ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RESEARCH COUNCIL
END OF AWARD REPORT

For awards ending on or after 1 November 2009

This End of Award Report should be completed and submitted using the grant reference as the email subject, to reportsofficer@esrc.ac.uk on or before the due date.

The final instalment of the grant will not be paid until an End of Award Report is completed in full and accepted by ESRC.

Grant holders whose End of Award Report is overdue or incomplete will not be eligible for further ESRC funding until the Report is accepted. ESRC reserves the right to recover a sum of the expenditure incurred on the grant if the End of Award Report is overdue. (Please see Section 5 of the ESRC Research Funding Guide for details.)

Please refer to the Guidance notes when completing this End of Award Report.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grant Reference</th>
<th>RES-16725-0170</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grant Title</td>
<td>Social Movements and Poverty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant Start Date</td>
<td>1-7-2007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant End Date</td>
<td>31-1-2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Amount Expended</td>
<td>£</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant Holding Institution</td>
<td>University of Manchester (School of Environment and Development)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grant Holder</td>
<td>Prof A J Bebbington</td>
</tr>
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<td>Telephone</td>
<td>0161-2750422</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

1. NON-TECHNICAL SUMMARY

Please provide below a project summary written in non-technical language. The summary may be used by ESRC to publicise your work and should explain the aims and findings of the project. [Max 250 words]
The collective action of social movements is often said to be one of the most effective strategies that the poor can use in addressing their poverty. However, little is known about: the number, diversity and extent of such movements in particular national contexts; their importance in processes of and debates around poverty reduction; and the strategies they use to address member’s needs. Working in Peru and South Africa in partnership with the University of the Western Cape and the Peruvian Centre of Social Studies, this research addressed these themes and knowledge gaps with national mappings of social movements and six detailed case studies. This material was analysed comparatively with partner organizations. In South Africa the studies include a rural farm workers movement in the Western Cape, urban housing movements in Durban, and movements against cost-recovery in service provision in Cape Town. In Peru it studied the national human rights movement, indigenous movement and women’s supplemental feeding movement.

Only in a minority of cases do movements directly address poverty. Instead they show more concern for issues that they believe generate poverty and inequality and compromise human rights. Their struggles are not orientated to poverty reduction but instead prioritise alternative visions about who has a right to make decisions, about what and for whom? Movements challenge policy and everyday assumptions about how, in this age, decisions between groups and between individuals are made, and about who defines what their societies mean by inclusion, poverty and the good life.

2. PROJECT OVERVIEW

a) Objectives

Please state the aims and objectives of your project as outlined in your proposal to the ESRC.

Remarkably little attention has been paid by professional researchers and development commentators to: (i) establishing the overall significance of social movements to poor people; and (ii) the strategic choices facing such grassroots movements, their preferred strategies and the effectiveness of these strategies in given political and economic contexts. This study explored these knowledge gaps with reference to social movement activity in Peru and South Africa.

The research objectives of the project were to:

* map the overall significance of social movements for poverty reduction
* document and analyse the strategies used by these social movements
* identify those social movement strategies that have secured enhanced inclusion and recognition, and the redistribution, transfer or generation of material benefits
* analyse the influence of state regime type on social movements' choice of strategy and their relative success
* consider how social movements incorporate the poorest.

The research also sought to promote discussion among, and generate useful knowledge for, social movement leaders and researchers concerned about the role of social movements in poverty reduction agendas. In the UK, it sought to open up the area as one of further collaboration among researchers.

b) Project Changes

Please describe any changes made to the original aims and objectives, and confirm that these were agreed with the ESRC. Please also detail any changes to the grant holder's institutional affiliation, project staffing or funding. [Max 200 words]

There were no changes to the aims and objectives.

ESRC granted four months no cost extension to the project. This was initially in recognition of factors over which the research team had no control, and secondly in order to have flexibility in fixing the date of the final UK workshop.

There were no changes to institutional affiliation or project staffing during the project.

Given the sharp fall of sterling to the US dollar, and because sub-contracts with partners in Peru were in dollars, there was a short-fall in the Peruvian partner's budget due to these exchange rate movements. ESRC agreed to cover this difference at the end of the project.

c) Methodology

Please describe the methodology that you employed in the project. Please also note any ethical issues that arose during the course of the work, the effects of this and any action taken. [Max. 500 words]

Our interest in movement-state interactions around poverty meant we sought countries with relatively consolidated state bureaucracies and significant movement activity. Also, the sensitivity of the issues being addressed required research in countries where we already had well established relationships with movement organizations and research centres themselves respected by such organizations. This led us to South Africa and Peru.

In-country, the research involved two principal phases. Phase 1 involved a “mapping” of movements, tracing the main domains of movement activity, the principal organizations involved in this activity, and the interactions among these domains and organizations. The mapping asked if and how movements thought about and addressed the question of poverty. This phase of research involved interviews with established movement leaders, movement intellectuals and key informants as well as a review published and secondary material (45 interviews in South Africa, 56 in Peru). The mapping papers were discussed in
each country at workshops with movement leaders, movement organizations, researchers and activists - one workshop in Peru, three in South Africa (Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg).

This “mapping” approach permitted a view of movements with a broad reach over space and time. This made it easier to identify and trace relationships among movements, and the ways in which some movements have grown out of or in relation to others. Likewise it gave a clearer sense of patterns in the ways that different movements interact with the state, political parties and NGOs, and permitted comparison among different movements’ discourses on poverty and strategies assumed for engaging with the state on issues defined as poverty reduction by government.

The second phase involved three in-depth case studies per country. In each case study the unit of analysis was the movement, though in order to ground analysis and interviews, the cases focused on particular cases of movement activity. The cases were selected on the basis of suggestions at the workshops discussing the mapping papers. Case study research involved in depth, sometimes repeat interviews with movement leaders, members, observers, activists, relevant government officials and key informants (82 interviews in Peru, 57 in South Africa plus two focus groups with four participants in each). This was combined with analysis of secondary, especially newspaper, material. Results were presented to the movements in question in Peru, and honed on the basis of discussions. Case studies were discussed in workshops with movement leaders, activists, researchers, government staff and others in both countries, and with researchers in the UK.

The Peruvian material was first produced in Spanish and subsequently translated into English.

The work methodology was to maintain intensive communication between Mitlin and Mogaladi (in South Africa), Bebbington and Scurrah (in Peru) and Bebbington and Mitlin. The four researchers met for three separate 3 day periods to ensure cross fertilization, comparative analysis and learning.

No serious ethical issues arose. The principal issues related to information on elements of movement strategy that might raise problems for movements if revealed. Such information has not been included in reports – this has no material effect on conclusions.

d) Project Findings

Please summarise the findings of the project, referring where appropriate to outputs recorded on ESRC Society Today. Any future research plans should also be identified. [Max 500 words]

Social movements are best understood as networks of actors rather than individual organizations (e.g. membership-based organizations, NGOs) and activists. While having a dominant class and ethnic/racial basis, they reach beyond it – though there are sometimes disagreements as to who is actually part of particular movements. Boundaries among movements are porous, and organizations and individuals may participate in more than one movement. Some movements grow out of others.
Concerns emphasized by movements differ. In South Africa areas of collective consumption such as urban land, housing and basic services have drawn most activism. In Peru, issues of rights and livelihood are more prominent, as reflected in mobilization around ethnicity, extractive industry and human rights. This appears to reflect the different national political economy contexts. The South African government has prioritized collective consumption, legitimizing it as a sphere of social movement engagement. The Peruvian government has prioritized a growth model as its main instrument of poverty reduction, inducing contention around the legitimacy and viability of this model. The relationships between histories of violence, poverty and reconciliation also differ, marking this out as a terrain in which movements are still very active in Peru, but not in South Africa (at present).

Movements rarely see 'being poor' as their main identity. Their struggles respond to being denied their rights, excluded or treated unjustly and inequitably. Experiences illustrate the diversity of strategies and tactics movements use (see table).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Focus</th>
<th>Objectives</th>
<th>Main strategies/tactics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>Human rights</td>
<td>Abuses of human rights</td>
<td>Reparations and public recognition of abuses</td>
<td>Legal process, public information and debate, lobby</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nutrition</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of food, costs of living</td>
<td>Support for their activities</td>
<td>Self help, resource accessing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indigenous land rights</td>
<td>Dispossession of land</td>
<td>Legal protection from abuse, consultation, alternative economic models</td>
<td>Protest, alliances with NGOs and legal defence groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>Basic services</td>
<td>Lack of access to water</td>
<td>Consultation, improved access</td>
<td>Protest, alliances with citizens and public employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of access to housing, and housing subsidies</td>
<td>Tenure security, housing improvements</td>
<td>Protest, negotiation, coproduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural production</td>
<td>Low pay, working conditions, lack of access to farming opportunities</td>
<td>Government not the key interlocutor</td>
<td>Emphasis on participatory spaces, research</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rarely do the movements studied address poverty directly and explicitly. Instead they emphasize issues that they argue generate poverty and inequality and compromise human rights. They seek to promote alternative visions about who has a right to make decisions, about what and for whom. They challenge everyday assumptions about how decisions are made and who defines what is meant by inclusion, poverty and the good life. They do this in ways that are often, though not always, socially progressive.

From this we draw three simple policy conclusions:
- Movements’ greatest contribution to social change is their capacity to contest ideas and reaffirm alternative identities
- Meaningful inclusion of activists in policy consultation, joint planning, co-management and delivery of state activities enhances the democratic process, state effectiveness and accountability
- Policy processes must recognise that lowest-income citizens may not be as active in movements as less disadvantaged citizens

3. EARLY AND ANTICIPATED IMPACTS

a) Summary of Impacts to date
Please summarise any impacts of the project to date, referring where appropriate to associated outputs recorded on ESRC Society Today. This should include both scientific impacts (relevant to the academic community) and economic and societal impacts (relevant to broader society). The impact can be relevant to any organisation, community or individual. [Max: 400 words]

This project was part of the ESRC-DfID scheme on Poverty. While there has been little direct contact with the other projects in the scheme, in our cohort we were one of a very few projects that considered social and membership organizations, or political dimensions of poverty alleviation.

We also interacted with the initiative to understand pathways through which impact can occur in the scheme, and a case study of this project was prepared by the consultant on that initiative, Katie Wright-Revolloedo.
**Scientific impacts.**

The research brought a social movement component to the work of the DfID funded Chronic Poverty Research Centre (CPRC). The September 2010 CPRC conference will further disseminate the research findings with a panel session on growth, inequality and structural poverty including presentations of our studies of farm workers in the Western Cape and shelter movements in Durban.

Keynote presentations on social movements at: University of Florida conference “Bridging Conservation and Development” (January 2010, 250 people and conservation leaders); the *Network Association of European Researchers on Urbanization in the South* (September 2007); workshop on urban popular movements in South Africa at the École Nationale Superieure D’architecture, De Paris-La Villette (June 2010); and other conference presentations.

Invited preparation of an essay on social movements for the biennial publication of the Permanent Seminar in Agrarian Research, Peru’s premier intellectual development studies association.

Journal papers have so far been published/accepted in *Journal of Development Studies, Development and Change, Environment and Urbanization* and *Mouvement*.

**Policy impacts.**


The Peru research team was asked to give dedicated presentations on the research by social movement and development organizations, including: the National Agrarian Coordinator (CONVEAGRO), the National Coordinator for Mine Affected Communities (CONACAMI), the MPQNSR, a movement of people directly affected by Peru's internal conflict.

The MPQNSR has used the Peru mapping paper in internal discussions and training.

The Peru research team was asked to present to three different strategy meetings of the donors IBIS, Broederlijk-Delen and Lutheran World Relief.

The project’s Peru team co-organised with the Latin American Center for Social Ecology (CLAES) a workshop "Relationships between civil society and governments". The event (funded by CLAES) shared information and analysis about the relationships between NGOs, social movements and governments in Latin America and involved participants from five Latin American countries.

Following the research in Durban, the Co-PI was drawn into further discussions with the Director of Housing in the city about moving forward community-led housing initiatives (July 2009).

The key researcher in South Africa was asked to participate in several meetings...
(2008/2009) held at the South African President's office to develop a plan for pro-poor research.

Submission of materials for briefings prepared by the Governance and Social Development Research Centre (responding to a DfID request) and Social Development Direct (a DfID scoping study)

b) Anticipated/Potential Future Impacts
Please outline any anticipated or potential impacts (scientific or economic and societal) that you believe your project might have in future. [Max. 200 words]

Our workshop with UK researchers was very encouraging in that commentators from Sussex, Cambridge and Manchester all felt that the research was generating ways of viewing social movements and poverty that could have far broader resonance in the academic community. They encouraged us to prepare papers directed specifically at (i) conceptualizations of movements and (ii) movement conceptualizations of poverty in the belief that these papers would have an impact.

Within each of Peru and South Africa there are signs that the research is being taken up as a point of reference in research debates that overlap significantly with the world of policy. At this stage it is hard to know what effects this may have.

As noted above, however, in the UK the research has influenced one work programme within an RPC bid that Manchester is leading. The Co-I will lead on that work programme. If the bid is successful, this will constitute a very important scaling up of some of our findings and insights in a modality of direct relevance and easy access for DfID.

You will be asked to complete an ESRC Impact Report 12 months after the end date of your award. The Impact Report will ask for details of any impacts that have arisen since the completion of the End of Award Report.
4. DECLARATIONS

Please ensure that sections A, B and C below are completed and signed by the appropriate individuals. The End of Award Report will not be accepted unless all sections are signed.

Please note hard copies are NOT required; electronic signatures are accepted and should be used.

A: To be completed by Grant Holder

Please read the following statements. Tick ONE statement under ii) and iii), then sign with an electronic signature at the end of the section.

i) The Project

| This Report is an accurate overview of the project, its findings and impacts. All co-investigators named in the proposal to ESRC or appointed subsequently have seen and approved the Report. | x |

ii) Submissions to *ESRC Society Today*

| Output and impact information has been submitted to *ESRC Society Today*. Details of any future outputs and impacts will be submitted as soon as they become available. | x |
| OR | This grant has not yet produced any outputs or impacts. Details of any future outputs and impacts will be submitted to *ESRC Society Today* as soon as they become available. | |
| OR | This grant is not listed on *ESRC Society Today*. | |

iii) Submission of Datasets

| Datasets arising from this grant have been offered for deposit with the Economic and Social Data Service. | x |
| OR | Datasets that were anticipated in the grant proposal have not been produced and the Economic and Social Data Service has been notified. | |
| OR | No datasets were proposed or produced from this grant. | |