

FROM DEVIANT PHENOMENON TO COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

Paradigm Shifts in Social Movement Studies

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The Field of 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. The strictest criterion for them is the **neo-Marxist definitions**, according to which there have been only few social movements in the whole human history. On the opposite side there is the **Resource Mobilization Theory** that includes almost anything to be a social movement. I come to these in detail below. Now it is sufficient to agree with **Ron Eyerman** and **Andrew Jamison** that the science has become a tool of power¹: boundaries are always also devices of power and propaganda. This is important when we remember that many of the social movement researchers are either studying their own youth activity or are openly supporters of some ideology or world view. When you bound something out, it does not exist in your realm. It does not mean that it does not exist in the realm of somebody other. However, bounding something out is a decision that from my point of view is very much depending, not on scientific reasons, but ideological ones.

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 behavior nor collective action²) have become a sub-discipline of sociology³. 'Social movement' is de facto a main

¹ Eyerman & Jamison 1991,1f.

² 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.

³ ISA has two Research Committees that work under this title.

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.

Social movements in a broad sense have existed through the human history. One of the earliest note on such movement is the royalist movement in ancient Israel described in the book of Samuel

Then all the elders of Israel gathered themselves together, and came to Samuel unto Ramah, and said unto him, Behold, thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a king to judge us like all the nations.⁴

That movement transformed the old cult based alliance to a kingdom in circa 1000 BC After that there have been numerous such movements. One of the most important was the prophetic movement of Israel circa 700-600 BC. Talcott Parsons called that era the time which formed the value systems of those great cultures that have guided the civilisation that on⁵. The great religions of the Middle-East - Christianity and Islam - begun as social movements. Crusades, Reformation, the French Revolution, Bolshevism etc. are some of the past big movements. In a smaller scale there has been the 'prohibit the sex from warriors' - campaign of the ancient Greek women, the plebeian campaigns for equality in ancient Rome as well as modern anti-Nestle and anti-Shell campaigns. This kind of examples can be found so many as someone wants.

In spite of all this, social movement research is a relatively new subsector of sociology. Although its roots can be traced to the midst of 19th Century, the field got wider attraction only after the rise of the new social movements of

⁴ 1 Samuel 8:4-5.

1960s, namely *student movement, peace movement, women's movement and environmental movement*, sometimes bound together under the label *new left*. These seem to remain also the main subjects of the sub-discipline since 1970s, the main inclusions being the ethnic and minority movements and the new activity in previous socialistic countries. In the following sub-chapters I will introduce the main traditions of social movement research, their world views and main research results.

⁵ Parsons 1969, 558-563.

Classical Approaches

Social movements were important to the classics of sociology. In his work *From Mobilization to Revolution* from 1978 **Charles Tilly** links the social movement paradigms to the classical theories of sociology⁶. According to him the contemporary approaches of social movements can be understood as descendants of four classical roots: Marxian, Durkheimian, Millian, and Weberian⁷. However, this leaves out the main stream in the long run, namely social psychological studies of social movements⁸ which have been dominant in the *collective behaviour* approach. In their book *Collective Behavior*⁹ **Ralph H. Turner** and **Lewis Killian** present the fifth root, namely mass-psychology. Finally, **Anthony Oberschall** brings a sixth string to the roots of social movement studies, namely the mathematical models of political arithmeticians and especially

Kommentti [MM1]: Sivu: 2
LJ: Allard
Durkheimilainen?

⁶ **Anthony Oberschall** goes even further and describes the dependence of the classics of sociology on the European moralist philosophers and their stereotypes. Oberschall 1973,3-11.

⁷ Tilly 1978,12-51. There are very few referees to the classics of sociology in the hallmark studies of the field. This is one of the major exceptions. **Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy and Mayer Zald** give a bit different classification of the roots of the field in their *Social Movements* article in **Neil Smelser's Handbook of Sociology**. They start later and the only classic they refer is Max Weber. According to them the approaches are collective behavior, mass society, relative deprivation, and institutional school. (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald 1988,696). The first is the same as the mass-psychology in my presentation. The second links to Durkheim, the third is a version of Marxist grievances and Durkheimian anomie, and the last links to Weber. **Margit Mayer** gives a third classification: 'classical' traditions of collective behavior and breakdown theories, which attempt to explain why and how people protest; resource mobilization approach, which is a critique to classical traditions; class analytical approaches originating in urban sociology developed to modern class society analysis; populist-traditionalist interpretation, which focuses on the 'citizen action' and communitaristic theories; and integrative perspectives, which emphasize cultural and symbolic dimensions and construction of meaning. (Mayer 1991,49.)

⁸ In the Critical Mass Bulletin there was a discussion in 1973-74 whether or not the social movement studies should be within the social psychology section of the American Sociological Association. McCarthy & Zald 1977,1213,n.2.

⁹ Turner & Killian 1987.

Concordet's social mathematics which he presented in his *Oeuvres Complètes* in 1804¹⁰.

Surprisingly there is quite little emphasis on classical studies of religious movements in social movement studies although both Durkheim and Weber underlined the importance of religion. These have been done in theology and anthropology, but they form so distinct research tradition, that I leave it out here and hopefully come to them in an other occasion. Here I start with **Karl Marx** and follow mainly the work of Tilly.

Marx and Class

KARL MARX, in his analysis of the French Revolution 1848¹¹, pointed the interests of different classes (namely the Parisian proletariat, the petty bourgeoisie, and the enlightened fragment of the bourgeoisie) and the temporary coalitions they made. He identified the actors to be classes which were formed according to the means of production¹². 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.¹³ The Marxian tradition has been strong especially in European studies of social movements.

¹⁰ Oberschall 1973,8-11.

¹¹ *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850*. Marx 1958a. *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*. Marx 1958b

¹² The only exception was Luis Bonabarte. Marx admitted that his actions could be based on some other than class interests.

¹³ Tilly 1978,12ff.

The problem of the Marxian tradition has been often a limitation of social movements as political movements¹⁴. The stricter the Marxism, the less it has attributed to states, ethnic movements, religious movements¹⁵, gender issues, minorities and so on. **Jean L. Cohen** points also that "The class analysis cannot account for the peace, ecological, women's or citizen initiative movements proliferating in the West¹⁶." In fact Marxian tradition does not have any real theory of even organisations of class struggle. This is more true in the case of non-class subjects of movements that do not have a form of organisation¹⁷. 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 ignored¹⁸. It can not be said that for Marx the beliefs or other commitments did not exist, but surely he did not focus on them¹⁹.

The other weakness of Marxist tradition has been in its preview of collective action as an expression of a structured class contradiction²⁰. The classical problem in Marxism has

¹⁴ 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.

¹⁵ Surely, there is great variety among the Marxist tradition but, according to Tilly, many traditional Marxian scholars are not really Marxian in a strict sense of the determination. Tilly 1978,43.

¹⁶ Cohen 1983,97.

¹⁷ Hyvärinen 1985,18f.

¹⁸ The materialistic bias comes evident when Marx complains that English workers are not good revolutioniers. He does not see that the leadership of the British labour movement came from Methodists. This in turn meant that they took the Bible and such verses as Romans 13:1 "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God."

¹⁹ Tilly points also that "Marx did not see that many French workers were already symphatetic to Bonabarte in 1848." Tilly 1978,13. I know that it is difficult for an outsider to make any claims on Marxian thinking because there is always some Marxian sect or scholar who has stressed just that issue what one claims to be non-Marxian.

²⁰ Matti Hyvärinen notes that Marxism has three problems related to its class theory: Historic-Philosophical Determinism sees labour class as an 'universal class' with a mission to fulfil the benefits and goals of

been how to move from class in itself to a class for itself, from the potential to action. Normally this gap has been filled by some kind of deus ex machina (the party, the intellectuals) who helps to raise the consciousness which the actor is lacking. **Alberto Melucci** calls this approach **an actor without action**. The other possibility is the view that sees social movements as **a sum of atomised events**. Melucci calls this to be **an action without an actor**.²¹

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. His Hegelian world view stresses the process of thesis - anti-thesis - synthesis. Everything new becomes through the process of class struggle as an anti-thesis for the previous phenomena.

Durkheim and Collective Conscience

EMILE DURKHEIM²² pointed out that the society is a system of **collective conscience** of similar individuals. With concepts of **social facts** and **collective representations** he underlined the importance of group influence in human behaviour. Collective representations form a different thing that cannot be reduced to individual psychology. The new division of labour threatens this common conscience because it puts together people who do not share this common world view. This gap between the level

humankind. This eliminates the question of the making of a collective subject. Class-reductionism is based on the idea that every class almost automatically produces a party or class movement to defend its interests. This has left out the civil society as a field where different groups emerge. Economism has supposed that social struggles and collective subjects emerge like elements from the economical conflicts. Hyvärinen 1985, 19ff.

²¹ Melucci 1980, 199f, 212-215; 1992f, 240; 1992l, 45.

²² **The division of Labor in Society**. Durkheim 1933. **Suicide**. Durkheim 1951.

of differentiation and the level of shared consciousness is **anomie**. 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**.²³

The Durkheimian tradition can be seen almost in all twentieth century standard analyses of industrialisation, urbanisation, deviance, social control, social disorganisation and collective behaviour. In social movement theory Durkheimian tradition has been alive in Parsonsian and Smelserian model of collective behaviour. The basic idea in the Durkheimian tradition 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 bacteria) or positive (leukocytes) but in both cases they are indicators of disharmony.

Mill and Utilitaristic Calculation

JOHN STUART MILL²⁴ 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 it 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 power. In social movement studies the

²³ Tilly 1978,16ff; Turner & Killian 1959,4f.

²⁴ **Utilitarianism, Liberty, and Repressive Government**. Mill 1950.

major proponent of this tradition has been the Resource Mobilisation theory family.²⁵

The basic problem of the utilitarian thinking is that it does not value altruism, religious belief or ideology as important factors. This tradition ignores also the grievances and other structural factors lying behind the action. When this approach takes these phenomena into account they are normally reduced to some form of cost-benefit calculation. For example, altruism is often explained as giving personal satisfaction or in other similar way. This kind of explanation is quite oppressive because it does not value peoples own definitions of their motivations. This same tendency is, unfortunately, seen also in many other scientific traditions.

The other problem of utilitarian approach is that it proposes rational thinking before behaviour. This is more ideological than empirical thesis. People do not always behave rationally (some would say that they seldom do). The other point is that it ignores the unconscious, ritual and unarticulated behaviour. Some symbol theorists, like **Ernst Cassirer**, point that the action comes first and the determination of its meaning or its articulation follows afterwards²⁶.

The weaknesses of utilitarian theories have been also their strength. 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

²⁵ Tilly 1978, 24-35.

²⁶ **Sigbjørn Stensland** has pointed it as follows: "The interesting point from Cassirer's point of view is that action, the running, takes place before the feeling of the state. The cognitive aspect then is something which is the result of the whole sequence. Accordingly, it is not a judgement of how to act, but only a registration of what has occurred." Stensland 1986,71.

system. They really make choices from their own premises and those choices have influence to society. Save social movements studies, this approach has had enormous influence to nonprofit or third sector studies²⁷. It is pity that these two subfields of sociology have not interacted but occasionally.

Weber and Charisma

MAX WEBER²⁸ held that the belief was the root cause of all actions. For him the major points of groups were the collective definitions of the world and of themselves. From these definitions raise the goals, standards of behaviour and other justifications. Beliefs play a crucial role when a group commits itself to follow charismatic leaders, objects, and rituals.²⁹ In this I recognise that he followed the traditional European thinking that the spirit is superior to the matter - *Ev αρχη ην ο λογος*. This is perhaps due to Webers Huguenot heritage from his mother.

Kommentti [MM2]: nootti tähän

Weber offered his fullest contribution to the importance of beliefs in his studies of charisma. Charisma is the opposite force to bureaucracy. It changes people inwardly when bureaucracy transforms the things and arrangements. However Weber saw that charisma has a tendency to routinise. When the movement diffuses "it faces the problem of the routinisation" (veralltäglicung = everydaying) of the charisma... which states dramatically the process of turning something extraordinary into something ordinary."³⁰ Weber's problem is that he does not theorise from where these charismatic leaders

²⁷ Still the best introduction to the Third sector studies is **Walter W. Powells** edition **The Nonprofit sector**. Powell 1987.

²⁸ **Economy and Society**. Weber 1968.

²⁹ Tilly 1978, 37ff.

³⁰ Tilly 1978, 37f.

and movements arise. Weber saw the masses as **vibration of the society** and aspects of change³¹. In that sense they were temporal.

The other major contribution of Weber to social movement studies is his concept of bureaucratisation. Along with **Robert Michels'**³² 'iron law of oligarchy' this concept has paved the way for understanding the mechanisms of organisations and political parties. For Weber the bureaucracy was the most effective way to handle administration - it was in a way the parallel to rationality in the field of administration. When Michels held the dilemma of democracy and the tendency of oligarchisation, Weber took it for granted. Democracy in organisations was utopia for him and he regarded as natural that there are oligarchy in organisations.³³

Weberian explanations flourish in the studies of complex organisations and collective actions of national states.³⁴ In social movement research the Weberian stress on ideas has been important in the classical **Collective Behavior** tradition and in the European **New Social Movement** approach.

When Tilly comments these different classics, he points that the Weberian tradition has been strong in empiricism but often weak in theory. Durkheimian and Millian traditions have, on the contrary, been reformulations after reformulations but with little empirical connection. Marxian tradition, on which Tilly relies, has not paid enough attention to the belief systems, to the emergence and fall processes nor the decision-making processes.³⁵ They have a different view on mobilisation

Kommentti [MM3]: lisää nootti - perustele väite

³¹ Neidhardt and Rucht 1991,422.

³² Political Parties. Michels 1966.

³³ Siisiäinen 1983.

³⁴ Tilly 1978,37ff.

³⁵ Tilly 1978,41f,48,50.

and that is why there should be some combination of the theories.

However, the collective behavior tradition did not start in sociology. It has also a fifth root and when I present it, I leave Tilly and refer to Turner and Killian³⁶.

Le Bon and Other Crowd Psychologists

CROWD PSYCHOLOGY, COLLECTIVE PSYCHOLOGY or **GROUP PSYCHOLOGY** was the early root of collective behaviour studies³⁷. The classical crowd psychology included **convergence** or **instinct theories**, which carry the assumption that human behaviour is the result of the release of the forces located within individuals³⁸. In this tradition were **Gustave Le Bon**³⁹ and **Gabriel Tarde**⁴⁰ in France, **Scipio Sighele**⁴¹ and **Pasquale Rossi**⁴² in Italy, and **Sigmund Freud**⁴³ in Austria. Especially Le Bon developed such concepts as **collective subject**, **collective soul** or the **mental unity of crowds**. Actually Turner & Killian call him the founder of collective behaviour studies. Gabriel Tarde analysed processes of imitation and made a distinction between the crowd and the public.⁴⁴

³⁶ What follows is based on Turner & Killian 1959,4-9; 1989,1-21.

³⁷ To be exact, there were historical studies of, e.g., **Justus Friedrich Carl Hecker** and **Charles Mackay**. Hecker wrote about the Medieval Dancing Mania (Hecker 1832) and Mackay described many of the epidemics of that time (Mackay 1841). Turner & Killian 1959,9.

³⁸ Turner & Killian 1987,19ff. Gustave LeBon put it this way:
 "...unconscious phenomena play an altogether preponderating part not only in organic life but also in the operations of the intelligence... The greater part of our daily actions are the result of hidden motives which escape our observation." LeBon 1924p,889.

³⁹ Le Bon 1896.

⁴⁰ Tarde 1890.

⁴¹ Sighele 1898.

⁴² Rossi 1900.

⁴³ Freud 1922.

⁴⁴ Turner & Killian 1959,4f; Oberschall 1973,13. Here it is worth to note, that in Britain the theory of public opinion had much more positive

The starting point of the studies was the notion that normally respectable and rational citizens can do awful things in crowds. One of the early attempts was to explain collective behaviour in the terms of psychopathology. Freud, for example, saw the crowd as a substitute of superego which told what to do and what is right⁴⁵. The basic idea of this approach is said in **Everet Dean Martin's** memorable saying that a crowd consists of 'people going crazy together'⁴⁶. Le Bon used much the theories of psychoanalysis to explain also the collective behavior. For him the prototype of collective actin was **crowd**. His notion was that a **psychological crowd** or **organised crowd** is formed from a gathering of people when

The sentiments and ideas of all the persons in the gathering take one and the same direction, and their conscious personality vanishes. A collective mind is formed, doubtless transitory, but presenting very clearly defined characteristics.⁴⁷

In organised crowds the unconscious (instincts, passions, and feelings) is released and forces of contagion and suggestion takes the lead. Le Bon and others used the language of medicine to describe how sentiments spread like a flu in crowds. Because of this irrationalism he sees the behaviour of crowds mainly deviant and criminal. Individuals can be led to such deeds that they would accept otherwise and "in crowds it is stupidity and not mother-wit that is accumulated." Here Le Bon is trying to formulate scientific theory from the common sense knowledge that expressed ,for example, in Finnish proverb "In crowds the stupidity will be concentrated".

connotation. According to British thinking it was more based on interests than emotions. Oberschall 1973,10.

⁴⁵ Turner & Killian 1959,8.

⁴⁶ Turner & Killian 1959,8; 1989,5.

⁴⁷ LeBon 1924p,887.

However, he notes also that in crowds there are also positive sentiments like heroism in crowds.⁴⁸

Le Bon extended the conception of crowds also to not face-to-face situations. So he wrote of **electoral crowds, parliamentary assemblies, sects, castes** and classes as instances of crowds. Although Le Bon saw in the crowds also positive elements, such as heroism, the general concern of this tradition was on criminal phenomena. This explains why the heritage of this tradition is that it determined for a long time all collective action as irrational and deviant⁴⁹.

In explaining this tendency to label the behaviour as deviant, the Marxian class interest perspective will give quite a realistic remind. The early theorists of psychology as well as in other sciences (including sociology) came from upper classes who did not really understand the life conditions and motivations of the lower classes. When their own upper society was challenged, they determined the challenging forces as deviant.⁵⁰

Kommentti [MM4]: nootti?
?

Le Bon analysed also the French Revolution. For him the main cause for the revolution was the vanish of respect for the old traditions that caused the revolution. His argument started from the idea that "any profound study of a revolution necessitates a study of the mental soil upon which the ideas that direct the courses have to germinate." His thesis was that philosophers first challenged the authorities and ruined

⁴⁸ LeBon 1924p,890-893. LeBon has been accused that he saw the crowds only negatively but he notes also: "Were peoples only to be credited with the great actions performed in cold blood, the annals of the world would register but few of them." LeBon 1924p,887.

⁴⁹ Turner & Killian 1987,4f,19. Hyvärinen 1985,42-52.

⁵⁰ "Mob, disorder, and mass movement are top down words. They are the words of authorities and elites for actions of other people - and, often, for actions which threaten their own interests." Tilly 1978,227. See also Oberschall 1973,11ff.

the respect for the tradition. The next step was that the unemployed nobility followed them and spread the message. After the lose of confidence in the foundations of the society, all classes felt uneasy and new norms started to emerge. The religion was replaced with Ratio in the minds of the middle class. When the Revolution reached the lower classes, the mystic elements took the lead. These were the real strength of the Revolution. At the end the Reason then formed the doctrines of new Revolutionist religion in which the Reason was the only god.⁵¹

These theories have been rarely referred by the newest social movement theorists⁵². If they have not been totally rejected, they have at least been kept in silence. I suppose that one reason for this, save the notion of deviance that the activists of 1960's disliked, is that they also represent the biological explanation tradition of collective behavior. Today socio-biology is almost a dirty word and constructivist tradition openly rejects the biological explanations of the behaviour⁵³. Also those who are not constructivists have rejected the ideas of Le Bon and others. One reason to this neglect might be that much theorising in the field of social movements has been done in Protestant cultural context. The classical Protestantism has always been unresponsive to ritualism and emotions. The other explanation would be that the Western philosophy has a tradition that reason and emotion are treated as opposites⁵⁴. The third reason might be that Le Bon "remained vague, indeed mystical, on the question of how

⁵¹ LeBon 1924f, 905-909.

⁵² Earlier contagion-like theoretizing has occurred in deindividuation theorists in psychological social psychology, mass society theories and in concepts like 'circular reaction' and 'unilateral transfer of control'. Snow & Olivier 1995,574.

⁵³ Hjelmar 1996,171.

⁵⁴ Snow & Olivier 1995,589.

and under what conditions collective behaviour emerges⁵⁵." The fourth, and perhaps the most influential reason has been the misuse of the socio-biology in ethnic and gender relations⁵⁶.

However there is some wisdom in these old theory traditions. When included by Cassirer's notions that action precedes cognition and for example **Desmond Morris'** comparative studies on human and other animal gestures⁵⁷ and behaviour⁵⁸, the dynamics of groups come much more vivid. Both theorists underline that there is communication prior to the articulation⁵⁹. That communication can lead to action, create commitment, or rise enthusiasm. In the case of big international conferences there is even a special word for it: conference euphoria⁶⁰. Sidney Tarrow adopts a similar concept for the peaks of protest cycles: moments of madness⁶¹. The other point is that Le Bon describes the contagion in similar way that the interactionists and constructivists describe the collective process of defining the phenomena. Finally he points the importance of the zeitgeist just in similar way than some scholars in the New Social Movement approach.

Kommentti [MM5]: sivunro !!!

⁵⁵ Turner & Killian 1959,5.

⁵⁶ Amitai Etzioni summarises it as follows: "...the argument that all human nature is constructed is supposed to protect a position from being vulnerable to discriminatory implications." Etzioni 1995,33.

⁵⁷ For example his work *Bodywaching*. Morris 1985.

⁵⁸ In his famous best-seller ***The Human Zoo*** he writes: "The zoo animal in gage exhibits all these abnormalities that we know so well from our human companions ... the city ... is a human zoo." Morris 1969,.

⁵⁹ The easiest way to recognise the uselessness of words is to remember how oneself spent time with own babies. Much interaction with no words.

⁶⁰ On the other hand, it is good to remember how Matti Hyvärinen comments Le Bon's theses: "It is not plausible that a worker, who is participating to a permanent growd because of the party call, would experience from week to week again and again a transformation to a totally other person. Tenth demonstration for the same issue does not necessarily have any influence to him." Hyvärinen 1985,46.

⁶¹ Tarrow 1993.

Summary of the Classical Approaches

Contemporary approaches to social movements can be understood as descendants of six classical roots: Marxian, Durkheimian, Millian, Weberian, mass-psychology and the mathematical models of political arithmeticians. In the social movement studies there is quite little emphasis on classical studies of religious movements.

Kommentti [MM6]: Sivu: 2
LJ: Allard
Durkheimilainen?

KARL MARX pointed the interests of different classes and the temporary coalitions in his analysis of the French Revolution 1848. Marx's actors acted because of their common interests, mutual awareness, and internal organisation. He paid little attention to the importance of psychological determinants.

Marxian tradition has often limited social movements to political movements. The stricter the Marxism, the less it has attributed to states, ethnic movements, religious movements, gender issues, minorities and so on. This has often meant that such things that can not be reduced to materialistic factors have been totally ignored.

The classical problem in Marxism has been how to move from class in itself to a class for itself, from the potential to action. 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.

EMILE DURKHEIM pointed collective conscience of individuals and disintegration (which leads to anomie collective action) and integration (which leads to routine collective action). Somewhere between these there is the restorative collective action. 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 bacteria) or positive (leukocytes) but in both cases they are indicators of disharmony.

JOHN STUART MILL saw the collective action as a calculation of individual interests. He saw social phenomena as a sum of individuals' acts. It was question of choices, consequences of alternative decision rules, and their interaction. 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 power.

Millian approach reduces quite often altruism, religious belief, ideology and grievances to some form of cost-benefit calculation. It also ignores unconscious, ritual and unarticulated behaviour. On the other hand, the weaknesses of utilitarian theories have been also their strength: they have brought individual actor in the centre of analysis. Human beings really make choices from their own premises and those choices have influence to society.

CROWD PSYCHOLOGY included *convergence* or *instinct theories*, which stated that human behaviour is the result of the release of the forces located within individuals. Although Le Bon saw in the crowds also positive elements, such as heroism, the general concern of this tradition was on criminal phenomena. The starting point was the notion that normally respectable and rational citizens can do awful things in crowds. This explains why the heritage of this tradition is that it determined for a long time all collective action as irrational and deviant.

However, despite the classical roots, the European sociology did not create any adequate theory of social movements. In his review article on social movement research in Germany **Dieter Rucht** pointed that none of the German classics provided refined conceptual tools for the analysis of social movements⁶². The major influence of the classics has been in creating the world views of the research traditions they formed. In social movement studies the different world views and root metaphors play important role in explaining the movements.

The practical result of the lack of defined social movement theory in Europe was that before 1960's the movements were studied as one part of the society in the general sociology. This meant that they were explained with established theoretical traditions. There was no real subsector to study them. Social movements were seen "as organised and strategically acting collectives"⁶³. The only exemption in sociology was the studies of THE MOVEMENT, namely labour movement. However, also this was studied more as an institutionalised part of the welfare state. In Europe, sociology, social democracy, and the welfare state developed hand in hand.⁶⁴ The major development of the field happened in US and the next chapter will introduce its early steps called collective behaviour.

⁶² Rucht 1991,176.

⁶³ Neidhardt and Rucht 1991,425.

⁶⁴ Eyerman and Jamison 1991,17-18.

Collective Behavior Approach

Interactionistic String

THE COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR tradition has been closely connected to Chicago school and interactionism. It was long one of the most undervalued fields of sociology⁶⁵. The paradigm has got wider attraction first with the rise of student movement in the end of 1960s and then with the constructivist theories in European New Social Movement approach. Below I introduce the development of the field and its main theses.

Turner and Killian remind that in England and America the sociology was in the beginning much inflated by static views of cultural determinants. "Emphasis was placed on the notion that man's social behavior was 'culturally determined' or 'culturally conditioned,' while remaking of culture through collective behavior received relatively little emphasis⁶⁶." This might explain why the field underlined so strongly the difference between conventional and collective behaviour. **Kurt** and **Gladys Lang** express this with their determination:

Collective behavior is the field of sociology that focuses on the sequences and patterns of interaction that emerge in problematic situations...
 Problematic situations are defined here as those in which participants lack adequate guides to conduct.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Neidhardt and Rucht 1991,422. Marx & Wood note that before 1969 there were published only about dozen books on general collective behaviour topics when between 1969 and 1975 there were 24 publications. Marx & Wood 1975,363.

⁶⁶ Turner & Killian 1959,6.

⁶⁷ Lang & Lang 1968,556.

One of the early sociologists was **Edward Alsworth Ross**⁶⁸. He had a social-psychological orientation and he was strongly influenced by Tarde. He saw that the idea of imitation accounted both 'planes' (traditional influences) and 'currents' (changing influences). Other social- psychologists were **William McDougall**⁶⁹ and **Floyd Allport**⁷⁰. Both denied the idea of group mind as an explanation to crowd behaviour. McDougall tried to explain the spread and intensification of emotions in a crowd and concluded that it was question of expression of primary emotions and instincts. Allport saw the group behaviour as a sum of individual reactions.⁷¹

ROBERT E. PARK is the father of American collective behaviour studies. He launched the term collective behavior in his Heidelberg doctoral thesis **Masse und Publikum** in 1903. Combining the Continental and British traditions, he made also a distinction between **the public** and **the crowd**. While he believed that the former was controlled by rational norms and the latter was not, he argued that both "serve to bring individuals out of old ties and into new ones."⁷² He used the word 'crowd' in a broad sense which covered such classical phenomena as last vast migration of peoples, the Crusades, and the French revolution⁷³.

In US the studies started in Chicago school in 1920s. Together with his colleague, **Ernest W. Burgess**⁷⁴, Park published a textbook **Introduction to the Science of Sociology**. In it one part was a chapter of collective behavior. The form of the book was such that each chapter contained first

⁶⁸ Ross 1912(1908)

⁶⁹ McDougall 1912.

⁷⁰ Allport 1924.

⁷¹ Turner & Killian 1959, 6.

⁷² Park 1972, x.

⁷³ Park 1972, 19f.

introduction to the subject, then a selection of the prominent studies of the field and lastly a section on problems. This meant that the publication was partly a monograph and partly an anthology. I suppose that this is why Park and Burgess have been "heavily influenced by the European mass psychosis theory but elaborated it greatly"⁷⁵. In fact they ended the chapter on the notion:

Le Bon's book on the *Psychology of Revolution*, which is the sequel to his study of *The Crowd*, is, to be sure, an attempt, but the best that one can say of it is that it is suggestive.⁷⁶

Park and Burgess introduced the previous studies concerning crowds, different mass movements like Klondike Rush, The Woman's Temperance Crusade, The French Revolution, Bolshevism, and Methodism. Their focus was on social unrest, psychic epidemics, mass movements, revivals, crowds, sects, institutions, fashion, reforms, and revolutions which all they included under the definition of collective behavior. Their definition for the concept is still valid:

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.⁷⁷

HERBERT BLUMER⁷⁸, Park's pupil, was the next important scholar in this tradition. He was a refugee from Germany and the experience of fascism, together with industrialism and urbanisation, was the context of his thought. He was also a pupil of *Georg Herbert Mead* and was the first to connect the interactionist ideas of social construction to social

⁷⁴ Park & Burgess 1924.

⁷⁵ Neidhardt and Rucht 1991,422. Opposite this, Turner and Killian see Park in much positive way. They point that "he did not regard collective behavior as abnormal or undesirable." Turner & Killian 1987,6. This is quite typical in the studies. I doubt that many of the scholars that criticise the older theories have not read the main works of those theories but only the critics of them.

⁷⁶ Park & Burgess, 1924,934.

⁷⁷ Park & Burgess, 1924,865.

⁷⁸ *Collective Behaviour*. Blumer 1939.

movements⁷⁹. In symbolic interactionism the world is seen as a symbolic order which is created when men interact through the use of symbols⁸⁰. Thus the world that people see is not an objective reality but is combined of aspects that are relevant to them. From this basis Blumer criticised in 1957 the previous studies:

A consciously directed and organized movement cannot be explained merely in terms of a psychological disposition or motivation of people, or in terms of a diffusion of an ideology. Explanations of this sort... overlook that fact that a *movement has to be constructed* and has to carve out a career in what is practically always an opposed, resistant, or at least indifferent world.⁸¹

However Blumer's 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)⁸²

Here I would like to comment that these phenomena are not exclusive to each other but the contrary. Social movements can use propaganda and be a part of public opinion. They include also crowdlike behaviour in spite of that the general course is rational. In other words, there can be different plays of drama in the same spectacle.

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 remade"⁸³ and "...the appearance of a new social order is equivalent to the

⁷⁹ Turner & Killian 1987,6. Neidhardt and Rucht 1991,423.

⁸⁰ Turner & Killian 1987,26.

⁸¹ Blumer 1957,147.

⁸² Neidhardt and Rucht 1991,423,460.

⁸³ Blumer 1957,154.

emergence of new forms of collective behavior."⁸⁴. This idea of remaking society lies heavily on the root metaphor of discussion. If the society is interaction of people, the society exists only in these interactions. So the movements are also a mean of communication. At the end of 1960s most of the theorists started to accept the notion that the distinction between conventional and collective behavior is not so clear. Similar types of behavior and motivations can be seen in both types of action⁸⁵.

Blumer's importance in theory is in this notion that a grievance should be determined as a grievance before action can happen⁸⁶. In 1971 he wrote:

Social problems are not the result of an intrinsic malfunctioning of a society but are the result of a process of definition in which a given condition is picked out and identified as a social problem.⁸⁷

As long as something is seen as natural, it is not a cause for a protest.

LATER this interactionist string of collective behavior was further developed by **Ralph Turner** and **Lewis Killian** in 1957⁸⁸. 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.⁸⁹ Social

⁸⁴ Blumer 1951,168f.

⁸⁵ Marx & Wood 1975,367f.

⁸⁶ So in our time the question of lower salaries of women is a social problem but lower life-span of men is not. The latter is seen as 'natural'.

⁸⁷ Blumer 1971,301.

⁸⁸ Turner & Killian 1959(1957). Killian 1964.

⁸⁹ Turner & Killian 1957,12; 1987,25-30.

movements were not seen as the opposite of organised behaviour but as a first step to it.

Later Killian even pointed that social movements could be interpreted not so much as creatures, but as the "creators of social change." They are collectivities with a "complex and relatively stable structure, a broad program of change, and elaborate ideology." With this definition Killian was quite close to the European tradition which was represented in US by **Rudolf Heberle**⁹⁰ who situated social movements, not to collective behavior, but to historically oriented political sociology.⁹¹

Turner and Killian review also the recurring issues of collective behaviour. The **group mind** issue has dealt the question "whether the group is something other than the sum of individual responses." Here they point that the group activity describes both many individuals acting together and totality in action. One of the problems of totality in action is that it is often thought with analogies derived from individual behaviour. In groups there is also the phenomenon of different roles. The other question related to group action is whether individuals in a group act differently from behaviour alone. They point that "persons seldom have any clear-cut attitude on any given matter" and that in the literature the extreme claims are seldom found. For them it is basically question of collective decision making. People are aware of each others attitudes and this affects their behaviour.⁹²

Another theme of the previous studies had been the question of **irrationality** and **emotionality**. Turner and Killian

⁹⁰ Heberle 1951.

⁹¹ Neidhardt and Rucht 1991,424-425.

⁹² Turner and Killian 1959,14ff.

criticise the observers' tendency to single out only those phenomena that (s)he disapproves and label them with value-laden terms. With normal definitions, much of the institutional behaviour is emotional and irrational. They also point that in everyday usage the irrationality is often linked to nonconformal behaviour: it is 'irrational' to violate the norms of the society. However, they remind that their definition of collective behaviour deals just those occasions where the old norms cease to influence or they do not exist at all. "To refer to this behavior as irrational or emotional is either fallacious or a tautology."⁹³

The third theme that Turner and Killian refer is the **tension theory**. This theory grows also from the metaphora of an individual. It states that behaviour results from tension which in turn results from unsatisfied needs. The action then gives satisfaction and resolves the tension. However, they point that there are also other mechanisms than satisfaction which reduces tension. People can forget, calm down when they see the results of their anger, etc. They do not remain in the state of tension even when they are not satisfied. They do not reject the importance of catharsis but they doubt if it can be generalised to all situations.⁹⁴

Turner and Killian's theme of emergent norm has been elaborated by several works. Seeking from catastrophes and disturbances an additional prototype for collective action **Jack M. Weller** and **E.L. Quarantelli** add the dimension of whether or not new relationships are present. They see that institutional behaviour occurs in situations when both norms and relationships are enduring. Collective behaviour has three variations depending the stability of either factor. When the

⁹³ Turner & Killian 1959,16f.

⁹⁴ Turner & Killian 1959,17ff.

systems of norms is enduring but relationships are new, there are coup d'états, looting groups, and lynchings. In the opposite situation (enduring relations, emergent norms) there are hospital responses to disasters, police responses to riots, and many fad and fashion episodes. Finally, when both are emergent, there are search and rescue groups in disasters, mass hysteria, some crowds, etc. They point that collective behaviour should not be limited to last occasion. It calls attention also to the cases where the behaviour is partly institutional and partly collective.⁹⁵

Michael Brown and **Amy Goldin** link it to works of **Harold Garfinkel** and **Erving Goffman** and state that collective behaviour emerges when there are competing collective constructions of situation⁹⁶. This link appears to be important in present day social movement research when the focus is in the framing processes of individuals and collectivities.

The concept of emergent norm has remained central in collective behavior tradition. Its weakness is in emphasising the cognitive interpretation of the situation. To be more useful there should be included also the pre-linguistic communication of people. It would bridge the gap between Cassirer's 'action first' and Turner & Killian's 'decision first' approaches. Decision can be done in unconscious level.

Structural Functionalistic String

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

⁹⁵ Weller & Quarantelli 1973, 675-681.

⁹⁶ Brown & Goldin 1973.

1942⁹⁷. From this analysis of fascism he later developed his structure-functionalistic theory as a combination of Weber and Durkheim. For him social movements were **implications of the unusual events**. Big social changes in the background inflame individuals and they react to these changes.⁹⁸ If the root metaphor of society is an organism or a machine, then it is natural that every part has particular function. So social movements are some kind of leukocytes or over pressure valves.

Blumer's and Parsons' approaches formed together the collective behaviour approach. The shared main idea was that people behave differently in groups than individually. This was what crowd behaviour and mass psychosis theories supposed. In the formation of collective identity groups act in a way that can not be explained by individual psychology. Later these approaches differentiated again into two schools. The main dividing line was on the question whether the phenomenon ought to be seen positively as adaptive behaviour or negatively as irrational action. The other question was whether it should be interpreted with the changes in individual attitudes and beliefs or in structural forms. Both saw social movements as only one part of collective behaviour. In social movement theorising both remained on micro level and on movement formation rather than movement development.⁹⁹

The Structural-functionalistic string had also its own ideas. The theory was elaborated by **Robert Merton**¹⁰⁰. He developed the theory of reference groups and distinguished deviant from nonconfirming behaviour. The latter he linked to social change

⁹⁷ **Sociological Aspect of Fascists Movements**. According to Eyerman and Jamison 1991,11.

⁹⁸ Eyerman and Jamison 1991,11-12.

⁹⁹ Eyerman and Jamison 1991,13. McAdam & al 1988. Mayer 1991,60.

¹⁰⁰ **Social Theory and Social Structure**. Merton 1957.

because it challenges the whole norm-system of the community.¹⁰¹

A similar 'handbook' like Turner and Killian's in the structuralist string was made by **Neil Smelser**¹⁰² in 1962. 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 harmony¹⁰³. In other words, it is question of the breakdown of either the means of social control or in the meanings of the normative integration¹⁰⁴. Thus, for him the collective behaviour was something that 'disturbed the circles'. In his **value-added approach** the structural conductiveness, the pre-existing (or newly created) organisations (= leadership and communication), the precipitating factors, the operation of social control and the formation of **generalised belief** played central role¹⁰⁵. 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."¹⁰⁶

Smelser's credit was on three main themes. First he points out how the causes of conflicts are mediated and filtered before they are activated in episodes of collective behavior. Secondly he standardised the terminology and systematised the

¹⁰¹ Merton 1957,357-368.

¹⁰² **Theory of Collective Behaviour**. Smelser 1962.

¹⁰³ Turner & Killian 1987,238f. Against this Margit Mayer interprets that: These societal strains were seen as generating dislocation and anomie (Smelser) or frustration and anger (Gurr). Mayer 1991,59.

¹⁰⁴ Eyerman & Jamison 1991,14.

¹⁰⁵ Neidhardt and Rucht 1991,426. Eyerman and Jamison 1991,13-14.

determinants of collective behavior. Finally, his interaction orientation (between strain and conductiveness on the other hand and generalised belief and social control on the other) shapes the aggregate outcome.¹⁰⁷

This structure-functionalistic string of collective behaviour remained dominant until the emergence of student movement. This string was also the main target of the criticism against collective behavior by the latter approaches¹⁰⁸.

Mass Society String

MASS SOCIETY TRADITION¹⁰⁹ has been sometimes added as a third string to collective behavior traditions that were launched by **William Kornhauser**¹¹⁰. The main idea in this tradition has been the Durkheimian ideas of the process in which the traditional forms of community have declined and society has become impersonal¹¹¹. Primary ties and community cohesion are weak and people are integrated to large-scale organisations¹¹². Mass movements act also in this context:

...mass movements do not build on existing social relations but instead construct direct ties between participants and leaders.¹¹³

¹⁰⁶ Smelser 1970,8.

¹⁰⁷ Oberschall 1973,23.

¹⁰⁸ Oberschall criticises: "Just when collective behavior theorists are coming to see continuities between everyday behavior and routine social processes, Smelser's emphasis is on discontinuities and differences. When other sociologists are coming to see the rational components in collective behavior, Smelser's emphasis is on the nonrational components; when sociologists emphasize the diversity of beliefs, motives, and perceptions...Smelser emphasizes the homogenizing effects of generalized beliefs." Oberschall 1973,22.

¹⁰⁹ Mayer 1991,59. McAdam, McCarthy & Zald 1988,696f.

¹¹⁰ **The Politics of the Mass Society**. Kornhauser 1959.

¹¹¹ Rootes 1994,371ff.

¹¹² Turner & Killian 1987,390.

¹¹³ Kornhauser 1968,60.

In fact mass society, according to Kornhauser, is

"a social system in which elites are readily accessible to influence by non-elites, and non-elites are readily available for mobilization by elites."¹¹⁴

The critique of mass society theory can be summarised into three notions. Matti Hyvärinen reminds that "Kornhauser's theory aims to be a democratic analogue to Le Bon's aristocratic critics of masses... Movement is a crowd"¹¹⁵. "Oberschall, like many others, point that empirical findings oppose the main theses of mass society theory. Gary T. Marx and James L. Wood conclude that "mass movements do not seem to usually originate among those who are most socially isolated. Instead members of stable organizations - who experience some discontent - are likely to be early recruits"¹¹⁶.

When commenting Kornhauser's theory, Turner & Killian point that he is dealing only mass movements which "he explicitly contrast class movements and to the reform movements that abound in pluralistic societies." According to them, Kornhauser has been misinterpreted also in an other thesis. "...people are mobilizable not because they are without personal ties but because the groups to which they belong have no linkages to the state."¹¹⁷ Kornhauser's point is that mass and totalitarian movements are likely to arise in societies where there are few secondary organisations (i.e. so called third sector) mediating between the state and the family or individual. On the other hand in those societies where there are strong networks of secondary organisations, the protest will be of a more limited variety.

¹¹⁴ Kornhauser 1959,39.

¹¹⁵ Hyvärinen 1985,75f.

¹¹⁶ Oberschall 1973,104-113. Marx & Wood 1975,392.

¹¹⁷ Turner & Killian 1987,389.

Relative Deprivation String

THE RELATIVE DEPRIVATION APPROACH¹¹⁸ is the fourth addition as a string in collective behavior approach. It was first developed and used systematically in 1940s in *The American Soldier* to explain why some well-paid soldiers in US Army were discontent¹¹⁹. This idea was elaborated on the other hand by **Robert Merton** and **Alice S. Kitt**¹²⁰ and on the other hand by **W.C.Runciman**¹²¹ They find that those who felt most deprived were not the ones that objectively were most deprived. The feeling of deprivation depends to whom someone is comparing himself.¹²² The source can be also the comparison to individual's own past, some abstract ideal, or the standards articulated by his/her reference group. **David F. Aberle** has defined it as "a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectations and actuality".¹²³ This feeling is then either articulated as a grievance or it causes the sublimation in other dimensions of life.

In the field of collective action one of the leading theorists of relative deprivation has been **Ted Robert Gurr**. In his work *Why Men Rebel* he starts from the psychological theories of aggression. He denies the theories of revolutionary personalities, just mentions Freud's theories of aggression as an instinct and child (and social) psychological theories of learned aggression, and takes the third lead developed by John Dollard and his colleagues in 1939. Gurr writes: "The frustration-aggression and the related threat-aggression mechanisms provide the basic motivational link

¹¹⁸ Mayer 1991, 59.

¹¹⁹ Gurr 1970, 24; Townsed 1994, 553.

¹²⁰ *Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior*. Merton & Kitt 1950.

¹²¹ *Relative Deprivation and Social Justice*. Runciman 1966.

¹²² Turner & Killian 1987, 250f.

between RD and the potential for collective violence." Gurr also links three other concepts to relative deprivation, namely dissonance, anomie and conflict. The second of these, anomie is important in its effect to value opportunities. There are three models how the differentiation of value expectations and value capabilities has impact on relative deprivation. Incremental deprivation model describes the situation where the expectations are stable but capabilities declines. In aspirational model the capabilities remain the same but the expectations increase. The last model, J-curve or progressive deprivation model, fits to the situations when expectations and capabilities first increase hand in hand but then capabilities stop to increase or decrease while expectations still go on.¹²⁴

From the relative deprivation Gurr makes a link to political violence as follows:

The disposition to collective violence depends on how badly societies violate socially derived expectations about the means and ends of human action... It is most likely to occur in societies that rely on coercion to maintain order in lieu of providing adequate patterns of value-satisfying action... By contrast, if discontented people have or get constructive means to attain their social and material goals, few will resort to violence.

Discontent has potential political consequences to the extent that men believe violence against political actors is justified in a normative sense, and potentially useful in enhancing or defending their value positions.¹²⁵

Gurr points that relative deprivation, normative and utilitarian justifications are secondary variables which create the primary variables, potential for collective violence, potential for political violence. These together with regime control and support create the magnitude of political violence. He reminds also that his models are

¹²³ Gurr 1970,25.

¹²⁴ Gurr 1970,30-58.

¹²⁵ Gurr 1970,317,319

probabilistic, not deterministic.¹²⁶ With this notion he avoids the normal structural problem how to get from potential to action. He offers instructions to operationalise the concept of relative deprivation but he does not use these operational definitions to analyse different data or movements.

The criticism of relative deprivation approach has stressed that it has little support from empirical evidence. On the other hand, Gurr and many others use more such data as employment rate instead of data about people's perceptions. In such cases it is more question of absolute than relative deprivation. When the latter data is used, the studies show that relative deprivation is not even necessary element of protests.¹²⁷

However rebellion is not the only possible outcome according to this tradition. The other possible form of behavior is compensative action. For various reasons it has been central also in sociology of religion. In religious movement studies sectarianism has been interpreted as an activity of deprived people¹²⁸. However, it is an other story and will be told in other time.

Summary of the Collective Behavior Approach

In the beginning of the century the collective behaviour study was mostly social psychological or psychological. Its focus was mostly on micro and meso levels and it included wider spectrum of phenomena than only social movements. actually, its main focus was on visible mass phenomena and the

¹²⁶ Gurr 1970, 318, 320.

¹²⁷ Marx & Wood 1975, 376-379.

¹²⁸ See, for example Glock 1964, for critical aspects, Hine 1974.

concept of crowd was the root metaphors of collective behaviour.

THE COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOR TRADITION has been closely connected to Chicago school and interactionism. Robert E. Park launched the term collective behavior and made a distinction between the public and the crowd. The former was controlled by rational norms and the latter was not, but both bring individuals out of old ties into new ones. Together with his colleague, Ernest W. Burgess, Park saw the collective behavior as a result of social interaction.

Herbert Blumer, Park's pupil, presented 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)

Blumer did not see movements only as irrational but also as creative and a mechanism for the renewal of society. 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.

Interactionist string of collective behavior was further developed by Ralph Turner and Lewis Killian in 1957. 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.

STRUCTURE FUNCTIONALISM formed the other string in the American collective behavior approach. To Talcott Parsons social movements were implications of the unusual events. Big social changes in the background inflame individuals and they react to these changes.

Blumer's and Parsons' approaches formed together the collective behaviour approach. The shared main idea was that people behave differently in groups than individually. This was what crowd behaviour and mass psychosis theories supposed. In the formation of collective identity groups act in a way that can not be explained by individual psychology. Later these approaches differentiated again into two schools.

Structuralist string of collective behavior was led by Neil Smelser. 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 harmony. In his value-added approach the structural conductiveness, the pre-existing (or newly created) organisations (= leadership and communication), the precipitating factors, the operation of social control and the formation of generalised belief played central role. To Smelser collective behavior was mobilisation on the basis of beliefs that redefines the reality.

MASS SOCIETY TRADITION, the third string of collective behavior traditions, was launched by William Kornhauser. The main idea in this tradition has been the Durkheimian ideas of anomie and impersonal society. Primary ties and community

cohesion are weak and people are integrated to large-scale organisations. In this context mass movements form ties from individual participants to leaders.

THE RELATIVE DEPRIVATION APPROACH is the fourth string in collective behavior approach. 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. According to Ted Robert Gurr, there are three models how the differentiation of value expectations and value capabilities has impact on relative deprivation. Incremental deprivation model describes the situation where the expectations are stable but capabilities declines. In aspirational model the capabilities remain the same but the expectations increase. The last model, J-curve or progressive deprivation model, fits to the situations when expectations and capabilities first increase hand in hand but then capabilities stop to increase or decrease while expectations still go on.

Gurr points that relative deprivation, normative and utilitarian justifications are secondary variables which create the primary variables, potential for collective violence, potential for political violence. These together with regime control and support create the magnitude of political violence. He reminds also that his models are probabilistic, not deterministic.

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. Marxists could only explain that it was a question of alienation. Students were not taken seriously and their behavior was explained by psychological reasons like

'the alienation of youth', 'oedipal complexes', and 'conflict of generations.' When students found themselves as well research objects as researchers, they had to rethink the theories that labelled them irrational. They were displeased to such interpretations that it is question of identity problems of youth or conflict between generations. Collective behaviour approach lost its reliability. The lesson to sociology can be that it is not wise to label people with such concepts that they do not accept. The same sociology students who were labelled by structure-functionalist tradition seem to drop Parsons from their own paradigms when they started their own researches. There took place the Kuhnian paradigmatic shift to the **resource mobilisation**¹²⁹ approach in 1970s.¹³⁰

The theoretical critics of the collective behavior tradition pointed that this tradition has focused mostly on the emergence and micro-dynamics of the movements¹³¹. As **Margit Mayer** said it: "...they all explained the origins of social movements by reference to the same dynamics that accounted for individual participation in movement activities."¹³² They did not say much of the development and change of the movements on the time. In similar way the relative deprivation and mass society approaches were more interested of the preliminary conditions of which the movements rose than the movements themselves.¹³³

However, while much of the critics of collective behavior tradition is valid, it could be questioned if the subject

¹²⁹ Turner and Killian remind that the irrationalism of collective behaviour in Smelser's theory was alien to the main stream of collective behavior research. Turner & Killian 1987,239. However it seems that it has been understood as the dominant line because it was part of then dominant structure-functionalist theory.

¹³⁰ Eyerman and Jamison 1991,19-23; Mayer 1991,62.

¹³¹ See, e.g., Weller & Quarantelli 1973,670-674.

¹³² Mayer 1991,60.

matter of the critics lies in the debate whether the society is a sum of individuals or the individuals are products of society. In some of the critics it is clearly seen that the critics have such determination for sociology that it automatically condemns action oriented theories as unsociological¹³⁴. Determinations are also ways to use power.

¹³³ McAdam, McCarthy & Zald 1988,697; Mayer 1991,59ff; Buechler 1993,218f.
¹³⁴ See, e.g., Weller & Quarantelli 1973,670-674.

Resource Mobilisation Theory

THE RESOURCE MOBILISATION THEORY did not rise directly from the student movement but reflected the disappointment the students felt. The student movement functioned as a catalyst to the attempt to reformulate the old theoretical assumptions. Against the explanations of irrational behaviour the new theorising focused into the rational behaviour of the movement actors. In theories there were a clear shift from social-psychology to political sociology and economics¹³⁵.

The new theorising rejected grievances and ideology as explanations of the movements. As it was seen from the deprived minorities (blacks, women, Native Americans etc.), grievances and ideology do not automatically create a political party or a social movement¹³⁶. The mainpoint 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?¹³⁷ As **John D. McCarthy** and **Mayer N. Zald** put it:

The resource mobilization approach emphasizes both societal support and constraint of social movement phenomena. It examines the variety of resources that must be mobilized, the linkages of social movements to other groups, the dependence of movements upon external support for success, and the tactics used by authorities to control or incorporate movements.¹³⁸

McCarthy and Zald call the resource mobilization theory "a partial theory because it takes as given, as constants, certain components of a complete theory." One such constant is

¹³⁵ McCarthy & Zald 1977,1213.

¹³⁶ Mayer N. Zald defended the thesis in one of his later answers to critique by pointing that the nuclear accident in Chernobyl generated more social movement mobilization in Stockholm than in Kiev or Warsaw. Zald 1991,350.

¹³⁷ Mayer 1991,62-63.

¹³⁸ McCarthy & Zald 1977,1213.

Kommentti [MM7]: Sivu: 19
 LJ: RESURSSIEN MOBILISAATIOTEORIA -painopiste organisoitumisen ja sen mahdollistavien resurssien tutkimisessa
 1)konflikti ei ole riittävä
 2)resursseja: taloudelliset, sosiaaliset ja jopa yksilölliset kyvyt
 3)rekrytointitapaan kohdentuu tutkimus muodollisten org. resurssien käyttö tavoitteiden saavuttamiseksi. -painopiste yk liikkeiden org.tutkimuksessa DIANI 1992
 yk liike on epävirallinen vuorovaikutusverkosto, joka on useiden ihmisten, ryhmien ja/tai organisaatioiden välillä ja joka on sitoutunut poliittiseen tai kulttuuriseen konfliktiin yhteisen ja jaetun kollektiivisen identiteetin pohjalta TILLY 1988
 yk liikkeet hallitsevia auktoriteetteja vastaan suuntautuneita kansallisia liikkeitä
 A) RMT -> liikkeen organisaatiota ja yk:llista liikettä kokonaissysteeminä on pidetty tietystä määrin suhteellisen omalakisena järjestelmänä. EYERMAN&JAMISON 1991
 -historiallisuus & kontekstisidonnaisuus -kognitiivisuus -> kyky muokata ja tuottaa tiedollisia käytäntöjä ja tilapäisiä julkisia tiloja ja jonka toiminnan tuloksena yk:aan syntyy ja leviää uusia ideoita, identiteettejä ja ihanteita
 -konteksti: kansallinen omaleimainen, kansalliset rajoitukset (esim ulkoparlamentaarisuus ja ideologisuuden välttäminen USAssa)
 B) yksittäisen liikkeen organisaatio ja yhteiskunnallinen liike eivät ole analogisia keskenään

"that there is always enough discontent in any society to supply the grass-roots support for a movement if the movement is effectively organized."¹³⁹ An other constant is the phenomena of movement itself. In this tradition the movements are taken for granted without questioning their backgrounds. Their definition of social movement is also interesting:

A social movement is a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society.¹⁴⁰

This definition shows how the root metaphor has shifted from group or crowd to **American political campaign** or commercial **direct sales campaign**.¹⁴¹

The common basis for the quite heterogeneous resource mobilisation approach is in **rational choice theory**¹⁴² and **Mancur Olson's** book **The Logic of Collective Action** from 1965. Olson used the tools made for the analysis of the economical decisions to the collective action. For him collective action was just making choices. Like individuals, the movements act

¹³⁹ McCarthy & Zald 1977,1213,1215.

¹⁴⁰ McCarthy & Zald 1977,1217f.

¹⁴¹ Zald made with **Patricia Denton** a classical work on the transformation and professionalization of US YMCA in 1963. Although it is not yet a 'resource mobilization study' it describes this emphasis on economics. They find that the lack of highly developed ideology of YMCA secretaries led to the transformation of constituency from members to clients, the transformation from evangelistic social movement to general service organisation and to the professionalisation of it. This was due to several factors which Zald & Denton mention. First there was the expansion of membership to non-Christians and their involvement to different activities (especially physical education and sports). Their involvement also into the boards and staff reduced Christian emphasis. Also the sport-secretaries tended to leave the Gospel to be the task of the general secretary. Second, there were also 'push' from the Churches who got their own ecumenical bodies. That meant the decrease of the usefulness of YMCA for them. Third, there was a 'pull' from the society for all non-profit organisations after the war in US to increase their social activities. That forced YMCA to rise the level of its programs and employ more specialists and not so much traditional secretaries. Zald & Denton 1963.

¹⁴² Snow & Olivier call this also **independent variable perspective** because it takes cognition more or less as givens. The other, **dependent variable perspective**, i.e., interactionism and constructivism, sees cognition as constructed. Snow & Olivier 1995,583.

strategically and count the costs and benefits of their activities¹⁴³. 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.

Organisational String

THE ORGANISATIONAL STRING sees the *organisations as catalysts to action*. They use or create their resources in order to reach the goals. Even grievances are seen as manufactured¹⁴⁴ - a poverty is not a grievance unless it is articulated as a grievance because there are people who have committed themselves to poverty (monks, nuns etc.). The economic metaphor was articulated by John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald in 1977 when they spoke *of social movement organizations* (SMO) and *social movement industries* (SMI) that form the *social movement sector* (SMS) in society¹⁴⁵. They define the terms as follows:

A social movement organization (SMO) is a complex, or formal, organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement those goals...

All SMOs that have the attainment of the broadest preferences of a social movement constitute a social movement industry (SMI) - the organizational analogue of a social movement... The definition of SMI parallels the concept of industry in economics...

The social movement sector (SMS) consists of all SMIs in a society no matter to which SM they are attached.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ Renon 1994,599; Kitschelt 1991,325f.; Zald 1991,350; Oberschall 1973,113-118.

¹⁴⁴ McCarthy & Zald 1977,1215. Here the theory follows Blumer (see above). An interesting addition to this notion comes from sociology of law. **William L.F. Felstiner, Richard L. Abel** and **Austin Sarat** come near to this issue from the emergence of disputes. They see three stages on it: **naming** ("saying to oneself that a particular experience has been injurious"), **blaming** (a person attributes an injury to the fault of another), and **claiming** (someone...voices it...and asks for some remedy). "A claim is transformed into a dispute when it is rejected in whole or in part." Felstiner & al 1981,635f.

¹⁴⁵ McCarthy & Zald 1977,1218-1220.

¹⁴⁶ McCarthy & Zald 1977,1218-1220.

McCarthy and Zald highlight with this analytical distinction several aspects:

First, it emphasizes that SMs are never fully mobilized. Second, it focuses explicitly upon the organizational component of the activity. Third, it recognizes explicitly that SMs are typically represented by more than one SMO. Finally, the distinction allows the possibility of an account of the rise and fall of SMs that is not fully dependent on the size of an independent SM or the intensity of the preferences within it.¹⁴⁷

They continue their analysis by defining the actors in the field to **adherents, constituents, potential beneficiaries, bystanders** and **authorities**. They also claim that there is a distinction between such SMs that focus on beneficiary adherents and conscience adherents. The former they call a classical SMO and the latter professional SMO. The constituents of the latter do not stand to benefit themselves.¹⁴⁸ The degree that SMO is depended on one or the other group will effect how the SMO can collect its resources (conscience constituents have normally more resources than beneficiaries), how much of its flow of resources goes to advertising, and what tactical choices the SMO has¹⁴⁹.

Their main thesis on the SMS is quite opposite to previous theories that social movements will occur among deprived population. They state that the more resources there is in a society the more there are social movements. This is because SMOs compete of that surplus that people are putting to entertainment, organised religion, voluntary associations and politics. Where the income goes to basic needs, the surplus does not exist.¹⁵⁰ This seems to be one modulation of Maslow's hierarchy.

¹⁴⁷ McCarthy & Zald 1977,1219

¹⁴⁸ McCarthy & Zald 1977,1221ff.

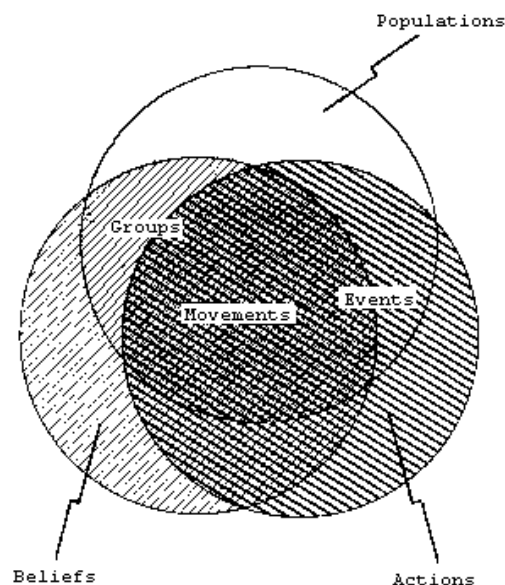
¹⁴⁹ McCarthy & Zald 1977,1228-1232.

¹⁵⁰ McCarthy & Zald 1977,1224ff.

From the ideas of surplus, there is not a long way to other economical language. McCarthy and Zald note that there is a distinction between federated SMOs with constituents that have face-to-face relations to other constituents and nonfederated SMOs with isolated constituents. The latter form of SMOs is highly depended on organisational advertising and other economical methods. In fact the target goals of the movement became products that are sold to adherents. This selling tendency is increased by the need for ensuring the existence of the organisation. This leads to the selling of all kinds of by products and professionalisation of the movement.¹⁵¹

Political String

POLITICAL PROCESS APPROACH is the structural string or an offspring of the RMT¹⁵². Not all the resource mobilisation theorists accepted Olson's theory of individual choices as a primary factor in collective action. The other perspective argued for the **importance of the structural readiness** of the potential activists and the structure of political support or hindrance. The root of this view is in **Ralf Dahrendorf's** revisionist Marxist work **Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society** from 1959. The grand old man of this field has been **Charles Tilly** who has done much



Picture 1: Units of the study of collective action

¹⁵¹ McCarthy & Zald 1977, 1227ff.

¹⁵² Diani & Eyerman 1992, 6.

research in historical sociology and systematised the study in his book ***From Mobilization to Revolution***. According to him, the subject matter of the study is in the overlap of three areas (picture 1), namely populations, beliefs and actions. The study of social movements normally requires the emphasis on at least two of these areas in the same time. The groups are combinations of populations and shared beliefs and the events are in the same way combinations of populations and actions:

We can take groups as our basic units for the study of collective action. Then we typically start with a population which has some common structure and shared beliefs. We are likely to accent those actions which we think result from that combination of structure and beliefs... Histories of the working class of ten take this form. We can also take events as our starting point. We begin with a particular revolution, ceremony or confrontation. Or we begin with a class of events... In either case, we become concerned about populations and beliefs to the extent that they are involved directly in the events. Analyses of "collective behavior" commonly take this tack.

The notion of a "movement" is more complicated than the ideas of groups and events. By social movement we often mean a group of people identified by their attachment to some particular set of beliefs... But movement also commonly means action... The fact that population, belief, and action do not always change together causes serious problems for students of social movements.¹⁵³

Tilly makes much work in systematising the concepts and elements of the field and the relations of the actors. He points that the elementary models for research are the ***polity model*** and the ***mobilisation model***. The first one is a system-level model and includes government, contenders (groups that try to influence government), polity (the collective action of both), and coalitions. Here Tilly follows the same line in which Marx analysed the French revolution. The second model "describes the behavior of a single contender" and it has the following variables: interests, organisation, mobilisation, collective action, and opportunity. Tilly's model

concerns the amount of collective action, the extent of organisation, and so on. Unquestionably, the type of organization, of interest, of

Kommentti [MM8]: lisää tähän kaavio tillyn kirjan sivulta 9

¹⁵³ Tilly 1978, 8ff.

mobilization affects the type of collective action of which a contender is capable; in many circumstances it affects the quantity of collective action as well.¹⁵⁴

Tilly and **Sidney Tarrow** have further developed the concept of **political opportunity structure** (POS)¹⁵⁵, originally launched by **Michael Lipsky**¹⁵⁶ which has become one of the main concepts of the field. Political opportunity structure is a combination of macro-level variables like polity openness/closeness, presence/absence of allies and supporters, divisions within the elite, and policy making capacity of the government. The main idea is that it brings the change aspect into the structures: the environment of the movement varies from time to time and from area to area¹⁵⁷. It resembles much different game theories, especially those based on chess. A simplified description is that, like in chess, the positions of the chessmen determine the actions that are possible and/or wise. However, it is astonishing that the scholars of this field have not referred to the innovation theories which focus similar way to the possibilities and constraints of the goods and ideas¹⁵⁸.

Summary of the Resource Mobilisation Theory

THE RESOURCE MOBILISATION THEORY reflected the disappointment the Student Movement. Students wanted to find new theories and resource mobilisation theory filled that gap. The main thesis

¹⁵⁴ Tilly 1978, 52-59.

¹⁵⁵ Tilly 1978. Other scholars in this perspective are **William A. Gamson** (*The Strategy of Protest* 1975) and **Doug McAdam** (*Political process and the Development of Black Insurgency 1930-1970*. 1982). Kitschelt 1991, 326f.

¹⁵⁶ Lipsky 1968.

¹⁵⁷ Tarrow 1988, 429.

¹⁵⁸ In the Finnish sociology of religion the innovation theory is found useful in the research of the diffusion of new action repertoires and movements. Kauppinen 1990, 40.

Kommentti [MM9]: Sivu:

19
LJ: RESURSSIEN
MOBILISAATIOTEORIA
-painopiste
organisoitumisen ja sen
mahdollistavien
resurssien tutkimisessa
1) konflikti ei ole
riittävä
2) resurssija:
taloudelliset,
sosiaaliset ja jopa
yksilölliset kyvyt
3) rekrytointitapaan
kohdentuu tutkimus
muodollisten org.
resurssien käyttö
tavoitteiden
saavuttamiseksi.
-painopiste yk
liikkeiden
org.tutkimuksessa
DIANI 1992
yk liike on
epävirallinen
vuorovaikutusverkosto,
joka on useiden
ihmisten, ryhmien
ja/tai organisaatioiden
välillä ja joka on
sitoutunut poliittiseen
tai kulttuuriseen
konfliktiin yhteisen ja
jaetun kollektiivisen
identiteetin pohjalta
TILLY 1988
yk liikkeet hallitsevia
auktoriteetteja vastaan
suuntautuneita
kansallisia liikkeitä
A) RMT -> liikkeen
organisaatiota ja
yk:llistä liikettä
kokonaissysteeminä on
pidetty tietyssä määrin
suhteellisen
omalakisena
järjestelmänä.
EYERMAN&JAMISON 1991
-historiallisuus &
kontekstisidonnaisuus
-kognitiivisuus -> kyky
muokata ja tuottaa
tiedollisia käytäntöjä
ja tilapäisiä julkisia
tiloja ja jonka
toiminnan tuloksena
yk:aan syntyy ja leviää
uusia ideoita,
identiteettejä ja
ihanteita
-konteksti: kansallinen
omaleimainen,
kansalliset rajoitukset
(esim
ulkoparlamentaarisuus
ja ideologisuuden
välttäminen USAssa)
B) yksittäisen liikkeen
organisaatio ja
yhteiskunnallinen liike
eivät ole analogisia
keskenään

was that grievances do not automatically create a social movement and this shifted the focus to processes of mobilisation. Leading theorists John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald pointed potential societal support, needed resources and links to other groups. The root metaphor shifted from group or crowd to American political campaign or commercial direct sales campaign.

The common basis for the quite heterogeneous resource mobilisation approach is in rational choice theory. For Mancur Olson collective action was just making choices. Like individuals, the movements act strategically and count the costs and benefits of their activities. 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.

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POLITICAL PROCESS APPROACH is the structural string or an offspring of the RMT. It argued for the importance of the

structural readiness of the potential activists and the structure of political support or hindrance. 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. The main idea is that it brings the change aspect into the structures: the environment of the movement varies from time to time and from area to area. It resembles much different game theories, especially those based on chess.

Alberto Melucci has frequently called RM theories the 'how' approach of social movement studies while the European tradition focuses on 'why' question. One can say also that Americans concentrated on organisations and Europeans on Movements.

As I said above, the Resource Mobilization approach was a reaction both to the deficits of Collective Behavior¹⁵⁹ and to the protests of 1960s. In many cases this meant also that the critics were sweeping and more ideological than analytical. The picture they gave from the previous studies is quite different from the view the studies give by themselves. This was not a firm basis for studies and so at the midst of 1980's the hegemony of Resource Mobilisation began to be challenged¹⁶⁰. This called back the social psychological research traditions and there happened some kind of thesis - anti-thesis - synthesis -process.

¹⁵⁹ "There has been a misguided tendency among resource mobilization and political opportunity theorists ... to lump all pre- 1965 work together as the "collective behavior tradition," ignoring important differences and distinctions among theories and thus missing important insights from past scholarship." Snow & Olivier 1995,591,n.3.

¹⁶⁰ Benford 1997,409. Snow & Oliver 1995,573.

New Social Movement Approach

Back to the Themes of Collective Behavior

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 movements¹⁶¹. 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 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 Benford¹⁶².

In their third edition of *Collective Behavior* from 1987 Turner and Killian combine the *Collective Behavior* approach with the later research. They define collective behaviour as follows:

Collective behavior may be defined as those forms of social behavior in which usual conventions cease to guide social action and people collectively transcend, bypass, or subvert established institutional patterns and structures.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ see Snow & Olivier 1995,573.

¹⁶² Other works focus on the interface of culture, reality construction, consciousness, and contention. Snow & Olivier 1995,586.

¹⁶³ Turner & Killian 1987,3.

Kommentti [MM10]: Sivun 21
 LJ: Tilly, Melucci, Eyerman&Jamison arvostelevat. Yhteiskunnan kehittyminen vaiheesta toiseen?
 CB TEORIAN KRITIIKKI ei ole problematisoitu cb toiminnan peruskysymyksiä
 1) miten cb toimintaa rakennetaan
 2) millä tavalla taataan cb toiminnan yhtenäisyys huolimatta siinä mukana olevien yksilöiden erilaisuudesta
 3) miten yksilöt yleensä kietoutuvat mukaan cb toimintaan
 MELUCCI 1989, joka tutkii miten kollektiivista identiteettiä ylläpidetään ja miten sitä rakennetaan (ovat cb toiminnan sosiol. anal. peruskysymyksiä)
 Melucci pyrkii katsomaan liikettä yksilöstä käsin -> pakottaa lähestymään liikettä holistisesti (yksilö näkee kokonaisuutena)
 Teoretisoinnin ydin antaa hyvän käsitteellisen välineistön tarkastella yk liikettä, sen muotoja, sisältöjä ja kannattajaryhmiä
 CALHOUN 1993 miksi traditionaalisten yk liikkeiden kollektiivinen identiteetti ei voi olla samalla tavalla yksilöiden välisen interaktion tulos tietystä historiallisesta ja ykinnallisesta kontekstissa
 - coll. ident ei ole riippuvainen yhteiskuntakehityksen tasosta -> Calhounin postmodernia liioittelua liikkeiden monimuotoisuus
 RAMSTDT 1978 yk liike on protestien prosessi, joka kohdistuu vallitsevia yhteiskuntasuhteita vastaan
 protesti = 1) välttämättömiä kollektiivisia reaktioita, joita ei toteuteta institutionaalisten välitysmekanismien ... [1]

Turner and Killian distinct the collective behaviour both from the individual behaviour and the group behaviour¹⁶⁴. So they have a continuum individual - collective - organisational. Social movements are in the border of collective and organisational behaviour¹⁶⁵. They define the social movement to be

A social movement is a collectivity acting with some continuity to promote or resist a change in the society or group of which it is a part.¹⁶⁶

Further they excluded fan-clubs, self-help groups and those religious groups that are concerned only of their own salvation without trying to change others. The exclusion is not total because some self-help and religious groups have themes of social betterment through personal transformation.¹⁶⁷ They see that also non-social occasions (like catastrophes) have an influence on the emergence of collective behaviour¹⁶⁸.

When Turner and Killian define the social movement, they point that social movement is not equivalent to its **constituency, sympathisers, opposition** or **bystanders**¹⁶⁹. Their definition remains larger than Tilly's who saw social movements only as political movements but remain narrower than Zald's who include under the title also such interest group organisations that do not require but solicit contributions through mass mailings¹⁷⁰.

In the formation of the theory of social movements, Turner and Killian list three features:

- (1) the occurrence of a disposition to transcend, bypass, or subvert established institutional patterns and structures;

¹⁶⁴ Turner & Killian 1987,3f.

¹⁶⁵ Turner & Killian 1987,226,229f.

¹⁶⁶ Turner & Killian 1987,223.

¹⁶⁷ Turner & Killian 1987,225.

¹⁶⁸ Turner & Killian 1987,35f.

¹⁶⁹ Turner & Killian 1987,225.

¹⁷⁰ Turner & Killian 1987,229.

- (2) the translation of perceptions, feelings, and ideas into action;
- (3) action that takes place collectively rather than singly.¹⁷¹

The first one includes the emergent norms which

specify both behavior and conceptions of the situation that guide and justify extra-institutional action. Emergent norms range from the merely permissive to the obligatory... emergent norms emphasize the obligatory nature of the movement's mission, and their normative conceptions of the situation are elaborated into Ideologies and goal hierarchies.

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.¹⁷²

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

The second is about feasibility (it is possible to do something) and timeliness ('Now or never!'-thinking). The third one presupposes the situation that is out of the range of ordinal happenings (people would act traditionally) and the existence of pre-existing groups in which the new interpretation is made.¹⁷³

Turner and Killian point also that the value orientations of the movement play central role in them. They 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

¹⁷¹ Turner & Killian 1987, 241.

¹⁷² Turner & Killian 1987, 241.

¹⁷³ Turner & Killian 1987, 241f.

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.¹⁷⁴

Collective behavior approach seems to have adopted the other American approaches. The book of Turner and Killian is still one of the best introductions to the field. Its weakness is that it has no reference to the European modern scholars of new social movements.

Frame Analysis

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 movement¹⁷⁵. 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.¹⁷⁶

However, the concept of frame has become so widely used that it can nowadays mean almost anything. As Robert D. Benford puts it:

The ambiguity of the framing concept stems in part from the fact that "frame" has two different implications as a metaphor. On the one hand, it is used as a *grammar* - "a structure in which meaning is contained in and conveyed by the relationships among the elements"... On the other hand, frame metaphors are used in a contextual or *indexical* sense. Here the frame acts as a boundary that keeps some elements

¹⁷⁴ Turner & Killian 1987, 278-282.

¹⁷⁵ **Frame alignment processes, micromobilization, and movement participation.** Snow David A. & al. 1986.

¹⁷⁶ Snow and Benford 1992, 137.

in view and others out of view"... Thus a frame conveys "what is or is not important by grouping certain symbolic elements together and keeping others out". [italics in original]¹⁷⁷

Benford lists the problems of the frame studies: Neglect of systematic empirical studies; descriptive bias; static tendencies; the reification problem; reductionism; elite bias; and monolithic tendencies¹⁷⁸.

It is curious that scholars in this tradition have not used **Ulric Neisser's** concept of **schemata**, which is close to the concept of frame¹⁷⁹ and would help to solve many problems that Benford listed. Neisser points that we have already different schemata or cognitive maps of things and processes. We have an idea which kind is desk lamp. This is part of the larger schemata of office and so on. These cognitive maps give us a hint of what kind a thing or process would be. The schema directs perceptual exploration which samples information and the information modifies schemata.¹⁸⁰ In social movement case this would mean, for example, that people have a general schema about a demonstration and with that they can behave also when it is organised by some other than their own movement. They notice the banderolls, keynote speakers etc. However, these may be slightly different from their previous experiences and so the new information modifies the schemata.

Sociology of Action

In Europe the pioneer of the new social movement studies was **Alain Touraine**. He was inspired by the events of May 1968 and also disappointed of the fall of Chilean popular movement under the military coup. These events form the contextual

¹⁷⁷ Benford 1997, 413.

¹⁷⁸ Benford 1997.

¹⁷⁹ Neisser 1976, 57ff.

basis for his thinking. He published his basic theories in the book *Production de la société* in 1973 in which he presented his *sociologie actionaliste*.¹⁸¹ The most quoted and discussed work among the social movement scholars has been *The Voice and the Eye* that was published in French 1978 and in English 1981. For Touraine the social movement and class struggle were synonymous expressions: "There exist no class relations separable from class action."¹⁸² For him the fundamental criterion for a social movement was its sense of *historicity* or historical action¹⁸³. For Touraine there were three main components: *identity*, *opponent* and their shared field which he called *totality*¹⁸⁴.

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 movements¹⁸⁵. In other cases it was vice versa. In most countries it has been quite a minimal sub-field of sociology¹⁸⁶. Social movements have been interpreted through the general sociological theories and that has meant that the approaches are as numerous as there are schools in sociology.

¹⁸⁰ Neisser 1976, 110-122.

¹⁸¹ Rucht 1991so, 359.

¹⁸² Touraine 1981, 94.

¹⁸³ Touraine 1981, 29f.

¹⁸⁴ Touraine 1981, 81.

¹⁸⁵ 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.

¹⁸⁶ The lack of social movement studies is peaked into the fact that in Germany sociologists did not study the Nazi movement before 1990s. The issue was left to political scientists and historians. Rucht 1991s, 175. The largest review of European studies is given in the country review articles in Dieter Rucht's edition *Research on Social Movements: The State of the Art in Western Europe and the USA* from 1991.

Inescapable Bureaucratisation of Movements

OTTHEIM RAMMSTEDT represents the German approach to social movement studies. In his work *Soziale Bewegung* in 1978 he gives a ideal-typical model of a movements life cycle. Like Touraine, 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 until the final end has been reached. The process has the following stages: 1. A crisis, where the rationalities of individual and society clash openly. 2. The propagation of the results of the crisis. This stage, when victims are trying to explain their situation to rulers, is the seed of a movement. 3. Articulation of a protest occurs when the system does not respond as expected. In this stage the participants start to see themselves as a movement. 4. The strengthening of the protest includes both the content of the program and the structure of the movement. 5. Articulation of the ideology leads from the demand of the compensation of the consequences of the crises to the demand of eliminating the roots of it. 6. Expansion is the missionary stage when the developed ideology is distributed as widely as possible. 7. The expansion leads to organisation and differentiation of the duties. 8. Finally this leads to institutionalisation. In every stage there is two possibilities: development to the next stage or remaining to the present stage.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ Hyvärinen 1985, 98-112.

In this we can hear echoes from Michels' 'iron law of oligarchy'. In same way Rammstedt sees the oligarchisation as an irresistible end of the process. Rammstedt's model can be seen as a prehistory of institutions. It is practically an interpretation of the transformation of the European labour movement from movement to parties. Total other question is how much its determinism has support in other cases. Hyvärinen points that the relation of movement and organisation is more complex than Rammstedt supposes¹⁸⁸. Rammstedt is obviously tight to old understanding of the difference of conventional and collective behaviour. A movement can be an institution and remain also a dynamic force in society. Two examples are environmental movement and women's movement. Both have created institutions (parties, university departments, etc.) but are still vital forces in other levels. Even churches can be both social movements and established institutions¹⁸⁹.

These process models have their advantages compared to structural models, but also same weaknesses. They see the society and/or movements as ideal types in vacuum. Unfortunately there are too many parameters in society that we could trust in these deterministic models. They can tell us that in these situations things have happened like this but they cannot foretell the future. It is good to remember that there are not two equal snowflakes and two humans has not similar fingerprints - also human phenomena are unique in their details. Another point is that in mathematics we can

¹⁸⁸ Hyvärinen 1985,123. He also notes that Rammstedt on the other hand has a romantic longing for the everlasting movement and on the other hand a pessimistic view that it is impossible. This "has normally been on feature of the character of leftist intellectuals that have passed their radicalism of youth." Hyvärinen 1985,230. Siisiäinen points that all the critique applied to Michels is valid also to Rammstedt. Siisiäinen 1983,114.

¹⁸⁹ In Finnish religious movement studies have frequently been referred Mikko Juva's notion that when the Finnish Lutheran adopted the criticism of 19th Century revival movements, it practically became a protest movement itself. Juva 1962.

reach 10 by counting 5+5 or 3+3+3+1. All are different cardinal numbers but the result is the same. In the same way, social movements can be composed of different elements and different history but the outcome is the same.

Collective Identity

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 identity¹⁹⁰. 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 movement"¹⁹¹. "Also the "collective actor is always a composite, a constructed reality which nevertheless presents itself empirically as a unit"¹⁹². For him social movement is not an entity but a process¹⁹³. He criticises the social movement studies that they "assume the existence of a ready-formed collective actor" and asks: "who acted?" According to Melucci the studies "should focus on the processes through which

¹⁹⁰ "What individuals are claiming collectively is their right to realise their own identity." Melucci 1980,218.

¹⁹¹ Melucci 1992l,49. This approach, which is close to interactionist and constructivist approaches is some kind of 'tabula rasa'-approach. It is a new view compared both to Marxist understanding identity as a manifestation of the macro level changes and to Freudian psychological-biological approach. (Hunt & al. 1994,187ff.). The former could be called 'adaptation'-approach and the latter 'a treasure box'-approach. Dutch Hans Mol is one of those who understands identity as a core which is revealed after the roles have been undressed. Mol follows here David J. de Levita who presented the definition in his book *The Concept of Identity* in 1965. Mol 1976,60. Also some feminists point the biological dimension (gender) in the formation of identity.

¹⁹² Melucci 1992f,242.

¹⁹³ Melucci 1992l,48.

actors produce interactive and shared definition of the goals of their action¹⁹⁴." Melucci's main work is his *Nomads of the Present* from 1989 which is one of the hallmarks of this approach¹⁹⁵.

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 questions and Melucci has drawn much from the studies from this sub-field.¹⁹⁶ In the long run it seems that the social psychological string of social movement studies has been the Kuhnian 'normal science' of the field.

Kommentti [MM11]: Tässä Jarmo kyseli ensinnäkin kappaleen pituutta. Toiseksi sm:ien sisäistä dynamiikkaa: yksi -useita kilpailevia päämääriä; selvä päämäärä - moniselitteinen päämäärä; sisäiset kiistat, intressit, kuppikunnat, valtapelit

¹⁹⁴ Melucci 1992f,243.

¹⁹⁵ Melucci 1989.

¹⁹⁶ The scholars that are normally quoted are: *Orrin Klapp* with his book *Collective search for Identity* from 1969; *Erving Goffman* and *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* from 1959; *Erik H. Erikson* with his books *Young Man Luther* from 1958 and *Identity, Youth and Crisis* from 1968. Eyerman and Jamison 1991,10,13.

Combinations of the European and American Approaches

For long time the American and European social movement studies did not have any contact to each other save through the classics. From the midst of 1980's a new page was turned and the field got new stimulus from the interaction between the scholars both sides of the Atlantic. Below I give a glimpse to the results of this interaction.

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 approach¹⁹⁷. 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 dealt¹⁹⁸. Much of the American new collective behavior and frame studies are now part of the NSM studies.

CULTURAL APPROACH is the other string of the new social movement approach. It is even more debated concept than identity. There are at least two main lines in this approach. First there is **Clifford Geertz's** systemic view which has been used by **Aldon Morris**, **Hank Johnston** and **Michael Billing**. It concentrates to describe the relationships within cultural systems. In the history of this field one can find Smelserian breakdown theories, the approaches that see the culture as a

¹⁹⁷ **New Social Movements and Resource Mobilization: The European and the American Approach**. Klandermans 1986.

¹⁹⁸ The anthologies that has been significant are: special issue of *Social Research* 1985, Vol.52, No.4; **From Structure to Action: Comparing Movement Participation across Cultures** from 1988; Rucht's edition mentioned above; **Frontiers in Social Movement Theory** from 1992; **New Social Movements. From Ideology to Identity** from 1994; and **Social Movements and Culture** from 1995.

factor that shapes and constrains the action, and studies of subcultures.¹⁹⁹

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**. 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.²⁰⁰ This approach comes from its premises to similar conclusions than a philosopher of symbols, **Ernst Cassirer**, who points out that ritualistic behaviour emerges before the verbal articulation of it²⁰¹.

The third cultural view is **Karl-Werner Brand's zeitgeist-**approach²⁰² which proposes historical analysis. Zeitgeist is a combination of world views, ideas and emotions, fears and hopes, 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 crisis²⁰³. 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 it²⁰⁴. With the German systematics he divides zeitgeist into three dimensions: 1.tendensies of conservatism and reformism with their 30 year cycles; 2.changes of moods and value priorities (optimism - pessimism -dimension);

¹⁹⁹ Johnston and Klandermans 1995,5ff.

²⁰⁰ Johnston and Klandermans 1995,7f.

²⁰¹ Stensland 1986,71.

²⁰² It could be translated as the spirit of the time, cultural climate or Megatrend.

²⁰³ Brand 1990ca,25-28.

3.cyclical change in belief of industrial progress and cultural critics.²⁰⁵

The NSM approach, like other approaches, is quite a heterogeneous collection of different studies. It is a perspective that tries to seek something new and it has not yet clear theories. In Kuhnian terms, there is a paradigm shift from normal science to new paradigms. As such it is one of the spear heads of sociology. Hopefully the theories come when the approach grows older. This far much of the Benford critics concerning frame-studies is valid also for NSM studies.

The other 'old' approaches have also contributed their share to the social movement studies. The Marxist oriented scholars²⁰⁶ 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.²⁰⁷

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. Peace studies, women's studies, environmental studies etc. have their roots in social movements.²⁰⁸ Sociology of religion has vast amount of studies

²⁰⁴ Brand 1990cc,2.

²⁰⁵ Brand 1990cc,22.

²⁰⁶ From this approach see **Social Movements and Classes. The Future of Collective Action** from 1995.

²⁰⁷ Eder 1995,22-37.

²⁰⁸ Eyerman and Jamison 1991,98f.

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.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁹ There are two recent publications: **William Sims Bainbridge's *The Sociology of Religious Movements*** (Bainbridge 1997) and anthology ***Disruptive Religion*** from 1996. I deal the religious movements more close in an own chapter.

Discussion on the Social Movement Studies

While looking at the publications of social movement studies one soon realises that the old Western joke about the difference of sociology and anthropology is evident: sociology is about us and anthropology is about them²¹⁰. The studies have focused mainly to the First World. When there are some researches about the Third World also these are done by Euro-Americans. The Third World scholars do not exist in the realm of the discipline.

As I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the majority of the studies deals with four movements: Student Movement, Women's Movement, Peace Movement and Environmental Movement. As an extension to this there are studies of ethnic minorities and independent movements. Although there are some links to religious movements, they are not much studied by social movement researchers. Same way there is a lack of studies of youth movements, self-help movements, club movements, sport movements or cultural movements. Often these movements are excluded by the definition of social movement (Tilly, Touraine, see above). Thus the theories have been done on very narrow empirical basis. I argued in the beginning of this chapter that the concept of social movement is de facto today an expression that covers a great variety of phenomena. It cannot be limited only to political movements. If the distinctions are needed, they should be made as sub-categories of social movements, not as parallel categories.

²¹⁰ Sure there is a third discipline, oriental studies, which is about non-western high cultures, but it has remained minimal between these two. A good analyse of the rise and relations of these is from **Immanuel Wallerstein** (1995)

The third finding is that the studies are focusing on local or national level in a quite narrow time space. There are quite few studies that try to take into account the global perspective. As I mentioned, the Third World is missing but so does also the actors of 'the global village'. Quite few studies even mention the concept of (International) Non-Governmental Organisation, which is the main form for social movements today. Also when the studies focus on the four New Left movements, they do not have enough historical perspective²¹¹. Although we do not always need to go to Old Testament times, the time perspective is too narrow.

The fourth finding is that there is not enough holistic analysis. All the case studies create more and more concepts which are close to each other or even synonymies but there is no systematisation, taxonomy or co-ordination of research. As it was seen above, the interaction between European and American scholars began only ten years ago. It seems that much of that time has been wasted for the shutting down theories of others instead of combining them.

Fortunately there has been scholars that combine the different approaches and the most interesting and creative studies are from them. Their works show that there should be more interaction and respect between social sciences and other disciplines. Next I propose one combination for the theoretical view for social movement studies.

Kommentti [MM12]: Sivu:
34
LJ -> Melucci

Kommentti [MM13]: Sivu:
34
LJ: Erilaiset yhteiskunnat = erilaiset liikkeet

²¹¹ One reason might be that the motivation for the studies has been the reveal of researchers own youth - the majority of the scholars of this field are tied in some way to the movement they study. It has been the project of the baby-boom generation who manifested 'the time of Aquarius' in their youth and now they have launched this concept of post-modernism to describe their late adulthood.

'Collecting the Pearls' of the Social Movement Studies

The aim for this sub-chapter is to find theory and methodology to study international Non-governmental organisations. Of course the research problem will guide the special needs for theory but the partial theories should also to be put in some general scheme. My special case is the World YMCA, an ecumenical youth movement of 30 million individuals in 130 countries with a 150 year history. It is a typical example of an organisation that is both an institution and a vital social movement.

The starting point of this 'superstore shopping' is the concept of social movement organisation that is central to the resource mobilisation theory. In fact, without it one could not include YMCA to social movement studies because it is so clearly an organisation. The old collective behavior assumption was that there is a distinction between movement and organisation. Movement was seen as unconventional and organisation as conventional behaviour. However, as I pointed above, this distinction blurred at the end of 1960s. We can think them not as categories but as ideal types or as a continuum that ranges from the individual via collective to institutionalised behaviour. Social Movement Organisations are at the borderline of collective behavior and institutional behavior. An organisation is a necessary tool for the effectiveness and legitimacy of the movement. Social movement organisation it has also negative effects. Professionalisation and bureaucratisation are not only for the benefit of the movement but have their side effects. The routinisation of charisma means that organisation (and activities) as a tool becomes end by itself and the 'spirit of the movement' will

change to organisational effectivity²¹². There are some 'movements' that practically do not need members at all - they have their financial base so firm that the staff can run the activities almost forever. However, most of the movements have both the organisational level and the membership level. The tribute of Resource Mobilisation approach is that it has revealed the possibility to act collectively in conventional ways.

Resource Mobilisation approach gives also an other continuum. The concepts of movement organisation, movement, and movement industry help to understand the role of such international bodies like the World Alliance of YMCAs. It is the central organisation of the larger YMCA movement, or as people in YMCA say it: World Alliance is a bond between national YMCA movements. The concept of movement industry helps to localise the YMCA movement within the larger Ecumenical movement and the sector of religious movements.

The cultural approach helps to understand the rise and development of the movement identity and mission view. The old collective behavior theory is still valid in interpreting how members formed their shared understanding or frame of themselves, the world, and their mission. The constructivistic idea of movement intellectuals enables this framing process to work also in larger contexts where members can not meet face-to-face. The movement intellectuals articulate the latent ideology and distribute it through the communication channels of the movement.

²¹² I remember years ago, while visiting the headquarters of World YMCA in Geneva, that one YMCA secretary described YMCA as an old man who needs vitamin all the time to survive from day to day.

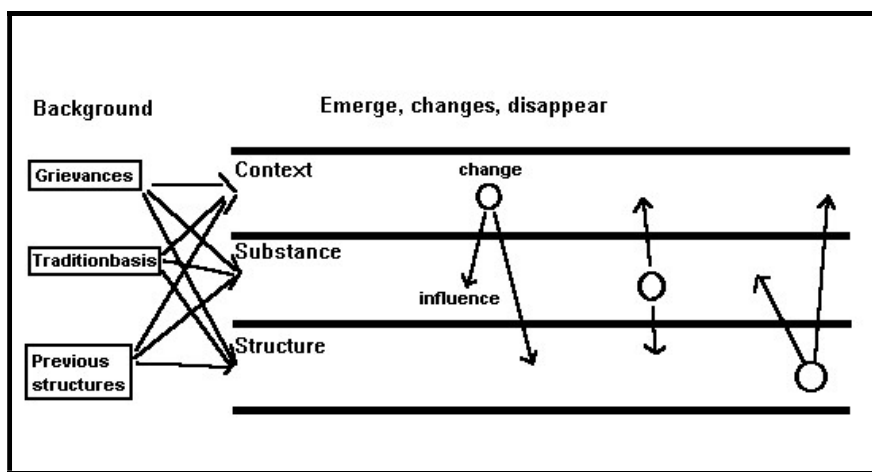
The theory of movement intellectuals explains also the links between the YMCA, the Churches, and other institutions. As Eyerman and Jamison pointed, intellectuals have a tendency to institutionalise themselves in establishments. This has several effects. Firstly, the movement has an access to the elites of the society. Secondly, intellectuals diffuse the movement ideology and practices to the establishments and other movements in the same social movement industry²¹³.

The notion that a social movement is not a structure but a process underlines the continuous remaking of the movement frame. To understand this process, a student has to ask the determinants of this process. There are, of course, structural causes like incentives, class, gender, and race but also these can be constructed. In the life span of social movement there are different stages where the process is a bit different. In the picture 1 this process is explained.

In the background of a movement there are possible grievances and other structural determinants. There are also the tradition basis and previous practices from which the movement arises. The former links to those traditions that were important to the constituency before the formation of the movement. Here I would like to present a new opportunity structure, namely **religious opportunity structure** which determines the possibilities in the religious field. In YMCA case this was European and American Protestantism. When a movement arises from a particular tradition basis, it adopts its way of thinking, its vocabulary, its values and also the previous routines. The first YMCA leaders were the activists of the Evangelical Alliance and the first YMCA World Conference was held as an addition to the World Conference of

²¹³ An example of this is the way how the expression of 'spirit, mind, and body' is used in churches without recognition of its YMCA roots.

Evangelical Alliance. So the conference routines were naturally adapted by the new movement.



Picture 2: The determinants of the movement change process

In the evolvement of the movement the three determinants become crucial: Context, substance, and structure. The changes in these have an influence on the remaking of the movement frame. The context includes such things as the 'zeitgeist', the opportunities and restrictions, the contacts to other movements, and the grass root level of the constituency. The substance means the ideology or the *raison d'être* of the movement and the structure means the organisation of the movement.

These three aspects of determinants form the nodes that give the practical task for analysis. In exegetical studies there is a methodological tool to continue from this. Although the traditionhistorical method has been developed for the analysis of textual traditions, we can, following Geertz, see the culture as a text. The traditionhistorical analysis concentrates to the significant edition processes of the text (from oral tradition to literal, from individual short stories to a larger edition, copies of the manuscripts, etc.). When

there occurs some kind of break in substance, structure or context, it is the point of analysis. Other periods can be seen as latent. Surely there happens a silent escalation during these latent periods but it can be analysed from the 'break' as a shorter period of change.

The modern social movement research forms the basis for the analysis of an international, ecumenical youth movement. Unfortunately it has also restrictions. One categorisation that might help to form holistic theory for social movement studies is from Erik Allardt. For the study of Scandinavian welfare system he developed the three dimensions of values: **having-**, **being-**, and **loving-**values.

Having refers those material conditions which are necessary for survival and for avoidance of misery... Loving stands for the needs to relate to other people and to form social identities... Being stands for the needs of integration into society and for living in harmony with nature. The positive side of Being may be characterized as personal growth whereas the negative aspect stands for alienation.²¹⁴

While looking at the social movement studies with these dimensions, one can see that in the studies the 'old' social movements were mostly having-oriented (economy as the basis of the society) and the 'new' movements were being-oriented (identity). The loving aspect is missing. It includes such themes as voluntarism, philanthropy and altruism. These themes have been studied in the research on volunteer and non-profit sector (also called the third sector).

We can add one more dimension to Allardt's three dimensions. I would call it **praying** dimension²¹⁵. With this I mean the religious aspect of the movements. It can surely be argued that it is already included to being-dimension, but because

²¹⁴ Allardt 1976,230-233, 1988,3-7.

²¹⁵ I chose the word praying only because it sounds good in the list having, loving, being, praying. It could be also some other like ontological or

Kommentti [MM14]: Sivu: 34
LJ: durkheimilaisen kokonaisyhteiskuntateorian perusteella - välineenä.

Allardt does not mention that he includes it, I prefer to take the fourth dimension. The other reason is the combined together these four are quite close to old US YMCAs' **four-fold programme** which sees a human as a totality of **body, mind, spirit** and **social relations**²¹⁶. In this way I can combine the scientific terminology to the movement terminology. I regard this important because there is already too big gap between the field activists in youth work, development work etc. and university scholars. I think it is important to build bridges every time when it is possible.

In the next chapters I review those dimensions that social movement studies ignore, namely loving and praying. These aspects are alive in third sector studies and religious movement studies. Then I come later to the question of international level.

Kommentti [MM15]: Sivut: 35
LJ: Hochschedt: 'tunteiden hallitsemisen säännöt ovat ideologian perusta'

spiritual dimension. If someone, who is more talented in English than me, find a better expression, I am satisfied.

²¹⁶ The triangle of YMCA (body, mind, spirit) inside a circle.

Literature:

I have included here also some classical works that I have not really used as my sources. I have two reasons for this. First, they are mentioned as hallmarks of social movement studies in the early reviews and readers. Second, I try to serve other students of social movements also with this bibliography. I hope that it can give hints where the beginnings of the paths are.

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LJ: Tilly, Melucci, Eyerman&Jamison arvostelevat. Yhteiskunnan kehittyminen vaiheesta toiseen?

CB TEORIAN KRITIIKKI

ei ole problematisoitu cb toiminnan peruskysymyksiä

- 1) miten cb toimintaa rakennetaan
- 2) millä tavalla taataan cb toiminnan yhtenäisyys huolimatta siinä mukana olevien yksilöiden erilaisuudesta
- 3) miten yksilöt yleensä kietoutuvat mukaan cb toimintaan

MELUCCI 1989,

joka tutkii miten kollektiivista identiteettiä ylläpidetään ja miten sitä rakennetaan (ovat cb toiminnan sosiol. anal. peruskysymyksiä)

Melucci pyrkii katsomaan liikettä yksilöstä käsin -> pakottaa lähestymään liikettä holistisesti (yksilö näkee kokonaisuutena)

Teoretisoinnin ydin antaa hyvän käsitteellisen välineistön tarkastella yk liikettä, sen muotoja, sisältöjä ja kannattajaryhmiä

CALHOUN 1993

miksi traditionaalisten yk liikkeiden kollektiivinen identiteetti ei voi olla samalla tavalla yksilöiden välisen interaktion tulos tietyssä historiallisessa ja yk:nallisessa kontekstissa

- coll. ident ei ole riippuvainen yhteiskuntakehityksen tasosta -> Calhounin postmodernia liioittelua liikkeiden monimuotoisuus

RAMSTDT 1978

yk liike on protestien prosessi, joka kohdistuu vallitsevia yhteiskuntasuhteita vastaan

protesti =

- 1) välttämättömiä kollektiivisia reaktioita, joita ei toteuteta institutionaalisten välitysmekanismien välituksella
- 2) tarkoitus tuottaa sekasortoa -> voi johtaa väkivaltaan
- 3) protestit ilmaistaan usein symbolisesti ja ne sisältävät vaatimuksia vallanpitäjille tai muille ryhmille
- 4) toteutetaan strategisesti järkevästi -> eivät spontaanin toiminnan tuloksia - tiedetään riskit, kustannukset ja muiden toimijoiden toiminta

- edellyttää poliittisen järjestelmän tietynlaista avoimuutta

PIVEN JA CLOWARD 1977

pohtivat protestin ja organisaation suhdetta

organisaatio on vallan väline, joka mahdollistaa poliittisten ja taloudellisten resurssien koordinoinnin ja niiden rationaalisemman käytön

muodollinen organisaatio mahdollistaa mobilisaation jatkumisen

ALAPURO 1994

kollektiivisten toimijoiden syntyä ja organisoitumisen juuria voidaan selvittää ainoastaan suppeassa ympäristössä