

POLITICAL ACTIVITY is also one issue in religious movement studies. As NSMs and NRMs have challenged the old scientific beliefs, similarly also the new religious political activity has challenged the old theories. After Iranian revolution, the Sandinist movement in Nicaragua, the rise of Solidarity in Poland, and the fundamentalist Right in US, the old Durkheimian theories of religion can be buried. Religion is also disruptive because its ultimate purpose is to obey higher laws than earthly ones. If the government violates these sacred laws then religion becomes rebellious.¹²²

Some Remarks of Religious Movement Studies

Religious movement studies have been built in Weberian distinction of charisma and bureaucratisation. This theory is not emphasised so much in social movement and third sector theories but evidently we can find charismatic leaders also in secular movements and organisations. The main tribute of this theory is that it emphasises the significance of ideology in movement formation but it also explains the institutionalisation processes. However, as I noted earlier, this theory fits only to schismatic movements. It has little to offer to studies of other kind of religious organisations. An other weakness is that it has remained to be depended on old relative deprivation theories.

¹²² See Christian Smith's edition Disruptive Religion (1996).

The diffusion models give further information of the mechanisms how movements diffuse and they are useful additions to other theories of opportunities. Political religious movement theories have shaken the whole understanding of the role of religion in society. Religion did not fade away and now the Weberian line of religion as independent force in society seems to be most fruitful approach.

As a whole, it seems that sociology of religious movements has made some useful remarks that can be used also when studying secular movements but the discipline suffers from isolation. It is not central neither in sociology nor theology.

World View Studies

All previous subdisciplines see the world views, faith or ideology as central to movements or organisations. However, social scientists have not been active in participating to the interdisciplinary field of world view studies. The field has been the territory of philosophers, religion anthropologists and psychologists. Below I refer only to some leading theorists in these disciplines.

Philosophical Theories of World Views

The use of the terminology is quite unclear and loose. The main differentiation has been done between the concepts of **world view** (German *Weltanschauung*¹²³) and **world image** (German *Weltbild*)¹²⁴ or world picture. The world image has supposed to mean the physical

¹²³ The weltanschauung is a concept created by German Romanticism meaning a system of values, attitudes and beliefs held by a specific group. Morrow 1993, 709.

¹²⁴ Most of the world view studies in the 'Lutheran Europe' use this concept. It is hard to notice because more and more it is translated in English with 'world view' instead of 'world image'.

and social world that one can discover. It is understood as traditional empirical knowledge that is 'free' from ideological presuppositions¹²⁵. In the Finnish discussion the weltanschauung is determined to be weltbild with values¹²⁶. **Ilkka Niiniluoto's** definition describes well this tendency. According to him world image is:

1. Scientific, when the world is explained with thesis that have been collected and explained by scientific arguments.
2. Religious, when it contains such arguments that are justified by religious authority (like the Bible, The Koran, The Veda-books) or religious experiences and emotions on supernormal (God, spirits of the deaths, UFOs).
3. Metaphysical (non-scientific world image) when it interprets the world with philosophical arguments instead of scientific empirical methods.¹²⁷

This determination is only politely modified version of **August Comte's** idea how the human knowledge grows from religious via metaphysical to scientific world view. The problem of the concept of world image is in the question whether it is equivalence to reality or not.

In the Finnish discussion has lived also **Juha Manninen's** definition that the *world view*¹²⁸ should contain opinions of

- 1) Time and space
- 2) Genesis of the world, supernatural, its consequences, existence or non-existence
- 3) Nature and human's relation to it, nature as context of life
- 4) Human himself, his relations to others
- 5) Structure of society, people, state and determinants of the rules in history

He makes also, following Wittgenstein, a distinction between the 'change in the world view' and 'change of the view'¹²⁹. An archetype of the latter is the conversion of Saul to Paul¹³⁰.

¹²⁵ Wittgenstein according to Envall 1989,113.

¹²⁶ Niiniluoto 1984,87;

¹²⁷ Niiniluoto 1984,79-83.

¹²⁸ Although Manninen claims to separate the terms, he admits that he uses the Finnish equivalence to world image in so wide meaning that here it has practically no difference to world view. Manninen 1977,16f.

¹²⁹ Manninen 1977,26.

¹³⁰ Acts 9.

Both Manninen's and Niiniluoto's definitions are cognitive theories¹³¹. Their problem is that they see the world view quite limited. It does not include action systems, emotions and other non-verbal aspects of the world view. This is typical to majority of the Finnish world view studies.

An other line of philosophical studies is **Ernst Cassirer** and the studies of symbols. Cassirer has developed a theory how the symbols are made. He argues that first comes the action and it is explained afterwards with symbols. Thus rites are acted myths and only after them come dogmas and other determinations of the reality. With these theses he stands in opposition to rational choice theorists who argue that people first calculate and then act.¹³²

Studies in Anthropology of Religion

Anthropology has long tradition in studies of the world views in different cultures. Here I refer only two scholars as an example, namely **Clifford Geertz**¹³³ and **Ninian Smart**.

Geertz is a representative of American symbolist anthropology of religion. Geertz's concept of culture meant the use of symbols. It is through symbols that people communicate and express themselves. Symbolic systems are models of reality and here comes Geertz's interesting distinction: they are both models of something and models for something. Model of something describes the phenomenon in symbols (drawings, words, notes, etc.) but these symbols can be used as models to build something (bridge, song,

¹³¹ Peterson 1994, 85f.

¹³² On Cassirer's philosophy of symbols see Stensland 1986.

¹³³ Geertz contribution is summarised in three articles (**Religion As a Cultural System; Ethos, World View, and the Analysis of Sacred Symbols;** and **Ideology As a Cultural System**) which are published in his *Interpretation of Cultures*. Geertz 1973.

etc.). In this way meanings are stored in symbols and they can also be reawaken from them. Geertz writes:

"Religious symbols...are felt somehow to sum up, for those for whom they are resonant, what is known about the world is , the quality of the emotional life it supports, and the way one ought to behave while in it. Sacred symbols thus relate an ontology and a cosmology to an aesthetics and a morality: their peculiar power comes from their presumed ability to identify fact with value at the most fundamental level, to give to what is otherwise merely actual, a comprehensive normative import."¹³⁴

Further Geertz argues that the amount of synthesising symbols is limited in any culture. Practically this is the same notion what institutional perspective in organisation studies claims and what Swindler means by cultural tools.

Smart has developed a model that describes world views from their dimensions. Although it was first intended to describe religion, he has used it in describing the world views of such movements as Nationalism and Marxism. According to Smart, world view has six dimensions: experimental, mythic, doctrinal, ethical, ritual and social dimension¹³⁵.

Sociological and Psychological Studies of World Views

In sociology there is not special field of world view studies, but some of them are practically such. The most important of them is **Peter Berger's** and **Thomas Luckmann's** model of social construction of reality¹³⁶. They also see symbols as storage places. When we start doing some things we have to concentrate to it but when it becomes routine, it will be 'labelled' and stored in some symbol or model of activity. These models enable us to concentrate to those things that are important in that moment. In some cases these models are challenged and rethought and stored again. They also point that we create our world and what we

¹³⁴ Geertz 1973,127.

¹³⁵ Smart,1983.

¹³⁶ Berger & Luckmann 1972.

actually see is determined by our model of world - we do not take raw data but select it. In this way Berger and Luckmann are in opposition to old theories of logical empirism that some observations are value-free.

Another sociological world view theory is the frame theory, that I mentioned already in social movement studies. However, its problem is that it is too stable. This could be corrected with a theory that is close to it in psychology.

World view studies of cognitive psychology have used **Ulric Neisser's** concepts of **representation** and **schema**¹³⁷. Representation is anything that is some way represented in individuals mind. Schema is the code that tells how the information is received and organised¹³⁸. The process is cyclical: the schema determines the observation which gives information and this modifies again the schema. In this way schema is more dynamic than frame.

The Potential Impact of World View Studies to Organisation and Movement Studies

The main importance of world view studies is that they give tools to analyse the world views of organisations. Geertz's and Smart's theories point that the world views are not only cognitive or intellectual maps but have also other dimensions. In organisation and movement studies this means that a student must pay attention also to rituals, emotions, myths, etc. They all express the mission of the body researched.

From world view studies we can create also the concept of mission view to describe the *raison d'être* of an organisation. The

¹³⁷ On them see Neisser 1967, 287-292; Neisser 1982, 48-62, 93-96. Neisser refers also to **Goffman's** concept of frame. Neisser 1976, 37ff.

mission view can be understood as one stage between world view and task. It is oriented to somewhere but is not yet plan of action. As a hypothesis I assume that there is at least the following interactive elements:

1. Belief system that gives interpretation of the present reality.
2. Vision of the hoped future. This means that the goal is not necessary explained in cognitive way. Who can say what the Salvation really consists?
3. Knowledge of the means or possibilities of the intended change.
4. Understanding of own identity.

From these points I will next create a model for the study of an international ecumenical organisation.

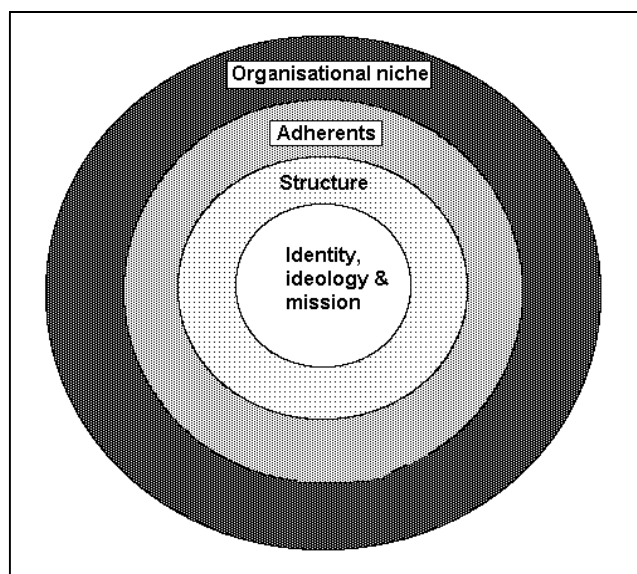
Raison D'être of an Organisation

I adopt the view that nonprofit organisations should be studied from their own premises and that the starting point of the research is the *raison d'être* of the organisation or sector. In organisational level the *raison d'être* means focusing to the complexity of the cultural values of the organisation (or people behind the organisation).

As it has been said many times, most of the nonprofits and many social movements are based on religions or ideologies. These typically contain such elements as identity, belief system and mission view. These are the core of the organisations and they have the strongest inertia. In organisational changes they are the norm according to which the proposals are seen. Below I discuss more how the stress on organisational core could be combined with the theories that see third sector from the contextual viewpoints.

¹³⁸ Nuutinen 1983, 5.

We can describe a nonprofit organisation with two pictures that see the same thing with a bit different emphasis. In the first of them, organisation is seen as an onion. The core of an organisation is its *raison d'être*. Then comes its structures which include also the activists, i.e. those who actually run the



Picture 2: Organisational onion

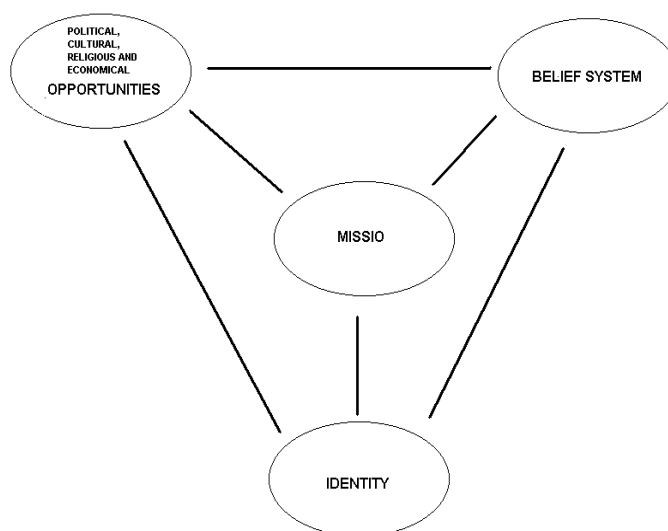
organisation. Third stage is the adherents and sympathisers of the organisation. Finally, outside the organisation is the context or niche in which the organisation acts. All these levels are interdependent in such way that when there are changes in some of them they create potential to changes also in others. Here the organisational inertia is strongest in the core and it is less likely to change. Additionally, in all changes the core will be reflected as a norm for the validity of the change. In fact, if the core changes significantly, the organisation ceases to be what it used to be and is transformed to some other. This requires often total change in the adherency¹³⁹. Also the changes in organisation influence to other levels. The change of organisation normally alters the status quo in the organisation. This may bring new people to the decision making and they may have different interpretations of the mission of the organisation. Finally, the organisational environment can make restrictions or create opportunities that did not exist before. In World YMCA case, the most remarkable events have been two World Wars. The wars shifted the mission to serve

¹³⁹ A typical example is Bert Klandermans' study on Dutch Christian Peace Movement which altered its mission when the adherency changed. Klandermans 1994.

the victims of war which led first to work among prisoners of war and then among refugees.

If the spark of the action is the core of the organisation, the structure, adherents and context form the fuel of it. They form the opportunity structures of the organisation. In social movement studies there are theories of political and cultural opportunity structures. I would like to add two more, namely, economical and religious opportunity structures.

The other picture shows how the core and opportunity structures interact. The core consists of identity, beliefs, mission and opportunities. In the picture the mission has been taken as central point. However, it could be also any other. They are so close related that the change in one



Picture 3: Mission, beliefs, identity and opportunities

influence to the others. The mission is the ultimate goal of the organisation. It should be separated from strategy and tactics of the organisation which are implementations of the final goal. The identity and belief system formulate the core of the mission but if they allow variations the opportunities influence also. A good example is YMCA with its threefold mission: body, mind and spirit. This has legitimated to members the work even when there has been no relation to its original Christian mission. If the basketball has been the only possibility, it has been interpreted to build the temple of the Holy Spirit.

The belief system is based on religion or ideology. Normally it has been taken as given but there can also be sectarian modifications or cult-type new formulations. The belief system includes the definitions of the world, self and purpose. The world sets constraints and possibilities. If the transcendent is included then also the divine possibilities construct the belief system. Determinations of self depend on the identity one has. Because we have to use parables when we speak of transcendental things, these parables also construct our images of God and heaven. In this sense 'gods are images of men.' Finally, if we are involved in some activity, that activity begins to determine our beliefs. It starts with a notion that the things I do are important. Then the mission starts to be more or less central in our world views.

To understand this ideological corner more requires careful study in the field of religious movements and their world views. One of the future tasks of third sector studies is to invite sociology of religion, comparative study of religion and theology to join the nonprofit studies. This would enrich the studies especially in the field of ideological component.

Identity is partly given (ethnicity, gender, age) but also constructed. Our belief system tells us what we are and that is acted out in mission activities. Mission influences also because we tend to be what we do. Also opportunities construct our identity because they formulate the limits in which we live. The collective identity has been one of the main topics in social movement studies in past years. It would be fruitful to include that research also in third sector studies.

Opportunities are not, as I said, determinants of action but possibilities. They form both rules of the game and determine the

possible actions. The analogy to chess illustrates them quite well. Economical and political opportunities are external constraints to any action. On the other hand, religion and culture are more internalised and they constrain much more fundamentally the actions of people. Men take the values and norms of their beliefs and culture as granted and the values limit much the possibilities what organisations can do. In similar way organisational identity and its mission constrain the possibilities. In many cases people say like Martin Luther: "Here I stand and can anything else."

Mission, identity and beliefs do not only limit the opportunities but also expand them. People do not calculate rationally the tasks they get involved. If they would, much would not be done but when there is only the will, the task will be done. Faith is a power that moves mountains. The other way how people expand the opportunities is by the personal networks. As Peter Dobkin Hall has noted, the evangelicals in America created networks that helped the organisational growth¹⁴⁰. These networks are often either religious or ethnical.

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¹⁴⁰ Hall 1987,7.

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