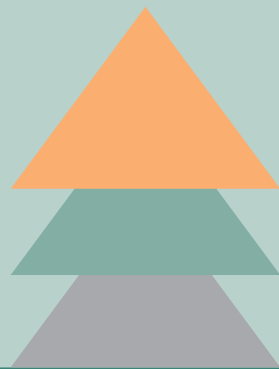# Religions and Development
Research Programme

The Relationships between Social Movements and Religion in Processes of Social Change: A Preliminary Literature Review

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Religions and Development

Research Programme

The Religions and Development Research Programme Consortium is an international research partnership that is exploring the relationships between several major world religions, development in low-income countries and poverty reduction. The programme is comprised of a series of comparative research projects that are addressing the following questions:

- How do religious values and beliefs drive the actions and interactions of individuals and faith-based organisations?
- How do religious values and beliefs and religious organisations influence the relationships between states and societies?
- In what ways do faith communities interact with development actors and what are the outcomes with respect to the achievement of development goals?

The research aims to provide knowledge and tools to enable dialogue between development partners and contribute to the achievement of development goals. We believe that our role as researchers is not to make judgements about the truth or desirability of particular values or beliefs, nor is it to urge a greater or lesser role for religion in achieving development objectives. Instead, our aim is to produce systematic and reliable knowledge and better understanding of the social world.

The research focuses on four countries (India, Pakistan, Nigeria and Tanzania), enabling the research team to study most of the major world religions: Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism and African traditional belief systems. The research projects will compare two or more of the focus countries, regions within the countries, different religious traditions and selected development activities and policies.

The consortium consists of six research partner organisations, each of which is working with other researchers in the four focus countries:

- University of Birmingham, UK: International Development Department, Department of Theology and Religion, Centre for West African Studies, Centre for the Study of Global Ethics.
- University of Bath, UK: Centre for Development Studies.
- Indian Institute of Dalit Studies, New Delhi.
- Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, Ibadan.
- University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.
- Lahore University of Management Sciences, Pakistan.

In addition to the research partners, links have been forged with non-academic and non-government bodies, including Islamic Relief.

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Working Paper 23

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Contents

Acronyms

NGO   Non-governmental organisation
NRM   New religious movement
NSM   New social movements
POS   Political opportunity structures
RM   Resource mobilization
SMO   Social movement organization

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Summary

This paper is intended to set the scene for comparative empirical research on the relationships between religion and movements for social change. The first part of the paper broadly outlines theories related to social movements that have been developing within the social sciences over the past fifty years. It begins by tracing early social movement theories, which were developed during the 1920s by the 'Chicago School' of sociologists. This is followed by a discussion of the two major strands that have developed in social movement theory: resource mobilisation theory and theories related to new social movements. These schools of thought were for the most part developed in Europe and North America and were influenced by the emergence of various social movements at this time, including the women's movement, environmental movements, the peace movement, the civil rights movement and various student-led movements. Since the 1990s, approaches to social movement studies have shifted to looking at the relationship between globalization and social movements, with regard to both the emergence of anti-globalization movements and the impact of processes of globalization and transnationalism on various social movements. The discussion then looks at the overall neglect of Southern perspectives in social movement literature, especially those concerned with anti-colonial struggles.

The second half of the paper moves away from general social movement theories to theories related to religion and processes of social change. Relatively little attention has been paid to the relationships between religion and social movements. Work that has been done so far on this topic is outlined, and the need for a closer integration of religious and social movement studies identified. Theoretical contributions relevant to studying the impact of social movements are then outlined, to provide a basis for understanding the impact of social movements on processes of social change in developing countries. The final section outlines the research being undertaken as part of the Religions and Development Research Programme, which aims to fill some major gaps in social movement theory by taking a comparative approach and looking at the relationship of religion to movements for social change in Southern contexts.

Preface

An important concern of contemporary development theory and practice is the social and political changes that are regarded as necessary for the achievement of key development goals such as reducing poverty and inequality, in particular the actual and potential sources of such initiatives for change and the processes through which they occur. In some instances, the concern of development actors is with achieving the governance and policy reforms seen as necessary for more effective, democratic and pro-poor government and the focus is on political channels for and obstacles to reform – the 'drivers of change' agenda. Others are more concerned with the dimensions of social difference that are associated with deprivation and discrimination, identifying the aspects of society that may need to change in order to improve the position of marginalized groups, understanding the opportunities for and obstacles to such changes and analyzing the outcomes of attempts to achieve them. Often, socio-political changes are considered to be associated with the emergence of social movements. Views of the role of religion in such movements are polarized: it tends to be regarded in either a positive light or negatively, as an upholder of traditional social norms and structures and an obstacle to change. However, there is limited research on either the role of social movements in contemporary development processes or the mutual engagement between the main social movements (such as the democratization, environmental or women's movements) and religion.

As part of the Religions and Development Research Programme, work is under way to examine aspects of the role of faith communities, religious organizations and religious values and beliefs in movements to bring about (or oppose) social changes, especially those concerned with the human rights and empowerment of marginalized groups. In preparation, this review of the international English language literature seeks to set the stage by reviewing the main theoretical understandings of social movements, analyzing the extent to which the literature considers the role of religion and examining some of the methodological challenges associated with the study of social movements and their outcomes. It will be the first of a series of Working Papers to emerge from the research in India, Pakistan, Tanzania and Nigeria over the next two years.

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1 Introduction

'Social movements' is a term that encompasses a wide variety of processes involving individuals and groups with varying and often conflicting concerns. Social movement actors come from a range of ideological positions, social locations and contexts and can take a number of organizational forms— from very loose and flexible to highly organized and bureaucratized. Castells argues that social movements are multiple and highly diversified, including not only "proactive movements, aiming at transforming human relationships at their most fundamental level", but also "reactive movements that build trenches of resistance" in order to defend themselves against external threats (1997, p. 2).[1] The founders of the scholarly journal, *Social Movement Studies*, point to the diversity of activist engagements within the umbrella of 'social movements' in the opening statement of the inaugural issue. The social movements that they cover in their journal include those related to: "gender, race, sexuality, indigenous peoples, disability, ecology, peace, youth, cyberculture, age, religion, animal rights, subcultures and countercultures" (Jordan, *et. al.* 2002, p. 5). The founders of this journal also include groups with exclusionary aims in their broad conception of social movements "such as racist or other hate groups, fundamentalist or extremist religious groups, some nationalist movements, and groups calling for violence of various types" (*ibid*). Their list is far from exhaustive, but it is worth mentioning here in order to demonstrate the variety of struggles that can come into this category.

The academic understanding of social movements has been evolving since the concept was first introduced in the 1960s, and as such, there is no consensus as to the precise definition of the term. Before tracing the development of theories related to social movements, for the purposes of the researcher, it is useful to highlight some of the common and overarching themes that have emerged in the academic discourse about social movements.   As Giugni (1998a) points out, there are two common mistakes committed in social movement research. The first frequently committed error is 'reification', that is, social movement scholars often identify an entire movement with particular organizations or individuals (*ibid*, p. xii). Additionally, researchers often confuse social movements with their activities, thus mistaking particular movement actions with the social movement itself (*ibid*, p. xiii). Rather, he advocates a relational definition of 'social movement' as a particular kind of *social interaction* encompassing:

> A cluster of political practices whereby a group of challengers (who are indeed part of the definition, but by no means exhaust it) engage in mutual claim making with powerholders with the aim of influencing their decisions and behaviour.   *(ibid, p. xiii)*

Similarly, Tilly (1999) advocates an interactive approach to social movements, cautioning against the identification of social movements with particular groups. Pointing to the tendency in research to attribute a coherent identity and history to social movements, Tilly draws attention to their dynamic and complex nature. He argues that social movements "consist of bounded, contingent, interactive *performances* by multiple and changing actors" (emphasis added) (*ibid*, p. 256). The history and identification of any social movement should be viewed as contested and constantly in the process of construction through the narratives of both those involved in the movement itself and those who stand outside, including those who work with or against the movement as well as those who are observing its activities, including the researcher.

In general, social movements are formed around a common issue or set of issues in order to effect some kind of change in the social system. As Zirakzadeh (2006) points out, the degree and nature of this change will depend on the movement in question. However, what broadly distinguishes social movements from interest groups is their call for a radical restructuring of society (*ibid*, p. 4). Castells defines social movements as acting upon institutional politics, characterizing movements as "purposive collective actions whose outcome, in victory as in defeat, transforms the values and institutions of society" (1997, p. 3). Beckford adds that social movements "pursue their grievances and campaigns mainly outside the channels of institutionalized politics" (2001, p. 235). Although social movements often have allies within institutions and may in some cases eventually become institutionalized themselves, the distinguishing mark of any social movement is its position *outside* of institutional structures of power.[2] However, as the following discussion demonstrates, there is a wide range of opinions amongst theorists about the precise nature of the relationships between social movements and power-holders.

These definitions all move away from looking at social movements as particular sets of individuals, groups or organizations and focus more on movements as a series of processes, relationships, and interactions between actors struggling for power, in the form of rights, resources, or recognition within a given social system. Such an approach may seem too vague or general to be of any analytical use; however, for the purposes of undertaking international comparative research, it is useful to maintain this broad definition of 'social movement', as the movements under consideration by the RaD Programme themselves cover a variety of concerns and have emerged in different contexts.[3] The

theories presented in this paper, therefore, deal with social movements at a general level and do not look at specific contexts or types of movement.

The literature surrounding social movements is vast and has a long history in the social sciences. 'Social movements' first emerged as a concept in the earlier part of the twentieth century, when theorists of the Chicago School began formulating notions of collective behaviour. During the 1960s, social movements were viewed primarily through a psychological lens, with theorists of this school looking at social movements as forms of deviance resulting from alienation and discontent. The following decades saw the emergence of two major strands of thought related to social movements: theories related to resource mobilization (RM) and those oriented around the concept of new social movements (NSM). Both RM and NSM theories were largely formulated in relation to the experience of Northern, industrialized countries and hence, are often lacking in perspectives from Southern-based social movements. More recent approaches to social movements have attempted to bring the South into the discussion by shifting attention to the global, transnational nature of many contemporary social movements. Overall, theories of social movements have responded to wider shifts in the intellectual climate within the social sciences, evolving from psychoanalytical, to Marxist-structural, to post-structural, deconstructionist approaches to understanding social processes (see Garner, 1996, p. 44).[4]

This paper aims to summarize the major developments in social movement studies—pulling out the main threads in the field in order to understand the broad theoretical directions taken within the social movements literature as well as identifying any gaps (Section 2), with particular reference to the Eurocentric nature of many of the theories related to social movements (Section 3). Furthermore, the discussion will provide a broad overview of theories relating to the role of religion in social movements and the need for closer integration between the fields of religious and social movement studies (Section 4). The discussion will then turn to the study of social movement outcomes, as the Religions and Development Programme's research is largely concerned with understanding the impact of social movement activities on processes of development and social change (Section 5). The final section of the paper will situate the research within the wider context of the social movements literature, highlighting the strengths and innovations of the research that is under way in terms of bringing a comparative and Southern-based understanding to relationships between religion, social movements and processes of social change.

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2   Evolving theories of social movements

The aim of this section is to review the evolution of social movement theories. First, the emergence of the concept and early explanations of social movements will be explored. The dominant theoretical approaches to social movements, resource mobilization theory and new social movements, will then be analyzed in more depth (Sections 2.2. and 2.3). Lastly, the influence of globalization and the increasingly transnational organization of social movements will be discussed.

2.1   Early social movement theories

Although 'social movements' did not formally emerge as a concept in social science theory until the 1960s, the study of group behaviour has a much longer history, with some of its earliest foundations in structural-functionalist thought. Much of the contemporary thought on social movements, therefore, builds on the notion of 'collective behaviour,' which was formulated in the 1920s by theorists of the Chicago School. This group of theorists shifted the attention related to group behaviour from collective psychology, which focused on individual motivations, to collective behaviour, which focused, rather, on the actions of groups reacting to perceived threats, fears or insecurities (Della Porta and Diani, 1999, p. 3).

Theorists of the Chicago School related collective behaviour to wider processes of social change. Robert Park, one of foremost members of the School, juxtaposed 'social organisation', which refers to institutionalized, conventional patterns of everyday life, with 'collective behaviour', which calls attention to various group actions, such as strikes, religious sects, riots and revolutions, as manifestations of societal disequilibria and of the tensions which are inherently present within any social system (Park, 1967). Although Park viewed collective behaviour as a symptom of societal imbalances, he also saw it as part of the normal operation of society and as an expression of wider processes of change in society (Turner, 1967).

In the 1960s, the analytical approach to collective behaviour continued to view group action as a symptom of strains present within the social system, but shifted to looking at such behaviour as a manifestation of societal malfunction. This approach, which is also referred to as the theory of relative deprivation, saw group behaviour as a mark of irrationality rather than a rational form of expressing discontent (Parsons *et. al.,* 1961). Similarly, Smelser (1962) viewed social movements negatively as the consequence of over-rapid social transformation. He argued that at times of rapid change and

upheaval, the emergence of collective behaviour such as religious cults, secret societies, political sects and economic utopias, is a result of the inability of societal mechanisms to produce social cohesion and also reflects the attempts of individuals to cope with crisis through the development of generalised beliefs (*ibid*). He viewed social movements in terms of 'panic', 'hostility' and 'craze' (*ibid*, p. 271). Both Parsons and Smelser regarded collective behaviour as a form of deviance used as a coping mechanism by disgruntled groups in order to deal with social instability. Such analyses were built on the psychological approach to collective behaviour, which constructed social movements as manifestations of feelings of deprivation and frustration by alienated members of society (Della Porta and Diani, 1999, p. 4). Theories of relative deprivation tended to view social movements negatively and looked more at the social context in which collective behaviour manifests itself than at the form that such group behaviour takes or its effects on wider social processes.

Although these early approaches to the study of collective behaviour arose prior to the 1960s, aspects of the earlier theories reappear in the two of the major schools of thought that subsequently emerged surrounding social movements: theories related to resource mobilization (RM) and new social movements (NSM). Both emerged at roughly the same time and largely in reaction to the occurrence in the United States and Europe of widespread protest movements in the 1960s, which seemed to defy explanation in terms of the prevailing theoretical ideas. These movements included the events of May 1968 in Paris,[5] women's movements, the civil rights movement, peace movements, environmental movements, and the various student movements of the time.[6] The differences between these approaches reflect ideological disagreements, as well as differences between the contexts in which they were developed and the types of movement on which they centred their analyses.

2.2   Resource mobilization theory

With its focus on the rationality of actors, resource mobilization theory can be seen as a direct response to the collective behaviour theorists' characterization of group behaviour as irrational. In contrast to earlier theories, which focused more on the conditions in which social movements occurred, resource mobilization theory is concerned with looking at the functioning and structure of movements and movement organizations themselves and was developed primarily by social scientists in the United States. This approach focuses on 'elite fragmentation' within the political sphere as being central to the success of social movements. Specifically, the disunity of the

Democratic Party in the US during the 1960s and the emergence of multiple political interest groups (e.g. racial minorities, women, farmers) framed the emergence of this theory (Hannigan, 1985, p. 437).

'Resource mobilization' was coined by McCarthy and Zald (1977), who argued that it was the availability of resources, both material and non-material,[7] that fostered the emergence and success of social movements. In contrast with the collective behaviour theorists, resource mobilization theorists argue that the emergence of social movements cannot be attributed solely to strains caused by rapid social change (Canel, 1992). Rather, such movements are the result of rational, purposeful and organized action taken in response to existing cleavages in society (Tilly, 1978). The existence of inequalities and grievances does not alone explain the occurrence of social movements, as such situations exist at all times and in all societies. According to McCarthy and Zald, "The definition of grievances will expand to meet the funds and support personnel available" (1977, p. 1215). Hence, for resource mobilization theorists, it is the availability of resources for organizing collective action that is crucial to explaining the emergence and effectiveness of social movements.

Theories of resource mobilization focus on the strategic and political nature of social movements and view collective action largely through an organizational lens (Della Porta and Diani, 1999, p. 8). Hence, studies in this field are often concerned with social movement organizations (SMOs), focusing on formal, professionalized groups lobbying for political influence. Resource mobilization theorists view social movements as 'firms' within social movement 'industries' through which 'entrepreneurs' mobilize resources in order to channel discontent into organizational forms and to effect policy change (Edelman, 2001, p. 289). Therefore, these theories differ significantly from those related to collective behaviour, which view social movements largely as irrational, disorganized mobs. Rather, RM theorists present members of social movements as rational, strategic actors working systematically to redress their grievances within the political system (Cohen, 1985, p. 745-5).

Although resource mobilization theories are largely concerned with looking at the structures of social movement organizations themselves, the related 'political process' and 'political opportunity structures' (POS) approaches both build on some of the insights of RM theory but look more at the wider context in which social movements emerge. Tarrow (1994) uses the concept of the 'political opportunity

structure' to understand the environmental factors that influence the emergence and 'success' of social movements. He argues that:

> Social movements form when ordinary citizens, sometimes encouraged by leaders, respond to changes in opportunities that lower the costs of collective action, reveal potential allies and show where elites and authorities are vulnerable.   (*ibid*, p. 18).

In a related manner, Tilly (1978) views social movements as the efforts of new groups of citizens to join the political process, arguing that a more open political system will foster a greater number of social movements. Others, such as Ash-Garner and Zald (1987), argue that it is the size of the public sector and the degree of centralization of the state that affects the emergence of social movements. Decentralized systems accompanied by a non-interventionist state will allow for more influential social movements to emerge (*ibid*, p. 311). Political systems which involve multiple and relatively weak parties will allow more space for social movements to function autonomously and to have an effect on the political system (*ibid*, p. 312). Because of its concern with understanding the factors that influence not only the emergence of social movements but also their systematic impacts, the POS approach will be further discussed as part of the section on studying social movement outcomes (Section 5).

Criticisms of resource mobilization point to the over-emphasis on rationality and political strategy within such approaches at the expense of factors such as emotion and culture (Marx Ferree, 1992; Taylor and Whittier, 1995). Because resource mobilization theorists view social movements primarily as interest group politics, the 'success' of such movements is to a large extent measured by the achievement of policy objectives, rather than viewing movements in terms of wider processes of social and cultural change (Gusfield, 1981; Edelman, 2001, p. 290). Furthermore, although RM theories have provided insights into organizational functioning, critics of this approach point to its neglect of structural sources of conflict and the context in which such movements arise—focusing on the *how* of social movements at the expense of the *why* (Melucci, 1982, 1984; Piven and Cloward Clower in refs, 1992). The RM approach has also been criticized for its tendency to look only at elite actors, focusing mainly on the mobilization of socially connected groups, rather than looking at those who may be the most marginalized and disaffected (Edelman, 2001, p. 289). These criticisms, however, should not overshadow the contributions made by resource mobilization theories, especially in terms of their insights into understanding the material basis and functioning of social movement organizations.

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2.3   New social movements

New social movements (NSM) theory has perhaps had the widest impact in the field of social movement theory. Where resource mobilization theories were largely a product of the American political system, NSM theory was formulated in the Western European context[8] and provided a strong critique of Marxist models of social conflict. For NSM theorists, the events of May 1968 and the various protest movements that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s in different parts of the world pointed to the inadequacy of simple class-based models in explaining processes of social conflict and change. NSM theorists were critical of Marxist theories as being overly deterministic, denying the multiplicity of concerns and cleavages present in social movements in order to project a homogenous struggle between labour and capital (see Touraine, 1977, 1981). In his description of the emergence of new social movements, Edelman argues that, where the 'old' labour movement held class to be the main social cleavage affecting society, new social movements "focus on the struggles over symbolic, informational, and cultural resources" (Edelman, 2001, p. 289). Castells builds on this shift in contemporary society, arguing that:

> In a world of global flows of wealth, power and images, the search for identity, collective or individual, ascribed or constructed, becomes the fundamental source of social meaning.   (Castells, 1997)

NSM theorists such as Castells highlight the significance of 'identity' as an organizing principle in contemporary social movements, thus shifting the focus from purely economic concerns to more diffuse cultural concerns as the impetus behind many contemporary social movements.

NSM theorists are critical of the perceived over-emphasis on the rationality of social movement actors within the resource mobilization school. Although most theorists of the NSM approach would agree that social movement actors are rational, they also highlight the importance of non-rational factors, such as emotion, as an important driving force. Furthermore, NSM theorists argue that the motives that drive social movements are not all quantifiable and therefore cannot always be measured as tangible 'resources'. Unlike RM theory, which was a critical reaction against collective behaviour models, NSM theory is more compatible with the notion of 'relative deprivation' formulated by collective behaviour theorists, expanding it to include non-material, qualitative concerns such as culture and identity. Claus Offe, for example, argues that feelings of deprivation have expanded from the work

arena to other areas of social life. Social movements arise from the 'structural incapacity' of the political system to deal with these new forms of grievances (Offe, 1985). Expansion of the analysis of social movements beyond the Marxist realms of material deprivation and class conflict is, therefore, central to NSM theory.

The doyen of the French School of NSM theory, Alain Touraine, argues that the class-based struggles of industrial society have been replaced by newer forms of struggle in the emerging 'post-industrial' or 'post-Fordist' era (Touraine, 1981, p. 29). He builds on Marx's notion of a 'central conflict' in society, arguing that whereas the 'old social movements' revolved around the struggle between capital and labour, in the 'post-industrial' society, other social cleavages emerge that generate new forms of identity and new sources of conflict. The 'central conflict' in his conception shifts from one revolving around class to a struggle over culture and meaning. Hence, Touraine argues that new social movements are less concerned with work and more with "the setting of a way of life, forms of behaviour, and needs … [or]…the control of cultural patterns" (1988, p. 25, 1985). In his model, NSMs represent the struggle of different actors to establish 'historicity', which Touraine defines as "the set of cultural, cognitive, economic, and ethical models…through which social practices are constituted" (1988, p. 40-41). New social movements, according to Touraine, are therefore broader in scope than simple class conflicts, representing a multiplicity of demands and interests concerning notions of identity, culture, and ways of life.

The issue of identities is, therefore, central to NSM theories. However, 'identity' is itself a concept that is fraught with complexity. Theorists such as Laclau and Mouffe have taken a post-structuralist approach to understanding social movements, arguing that contemporary struggles resist simple explanation and take place across multiple axes of differentiation, involving actors who occupy 'multiple social positions' (1985). These theorists emphasize the constructed nature of identities, arguing that identities do not have a pre-discursive existence, and nor do they originate from a singular economic logic (1985, p. 90). In other words, individuals are not defined primarily by any one identity, such as class, and their multiple identities are themselves constructed. Identity, in their conception, is nothing more than the "unstable articulation of constantly changing positionalities" (Laclau, 1983, p. 23). Social movements are organized around sites of antagonism, which emerge when the identity of a subject is negated, either through a denial of rights or through a relationship of subordination, thus

producing a situation of oppression (Mouffe, 1988, p. 94; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 159). Therefore, the study of social movements must not essentialize 'identity' by attributing a coherent and fixed identity to a movement. Rather, building on the insights of Laclau and Mouffe means that research on social movements should take into account the proliferation of multiple and shifting forms of identity as the main grounds for struggle in post-industrial society. Nevertheless, although these identities may themselves be continuously constructed in relation to shifting contexts, they also serve as rallying points around which social movements are mobilized.

In analyzing the contexts in which movements arise, NSM theorists argue that social movements are a reaction to the disintegration of personal and public boundaries in contemporary societies. Jürgen Habermas highlights the intrusion by the state and the market into private lives, referring to this process as 'the colonisation of the life-world' (Habermas, 1981, p. 35). Social movements, he argues, arise "at the seam between system and life-world" (*ibid*, p. 36). Similarly, Offe views new social movements as a reaction against the increasing forms of domination being imposed by the state on the individual in contemporary society. He argues that more and more areas of private life are coming under state regulation through the use of multiple technologies (Offe, 1985, p. 846). Laclau and Mouffe add that new social movements are a reaction not only against state intrusion but also against the increasing commodification of social life resulting from the expansion of capitalist relations into all spheres of social life (1985, p. 160-161; Mouffe, 1988, p. 92). Melucci similarly argues that new social movements express the assertion of people's identities and rights to control their private lives (Melucci, 1982, 1989, 1996). These theorists emphasize the importance of the public/private distinction in contemporary struggles, with new social movements working to protect individuality while at the same time publicizing certain issues that would otherwise be deemed 'private' such as those related to gender and sexuality.[9]

NSM theorists emphasize the anti-systemic nature of new social movements, regarding them as lying outside the 'acceptable' modes of expression available within the political structure (see Wallerstein, 1989). Unlike resource mobilization theorists, who view social movements as being a part of the wider political process, NSM theory argues that social movements are defined precisely by their location outside established political norms. Castells, for example, is critical of resource mobilization theorists for incorporating social movements into the political process (1983, p. 295). He argues that

the "new-ness" of new social movements is the fact that "they are not necessarily limited to, or bound by the rules of the game and the institutionalization of dominant values and norms" (*ibid*, p. 294). Melucci argues that collective action:

> includes all types of behaviour which transgress the norms that have been institutionalized in social roles which go beyond the rules of the political system and/or which attack the structure of a society's class relations. (Melucci, 1980)

New social movements do not only occur outside of institutional politics, they attempt to expand the boundaries of the political realm itself by making qualitative demands on the system— "supplement[ing] the principle of representation with the principle of belonging" (Melucci and Avritzer, 2000, p. 509). In this regard, NSM theorists often locate social movements in the realm of 'civil society', thus affecting not only the state but the system as a whole (Melucci, 1984, p. 823).

NSM theorists point to the entry of new social groups into contemporary movements, replacing the working class as the primary participant in pushing for social change. While theorists of the collective behaviour school argued that it was the most marginalized, alienated and deprived members of society that engaged in non-institutional politics (see Smelser, 1963), NSM theorists argue that, on the contrary, it is often the economically secure and relatively advantaged members of society who are the most active participants in social movements (Marsh, 1977). Offe draws a direct link between level of education and likelihood of participation in NSMs, pointing out that it is frequently 'the new middle class' that forms the core of contemporary social movements. This new middle class is made up of those who have attained a high level of education and who often work in social and administrative services. He argues that these actors are more likely to have the ability to recognize systemic irrationalities, as well as being able to think and act independently (Offe, 1985, p. 850-851). To this group of likely participants in social movements, he adds 'peripheral' or 'decommodified' groups, such as middle class housewives and students, because of their generally high levels of education as well as their position outside the institutional world of work (*ibid*, p. 852). NSM theorists thus argue that it is not necessarily the most *materially* deprived members of society who will have the capacity or desire to participate in social movements. It is rather those members of society who have the material and intellectual means, as well as the time to focus on non-material forms of deprivation, who are most likely to take part in contemporary social movements.[10]

NSM theorists are often criticized for paying little attention to the organizational operation of social movements; however, this lack of focus is not accidental. Rather, theorists of this school argue that one of the defining characteristics of new social movements is the lack of organization in such groups. Contrary to their counterparts in the resource mobilization school, NSM theorists argue that the anti-institutional nature of contemporary social movements is mirrored in their structure, which is characterized as being open, decentralized, flexible and non-hierarchical (Zimmerman, 1987). Melucci, for example, argues that "Contemporary movements resemble an amorphous nebula or indistinct shape and with variable density" (1996, p. 114). Theorists point out that different social movements adopt different organizational styles, depending on their character and context. Furthermore, unlike resource mobilization theory, which regards social movements as carefully planned and orchestrated, NSM theorists emphasize the spontaneous nature of such movements. This is similar to the approach of earlier collective behaviour theorists, but rather than viewing this spontaneity negatively, as a dangerous form of irrationality, NSM theorists see it in positive terms, as an energizing force in the early stages of a social movement (Hannigan, 1985, p. 438).

Apart from criticisms centring on their lack of attention to the organizational aspects of social movements, several authors have questioned the assertion of NSM theorists that social movements are completely separate from politics. Scott, for example, challenges the notion that, in conteast to the 'old' labour movements, the demands of new social movements are distinct from the political sphere. He argues that many of the so-called 'cultural' demands of NSMs, such as the demand for personal autonomy, also have a political angle (Scott, 1990, p. 23). However, because of their denial of the role of politics in NSMs, theorists of this school have been charged with neglecting the relationships between civil society and the state (Canel, 1992). Canel argues that this approach to studying social movements has "stripped them of their political dimension" and has prevented "NSM theorists from exploring the connections between civil society and the state, and between SMs and political reform" (*ibid.*). Such criticisms problematize the boundary between institutionalized and non-institutionalized politics. Critics point to the constant interaction between these two forms of politics, as well as the similarities in their causal processes, arguing that "Coalitions, strategic interaction, and identity struggles occur widely in the politics of established institutions as well as in social movements" (Klandermans *et. al.*, 2002, p. 336). Therefore, by emphasizing the disconnection between the state and social movements, NSM theorists have a tendency to deny the political and

institutional impacts that social movements have made, as well as ignoring parallel and interrelated political processes.

Several critics of NSM theory have also questioned the 'new-ness' of new social movements. These authors draw attention to the historical continuities between 'old' and 'new' social movements, in terms of their history and international dimensions. The women's movement is, indeed, one of the most striking examples of a social movement with both a significant history and a widespread transnational presence. Rupp (1994) traces the history of cross-national organizing amongst women's organizations to the late 19th century, with the establishment of various international bodies, including the International Council of Women, the International Alliance of Women and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (see also Rupp and Taylor, 1999). Thompson (1975) points out that the so-called 'old' labour movements were, alongside making material demands, also concerned with the constitution of new collective identities. Several others have highlighted the historical continuities between various 'old' and 'new' social movements. [11] This has led Gunder Frank and Fuentes to argue that the 'new' social movements are actually old but may have some new features (1987, p. 144). Furthermore, Escobar is wary of the division between old and new epochs of movement mobilization, as this division denies the continuities between these two periods, in terms of both the forms of domination faced by oppressed groups and the methods of resistance (1992, p. 31).[12]

Therefore, both NSM theory and resource mobilization theory have been criticized for a range of shortcomings. However, in some instances, the gaps in one theory are addressed by the other. Canel argues that, because of the diversity between social movements, researchers should take an eclectic approach that borrows from both resource mobilization and NSM theories in order to understand both the context and structure of social movements (Canel, 1992). Where NSM theory lacks detail on organizational functioning, he suggests, resource mobilization theory compensates. Similarly, resource mobilization theory can benefit from the insights of NSM and collective behaviour theories in terms of understanding the wider social processes through which movements emerge. Whether it is appropriate to drawing more heavily on one school of thought than another will depend on the nature and context of the movement being studied. Movements that are looser and more fluid in structure will, it is argued, be better understood through the lens of NSM theories, while those that are

highly structured and organized are more likely to fit into RM approaches. More likely, a combination of theories will provide the greatest insights into the operation of a given social movement. The RM and NSM approaches should, therefore, be seen as complementary, providing insights into different aspects of social movements depending on the context and the movement being studied.

As well, neither of these schools of thought should be viewed as being entirely separate, since there are links between theories. RM theory, for example, builds on the work of the Chicago School, viewing social movements as part of the normal functioning of society and as part of processes of social change. NSM theory is similar in certain respects to collective behaviour models, which look at the social context in which movements arise more than the mechanisms of social movements themselves. Because of the diverse nature of social movements and the variety of contexts in which they have arisen, it is more useful for researchers to cast a wide net in terms of theory, in order to benefit fully from the range of analyses of social movements that have already been conducted. Because no theory is capable of explaining all social movements or all their aspects, criticisms of any theory are inevitable. However, such criticisms are valuable in pushing the debate forward and expanding understanding of the emergence, functioning and impact of the various kinds of social movements that have existed historically and that are currently operating in various parts of the world.

2.4   Globalization and social movements

Since the 1990s, there has been a growing body of research that looks at the development of contemporary social movements in relation to processes of globalization (see Guidry *et. al.,* 2000). Theorists began to take notice of transnational social activism even before the advent of wide-scale anti-globalization protests, with Falk introducing the phrase "globalisation-from-below" in the early 1990s, referring to the emergence of a global civil society that links transnational social forces with a common concern to end "poverty, oppression, humiliation, and collective violence" (1993, p. 39). Studies of social movements conducted in the last two decades have thus shifted to looking at the relationships between forces of globalization and transnationalism and the emergence of new identity formations in various parts of the world. The relationships between globalization and social movements is particularly central to studies of 'the global justice movement', but has also expanded to look at the impact of globalization on various other social movements, including the international women's movement (Basu, 1995; Mohanty, 2002; Moghadam, 2005), the environmental movement

(Wapner, 1996), and sexual identity movements (Leap and Boellstorff, 2004), as well as various religious-based movements. These theories expand the identity focus of NSM theory while emphasizing the transnational nature of many contemporary social movements.

Beginning in the 1990s, the occurrence of widespread protests against the World Trade Organization, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund led to a renewed interest in the transformative power of social movements and their continuing evolution in the contemporary period. In particular, the protests that occurred in 1999 in Seattle, as well as subsequent large-scale international protests held in various sites, often in association with the World Social Forums, have pointed to a growth in anti-globalization movements with participants of diverse backgrounds scattered across the world. These anti-globalization movements, later grouped under the umbrella of 'the global justice movement', have emerged in response to the perceived spread of global capitalism, efforts at privatization and corporatization spurred by international financial institutions and multinational corporations, and the concomitant loss of both physical and cultural autonomy by local groups (see Starr, 2000).[13] In the context of the global South, the drive for structural adjustment during the 1990s spurred widespread protest and resistance (see Lindberg and Sverrisson, 1997). Analysts have pointed to the variety of actors—from both the North and the South—who have come together in order in countries around the world to protest against the global causes of their problems (Mayo, 2005, p. 2). Others have studied the effects of global capitalism on local populations. Edelman (1999), for example, analyses the emergence of rural people's movements in Costa Rica as a response to neoliberal development related to economic globalization. The mobilizations against globalization thus demonstrate new forms of local and transnational activism, as well as "the possibility of a deepening global alliance of workers, students, farmers, youth, indigenous people, immigrants and 'marginals'"(Yuen et al, 2001, p. 7).[14]

Globalization processes have not only spurred the creation of explicitly 'anti-globalization' movements that resist capitalist domination, but have also been analyzed in terms of their impact on the formulation of new forms of mobilizing identities. Observers of new global social movements point to the various forms of opposition to 'the new global order' that have emerged across the world. Castells, for example, points to three very different movements—the Zapatistas in Mexico, the American militia, and the *Aum Shrinrikyo* in Japan—as distinct examples of resistance to the

homogenizing and dominating effects of globalisation (1997, Chapter 2). Others have analyzed

globalization's cultural and political effects, pointing to the creation of new forms of religious identity,

Christian fundamentalism and Islamist movements in particular, as examples of resistance to the

homogenizing effects of globalization, a point to which I will return in Section 4 (see Nash, 2005;

Lehmann, 1998; Bayat, 2005; Wiktorowicz, 2004; Beyer, 1994).

The women's movement stands out as an example of a social movement that is local in its

manifestation, but has also benefited from transnational forms of organizing. As mentioned earlier, the

global networking of women's movements is not a new phenomenon - examples of transnational

organizing for women's rights can be traced to the late 19th century (Rupp, 1994; Rupp and Taylor,

1999). However, the last three decades have seen renewed efforts to organize women's movements

transnationally, beginning with the declaration of the UN Decade for Women in 1976. Moghadam

(2005) argues that, although women had been organizing internationally for some time, the third UN

World Conference on Women held in Nairobi in 1985 marked a watershed for international feminism,

in terms of the creation of transnational feminist networks. This conference:

> brought together women from across the globe who shared their experiences with and
> criticisms of new economic policies, conservative governments, and cultural-political
> movements that they deemed inimical to women's interests. Although the term
> *globalization* would not be used until years later, the emerging global state of affairs
> proved to be an impetus for novel forms of women's organizing and mobilizing.
> (emphasis original)   (Moghadam, 2005, p. 1-2)

Since this time, women's movements from various parts of the world have come together in several

international forums in order to advocate collectively for women's rights. Other authors have studied

the effects of transnational networks on the development of local women's movements. For example,

Sperling, Ferree and Risman (2001) look particularly at the relationships between the Russian and US

women's movements, and the effects of their interaction on global feminist arenas. Although the

existence of a unified global women's movement is questionable, processes of globalization have

provided new avenues for transnational organizing around particular issues amongst women's

movements.

Furthermore, the 'deterritorializing' aspects of globalization (Appadurai 1996)—in terms of the increasing pressures on people to disperse and detach from their communities—are increasingly being resisted by local populations, as manifest in indigenous people's movements to claim rights to their land in various parts of the world (Nash, 2005, p. 17; see also Hodgson, 2002). Nash argues that, despite the diversity of contemporary global social movements, they all share a desire to exert greater autonomy in the face of new forms of domination: "Women, ethnic minorities, semi-subsistence producers, wage workers, immigrants, are in one way or another seeking a voice and a space of their own" (*ibid*, p. 22). Globalization thus creates new forms of identity and resistance in the face of increasing forms and channels of material and cultural domination.

Paradoxically, it is the processes of globalization themselves that make resistance to globalization possible. Analysts of global social movements point to the proliferation of new technologies and increasingly interconnected networks of communication as increasing the potential for transnational organizing (see Langman, 2005). Appadurai looks at globalization in terms of increasing transnational flows of technology, goods, culture, services and people (1996). Castells argues that globalization enhances people's ability to communicate and create webs of resistance, while at the same time disenfranchising societies by increasing the possibilities for elite social control (1997, p. 68-69). Theorists of globalization argue that this increasing interconnectedness allows for the domination of neoliberal capitalism and Western consumer culture, so-called "globalisation from above" (Robins and Webster, 1999). At the same time, however, new technologies and increasing transnational flows have allowed for increasing democratization, education, communication, and the sharing of ideas and culture—"globalization from below" (Falk, 1997). Kellner describes the resistance to globalization-from-above as "oppositional technopolitics", which he argues is becoming increasingly urgent in the face of the increasing possibilities for domination fostered by the new technologies (2002, p. 302).[15] It is in this context that global social movements arise, both as a reaction against and as a product of processes of globalization.

Globalization has also seen the proliferation of new forms of organization as the main actors within social movements. Building on the observations of NSM theory, globalization theorists point to the loose and fluid nature of contemporary social movement organization. Edelman observes that "Acephalous, horizontal, loosely networked alliances…have emerged as major actors on the world

scene", arguing that they have advantages vis-à-vis hierarchical and rigid forms of organization (2001, p. 305). McDonald argues that contemporary social movements should not be analyzed in terms of unitary identities and rigid structures. Rather, his work demonstrates the increasingly fluid nature of social movement activism, which occurs across dispersed and shifting networks—a concept that he terms "fluidarity" (McDonald, 2002). Escobar (2004) sees these new forms of organizing and the emergence of cross-border alliances as a means of dismantling and moving beyond the notion of the 'Third World'. He argues that the anti-globalization and global justice movements, in particular, have provided a critique of Eurocentric modernity by displacing the notion of 'development' and imagining and advocating a just and sustainable world (*ibid.*).

Theorists of globalization and social movements focus particularly on the expansion of 'civil society', of which social movements form a part, and point to the increasing number and role of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), many of which are themselves transnational or are networked transnationally, in global political processes (Edelman, 2001; Smith *et. al.,* 1997). NGOs, particularly those located in the global South, are often key participants in contemporary social movements (Davis, 2001). NGOs can often act as brokers between grassroots movements and the state in advocating for social change. Madsen (1997), for example, looks at the work of two Indian NGOs in promoting rural livelihoods through lobbying and legal advocacy.   These NGOs were able to bridge the divide between grassroots movements and elite power-holders through their intermediate position in the social structure. However, 'civil society' and the role of NGOs in processes of social change are contentious topics, and there is a great amount of disagreement amongst theorists as to their role and significance in processes of social change.[16] NGOs, in some instances, can be viewed as 'social movement organizations' in the sense articulated by resource mobilization theorists. However, NGOs themselves should be looked at as actors *within* or alongside wider social movements, rather than as representatives of social movements themselves, a point to which I will return in Section 5.

Globalization processes are no doubt having a profound effect on the ability of social movements to organise and make an impact on social processes.[17] In some respects, borders between nations have decreased in significance, making way for new forms of domination as well as new forms of resistance by various groups. Processes of globalization, therefore, must be taken into account when studying the organization of contemporary social movements, whether these movements are

themselves transnational in nature or not. However, the new emphasis on globalization risks neglecting those movements that do not cross national borders. In particular, although movements located primarily in the global South must also be viewed in the context of an increasingly transnationalized world, studies that focus on them remain a gap in the social movements literature.

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3 Eurocentrism and social movement theory

A major shortcoming of most social movement theories that is particularly relevant for the Religions and Development Programme's research is their lack of focus on movements located in the global South. Bayat argues that the models of social movements proposed by most theorists:

> …are rooted in and orientated towards the highly differentiated, technologically advanced, and politically open societies. Their 'Westocentric' orientation undermines their ability to account adequately for the dynamics of social activisms in the societies of the global South.
>
> (Bayat, 2005, p. 893)

This criticism is reflected in the fact that all of the major schools of thought mentioned so far have emerged primarily in the United States and Europe and take both of these contexts as their primary locations for discussion. Social movements located outside the West sometimes figure as case studies in the social movements literature, but for the most part these movements, and the complex histories from which they have emerged, are marginalized in macro-level social movement theories. Rather, the study of these movements is generally confined to 'area studies' in the disciplines of anthropology and history, while 'mainstream' social movement studies is for the most part located in Western-based sociology and political science. Where Southern social movements are studied, they are often looked at as isolated case studies, the findings of which do not inform the wider canon of 'social movement theory'.[18]

Davis (1999) traces the development of social movement theory in Europe and the United States, pointing to the differences in approaches between these contexts because of their unique histories and the nature of the movements that emerged in each. Because of this particularity, Davis argues, theories developed in the US and European contexts are ill-equipped to explain social movement processes in other parts of the world. Pointing to the specific development of the relationships between states and civil society in Latin America in particular, she demonstrates the inapplicability of Eurocentric models of social movements in non-Western contexts.[19] Similarly, Mohanty (1998) draws attention to the anti-colonial roots of many contemporary social movements located in the global South. In the postcolonial period, many of these movements have been focused on retrieving power from those elites who emerged as the 'winners' in freedom struggles (Chandhoke, 1998). In the case of contemporary movements for social change based in India, Pakistan, Nigeria and Tanzania, any

analyses of these movements must take into consideration the postcolonial contexts in which they have emerged.

Social movement theories originating in Europe and North America are premised upon notions of liberal democracy. Resource mobilization theory, for example, focuses on elite actors and presupposes both the existence of a particular kind of political structure and the availability of certain material and non-material resources that may not be present in the context of developing countries. This diverts attention from the significant presence and influence of social movements in non-Western contexts despite the lack of resources available to dispossessed groups in these regions.

Similarly, NSM theory emphasizes the notion of a 'post-industrial' society as the context for many contemporary social movements. However, in many countries in the global South, the notion of 'post-industrialization' is problematic in the context of mixed and rapidly changing economies, many of which have themselves contributed to the industrialization of the 'industrialized world'. As well, such a theorization is premised on the notion that countries must reach a certain level of 'development' before social movements can emerge, which takes a teleological view of development, assuming that all countries follow a linear path towards 'modernization' based on a Eurocentric model (Escobar, 1992).[20]

Escobar (1992) is critical of NSM theorists such as Touraine, Laclau and Mouffe, who draw a theoretical distinction between 'advanced' societies and the 'Third World' in their conceptualisation of social movements. These authors argue that new social movements can only emerge in contexts in which the democratic revolution has crossed a certain threshold, opening up space for a "radical pluralist democracy" (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985, p. 166). Escobar points out that this characterization excludes and denies the experiences of resistance within the 'Third World', arguing that "the post-War hegemonic formation of development has also resulted…in a multiplicity of antagonisms and identities" which are also frequently the focus and subjects of protest (Escobar, 1992, p. 39). Therefore, as noted above, although several individual studies have been produced about social movements in the global South, social movement theory remains heavily biased towards Western, industrialized contexts.[21]

Therefore, it may be necessary for researchers studying South Asian and African social movements to supplement largely Eurocentric social movement theories with insights from theories of postcolonialism. For example, the work of the Subaltern Studies School, which challenges nationalist and Eurocentric approaches to historiography as elitist, has looked at a variety of resistance movements based primarily in India, but also in Latin America and Africa (Prakash, 1994). Scholars of this school have drawn attention to the struggles of groups otherwise marginalized or silenced in dominant accounts of history. Guha (1983), for example, highlights peasant movements in the colonial period, which have been sidelined in both Indian nationalist and colonial accounts of history. Such approaches draw attention to the historical movements for autonomy and against exploitation of various subaltern groups in colonial contexts, in relation to both the colonising state and local elites. It is essential for research to recognize that the roots of many present-day movements in formerly colonized contexts can be traced, at least partially, to relations of power established during the colonial period.

The study of women's movements is an area in which considerable work has been done on collective mobilizations across the global South (see Morgan, 1984; Basu, 1995), although Ray and Korteweg (1999), in their survey of international literature relating to women's movements, still argue that sociologists have largely ignored women's mobilizations in the third world. Margolis (1993) also draws attention to the tendency of most cross-national comparisons of women's movements to look to the US movement as a gauge against which other women's movements are measured. Nevertheless, as Molyneaux (1998) points out, feminist scholars since the 1970s have been studying the development of an international women's movement, as well as in looking at the struggles of poor and 'subaltern' women against exploitation. Furthermore, there has been a growing interest in women's mobilizations within religious 'fundamentalist' movements (see Paidar, 1995; Sarkar and Butalia, 1995; Sen, 2007). Therefore, the study of women's movements, which can be seen as a sub-set of social movement studies, is one area in which some progress has been made in looking cross-nationally and in particular at the developing world, in order to understand the nature and contexts of women's mobilizations.

Furthermore, as the previous section on globalization demonstrates, the geographical boundaries of social movement theory are slowly expanding, with research shifting from looking only at Western

Europe and North America to looking at the wider global contexts (see Polet, 2007). However, studies related to globalization generally focus on social movements that are either primarily located in the North or have strong linkages there, thus neglecting movements based primarily or solely in Southern contexts. For example, in his discussion of the rise of transnational social movement networks, McAdam (1988) argues that globalization has seen an increase in the *export* of Western social movement forms to the global South through transnational NGOs and networks. Such a formulation denies the multiple historical and contextual influences that shape contemporary social movements in the South, which may include exports from Western-based movements, but which also undeniably include local and national struggles and innovations particular to those contexts. In addition, it denies the influence of Southern contexts on European and North American social movements (see footnote 14).

By recognizing the neglect of Southern contexts in social movement theory and highlighting the impact of colonialism and neo-colonialism on many contemporary social movements, I do not intend to reify 'the Third World' or imply that all formerly colonized contexts are somehow the same. As Lindberg and Sverrisson point out:

> Although the Third World shared a common fate in the past—colonization, economic imperialism, neo-colonialism and the continued dominance of capitalist industrialised states—it does not possess a *common history* (emphasis original).   (1997, p. 4)

Rather, social movement theory must strike a balance between recognizing transnational patterns and grounding analyses in the particularity of historical contexts in which social movements have emerged, whether located in the North or the South.

4 Religion and social movements

Contrary to the predictions of secularization theory, the role of religion in politics and society has not declined in the contemporary period (Haynes, 1995, 2007). As social movements often have a critical role in development-related advocacy, understanding the role of religion in either supporting or challenging such movements is often vital to understanding processes of social change. Religion has had a key role to play in the development and mobilizing tactics of many of the most influential social movements across the world, whether these movements are largely secular or explicitly religious in orientation.[22] There has also been a proliferation of explicitly religious forms of mobilization over the past century, some of which fall into the category of 'new religious movements' (NRMs), which may in some cases be similar to social movements. Furthermore, religious groups and institutions are frequently active participants in secular social movements and religious ideologies often support the goals of movements for social change. In other instances, religious groups oppose the activities of secular social movements and can act as a hindrance to their goals. For these reasons, understanding the ways in which religion, as it is variously manifested, interacts with contemporary social movements and the impact of these interactions on processes of social change is one of the most pressing and yet at the same time one of the most neglected areas of research in this field.

4.1 The neglect of religion in social movement theories

There are several possible reasons for the neglect of religion in social movement theory. Smith (1996) argues that the social sciences in general and social movement theory in particular have been dominated by secularization theory—that is, the idea that modernization is eroding the significance of religion in society. For this reason, religion was not deemed to be a significant social factor when the foundation for social movement theory was being laid. Furthermore, early social movement theory was influenced by structural-functionalism, which viewed religion as part of society's need for integration and social cohesion, rather than a possible basis for social changes that challenge the status quo (*ibid*, p. 2-4; Hannigan, 1991). Where religion was mentioned as being an anti-systemic force, it was usually in the context of collective behaviour theory, and focused on fringe religious movements and cults as examples of irrational and "deviant belief systems" resulting from material deprivation (McGlaughlin, 1969). The influence of resource mobilization theory with its focus on rational politics above 'irrational' factors such as culture, has also led to a neglect of religion in social movement studies (Williams, 2006, p. 84). As well, several authors have pointed to the fragmentation of social inquiry and the insulation of the sociology of religion from the rest of the social sciences,

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which has further disallowed any cross-pollination between social movement theories and the study of religion (Beckford, 1985b). Finally, many of the 'preferred social movements' that figured prominently in the formative literature were not themselves highly influenced by religion, and oftentimes religion was actually a hindrance to the progress of these movements (Smith, 1996), which further accounts for the neglect of religion in social movement theories.[23]

The tide, however, is turning, with an increasing recognition of religion's role in the success or failure of secular social movements, as well as a growing body of literature on the increasing numbers of new religious movements (NRMs) that have emerged in various parts of the world. Recognizing the importance of the non-material motivations articulated by NSM theory, Beckford (1990) was one of the first theorists to call for a link to be made between theories of social movements and religion. He draws attention to the "new spirituality" present in the ideologies of many (otherwise secular) NSMs, as well as in the work of prominent NSM theorists such as Habermas, Offe and Touraine. This "new spirituality..[he argues].. favours synoptic, holistic and global perspectives on issues transcending the privatized self and the individual state" (*ibid*, p. 9). Furthermore, Beckford argues that there are several similarities between the operation of institutionalized religious groups and social movements in terms of their promotion of values, collective identity and communal solidarity (2001, p. 235). Therefore, religious ideologies and groups not only often play a role within and against social movements, but there is also a great deal of overlap between the ways in which social movements and religious organizations mobilize around shared values and common ideals in order to assert a sense of collective solidarity.

4.2   New religious movements (NRMs) and religious mobilization

Aside from the recognition of religion's role in secular social movements, there is also a growing interest in the proliferation of non-institutional forms of religiously-inspired movements, or new religious movements, in various parts of the world. NRMs were first studied as 'cults' and are often still characterized as such in popular discourse. They have increasingly drawn the attention of scholars since the 1960s, and increasingly so in relation to processes of globalization. Beckford defines a new religious movement as "an organised attempt to introduce change in religion" (1986, p. x, see also 1985a). NRMs occur outside the confines of institutionalized religion and are often viewed as threats to such institutions (*ibid.*). This category, although contested amongst scholars, often includes such

groups as the Aum Shinrikyo, the Church of Scientology, the Unification Church, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness, the Children of God, and some Pentecostal and Charismatic Christian movements (Beckford, 2003).[24] Related to his critique of social theory in general, Beckford argues that, although the study of NRMs has been one of the most vibrant areas of the sociology of religion since the 1970s, the phenomenon has largely been neglected by social theory in general and by social movement theory in particular (*ibid.*, p. 165).

Beckford (2000) relates the growth of new religious movements to processes of globalization, arguing that NRMs have contributed to and benefited from the strengthening of global forces. He demonstrates how religious movements often transcend the boundaries of the nation-state in their identification and activities. Many contemporary NRMs operate at a global level and propagate a universal vision. Furthermore, Beckford argues that, although new religious movements rarely have a significant effect on the exercise of power at the global level, they often contribute to wider, largely secular social movements that aim to promote peace, environmental sustainability, or human rights, as well as "moral and religious..[and] ethnic, national and religious purity" (*ibid*, p. 177). Therefore, there is a strong link between processes of globalization and the development and proliferation of NRMs.[25]

Apart from studies of NRMs, there is a wider body of literature that looks at the various types of religious mobilization, many of which are affiliated in some capacity with formal religious institutions but that nevertheless occur largely outside institutional channels. For example, Haynes (1995) refers to various forms of contemporary religious mobilization, both institutional and non-institutional. He identifies four broad categories of religious movement—culturalist, syncretistic, fundamentalist, and community-oriented—and classifies them according to whether religion is utilized as a vehicle of opposition or as a means of community development.[26] He identifies two points of commonality between these four categories:

> First, leaders of each utilize religious precepts to present a message of hope and a
> programme of action to putative followers, which may have a political impact. Second,
> such religious movements tend to be inherently oppositional in character. (*ibid.*, p. 11-12)

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Beyond these broad common characteristics, Haynes' typology encompasses a broad range of diverse movements. Culturalist movements, he argues, emerge when a group sharing religious and ethnic affinities perceives itself to be a threatened and repressed minority in a state dominated by outsiders (*ibid*, p. 9). Syncretistic movements are those groups that blend elements of different religious practices in order to forge a collective identity and to build group solidarity in the face of threats from outside sources (*ibid*). Fundamentalist movements, according to Haynes, aim to reform society according to religious tenets, and are generally followers of the Abrahamic religions (Christianity, Islam and Judaism), although arguably they might be considered to include some followers of Hinduism and Buddhism (*ibid*, p. 10).[27] Finally, community-oriented religious movements utilize elements of religious faith in order to improve the well-being of a community, often in the face of a repressive government (*ibid*). Haynes points out that these classifications are not mutually exclusive and that they often overlap in practice, with most movements exhibiting elements of more than one of these characteristics at different points of time. Nevertheless, his typology provides a useful starting point for understanding the significance of religious ideologies in mobilizing political and social movements across the world.

Of Haynes' categories, 'fundamentalist' movements have received the most scholarly attention by far, both as part of social movement studies as well as generally within the social and political sciences. This has especially been the case in the post 9/11 period, since which 'Islamist groups' have emerged as the subjects of heightened scrutiny. Most of these studies look at the rise of contemporary Islamist movements in relation to political and economic forces. Lubeck (2000), for example, connects the rise of Islamist groups worldwide with processes of globalization. He views the growth of Islamist movements in the past three decades as a direct response to the spread of Western, neo-liberal hegemonic policies and the lessening importance of the nation-state (*ibid.*). Focusing more on national contexts, Butko (2004) sees the emergence of Islamist movements as political rather than religious, arguing that such movements are counter-hegemonic reactions to despotic regimes. On the other hand, several authors view contemporary Islamist movements as essentially religious formations, tracing the roots of such movements to the Qur'an and the life of the Prophet Muhammad (see Cook, 2005; Lewis, 2003).[28] Finally, Kurzman (1996) and Munson (2001) apply the theory of political opportunity structures to the Iranian Revolution and the Egyptian Brotherhood respectively, in order to understand the growth of these two religio-political social movements.

Although Islamist movements are the most prominent in this broad and contested category, much has also been written about other 'fundamentalist movements', including those associated with Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Zionism.[29] As mentioned earlier, 'fundamentalist' or exclusionary religious movements have often been studied as reactions to rapid industrialization and to the homogenizing effects of globalization. For example, Gledhill (2006) regards the rise of Pentecostalism across Latin America as one such reaction to the challenges raised by contemporary neoliberal capitalism, while Gifford (2004), in his study of Pentecostalism in Ghana, links its growth with wider economic and political processes linked to Ghana's increased integration into the global economy. Similarly, Hansen analyzes the rise of Hindu nationalism, with its "promises of order, discipline, and collective strength", partially as a reaction to the increasing influence of consumerism in everyday life in India during the 1980s and 1990s (1999, p.5). Dorraj (1999) attempts to look comparatively at movements associated with Jewish and Islamic 'fundamentalism', as well as those which utilize liberation theology, as examples of religious revivalism in reaction to what he perceives as the contemporary 'crisis of modernity'. Bhatt (1997) also connects 'fundamentalist', or what he terms religious authoritarian, movements with modernity, looking particularly at Islamic and Hindu authoritarianisms as articulations of modernity. Although this discussion only hints at the vast body of research available on the subject,[30] the point worth noting here is that, as with all social movements, 'fundamentalist' religious movements must be viewed in their context as particular reactions to global and local forces, keeping in mind the complex combination of political, social, economic, and religious motivations behind such movements.

Aside from studies of explicitly religious movements, there is a more limited body of research on the relationships between religious ideologies and institutions and wider movements for social change. This body of work highlights the sometimes prominent role of religious groups and institutions in democratization movements across the world, often by providing spaces for the burgeoning of an active civil society. Casanova (2001), for example, points to the importance of religious institutions in challenging state power in various contexts, including the Solidarity movement in Poland, as well as in Spain, Brazil, the Philippines, South Korea and South Africa. In all of these cases, it was the Catholic Church that was at the forefront of the movement for democratization.[31] Casanova points to the manner in which churches were transformed into autonomous public spaces in which nascent movements could effectively organize and mobilize support (*ibid*, p. 1044). He also explores the

possibilities of religious organizations fulfilling a similar role in Islamic contexts, challenging the claim made by Huntington (1997) that Islam is intrinsically opposed to democracy. In this context, he looks at the cases of Turkey, Iran and Indonesia, in terms of the democratization efforts taking place in these contexts and the role of Islam in these processes.

Perhaps the most prominent example of the use of religion as a driver for social change and democratization can be seen in the various movements inspired by liberation theology that emerged across Latin America in the latter half of the twentieth century. These movements have utilized Christian teachings as a source of inspiration in movements for democracy, human rights and social justice. Liberation theology grew in popularity primarily amongst Catholic communities and is grounded in a radical interpretation of Christianity as a message for poor and downtrodden peoples against oppressive and exploitative economic and political forces. Indigenous peoples' movements have been particularly inspired by liberation theology and have thus used Christian teachings as a source of collective identity in the face of oppression. Studies of Latin American movements inspired by liberation theology have focused on the historical, social, political and religious dimensions of such movements, analyzing their emergence in relation to historical colonial legacies as well as the contemporary forces of globalization and neo-liberalism (see Cleary and Steigenga, 2004; Levine, 1988; Dodson, 1979; Yoder, 1990). It is beyond the scope of this paper to go into any depth about these movements, but it is worth noting their significance as examples of ways in which religious teachings have been used as a source of inspiration in mobilizations for social change.[32]

Apart from the large number of studies of particular kinds of religious movements, analysts of religion and social movements point to the resources for mobilization provided by religious ideologies and organizations. Beckford draws attention to the contribution of religious social networks in the success of various historical and contemporary social movements, including the antislavery, civil rights, temperance and peace movements. Support for these movements was, he notes, fostered through the frequent contact betwee members of religious groups through their pre-existing social networks (Beckford, 2001, p. 238).[33] This observation builds on the work of resource mobilization and network theorists who, as noted above, have pointed to the importance of social networks as a precondition for the emergence of a social movement. Smith adds that religious groups can often contribute to social movements by providing trained leadership capable of motivating and attracting participants (1996, p.

13).   Religion, as well, can play a legitimating role in social movements, providing a moral justification for activism and sustaining movements by referring to a higher truth in the face of challenges from outside forces (*ibid*, p. 9). Finally, Tarrow points to the emotional resources provided by religion in mobilizing social movements, in terms of providing a source of "ready-made symbols, rituals, and solidarities that can be accessed and appropriated by movement leaders" (1998a, p. 112). Religion, therefore, can be a powerful source of inspiration and motivation, as well as being valuable in terms of providing organizational resources for social movements.

As mentioned earlier, NSM theorists draw attention to the important role of identity in the emergence and construction of contemporary social movements. In this regard, religion can play a key role in providing a sense of shared collective identity amongst social movement participants. Smith points out that:

> Religion, as a pre-existing collective identity that can be conferred upon or coopted by a
> movement, represents a valuable resource for the task of collective identity construction
> and maintenance.   (Smith, 1996, p. 17)

Contemporary social movements must often overcome a host of geographical and social factors that can potentially divide and disperse support. Religious identity has the ability to supersede local and national boundaries and can transcend differences based on other social cleavages, such as race, ethnicity and class (*ibid*, p. 18). Especially in the context of globalization, religious identity often provides a resource for mobilizing transnationally, by providing organizers with a transcendent frame of reference for mobilizing support. For this reason, when garnering support amongst followers from diverse backgrounds, social movements often benefit from the unifying power of religious ideology.

Although religion is, therefore, often a key factor in the formation and mobilization of social movements, it is worth stressing that it is most often only one of a host of factors that interact in order to produce and propel groups towards mobilization and action. Smith argues that religious cleavages often combine with class, political and status cleavages (alongside others) in order to facilitate the formation of a social movement (1996, p. 7). He uses the examples of several religiously inspired social movements, including the Iranian revolution, the Hindu nationalist movement in India, Latin American liberation theology movements, the movement to abolish slavery, and the US civil rights movement, to demonstrate that, although religion may have had a prominent role in each of these

cases, none can be understood in terms of religion alone (*ibid*, p. 8). Similarly, movements concerned with abortion (Joffe , Weitz and Stacey, 2005), nuclear weapons (Byrne, 1988) or capital punishment (Haines, 1996) have historically drawn support from the members of various religious organizations, although other members of the same organizations may choose to oppose these movements. Hence it is crucial that any analysis of the role of religion in social movements must take into account the interaction of various social and contextual factors alongside religion in their formation and mobilization. While the religious factor may be important in improving understanding of many contemporary social movements, analyses of religion should avoid an essentialist approach and should instead aim to contextualize religion as one amongst many potential mobilizing forces that determine the emergence, operation and impact of social movements.[34]

5 Studying social movements and social change

The Religions and Development Programme aims to understand the relationships between social movements and religion in relation to processes of social change. Specifically, the programme is concerned with understanding the strategies and influence of social movements that aim to produce social changes that might assist in the achievement of development-related goals.[35] As the discussion so far has demonstrated, much has been written about the formation, structure and operation of social movements. However, relatively little has been written about the actual outcome of such movements, in terms of their impact on processes of political, social and cultural change (Earl, 2003; Giugni *et. al.,* 1999). As Giugni points out, "such neglect is quite astonishing, for the ultimate end of movements is to bring about change" (1998b, p. 373). Of the limited research that has been conducted, especially that associated with the resource mobilization school of thought, most has focused on the policy and legislative outcomes of social movements, as opposed to the more abstract and diffuse social and cultural effects of such movements, which are more difficult to measure. After discussing the challenges of measuring social movement outcomes, I will briefly outline some of the progress that has been made in terms of understanding the political, social and cultural impact of social movements on processes of social change.

5.1 Methodological challenges in studying social movement outcomes

Many scholars have pointed to the difficulties of assessing the outcomes of social movements, citing multiple factors that complicate any attempt at measurement. According to Giugni (1998b, p. 373), the main difficulty in identifying the 'success'[36] of any given social movement lies in establishing a causal relationship between social movement actions and an observed change in society. This is due to the close relationships between the various factors that may or may not influence social change, of which a given social movement is only one. Della Porta and Diani (1999) use the example of the women's movement to demonstrate the complications involved in ascribing 'success' to one factor over another. They argue that changes in gender relations and the emergence of women's movements must be seen as part of wider processes of modernization:

> Social and economic development create the preconditions for gender equality: new technology reduces the domestic workload and…the size of the family; mass education improves the resources available to women; secularization removes cultural obstacles to the integration of women in the labour market. And indeed women's participation in the labour force and education has been found to foster feminist opinions.
>
> (Della Porta and Diani, 1999, p. 230-231)

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This example demonstrates the complex and contingent nature of the interaction between social processes and social movements in enacting systemic social change. Although Della Porta and Diani's formulation of the women's movement may be a simplification of what has been a complex and varied set of social processes that have affected gender roles and relations, their point is well taken. Social movements are often involved in a complex, dialectical relationship with processes of social and cultural change, making it difficult to delineate clear causes and effects. Although it may be impossible to measure the precise impact of a given social movement, it is nevertheless critical to analyse movements as part of the wider social and political context, in order to begin to understand the nature and extent of their impact on processes of social change.

Apart from the complex relationship between social movements and the social contexts in which they operate, the presence of several actors also adds to the difficulties in attributing success or failure to any one group. In the context of influencing change at the level of the state, Amenta and Caren (2003) point out that, although many studies highlight the effects of individual social movements, there are usually multiple actors involved in lobbying on any given political issue. Social movements often work in alliance with political parties, public agencies and other movements in lobbying for social change (Della Porta and Diani, 1999, p. 231). Furthermore, social movements are themselves complex, fluid and fragmented, and there are usually several individuals and organizations who claim to be representing a particular movement at any given time (*ibid.*; Amenta and Caren, 2003). Hence, the attribution of 'success' or 'failure' to social movements is problematic, as this assumes that movements are homogenous and act in unison (Giugni, 1998b, p. 373). Moreover, as Giugni points out, the idea of 'success' is itself subjective, and there is often little agreement between movement leaders and participants regarding which goals should be pursued (*ibid;* see also Giugni, 1999). The presence of multiple actors alongside social movements, as well as the internal differentiation within movements themselves, makes it very difficult to attribute the enactment of social change to any one actor or to measure the precise impact of each of the actors involved, especially when these changes occur at the wider systemic or structural levels. Social movements are generally tightly interlinked in a complex web of social relations that are responsible for the achievement of development-related goals. An understanding of this complexity is particularly relevant to analyses of the relationships between social movements and religion, which needs to examine the presence of and relationships between multiple actors involved in processes of social change, both within and outside social movements.

Grasping the complexity of relationships within and between social movements and other actors in empirical work is one of the greatest challenges of social movement research. This is particularly true in the context of 'case study based' approaches. Much of the empirical research produced about social movements focuses on a particular social movement or a particular organisation that plays a key role in a social movement and attempts to analyze the impact of this one set of actors on wider social processes (Snow and Trom, 2002). Recognizing the complexity of actors and factors involved in analyzing social movement impact does not preclude the use of case studies as a research strategy. However, case studies of particular movements and especially of particular organizations must pay special attention to highlighting the complex connections between organizations, movements, and their wider social contexts. Eyerman and Jamison caution against an inordinate emphasis on particular organizations, which may indeed play an important part in a social movement, but which risks losing sight of the wider dynamics and significance of the movement. They argue that:

> Movements create time and space for social activity, a public space for interest articulation….And although movements usually involve the creation of organisations or the renovation of institutions, it is important not to mistake the one for the other. Organisations can be thought of as vehicles or instruments for transporting or even producing the movement's meaning. But the meaning…should not be reduced to the medium. The meaning…is rather the cognitive space that the movement creates, a space for new kinds of ideas and relationships to develop.
>
> (Eyerman and Jamison, 1991, p. 60)

Therefore, although case studies can provide important windows into the operation of social movements and their implications for social processes, studies of organizations and even individual movements should not be conducted in isolation. Rather, drawing out the connections between both the multiple actors engaged in a movement and the contextual factors in which it operates is more likely to shed light on wider processes of social change.

Network approaches, which build on both RM and NSM theories, emphasize the relational nature of social movements, and thus can aid understanding of the web of interactions involved in advocating for and effecting social change. Network theorists define movements through the relationships between various actors. Diani, for example, argues that social movements are "networks of informal interaction between a plurality of individuals, groups, or associations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity" (1992, p. 13). The most prominent 'nodes' in

social movement networks are generally movement organizations that form alliances and coalitions across specific issues (*ibid*, p. 10-11). Diani and Bison (2004) build on this view of social movements as networks, but are also careful to precisely define "social movement processes":

> We see *social movement processes* as instances of collective action with clear conflictual orientations to specific social and political opponents, conducted in the context of dense inter-organizational networking, by actors linked by solidarities and shared identities that precede and survive any specific coalitions and campaigns.
>
> (Diani and Bison, 2004, p. 283)

In some cases, however, social movements interact with other groups and individuals, who may not share a common identity or aims with respect to a particular issue or campaign. The authors define these non-sustained forms of interaction between social movement actors and outside movements, individuals or organizations as 'coalitional processes' (*ibid*.). Hence, an alliance forged between a social movement organization and a religious congregation may be studied as an example of a coalitional process, rather than an interaction occurring explicitly within the boundaries of the movement itself. Network approaches to the study of social movements can provide insights into the various kinds of relationships and interactions involved in advocating for social change, both within and across movement boundaries.

5.2   Identifying the outcomes of social movements

Aside from the complicated nature of relationships involved in social movement processes, many analysts have pointed to the challenges to identifying the concrete outcomes of movement activities. Social movements can have multiple levels of impact, from initiating minor policy changes to influencing wider institutional and cultural shifts at the societal level. Giugni (1998a) categorizes the outcomes of social movements into three broad areas. Firstly, social movements can have an influence on social change through processes of *incorporation* of excluded groups into the existing institutional arrangements of society. Going a step further, social movements at times are successful in catalyzing or helping to achieve the *transformation* of political and social institutions. Finally, social movements can have the wider and more diffuse effect of increasing the *democratization* of society (*ibid*, p. xii). This schema demonstrates the variety of impacts that a social movement can have and identifies the potential scope for influencing change in the political, social and cultural spheres, from the level of the individual to that of international networks and institutions.

In the policy-making arena alone, about which most research on outcomes is focused, there are multiple levels and degrees of effectiveness, in terms of defining 'success' and measuring influence on policy change (Amenta and Caren, 2003). Schumaker (1975) points to five levels of responsiveness to collective demands within a given political system. Firstly, he refers to "access responsiveness" as the initial phase, in which decision-makers are willing to listen to the demands of a group. If this demand is actually placed on the political agenda, then the group has achieved "agenda responsiveness". If the proposal is then passed into policy and law, the movement has achieved "policy responsiveness". This is often where analyses of social movement outcomes end, measuring 'success' in terms of the production of a particular piece of legislation. However, Schumaker identifies two additional levels of responsiveness in his analysis. If measures are taken to ensure that the legislation is enforced, then the movement has achieved "output responsiveness", and, finally, "impact responsiveness" is achieved if the underlying grievance is actually alleviated (*ibid.,* p. 494-495).[37] Schumaker's distinction between the various levels of policy effectiveness highlights the need for a broad conception of successful outcomes, which goes beyond the passage of legislation to implementation and acceptance at the societal level.

Alongside concrete policy changes, social movements can sometimes have an impact on the wider policy-making process itself. While direct policy changes may or may not occur in the short-term, social movements sometimes manage to alter institutional processes in the long term (Giugni, 1999, p. xxix). For example, Burstein *et. al.* (1995) build on Schumaker's typology by pointing to the structural changes that may be brought about by social movement activities, highlighting the potential for social movements to impact on the entire political system. Oftentimes, movements that fail to give rise to specific policy changes can have a wider impact by bringing new groups to the decision-making table and forging new avenues for entry into the policy-making process. Movements often push for a decentralization of political power, advocating more people-centred decision-making processes:

> Social movements have brought about a pluralization of the ways in which political decisions are taken, pushed by cyclical dissatisfaction with centralized and bureaucratic representation…. Movements have produced a change in the political culture, in the whole set of norms and reference schemes which define the issues and means of action that are politically legitimate.   (Della Porta and Diani, 2006, p. 234)

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There are several new channels for policy influence that have been created at the national and international levels as a result of the lobbying efforts of social movement actors, including commissions of enquiry and expert commissions, inter-governmental organizations, and regulatory bodies, as well as increasing engagement of policy-makers with non-governmental organizations (*ibid.*). This incremental progress towards 'democracy from below' (Roth, 1994) is perhaps one of the greatest achievements of contemporary social movements. As Rochon and Mazmanian (1993) point out, authorities that may be reluctant to offer immediate policy changes may concede to changes in the policy process, which may help to facilitate concrete policy changes in the longer term. Impacts on the decision-making structure are often indirect and involve a time lag, which makes such outcomes even more difficult to assess. However, such systemic impacts of social movement activities may be more effective in pushing for development-related goals in the long term than any singular piece of legislation.

However, Della Porta and Diani (2006) caution against exaggerating the positive side of systemic changes, pointing out that the creation of new arenas for policy engagement is sometimes more of a bane than a boon. Such new avenues for engagement may cause movements to shift protest activity from the streets to arenas in which they lack the resources to engage effectively. In addition, the organization of commissions and regulatory bodies may be merely symbolic gestures, and the creation of new institutions and procedures can serve as means of co-opting movement elites and disempowering the more threatening grassroots movement actors. The creation of new avenues for NGO engagement is also problematic, they argue, as most NGOs are Northern-based, many are hierarchically organized and have limited transparency, and a greater role for NGOs runs the risk of contributing to cut-backs in public spending and less public accountability (*ibid.*). Therefore, the increasing influence of NGOs as social movement actors in institutional arenas can be more of a hindrance than a help in terms of effecting radical social change.[38]

Although most of the discussion of social movement outcomes concentrates on analyzing the effects of movements on policies, as noted above, social movements may also produce much wider ripples in the cultural fabric of society. As Giugni points out, most contemporary social movements go beyond political lobbying and target the wider public in order to change attitudes and opinions on a given matter (1998b, p. 385). Other movements, such as some religious and self-help movements, are

primarily aimed at transforming cultures and creating new forms of community (Earl, 2003). However, despite the fact that most observers acknowledge the cultural impact of social movements, little empirical work has been produced on the subject, which according to Giugni is largely due to the methodological and definitional difficulties of measuring cultural change (Giugni, 1998b, p. 386). Theorists of the NSM school, in particular, draw attention to the cultural aspects of contemporary social movements. However, NSM theorists rarely go beyond this observation in order to identify the specific aspects of social movement activism that produce particular cultural shifts (see Earl, 2003).

There are, thus, only a handful of studies that attempt to identify the connections between movement activities and cultural changes. Earl (2003) classifies the research that exists on the cultural outcomes of social movements into three broad categories: those studies that take a social-psychological view of culture and focus on changes in values and beliefs; those that focus on the effects of social movements on cultural production and practices, for example analyzing the media, fashion, language or discourse; and finally, those that attempt to assess the impact of social movements on worldviews and communities by looking at the formation of collective identity and subcultures.[39] Drawing on the insights of NSM theory relating to the non-rational aspects of social movements, this group of studies draws attention to the importance of language, rituals, symbols and emotion in understanding social movement dynamics and outcomes. Indeed, it is often the strength of feeling expressed by social movement activists that helps movements gain momentum and effectively push for social change.

Apart from attempting to assess the political and social outcomes of social movements, many authors have tried to understand the determinants, both internal and external, which influence their 'success.' One of the more comprehensive longitudinal studies conducted on the impact of social movements is Gamson's *The Strategy of Social Protest* (1990). This study, which draws largely on the organizational approach associated with resource mobilization theories, examines 53 American social movement organizations in operation between 1800 and 1945 and draws out several characteristics of 'successful' social movements. Gamson finds that groups with single-issue demands were more successful than those articulating multiple demands; the use of selective incentives was related to success; the use of violence and disruptive tactics also contributed to successful outcomes; and, finally, successful groups tended to be more bureaucratized, centralized and unified.

Although Gamson's work is widely cited as being one of the most comprehensive empirical attempts at measuring social movement 'success,' each of his claims has also attracted a great deal of attention and criticism, largely due to the wide variations in the contexts in which movements operate. Such criticisms form part of a wider debate on what factors are most influential in determining social movement outcomes, internal or external (Giugni, 1999). Goldstone (1980), for example, points to Gamson's neglect of wider contextual factors that influence social movement outcomes. Rather than focusing only on factors internal to a given social movement, Goldstone leans towards the political opportunity structures approach, which stresses the importance of a political environment that is receptive to a movement's calls for social change. Tarrow (1994) expands on this, arguing that the political context creates the opportunities and incentives for social movement action. His research looks longitudinally at 'cycles of protest'—that is periods of turbulence and realignment that produce long-term social change.

Understanding the outcomes of social movements thus necessitates a broad approach that accounts for the wider context as well as changes over time. As Giugni points out, "the impact of social movements depends more on historical and contingent combinations and sequences of events than on a general, invariant sets of factors" (1999, p. xxvi). Assessing the impact of social movements on processes of social change therefore means gathering information through multiple methods on a large number of 'ecological units'—both internal and external to the movement in question (Snyder and Kelly, 1979).[40] Drawing on the insights of network approaches, such 'ecological units' can take various forms, including particular organizations involved in a movement, as well as individual activists, observers in the media and academia, members of oppositional movements, social movement allies and partners, and discourse produced about the movement or issue being studied. Studying social movement outcomes must therefore take into account a variety of factors, looking internally at movement organization and tactics, as well as connecting movements to the wider political and social context in order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of social change.

As many analysts have pointed out, not all of the outcomes of social movement activities are intended (Tilly, 1999, p. 268), and neither are they all positive. Apart from the negative consequences of institutionalization and co-optation mentioned earlier, many 'successful' social movements have also spurred the formation of influential counter-movements. Andrews (2002), for example, points to the

creation of a large number of private 'white-only' schools in Mississippi during the late 1960s and early 1970s in reaction to the victories of the civil rights movement in spurring legislation to desegregate public schools. Others point to the double-edged nature of social movement 'success'. Bush's (1992) analysis of the advocacy strategies of the women's movements in the US and India in relation to violence against women, for example, points out that the 'success' of such movements in gaining acceptance of and initiating policy change has concomitantly led to a re-emphasis of traditional gender roles, with women being constructed by the patriarchal family and state as victims in need of protection.   Finally, in instances where they are perceived as a threat to structures of power, social movements often face extreme repression by the state—repression that often succeeds in hindering their growth and progress (Della Porta, 1995; Oberschall, 1973).[41] Therefore, any assessment of the positive outcomes of social movement activities must be counter-balanced with recognition of the limitations and possible negative implications of their engagements.

6 Conclusion: expanding the boundaries of social movement studies

From the collective behaviour theorists of the 1920s to more recent discussions about the transnationalization of social movements, there is a wide and growing body of theoretical knowledge that is available to social movement researchers. Navigating through this body of theory in terms of its practical application, however, can be confounding. In terms of methodologies, there is no fixed approach to studying social movements, and a wide variety of methods have been utilized fruitfully in analyzing them, from large quantitative surveys, to in-depth interviews and life histories, to discourse analysis. The methods employed by a researcher will depend on a variety of factors, including the nature of the movement being studied; the political, social and historical context; the period of time under consideration; and the particular aspect of the relationships between the movement and religion being studied.

Having said this, there are several points to keep in mind when undertaking research on social movements, religion and social change, which can be drawn from the various schools of thought that have been discussed in this paper. Resource mobilization theories provide insights into understanding the operation and importance of social movement organizations as actors within social movements. The new social movements approach, on the other hand, draws attention to the importance of context and culture in understanding and defining social movements. Such approaches are also helpful in understanding the dynamism of most contemporary movements, which tend to be loosely organized and fluid in structure. Furthermore, the political opportunity structures approach highlights the need to understand the contexts in which movements emerge and the conditions under which they successfully instigate social change. Network approaches to social movement studies span the various schools of thought, and highlight the importance of looking at multiple actors rather than focusing on individual organizations on the, perhaps mistaken, assumption that they are representative of a given social movement. Furthermore, network approaches can help in understanding the coalitional processes that occur between social movement actors and other groups, including religious groups, in advocating for social change. Finally, the work of transnational theorists can increase understanding of the global contexts in which contemporary social movements operate.

The theories discussed in this paper should, therefore, serve as a framework for analyzing the movements and processes under consideration. However, none of these theories is likely to be sufficient to explain any one case. In addition, in some instances, case studies of particular movements may demonstrate that available social movement theories are insufficient as a basis for understanding the contexts being studied or the types of questions being addressed. Pointing to the impossibility of an all-encompassing theory of social movements, Canel argues that the numerous studies conducted on social movements to date demonstrate:

> …the variety of forms, orientations and modes of action found within and across contemporary SMs, which indicates that the new movements should not be seen as unified and coherent actors. It is more useful to assume that ambiguity and contradiction will be integral features of contemporary collective actors.   (Canel, 1992)

Therefore, a flexible approach to understanding movements for social change that does not adhere strictly to any one school of thought will allow the complexities and subtleties of each movement to emerge.[42]

In conclusion, I would like to highlight some of the possible contributions of the Religions and Development Programme's research to the wider body of literature on social movements. As Giugni points out, social movement studies are increasingly moving toward a comparative agenda, as scholars begin to recognize the value of cross-contextual studies, especially with regard to understanding movement strategies and outcomes (1999, p. xxvi). However, as with much of the research on social movements, comparative studies tend to focus on Northern contexts (e.g. Giugni *et. al.,* 1999; McCarthy and Zald, 1996; Jenkins and Klandermans, 1995). One of the major innovations of the Religions and Development programme is its comparative and largely Southern-based approach. The research on religious engagement with movements for social change uses this approach, aiming specifically to develop a comparative understanding of the multiple ways in which social movements interact with religion.

Specifically, the research is exploring how various social movements, notably the women's movement in India, Pakistan, Nigeria and Tanzania and the movement for Dalit rights in India, engage with religion in order to further their own goals. The country-based research will include looking at when and where social movement actors do or do not align with religious ideas and groups as part of their efforts to

enact social change, with what effects. Exploring these questions across these diverse contexts will highlight some of the similarities and differences in movement organization and strategy in relation to religion.

Because of the geographical and interdisciplinary positioning of this research, therefore, it hopes to fill three gaps that have been identified in this review of the literature. The first relates to the Northern-bias of previous social movements theories. By drawing attention to social movements in India, Pakistan, Nigeria and Tanzania, this component will not only look at Southern-based social movements, but it will also allow for comparison between Southern contexts. Related to this point, by connecting social movements with development-related concerns, the research will draw out the relevance and impact of social movements in the enactment of social change and achievement of development-related goals, particularly in relation to the rights of women and other marginalized groups. Furthermore, by focusing on the relationships between religions and social movements, the research will enrich the wider body of social movement literature by highlighting the often pivotal, but as yet under-researched, role of religion and religious groups in advancing or constraining the efforts of movements for social change.

The research therefore aims to enrich the work of social movement theorists by adopting an approach that connects religion, social movements and development issues, analyzing the social ramifications and policy outcomes of such engagements. This will help to expand the literature on social movement outcomes, which is scarce. Furthermore, this research will, it is hoped, provide insights into the possibilities for coalitional engagements between social movement and religious actors in catalyzing processes of social change for development. As such, the research under way is innovative in the context of social movement theory, as well as critical to furthering the understanding of social movements as they operate in the context of developing countries in a globalizing world.

Notes

[1] The inclusion of movements that may not be considered 'progressive' is an important one, as such movements are often excluded from analyses of social movements. Movements such as those espousing right-wing religious or political views or those promoting change through violent means are often not discussed in the literature on social movements but relegated to a separate sphere because of a preference for studying "attractive movements" (see Edelman, 2001, p. 32). Such 'exclusionary movements' have been termed 'anti-movements' by some authors because they do not promote universalism (see Wierviorka, 2005). However, such blanket categorizations are problematic as they impose the value judgements of the analyst onto the movement being studied, smoothing over the complexity of such movements and denying their political importance. Castells, therefore, argues that "Since there is no sense of history other than the history we sense, from an analytical perspective there are no 'good' and 'bad', progressive and regressive social movements" (emphasis own)(1997, p. 3). Although the RaD programme is concerned with movements that promote social change for development, which is itself a contested term, for the purposes of this paper, all groups promoting any form of social change (whether through violent or non-violent means) will be included in the definition of 'social movements', regardless of the values underlying such movements.

[2] However, many social movements include political wings or are allied with political parties. Furthermore, each social movement will have a different relationship with institutional politics depending on the context and the nature of the movement concerned. Certain social movements may have relatively non-contentious relationships to the state while others may maintain outright hostile relations.

[3] Much of the research being conducted as part of the RaD Programme's research component, 'The Role of Faith Communities in Contemporary Social Movements,' focuses on women's movements. However, apart from the mention of a few relevant examples, this paper does not attempt to review the vast literature that is available on women's movements; rather, the discussion provided here is more general, in order to provide the theoretical tools to analyze women's movements in the context of the wider social movements literature.

[4] Social movement researchers will also benefit from the contributions of Nick Crossley (2002), who provides a concise overview of major trends in social movement theory and argues for an incorporation of Bourdieu's theory of the concept and practice of habitus into wider understandings of social movements.

[5] May 1968 is often cited as a historical turning point in terms of the emergence of social movements, especially in the US and Europe. At this time, widespread protest movements, which were largely student-led, emerged in France in opposition to the Gaullist state. These movements were distinguished from previous social movements because their demands were based on a variety of claims, many of which were unrelated to class. Wallerstein argues that May 1968 sparked a revolution in various countries around the world, including France, the US, Czechoslovakia, and Mexico. In his conception, the latter movements emerged in relation to 'the world system' and against US hegemony (Wallerstein, 1989). In general, social movement theorists point to May 1968 in order to illustrate the emergence of 'identity-based' social movements in the Northern industrialized countries (see also Tarrow, 1998b).

[6] Eyerman and Jamison (1991) regard the student movement as foundational for other NSMs.

[7] Material resources can consist of work, money, concrete benefits and services, while non-material resources can include authority, moral engagement, faith and friendship (Della Porta and Diani, 1999, p. 8).

[8]   Social scientists of the 'French School' such as Alain Touraine, Alberto Melucci and Manuel Castells have had a particularly strong influence on formulating NSM theory (see Hannigan, 1985).

[9]   Melucci, for example, argues that new social movements mark the end of the separation between the public and private sphere. Therefore, "those areas which were formerly zones of private exchanges and rewards (sexual relations, interpersonal relations, biological identity) have become stakes in various conflict situations and are now the scene of collective action" (1980, p. 219).

[10] The idea put forward by NSM theorists that it is the middle class which often leads social movements largely applies to analyses of movements based in Western, industrialized contexts. At the conference, 'Social Movements in the Third World' held at the University of Lund in 1993, Mamdani argued that, in the African context, there remains a divide between urban and rural-based social movements. Urban movements for increased representation are often led by the 'educated classes' and the petit bourgeoisie created by the neo-colonial state. On the other hand, in rural areas, where the majority of the population remains largely voiceless and severely oppressed, expressions of discontent are rarely organized and very often take the form of explosive protests involving the majority of the local population (as cited in Lindberg and Sverrisson, 1997, p. 5-6; see also Walton, 1998). This speaks to the Western bias of much of the literature on social movements.

[11] For example, D'Arnieri, Ernst and Kier (1990), in their study of Chartist Movements in 19th century England, the Oneida Movement in the post-Civil War US and the peace movements in post-WWII Germany, point to historical similarities between 'new' social movements and these older movements in terms of their goals, forms, participants and values.

[12] For this reason, some have suggested replacing the term 'new social movements' with 'contemporary social movements' in order to emphasize the historical continuities within various social movements (Cohen, 1983).

[13] Although these contemporary movements are often formed in reaction to the rising power of international institutions and governance structures, ironically it is the presence of such institutions and structures that also facilitates transnational forms of activism (see Risse-Kappen, 1995).

[14] The recent increase in attention to globalization should not, however, overshadow previous occurrences of transnational organizing. Analysts have noted that contemporary anti-globalization struggles are not the first instance of transnational organizing, pointing to examples of struggles against global capitalism throughout its history, from the anti-slavery movement of the 19th century to the efforts of indigenous peoples to resist the policies of the World Bank in the 1970s and 1980s (Broad and Hecksher, 2003).

[15] Similarly, Waterman (1998) argues that in the context of globalization, a 'new internationalism' is developing, which is based on the emergence of multiple, alternative transnational social movements.

[16] Critics of NGOs point out their role in covering gaps left by the neoliberal state, rather than challenging the existence of such gaps in the first place. In terms of a role in social movements, it is suggested that NGOs run the risk of becoming merely mediators for 'the hordes' that make up social movements, perhaps diluting and diffusing their main purpose (Davis, 2001, p. 177).

[17] However, as Oleson (2005) points out, globalization itself does not lead to transnational forms of collective action. Rather, the link between local, national and transnational spheres is one that is actively and differently constructed by social movement actors as part of their organizing strategies, what Oleson refers to as 'transnational framing'.

[18] Although he does not formally engage with social movement theories, John Walton's (1998) work is worth mentioning here as it presents a theory of urban collective action in developing countries.

[19] Davis posits a new framework for understanding social movements in the Latin American context. She argues for a conceptualization of social movements based on space and location, in particular focusing on the distance between citizens and states. Davis posits that "it is the extent of citizens' distance from the state that explains their likelihood of joining social movements, the strategies they are likely to pursue, the meaning they attribute to movement activism, and even the identities enshrined in those collective actions" (1999, p. 601).

[20] Omvedt's (1993, 1998) work on women's, dalit, environmental, peasant, and tribal movements in India makes some progress towards connecting NSM theories with contemporary struggles in the South, arguing that these social movements offer a critique of the exploitative practices of the postcolonial developmentalist state.

[21] Nevertheless, it is also important to note that many Western social movement theorists have spent considerable time in the global South, especially in Latin America. Escobar, in particular, points to the problems of distinguishing simply between the 'North' and the 'South', because of the 'scramble of locations' that is involved in contemporary theoretical production. The fact that people and theories increasingly travel across borders disturbs any simple dichotomy between centre and periphery in theoretical production (Escobar, 1992, p. 50).

[22] 'Religion' is itself a contested term. Beckford defines 'religion' as broadly encompassing: …constellations of immensely variable beliefs and practices by means of which human beings attribute the highest significance to all manner of objects, events, ideas, values, sentiments, and ways of living. The boundaries of the religious are constantly being negotiated, contested, and renegotiated". (Beckford, 2001, p. 244)
  This flexible definition is useful for the purposes of comparative research because it allows for the diversity of religious beliefs and practices in different contexts.

[23] The main exception to this is perhaps the U.S. civil rights movement, in which black churches played a key role (Morris, 1984). However, the role of religion and spirituality has been largely neglected in the study of the other major social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, including in the women's movement, the anti-Vietnam movement, the environmental movement and student movements.

[24] In fact, there are hundreds and even thousands of documented NRMs that have emerged since the early twentieth century. Recognising the vagaries of the term, Barker (1999) estimates that there are two or more thousand NRMs in the West alone and over 10,000 NRMs worldwide, with membership ranging from a few scores of people to hundreds of thousands, or even millions. Whether all of these NRMs could be characterized as 'movements' according to the criteria of social movement theory is, however, questionable, as many of the NRMs included in Barker's description would probably not constitute a significant challenge to the wider social system.

[25] There is also a growing body of literature looking at the relationship between NRMs and the Internet, with much of this work focusing on the study of 'cults' (e.g. Mayer, 2001).

[26] It should be noted that, although most social movement theories take great pains to distinguish between 'groups' and 'movements,' especially in relation to institutionalized forms of power, this distinction is often blurred in the actual application of theories. Haynes's (1995) work, for example, often vacillates between discussing religious-based groups and movements, and oftentimes the distinction between the two is unclear.

[27] For example, the Hindu Right has emerged as a prominent force in Indian politics, from the period preceding Independence until the present. Many analysts would characterize this movement as being 'fundamentalist' in its orientation, despite the fact that Hinduism does not adhere to a common text or unifying set of principles (see Jaffrelot, 1996; Van der Veer, 1994; Hansen, 1999). Others have pointed to 'fundamentalist' tendencies amongst Buddhist groups, in particular in Sri Lanka and Thailand.

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[28] From a different perspective, Moghadam (2005) analyses the effects of Islamic fundamentalism on women's movements. She looks particularly at the creation of transnational Muslim feminist networks, such as Women Living under Muslim Laws and the Sisterhood is Global Institute, both formed in the 1980s, as direct responses to fundamentalist movements around the world.

[29] According to Beckford (2003):
Conceptualisations of fundamentalism are notoriously varied, but the term is usually associated with a rejection of relativism and secularism and an unreserved application of 'true' beliefs and sacred law to all aspects of personal and public life in the context of exclusive communities, many of which are structured by patriarchalism. (p.128)
At the same time, he also draws attention to some of the theoretical objections to such a category, which are premised on the lack of commonality between religious groups and movements that are labelled 'fundamentalist', and the tendency to use 'fundamentalist' as a "blanket term for thinly disguised scorn for any conservative ideology" (ibid.).

[30] The most extensive programme of research and publication was the Fundamentalism Project based at the University of Chicago. Five volumes on the topic of religious fundamentalisms were edited by Martin Marty and R. Scott Appleby, among others, as part of this series (See: **http://www.press.uchicago.edu/Complete/Series/FP.html**).

[31] Casanova points out that, although the Catholic Church has had a prominent role in many contemporary movements for democratization, there are also several examples of Protestant influence in the democratization process, including in East Germany, South Africa, Romania and Hungary (2001, p. 1043).

[32] Escobar (1997) similarly highlights the role of religion as a source of inspiration in Latin American social movements amongst the poor, beginning with resistance movements during the period of Spanish conquest, through the burgeoning of movements inspired by Catholic liberation theology from the late 1960s through the 1990s, up until the present period, in which Pentecostal movements have led the drive for social change (see also Martin, 1990; Lehmann, 1996). Escobar's work demonstrates the diverse uses and forms of religious inspiration amongst Latin American social movements (see also Smith, 1991; Gledhill, 2006).

[33] Smith adds that religious organizations often contribute to social movements through their communication networks, in the form of newsletters, bulletins, television and radio programmes, etc. (1996, p. 15). These communication channels provide an effective means of disseminating the messages of social movements and can assist in coordinating the activities of large groups of dispersed participants.

[34] Beckford also points out that those members of social movements who share a religious affiliation may not actually agree with each other on how religion relates to their activism. He points out that religion often operates in ways that are subtle and complex, relating in ways that are indirect and diffuse to the activities of a given social movement (2001, p. 241).

[35] Oommen makes a distinction between social change and social development, arguing that 'social change' is a value-free concept referring to any change within a social system. 'Social development', on the other hand, refers to social change in a specific direction; hence, social development is "that type of social change taking place through the active participation and conscious volition of the people, geared mainly towards the welfare of the disadvantaged, dispossessed and disinherited" (Oommen, 1997, p. 47).

[36] Many authors have also pointed to the difficulties involved in defining 'success'. Della Porta and Diani (1999), for example, point out that goals and aims often vary within social movements and are known to change over the course of time, with many radical demands giving way to more moderate aims. Therefore, movements that are judged as 'successful' by some may be deemed 'failures' by others (Della Porta and Diani, 1999, p. 230).

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[37] Gamson's (1990) work on American social movement organizations also proposes a typology for measuring outcomes. He argues that successful outcomes generally fall into two clusters: the acceptance of a particular challenging group as spokespersons for a legitimate set of interests and the gain of new advantages by this group's beneficiaries.

[38] Bush (1992), for example, points to the de-radicalizing effects of the institutionalization of women's movement demands in India and the US. The establishment of domestic violence centres, she argues, has had the unintended consequence of watering down feminist critiques of the power structure by placing the blame for violence on individual men.

[39] In order to focus the relationship between social movements and culture, Gamson (1998) suggests looking particularly at the relationship between social movements and public discourse, specifically the mass media. He argues that such an approach cuts through some of the confusion related to 'culture' by specifying the referent and making the assessment of cultural impact manageable (ibid, p. 58).

[40] Researchers have employed a whole range of methods in order to study social movements from large-scale quantitative surveys to discourse analysis to life histories (see Klandermans, et. al. 2002). The methods employed by an individual researcher will depend on the question, context and nature of movement being studied. I have, therefore, chosen not to elaborate on specific research methods here.

[41] Although repression is generally considered to be a negative outcome of social movement activism, some analysts point to the potential long term benefits of repression in terms of mobilising greater support and sympathy for social movement aims as well as radicalising and motivating social movement actors to increase the level and scope of their agitations (Opp and Roehl 1990).

[42] Opposing the homogenizing tendencies of Eurocentric social movement theories, Bayat argues for an approach to social movements that takes diverse contexts into consideration and avoids imposing a totalizing narrative on what are generally fluid and fragmented processes. He proposes the notion of 'imagined solidarity' forged in relation to 'partially shared interests' in order to understand the emergence of diverse and dynamic social movements in different parts of the world (Bayat, 2005). Such an approach does not presuppose a particular political or social context and thus allows for an examination of social movements across the wide spectrum of contexts in which contemporary movements operate.

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