

Social Networks & Social Movements:

Using Northern Tools to Evaluate Southern Protests

By

Ashok Swain

Department of Peace and Conflict Research

Uppsala University

'Ashok Swain

1. Social Movements: A Democratic Dilemma*

State is unique among the other social institutions, which tries to ensure its rules to dominate the other institutions such as the family, the clan, the race, the cast, the tribe, the community or the market. As Joel S. Migdal writes, Since the beginning of the contemporary state system in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries change has moved towards accepting an axiom that the state organization should provide the predominant (if not exclusive) set of rules of the game in each society. ¹ The capacity to exert control over other social forces has been a defining feature of state. The works of Karl Marx and Max Weber, which has been the foundation of two main traditions in modern social science, argue that the state as an institution monopolizes the legitimate use of violence and organized coercion in society.² However, rules that structure the interaction of state and other components of society are always being contested and often being restructured. The states as well as societies vary in their abilities to

* This paper is one of the products of Agora research project, a collaboration between the Department of Peace and Conflict Research and Department of Government of Uppsala University, Sweden. To investigate social capital and its impact on democratic performance and protest mobilization in India and South Africa, the project works together with political scientists from the Centre for Political Studies, JNU, New Delhi, Department of Political Science, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, India and Department of Political Studies, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa. I wish to thank Sida/SAREC for generous financial support of the research. A wonderful year at the UNRISD, Geneva in 2001 as a visiting fellow has given me the time to write this paper. I would like to thank my students in the Uppsala University Programme of International Studies, who were subjected to a first draft of this paper in October 2001. Thanks are due to Peter Wallensteen for his comments. Of course, the usual disclaimer applies.

¹ Joel S. Migdal, *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p.14.

restructure the interaction process in a normal way. Their struggle and accommodation produce a range of outcomes.³ The state may dominate the social forces altogether and penetrate at all levels, the state may completely fail to influence the society and collapse, and finally, state and social forces may indulge in incorporating each others concerns and demands.

Protest reflects the key aspect of this relationship between the state and society.⁴ State is responsible for formulating and carrying out policies for a society. State may lack the resources to meet the demands and expectations of various competing social groups. That may lead to anger among some groups in the society, which can take the shape of protest movement. Protest arises from disagreement over limited issues, such as opposition to particular policies of a government, or antagonisms between groups competing for political influence. The character of the protest is its short duration, low degree of organization, and limited goals.⁵ The type of political system sharply affects the nature of protest. The democracies are distinctive in having more extensive but less deadly protest than the autocracies.⁶ The structure and ethos of democratic regimes are such that they are adjusted to respond to limited challengers in a conciliatory way, which reinforces the utility of protest over rebellion. On the other hand authoritarian regimes generally rely more on coercive control, which increases the relative utility of rebellion for challengers. Ronald A. Francisco s empirical evaluation of the relationship between coercion and protest in three coercive states (the German Democratic

² Merilee S. Grindle, *Challenging the State: Crisis and Innovation in Latin America and Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

³ Joel S. Migdal, *The State in Society: An Approach to Struggles for Domination* in Joel S. Migdal, Atul Kohli & Vivienne Shue, eds., *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 7-34.

⁴ Charles F. Andrain and David E. Apter, *Political Protest and Social Change: Analyzing Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1995), p. 2.

⁵ Ted R. Gurr, "Political Protest and Rebellion in the 1960s: The United States in World Perspective" in H. D. Graham & Ted R. Gurr, eds., *Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, Rev. Ed., (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1979), p. 50.

⁶ Ekkart Zimmermann, "Macro—Comparative Research on Political Protest", in Ted R. Gurr, ed., *Handbook of Political Conflict: Theory and Research* (New York: Free Press, 1980), pp. 167-237; Ted R. Gurr, "Why Minorities Rebel: A Global Analysis of Communal Mobilization and Conflict since 1945" *International Political Science Review*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1993, p.184.

Republic, Czechoslovakia, and the Palestinian *Intifada*) finds that the protesters react violently to extremely harsh coercion.⁷

T. K. Oommen visualizes three possible relations between the state and social protests. First, the authoritarian regimes most often oppress, or attempt to oppress all protest movements that challenge state authority. However, to deflect the attention of the opposition, state authority may encourage people to protest against a foreign enemy. Most of the non-democratic authoritarian regimes in the Middle-East actively encourage popular protest against the USA and Israel while brutally suppressing any other form of popular action at home. Second, one-party systems oppress most of the protest movements but sponsor some to their advantage to sustain and strengthen state power. Maoist China's support for the Red Brigade movement is one of the examples. Third, a large number of protests in the society originates and flourishes in the democratic system but the state mostly takes actions only against those who pose explicit threat to its very existence. Undoubtedly, multi-party democracy provides a fertile setting, which permits a variety of protest movements to emerge and operate.⁸ Advocating in the same line, Eckstein and Gurr write, "the risk of chronic low-level conflicts is one of the prices democrats should expect to pay for freedom from regimentation by the state."⁹ Democracies provide no immediate obstacles in mobilizing and organizing people on certain issues as liberty to do so is supposed to be guaranteed by law and tradition. Authorities in democracies usually refrain from using the full strength of their coercive power against the popular mobilization and group formation, due in part to the fact that the state as an actor often is not directly involved in the conflictual issues in democracies from the beginning. Protest may be an opposition to a particular

⁷ Ronald A. Francisco, The Relationship between Coercion and Protest: An Empirical Evaluation in Three Coercive States, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 39, no. 2, June 1995, pp. 263-282. However, by bringing in the role of international context and the importance of press freedoms and information flows, Kurt Schock, finds in a comparative study of the Philippines and Burma, the excessive repression of authority might be able to curb the popular protest. Kurt Schock, *People Power and Political Opportunities: Social Movement Mobilization and Outcomes in the Philippines and Burma*, *Social Problems*, vol. 46, no. 3, August 1999, pp. 355-375.

⁸ T. K. Oommen, *Protest and Change: Studies in Social Movement* (New Delhi: Sage Publications, 1990), pp. 185-186.

⁹ H. Eckstein and Ted R. Gurr, *Patterns of Authority: A Structural Basis for Political Inquiry* (New York: Wiley, 1975), p. 452.

government agency or just a regular parliamentary process. Moreover, due their values and dependence on popular support, democratic elites more often respond favorably to the demands of various associations, which tends to enhance future protest. As the above discussion suggests, there is a greater probability both of the occurrence of higher number of protests and of positive outcomes in the democratic system in comparison to the other ones.

But, within democracies, we do not see a uniform pattern of popular protest movements. Some democracies experience more protest than other democracies. France hosts more protest annually than Germany does. Bangladeshis invade the streets much more than the people in Sri Lanka do. Answers to this difference may be found in their political cultures or by carefully auditing the performance of their democratic institutions. However, it is more puzzling when within the same democracy, people in some areas protest more successfully than other areas. It seems that some ordinary people, who are busy in their struggle for day-to-day survival, attain the degree of coordination and mutual awareness that they need to wage strategically effective protests, while some others fail. Some need to ask, why some groups sharing a grievance mobilize successfully while others do not in democracies? In recent years, democratisation has spread to the South and with it increasing number of social movements. The origin and outcome of these movements are being explained with the help of theoretical frameworks developed to study social actions in the North. Here, the aim is to examine the relevance of these theories to evaluate the success and failure of social movements in the developing countries.

2. Social Movements: Why and How?

Social Movement as a term connotes different meaning to different people. After reviewing an extensive array of literature, Nancy Langton defines social movements as Collective behaviors engaged in by non-institutionalized groups oriented towards achieving specific goals, particularly the goal of extracting or resisting social

change.¹⁰ It is true that social movements come in different sizes and shapes. To some, civil rights movement in USA is social movement while some others also put German Nazi movement of 1930s in the same category. To some organized protest groups are social movements, while others favor any spontaneous largely unorganized group actions to be included in this category.¹¹ Social movements, as Stephen R. Thomas describes, are unlikely to have any stable character, and they bear varying relations to other political and social institutions and practices.¹²

With the rise of the collective action¹³ in Western Europe and North America in the late 1960s and early 1970s, a number of research works emerged to explain the origin and outcome of this phenomenon. This revival of interest brought a new paradigm to the social movement literature.¹⁴ While the American sociologists developed the Resource Mobilization theory in order to explain its outcome, Europeans in their effort to trace its origin, called it new social movement.¹⁵ Resource Mobilization theories reflected the

¹⁰ Nancy Langton, Niche Theory and Social Movements: A Population Ecology Approach, *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 28, no. 1, Spring 1987, pp. 51-70.

¹¹ Cyrus Ernesto Zirakzadeh, *Social Movements in Politics: A Comparative Study* (London: Longman, 1997), studies Germany's Greens, Poland's Solidarity and Peru's Shining Path as cases of social movements.

¹² Stephen R. Thomas, What Are Social Movements Today, *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, vol. 9, no. 4, Summer 1996, pp. 579-585.

¹³ Tarrow distinguishes between contentious episodes of collective action (riots and rebellion) and social movements. To him, contentious politics is a collective activity on the part of claimants or those who claim to represent them in adopting some sort of non-institutional forms of interaction with the state or their opponents. Social movements, on the other hand, are sustained challenges to elites from the disadvantaged population living under their jurisdiction or influence. Sidney Tarrow, Social Movements in Contentious Politics: A Review Article, *American Political Science Review*, vol. 90, no. 4, December 1996, p. 874.

¹⁴ Prior to this, Marxist historical-structural approach was used to explain the organizational level of the collective action. Marxist theory focused on class movements as the only meaningful or truly insurgent, movement type. A traditional collective behavior approach evolved in 1950s, when in the United States there was a consensus in social science over the fundamental importance of democratic institutions. This perspective considered social movements as symptoms of system malfunction and it emphasized their spontaneity and lack of structure, especially in its early formative stage. Alberto Melucci, An End to Social Movements? Introductory Paper to Sessions on New Movements and Change in Organizational Forms, *Social Science Information*, vol. 23, 1984, pp. 819-835; Herbert Blumer, Social Movements in Barry McLaughlin, ed., *Studies in Social Movements: A Social Psychological Perspective* (New York: Free Press, 1969), pp. 8-29. Besides, Marxists and traditional collective behavior approach, the rational-choice theory also attempted to explain defiance of authority while focusing at the individual level.

¹⁵ Sidney Tarrow, *Struggle, Politics, and Reform: Collective Action, Social Movements, and Cycles of Protest* (Western Societies Program, Occasional Paper No. 21, Center for International Studies, Cornell University, 1989), p. 57.

American experience in 1960s, while the structural approach adopted by European sociologists got its inspiration in the intellectual and political life of 19th century Europe. These two schools differ in their premises, and in their assumptions about social change.¹⁶ Furthermore, the researchers from both sides of the Atlantic failed to find the agent that successfully activates this change. The writings of European scholars, which emphasized the structural causes of mobilization, resulting from the changes in advanced capitalism, could not explain the group mobilization universally.¹⁷ The Resource Mobilization approach, by emphasizing the need of internal resources to mobilize groups, failed to explain the mobilization of the groups who are poor in terms of resources.¹⁸

2. 1. The New Social Movement Theory

The structural paradigm approach or the New Social Movement (NSM) theory of the European scholars argues that the new movements are the result of increasing domination of the system over the life. It is not a unified body of thought. New social movement theory developed as a critique to Resource Mobilization and Marxist approach to explain collective action.¹⁹ These proponents of the NSM approach criticized orthodox Marxism for its economy centric views and the failure to recognize the fundamental shift that had taken place in the post World War II Western capitalism.²⁰ Drawing on the Marxist tradition and at the same time differing considerably from it, these social scientists have explored the connections between contradictions, crises and social movements.

¹⁶ Paul D Anieri, Claire Ernst, and Elizabeth Kier, New Social Movements in Historical Perspective , *Comparative Politics*, vol. 22, no. 4, July 1990, p. 445.

¹⁷ Claus Offe, New Social Movements: Changing the Boundaries of Institutional Politics , *Social Research*, vol. 52, 1985, pp. 817-68.

¹⁸ Mayer Zald & John McCarthy, eds., *Social Movements in an Organizational Society* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1987).

¹⁹ Jon Shefner, Moving in the Wrong Direction in Social Movement Theory , *Theory and Society* , vol. 24, no. 4, August 1995, pp. 595-612.

²⁰ Jennifer Somerville, Social Movement Theory, Women and the Question of Interest , *Sociology* , vol. 31, no. 4, November 1997, pp. 673-695.

In the post-industrial society, Touraine argues that social movements replace the organization of labor as the focus of political action. It means that intellectuals, new professionals and students replace the working class as the agents of revolutionary change.²¹ Consumer capitalism and the welfare state create social regulation through mass culture and welfare intervention extending the state into the social and personal sphere. To Habermas, this form of colonization of the lifeworld leads to a generalized legitimation crisis and that provokes new forms of resistance outside the political channels of institutional politics. These resistances are as much against dominant rationalities as they are against institutional control.²² Claus Offe categorizes the social base of NSM into three fold: the new middle class, elements of old middle class, and decommodified groups outside the labor market.²³

Castells criticizes resource mobilization approach for its refusal to accept that the social movement has a reality of its own. And also, trying to incorporate it into the political process aimed primarily at the state.²⁴ NSM theorists value symbolic action in civil society or the cultural sphere as an important form of collective action alongside instrumental action in the state or political sphere.²⁵ This European School²⁶ believes that the social movements are of the anti-institutional orientation and spontaneity is a positive feature of the formation of the movement. NSM theory puts importance of the processes that promote autonomy and self-determination of movement rather than

²¹ Alain Touraine, *The Post-Industrial Society — Tomorrow's Social History: Classes, Conflicts and Culture in the Programmed Society* (New York: Random House, 1971).

²² Jurgen Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis* (London: Heinemann, 1976).

²³ Claus Offe, New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics, *Social Research*, vol. 52, 1985, pp. 817-868.

²⁴ Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983).

²⁵ Jean Cohen, Strategy or Identity? New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements, *Social Research*, vol. 52, 1985, pp. 663-716; Alberto Melucci, *Nomads of the Present: Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1989).

²⁶ Prominent New Social Movement theorists are: Manuel Castells (Spain), Alain Touraine (France), Alberto Melucci (Italy), and Jurgen Habermas (Germany). Steven M. Buechler, New Social Movement Theories, *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol 36, no. 3, Summer 1995, pp. 441-464.

striving for influence and power maximization.²⁷ The role of post-materialist values - not the conflicts over material resources - is the key to the social movement, some argue.²⁸

Counter-posing to the strategy paradigm of the resource mobilization theory, the new social movement theory tries to subsume under what has been called identity paradigm. This identity paradigm is argued to be better suited to understand the new struggles, which are focused on everyday democratic life, communicative action and an autonomous definition of community identity rather than being only state or economy centered.²⁹ The NSM theory also recognizes that a number of submerged, informal and temporary networks helps to organize collective action.³⁰

The NSM theory has raised debates and intellectual concerns in four areas, as Steven M. Beuchler argues:³¹

The first concerns the meaning and validity of designating certain movements as new and others (by implication) as old. The second debate involves whether new social movements are primarily or exclusively a defensive, reactive response to larger social forces or whether they can exhibit a proactive and progressive nature as well. The third debate concerns the distinction between political and cultural movements and whether the more culturally oriented new social movements are inherently apolitical. The fourth involves the social base of the new social movements and whether this base can be defined in terms of social class.

²⁷ Jurgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action* (2 Volumes) (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984-1987).

²⁸ Russel J. Dalton & Manfred Keuchler, eds., *Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

²⁹ J. Cohen, Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements, *Social Research*, vol. 52, 1985, pp. 663-716.

³⁰ Carol M. Mueller, Conflict Networks and the Origins Women's Liberation in Enrique Larana, Hank Johnson & Joseph R. Gusfield, eds., *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1994), pp. 234-263.

³¹ Steven M. Buechler, New Social Movement Theories, *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 36, no. 3, Summer 1995, p. 447.

Melucci argues that the resource mobilization approach is valuable in explaining *how* a movement is set up and manages its structure but it does not say anything about *why* the movement arises in the first place.³² In response to it, Hannigan has argued, the NSM theory provides the mirror image of this, focusing on *why* rather than *how*.³³ It is true that one theory focusing on *how* and another focusing on *why* lead to a theoretical gap. As Klandermans and Tarrow argue, this gap stands in the way of a better understanding of how structural change is transformed into collective action.³⁴ However, the aim here is a more modest one. It is not to bridge this huge theoretical gap, rather it is to provide a hypothesis to explain the variation in movement mobilization in developing democracies.

NSM theory by focusing on origin, fails entirely to explain the outcome of the movement.³⁵ If we recognize that social movements are some form of struggle for political or social change, then we just cannot ignore the questions of success or failure. It is true that the NSM theory has provided an important tool to understand the macro-level social structure that raises contemporary activism. However, this strength of the theory has confined itself to be applied only to a limited number of movements in Western societies with mobilization biases towards white, middle-class participants pursuing politically or culturally progressive agendas.³⁶

NSM theory, being based on a very historic specificity, fails us to provide much help to understand the social movements we witness in the developing countries. Those countries have not yet industrialized, rather than being post-industrial, which is the

³² Alberto Melucci, And End to Social Movements? Introductory Paper to Sessions on New Movements and Change in Organizational Forms, *Social Science Information*, vol. 23, 1984, pp. 819-835.

³³ John A. Hannigan, Alain Touraine, Manuel Castells and Social Movement Theory, *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 4, Winter 1985, pp. 435-454.

³⁴ Bert Klandermans & Sidney Tarrow, Mobilization into Social Movements: Synthesizing European and American Approaches in Hanspeter Kriesi, Sidney Tarrow & Bert Klandermans, eds., *International Social Movements Research: From Structure to Action-Comparing Social Movements Across Cultures*, vol. 1 (London: JAI Press, 1988), p. 9.

³⁵ NSM theory argues that success is unimportant since the establishment of community and constitution of a collective identity is a goal in itself.

fertile ground of social movement as the NSM theorists argues. Thus, to explain the success and failure of the social protest movements in the non-industrialized countries, we need to find a theoretical tool other than the NSM approach.

2. 1. The Resource Mobilization Theory

For the Resource Mobilization theorists, if the structural opportunities outweigh the structural constraints, people will tend to participate in the movement in order to change the political status quo. The proponents of this theory argue that grievance alone cannot lead to social movement. To them, in a society there is always sufficient level of shared individual grievances. But, that does not always translate into protests. It is not the grievances they have, but how the actors develop strategies and interact with their environment in the pursuit of their own interests that matters.³⁷

Resource Mobilization theory tries to explain how material resources and political opportunities affect social movements.³⁸ It also examines how movements and their institutions are organized.³⁹ The development and behavior of social movement is seen as an inter-play between internal factors such as leadership, extent of available resources, group strength and degree of internal organization, and external factors such as degree of societal repression, extent of third party involvement and strength of pressure groups. There is a great deal of disagreement regarding the role of elites in the formation and development of social movements. The professional organizer or circulation model argues that the external actors can provide the leadership and resources for the movement. They also argue that the distinct incorporation mechanisms

³⁶ Steven M. Buechler, New Social Movement Theories, *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 36, no. 3, Summer 1995, p. 460.

³⁷ Eduardo Canel, New Social Movement Theory and Resource Mobilization Theory: The Need for Integration, in Michael Kaufman & Haroldo Dilla Alfonso, eds., *Community Power and Grassroots Democracy* (London: Zed Books, 1997, pp. 189-190.

³⁸ Doug McAdam, *Political Process and Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); John Hannigan, Alain Touraine, Manuel Castells and Social Movement Theory: A Critical Appraisal, *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 26, no. 4, Winter 1985, pp. 435-454; Nelson A. Pichardo, Resource Mobilization: An Analysis of Conflicting Theoretical Variations, *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 1, Spring 1988, pp. 97-110.

³⁹ Luther P. Gerlach & Virginia Hine, *People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970); John D. McCarthy & Mayer N. Zald, Resource Mobilization and Social Movement: A Partial Theory, *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 82, 1977, pp. 1212-1241.

that match individual with groups needs are responsible for the leadership recruitment.⁴⁰ Downplaying the role of elites, the political process or progression model on the other hand emphasizes the capacity of the community.⁴¹ According to this model, individuals gradually socialize into the movement and they assume increasingly greater responsibilities and finally take leadership positions.⁴² The political process theory, in addition to political opportunities (attempts to specify factors external to social movements), also includes mobilizing structures and cultural framing processes.⁴³ Though both NSM and RM approaches agree that individuals with greater resources are more likely to be actively recruited and progress with the social movement structure, they differ on the issue over the impact of the leadership status on the ordinary members active involvement.⁴⁴

Money, membership and legitimacy are considered important resources for any social movement.⁴⁵ However, all resources do not have equal utility for a social movement.⁴⁶

⁴⁰ John D. McCarthy & Mayer N. Zald, *The Trends of Social Movement* (Morristown, Nj: General Learning, 1973); J. C. Jenkins & C. Perrow, Insurgency of the Powerless, *American Sociological Review*, vol. 42, 1977, pp. 249-268.

⁴¹ Edurado Canel, New Social Movement Theory and Resource Mobilization Theory: The Need for Integration, in Michael Kaufman & Haroldo Dilla Alfonso, eds., *Community Power and Grassroots Democracy* (London: Zed Books, 1997, pp. 189-190; Nelson A. Pichardo, Resource Mobilization: An Analysis of Conflicting Theoretical Variations, *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 1, Spring 1988, pp. 97-110.

⁴² Ted R. Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970); Doug McAdam, *Political Process and Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); John Vasquez, A Learning Theory of the American Anti-Vietnam War Movement, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 13, 1977, pp. 299-314; Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1978); Doug McAdam, *Political Process and Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982); Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, 2nd Edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁴³ Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy & Mayer N. Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 2nd Edn.

⁴⁴ San Marullo, Leadership and Membership in the Nuclear Freeze Movement: A Specification of Resource Mobilization Theory, *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 3, Fall 1998, pp. 407-427.

⁴⁵ Craig J. Jenkins, Resource Mobilization Theory and Study of Social Movements, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 9, 1983, pp. 527-53; Mancur Olson, *The Logic of Collective Action* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965).

⁴⁶ Frank J. Weed, The Impact of Support Resources on Local Chapter Operations in the AntiDrunk—Driving Movement, *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 1, Spring 1989, pp. 77-91.

Resource Mobilization approach considers ideological and moral factors as secondary to material and organizational resources in affecting the results of the movements.⁴⁷ Protests over immoral issues may be able to force authorities to concede to the movements demands if they mobilize the material and human resources of a large base of constituents and well-endowed, influential groups and elites.⁴⁸ If money is the most important resource, the movements in the South are at disadvantage. However, as Freeman argues that people, rather than money, are the primary resources of a social movement.⁴⁹

Resource Mobilization theory argues that when the groups possess dense interpersonal networks, members are readily mobilizable. Networks provide a base for collective incentives. The network, with its ties of trust and reciprocity, is a reservoir of resource that a movement can use in recruiting support. Movements from below or by a particular section of the society may benefit from the support of other groups, and not merely from the support of better situated individuals.⁵⁰ Despite widespread acceptance of the idea that network plays a significant role in mobilization, only a few studies have made some progress toward understanding the significance of this factor.

3. Social Network and Social Movements

Even though every movement has its own history and perpetuity, the timing of its collapse defines its quality. For a broader and successful movement, there is a need of larger and sustained popular mobilization. Social movements adopt three basic

⁴⁷For examples, non-material resources are legitimacy, loyalty, authority, moral commitment, solidarity etc, and material resources are money, manpower and means of communication etc.

⁴⁸ Roland Weitzer, Prostitutes Rights in the United States: The Failure of a Movement, *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 1, Spring 1991, pp. 23-41.

⁴⁹ Jo Freeman, Resource Mobilization and Strategy: A Model for Analyzing Social Movement Organization Actions, in Mayer N. Zald & John D. McCarthy, eds., *The Dynamics of Social Movement* (Cambridge, MA: Winthrop Publishers, 1979), pp. 8-166.

⁵⁰ Susan Eckstein, Power and Popular Protest in Latin America in her ed., *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989, pp. 1-60.

strategies to get their mission fulfilled: militancy, size and novelty.⁵¹ Researchers working in the classical tradition put emphasis on violence or militancy as the basic resource available to a social movement.⁵² Violence is a high-risk option as it can bring backlash from authority. Some success may come but at a high cost. However, in a democracy, the size of social movement matters more. DeNardo emphasizes the power of numbers while admitting that violence can compensate when a movement lacks sufficient numbers.⁵³ If there is a massive support base of a social movement this may question the legitimacy and representivity of the authorities and their policy. Size of support can help the social movement to achieve its objectives in democratic system as it can translate into electoral power. Social movements employ both orthodox tactics and un-orthodox ones in attempting to achieve their goals.⁵⁴ Tarrow argues that novel or unorthodox forms of protest are more important than the size of the support or militant method used by social movements.⁵⁵ Novelty might give the social movements initial strategic advantage vis- -vis the authorities, but in the long run movements need the larger support. By introducing new form of protests, social movements may expect to get the attention and enlarge their support base.

Thus, understanding the process of differential support base is important to understand the spread and growth of social movements. The diffusion of the movement is necessary in order to keep the protest alive when its initial spark begins to sputter. There is a need to transcend the volcanic stage of collective action.⁵⁶ According to Tarrow, social movements emerge when new opportunities are at hand — such as a less

⁵¹Thomas R. Rochon, The West European Peace Movement and the Theory of New Social Movements, in R.J. Dalton & M. Kuechler, eds., *Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), pp. 105-121.

⁵² Ted R. Gurr, *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 1970.

⁵³ James DeNardo, *Power in Numbers: The Political Strategy of Protest and Rebellion* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985).

⁵⁴ John D. McCarthy, Jackie Smith & Mayer Zald, Assessing Media, Electoral and Government Agendas in Doug McAdam, John McCarthy & Mayer Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 291-311.

⁵⁵ Sidney Tarrow, *Struggles, Politics and Reform: Collective Action, Social Movements and Cycles of Protest* (Ithaca, NY: Western Societies Occasional Papers No. 21, 1989).

⁵⁶ Sidney Tarrow, Modular Collective Action and the Rise of the Social Movement: Why the French Revolution was not Enough, *Politics and Society*, vol. 21, no. 1, March 1993, pp. 69-90.

repressive climate, splits within the elite, or the presence of influential allies or supporters.⁵⁷ Subsequently, protests spread through the diffusion of tactical innovations developed by initial protest group to other groups. Tarrow emphasizes the role of the organizations (and the competition among them) to explain the changing repertoire of protest.

Is the diffusion of protests the work of social movement organizations, or is it spontaneous? Theories, emphasizing on social-psychological attributes of the movement participants, explain the participation in movement activities on the basis of (a) alienation, (b) relative deprivation, and (c) authoritarianism. However, these traditionally popular theories are increasingly being challenged on both theoretical and empirical grounds. The magnitude of theoretical and statistical association shown in the literatures, between social-psychological factors and participation in social protests has been quite unconvincing.⁵⁸

Tarrow argues that people join movements in response to political opportunities, and subsequently through collective actions create new ones.⁵⁹ However, the political opportunities draw people into collective action on the basis of social networks through which social relations are organized. More than two decades ago, Snow and his colleagues in their seminal article pointed to the importance of social networks to explain the variation in social movements mobilization.⁶⁰ By bringing sociological analysis into the resource mobilization approach,⁶¹ they demonstrated that social ties

⁵⁷ Sidney Tarrow, *Struggles, Politics and Reform: Collective Action, Social Movements and Cycles of Protest* (Ithaca, NY: Western Societies Occasional Papers No. 21, 1989), p. 51.

⁵⁸ John D. McCarthy & Mayer N. Zald, Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory, *American Journal of Sociology*, 1977, vol. 82, pp.1212-1241; David A. Snow & Cynthia L. Philips, The Lofland-Stark Conversion Model: A Critical Reassessment, *Social Problems*, 1980, vol. 27, pp. 430-447.

⁵⁹ Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* 2nd Edn., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

⁶⁰ David A. Snow, Louis A. Zurcher Jr. & Sheldon Eklund-Olson, Social Networks and Social Movements: A Microstructural Approach to Differential Recruitment, *American Sociological Review*, vol. 45, 1980, pp. 787-801.

⁶¹ What Melucci has described was affected by political reductionism. Alberto Melucci, *Getting Involved: Identity and Mobilization in Social Movements* in Hanspeter Kriesi, Sidney Tarrow & Bert

were instrumental in drawing new member into the movements. The authors examination of nine cases of movement participation revealed that in eight of the nine cases, most of recruits were mobilized through a friend or relative previously associated with it.⁶² Clearly demonstrating the importance of pre-existing social networks in structuring movement recruitment, the authors brought the attention to the micro-structural bases of social movement.

Subsequent research has accepted the important role played by the social network or ties in the mobilization process of the movement.⁶³ A movement drawing support from a dense social network is more likely to spread and be sustained. The weak ties among social networks are conducive for broader mobilization and large-scale collective action. Weak ties help to link members of different small groups with each other. As Granovetter argues, weak ties are necessary for individual opportunities and to their integration into communities.⁶⁴ Following the same line, for the formation of a broader and successful social movement, Tarrow puts emphasis on, networks of ties among different and interdependent social groups and localities. ⁶⁵

The concept of social network has recently gained popularity among the researchers of social movements. It has even been suggested that movements should be regarded as

Klandermans, eds., *International Social Movements Research: From Structure to Action-Comparing Social Movements Across Cultures*, vol. 1 (London: JAI Press, 1988)

⁶² The exception was Hare Krishna, which specifically recruited most of their members through channels other than social network. Most of the Hare Krishna devotees came into contact with the movement through public chanting session or encountering a devotee in the street.

⁶³ Doug McAdam, Recruitment to High Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer , *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 92, 1986, pp. 64-90; Martien Briet, Bert Klandermans & Fredrik Kroon, How Women Become Involved in the Women s Movement of the Netherlands , in Mary Fainsod Katzenstein & Carol McClurg Mueller, eds., *The Women Movements of the United States and Western Europe: Consciousness, Political Opportunities and Public Policy* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1987); Roger V. Gould, Collective Action and Network Structure , *American Sociological Review*, vol. 58, 1993, pp. 182-196.

⁶⁴ Mark Granovetter, The Strength of Weak Ties , *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 78, 1973, pp. 1360-80.

⁶⁵ Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 59-60.

networks or as network of networks.⁶⁶ Despite widespread acceptance of the idea, there are very few studies on the significance and interaction of the networks or ties in a movement. Existing studies give a statistically count of the social ties and treat them as intermediate variables in the mobilization of social movements. Some like Diani are interested in the movement networks.⁶⁷ Very few works address the issue of network multiplicity: multiple ties that comprise a person's social world. It is plausible that mobilization is simultaneously affected by more than one network. Roger Gould argues that the Republican revolt that shook Paris in the spring of 1871 was rooted in overlapping patterns of neighborhood and National Guard solidarity.⁶⁸ Focusing on the presence or absence of a specific tie neglects this network structure.

As Doug McAdam and Ronnelle Paulsen points out, individuals are invariably embedded in many associational networks or individual ties that may expose them to conflicting behavioural pressures.⁶⁹ Looking into the recruitment to the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer project,⁷⁰ they have tried to determine which dimensions of social ties have the most causal potency and how the competing ties affect the decision to join the movement. Focusing on the micro or individual level, they found a very different role for social ties. Unlike the meso level where the strength of weak ties matters, at the micro level, the stronger the tie, the better the chance of recruitment. At the individual level, ties are less important as source of information than as source of social influence. To McAdam and Paulsen, the ideal network structure of a

⁶⁶ F. Neidhardt & D. Rucht, The Analysis of Social Movements: The State of the Art and Some Perspectives for Further Research in D. Rucht, ed., *Research on Social Movements* (Frankfurt & Boulder: Campus & Westview Press, 1991).

⁶⁷ Mario Diani, *Green Networks: A Structural Analysis of the Italian Environmental Movement* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995).

⁶⁸ Roger V. Gould, Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune, 1871, *American Sociological Review*, vol. 56, 1991, pp. 716-729.

⁶⁹ Doug McAdam & Ronnelle Paulsen, Specifying the Relationship Between Social Ties and Activism, *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 99, 1993, pp. 640-667.

⁷⁰ This campaign brought hundreds of primarily white, northern college students to Mississippi in the summer of 1964 to help staff register black voters and dramatize the denials of civil rights through out south.

social movement is the one in which dense networks of weak bridging ties linked numerous local groups bound together by means of strong interpersonal bond.⁷¹

Robert Putnam, following Coleman's work,⁷² defines social capital as features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated action.⁷³ For a greater and better social capital, the attributes of existing ties among the people matters. In his recent work, Putnam writes that social networks are not always divided between bonding or bridging ties. For a successful mobilization, the ideal groups' structure should be the ones, which bond along some social dimensions and bridge across others.⁷⁴ Bonding capital is the one, which brings people together who are previously known to each other, whereas, bridging capital helps the people and group to come together who previously do not know each other.⁷⁵ Social capital supports the mobilization of a protest movement by building both bonds and bridges within the protesting community and providing bridges to outside support groups.

4. Social Movements in Segmented South

The 1980s and 1990s have witnessed a remarkable transformation in the Global South's political and social fabrics. The rule of the political game has changed. Authoritarianism is paving the way for democracy. The South is increasingly witnessing free elections, parliamentary politics, independent judiciary and social autonomy. It is no more (with few exceptions) that the official party is the only channel of popular mobilization to influence the political institution or mass mobilization is

⁷¹ Doug McAdam & Ronnelle Paulsen, Specifying the Relationship Between Social Ties and Activism, *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 99, 1993, pp. 640-667.

⁷² James S. Coleman, *Foundations of Social Theory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), pp. 300-321. In the chapter titled Social Capital, Coleman has borrowed the ideas from Granovetter and Lin about the importance of weak ties.

⁷³ Robert D. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 167.

⁷⁴ Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), p. 23.

⁷⁵ Ross Gittel & Avis Vidal, *Community Organizing: Building Social Capital as a Development Strategy* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: 1998).

achieved even before the establishment of these institutions.⁷⁶ In this time of greater political participation, the government's inability or failure to deliver goods brings legitimacy crisis for the ruling elites and that helps the people to mobilize. Coinciding with the wave of democratization, social protests gripped large number of countries in the South in the last two decades. These movements were centrally concerned with forcing greater responsiveness, representation and participation from State institutions and elites.⁷⁷ These movements in the South not only express the voice of dissent, as Ponna Wignaraja argues, they are also providing some basis for developmental and democratic alternative to the system as it now works.⁷⁸ Thus, the rising number of social movements is increasingly branded as new social movements in South and analysts are adopting the NSM approach to explain the occurrence of these movements.

Both Resource Mobilization and New Social Movement theories considered social movements are inherently political phenomena but at the same time, underestimated their political origin by failing to examine the interests and structures of the state. This has brought problems of comparability. As Jenkins rhetorically asks: Does protest potential, for example, have the same meaning in the Netherlands that it does in the slums of Mexico City? Or does participation in ethnic riots have the same determinants in Los Angeles as in Kinshasa or Nairobi?⁷⁹

New social movement theory is being commonly used to explain the movements in Latin America or Asia.⁸⁰ As Pett and Watts put it: Recent social movements theory has therefore moved away from what are frequently found to be restrictions of classical

⁷⁶ Mehran Kamrava, *Politics & Society in the Developing World* (London: Routledge, 1993).

⁷⁷ Merilee S. Grindle, *Challenging the State: Crisis and Innovation in Latin America and Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

⁷⁸ Ponna Wignaraja, Rethinking Development and Democracy, in his ed., *New Social Movements in the South: Empowering the People* (New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1993), p. 6.

⁷⁹ J Craig Jenkins, Social Movements, Political Representation, and the State: An Agenda and Comparative Framework in J. Craig Jenkins & Bert Klandermans, eds., *The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives on States and Social Movements* (London: UCL Press, 1995), pp. 33-34.

⁸⁰ Ponna Wignaraja, ed., *New Social Movements in the South: Empowering the People* (New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1993); Ghanashyam Shah, *New Social Movements in India: A Review of Literature* (New Delhi: Sage publications, 1990); David Slater, ed., *New Social Movements and the State in Latin America* (Amsterdam: CEDLA: 1985);

(Marxist) theories. But also the geographic focus of research has tended to shift towards new social movement in the Third World, particularly Latin America.⁸¹ The limited theoretical frameworks available argue that the movements in the South are emerging out of peculiar contradictions within transiting societies and cultures. Growing weakness of the state and the particular division of labor due to intervention of foreign capital are blamed for the rise in number of popular mobilizations. Citizens in South are identifying common interests that overcome the traditional division over class, interest, or clientism and evolving alternative identities such as community, ethnicity, gender or green.⁸²

Adopting the New Social Movement theory to explain the rise of social movements in South is a methodologically flawed approach. Even Alain Touraine has himself cautioned against this type of application.⁸³ However, as we have mentioned earlier, our aim here is not to explain why the movements are there but how some movements in developing countries are more successful in mobilizing and sustaining support than the others. As forms of political struggle, movements sometimes succeed and sometimes fail. Sometimes they are able to get concessions from the state, sometimes they are ignored or suppressed. Of course, to determine the success and failure of a movement is not easy. There are some research works, which have tried to focus on the success or failure of the movement on the basis of their stated goals.⁸⁴ As Giugni points out, this approach has many flaws: (1) it assumes social movement is a homogenous entity with a single goal; (2) it does not take into account the subjective side of the assessment, i.e, the perception of the participants, (3) consequences are not always

⁸¹ Richard Peet & Michael Watts, Liberation Ecology: Development, Sustainability, and Environment in an Age of Market Triumphalism in their eds., *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development, Social Movements* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 33.

⁸² Terry Karl, Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America, *Comparative Politics*, vol. 23, no. 1, 1990, pp. 1-21; Daniel H. Levine, Paradigm Lost: Dependence to Democracy, *World Politics*, vol. 40, no. 3, 1988, pp. 377-394.

⁸³ See, Fernando Calderon, Alejandro Piscitelli, Jose Luis Reyna, Social Movements: Actors, Theories, Expectations in Arturo Escobar & Sonia E. Alvarez, eds., *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy* (Boulder, Col: Westview Press, 1992), pp. 19-36.

⁸⁴ William A. Gamson, *The Strategy of Social Protest* (Homewood, Ill: Dorsey, 1975); Frances Fox Piven & Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

intended.⁸⁵ The outcomes of the social movements are not only shaped by the strength of the mobilized support, but it can also be affected by independent actions of authorities, third party intervention, environmental changes and non-movement politics.⁸⁶ Thus, we are not here looking at the success or failure of the movements on the basis of achieving stated goal or not, rather the emphasis here is whether the movement has been able to spread and sustain itself from the initial stage of its eruption. The aim is to suggest a synthesis of meso-and micro-level processes in social movement activism. Resource mobilization framework used to operate solely on the meso-level of analysis, while some recent work has started to investigate the micro-level processes.⁸⁷ But, that does not give us a clear mandate to accept the Resource Mobilization approach as it is and apply to explain the success and failures of social movement mobilization in South. It has to incorporate the following two variables, which are significantly important enough to influence the outcome of the movements.

4. 1. Bringing Back the State

Resource mobilization approach emphasizes on resource, forgets about the state. Jenkins provides three reasons to bring back the state into the study of social movements: (1) Social movements are political by nature; (2) the state is the one which provides the environment in which movements operate and that environment can provide opportunities as well as obstacles for the mobilization; (3) all modern states provides some system to address social interests.⁸⁸ The transformation of states and societies is a reciprocal process. The success and failure of a social movement depends on both the capacities and character of state and the roles of a variety of social forces. Thus, while studying the mobilization of movements, particularly in the South, we

⁸⁵ Marco Giugni, How Social Movements Matter: Past Research, Present Problems, Future Developments in Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam & Charles Tilly, eds., *How Social Movements Matter* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), pp. XIII-XXXIII.

⁸⁶ Charles Tilly, From Interactions to Outcomes in Social Movements, in Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam & Charles Tilly, eds., *How Social Movements Matter* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), pp. 253-270.

⁸⁷ Steven M. Buechler, Beyond Resource Mobilization? Emerging Trends in Social Movement Theory, *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 34, no. 2, May 1993, pp. 217-235.

⁸⁸ J Craig Jenkins, Social Movements, Political Representation, and the State: An Agenda and Comparative Framework in J. Craig Jenkins & Bert Klandermans, eds., *The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives on States and Social Movements* (London: UCL Press, 1995), pp. 16-17.

cannot ignore the mutually conditioning interactions that occur between segments of state and of society.⁸⁹

Resource mobilization approach has been developed in North American context. Adopting this approach as such to explain the mobilizational strength and weakness of social movements in segmented societies of the South is sure to receive criticism on methodological grounds. The goals of the social movements are to large extent shaped and influenced by the state and its institutions. That is even the case among social movements in the industrialized democracies, in spite of their governments generalized tendency towards openness.⁹⁰ The extent to which human rights are respected in a state that affects the possibilities for mobilization,⁹¹ even states tax laws affect groups mobilizing potential as it can help or hinder fundraising.⁹² In South, even if they are democracies, in many cases state continues to dominate private and public domains. Translating widely shared grievances into independent collective action requires much stronger mobilization efforts both at micro and meso levels than is necessarily the case in the democracies in the North.

There have been some recent proposals and attempts to study the mobilization of the social movements in South with the help of techniques developed by the RM approach.⁹³ However, selecting cases from South needs to be carefully made to avoid

⁸⁹ Atul Kohli & Vivienne Shue, *State Power and Social Forces: On Political Contention and Accommodation in the Third World*, in Joel S. Migdal, Atul Kohli & Vivienne Shue, eds., *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 321.

⁹⁰ See, Guy Frechet & Barbara Worndl, *The Ecological Movements in the Light of Social Movements Development*, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 34, Nos. 1-2, 1993, pp. 56-74.

⁹¹ Gregory L. Wiltfang & Doug McAdam, *The Costs and Risks of Social Activism: A Study of Sanctuary Movement Activism*, *Social Forces*, vol. 69, 1991, pp. 987-1010.

⁹² John D. McCarthy & Mayer N. Zald, *The Trend of Social Movements in America: Professionalization and Resource Mobilization* (Morristown, NJ: General Learning Press, 1973).

⁹³ J. Craig Jenkins & Kurt Schock, *Global Structures and Political Processes in the Study of Domestic Political Conflict*; *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 18, 1992, pp. 161-185; Vincent Boudreau, *Northern Theory, Southern Protest: Opportunity Structure Analysis in a Cross-National Perspective*, *Mobilization*, vol. 1, 1996, pp. 175-189; Jiping Zuo & Robert D. Benford, *Mobilization Processes and the 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement*, *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 36, no. 1, Winter 1995, pp. 131-156; Kurt Schock, *People Power and Political Opportunities: Social Movement Mobilization and Outcomes in the Philippines and Burma*, *Social Problems*, vol. 46, no. 3, August 1999, pp. 355-375.

the selection bias problem. Most of the studies in social movements are based on single and successful cases. Comparing cases within one state or a particular type of states, might able to keep the state factor constant and provide a setting for in-depth investigation of social settings and its impact on micro and meso level of mobilization.

4. 2. International Interventions

Most of the research on social movements assumes that social movements are confined to a particular state boundary.⁹⁴ Study of the social movements needs to address the international aspect of the protests in an increasingly globalized society. While governments, particularly in South are being forced to adjust to changing global forces, local movements are emerging to demand issues that governments ignore. Some of these local groups have transnational connections and support.⁹⁵

Smith, Pagnucco and Chatfield writes:

Social movements may be said to be transnational when they involve conscious efforts to build transnational cooperation around shared goals that include social change. Increasingly, many states are being challenged by movements, some of them operating across national borders in more than one country. Through regular communication, organizations and activists are able to share technical and strategic information, coordinate parallel activities, or even to mount truly transnational collective actions. Like national social movements, transnational ones incorporate a range of political actors, including individuals, church groups, professional associations, and other social groups. Movements are distinguished by the actors and resources they mobilize and in the extent to which they communicate, consult, coordinate, and cooperate in the international arena.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ John d. McCarthy, *The Globalization of Social Movement Theory*, in Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield & Ron Pagnucco, eds., *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997, pp. 243-275.

⁹⁵ Jonathan Barker, *Power Shift: Global Change and Local Action*, in his ed., *Street—Level Democracy: Political Settings at the Margins of Global Power* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1999, pp. 1-26.

⁹⁶ Jackie Smith, Ron Pagnucco & Charles Chatfield, *Social Movements and World Politics: A Theoretical Framework* in Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield & Ron Pagnucco, eds., *Transnational Social*

The development of affordable communication network and travel opportunities has provided a fertile setting for global social movements to emerge.⁹⁷ These developments have facilitated, as Sikkink calls it issue networks .⁹⁸ Such a network connects the people of common interest in advancing a particular value and helps them to communicate and coordinate. Transnational social movement organizations mobilize transnational resources in domestic struggles. These organizations gather information on local conditions through their contacts and when needed they bring it to the attention of their global networks of supporters.⁹⁹ In order to response to a situation within a state they create an emergency response network around the world and mobilize pressure from the outside. They also work as cultural agents to shape personal identity and the broader moral-intellectual universe .¹⁰⁰ As Paul Wapner elaborates:

Amnesty International for example, both pressures states and other actors to respect human rights and attempts to influence the way people through out the world fundamentally conceptualize human beings and the moral status of regimes within which many people live. Likewise, *Sisterhood is Global* seeks legislative change throughout the world on behalf of women but also works to change the way people in all walks of life think about and act toward women.¹⁰¹

There are many attempts to provide outside support to the locally based social movements. However, internationalizing the social movements might have local fallouts, one being a hardening of local sentiments against the movement. This is what happened in the case of *Narmada* movement in India. International reaction and support

Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997, pp. 243-275.

⁹⁷ Robin Cohen & Shiin M. Rai, Global Social Movements: Towards a Cosmopolitan Politics in their eds., *Global Social Movements* (London: The Athlone Press, 2000), pp. 1-17.

⁹⁸ Kathryn Sikkink, Human Rights, Principled Issue-Networks, and Sovereignty in Latin America , *International Organization*, vol. 47, 1993, pp. 412-441.

⁹⁹ Chadwick F. Alger, Transnational Social Movements, World Politics, and Global Governance in Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield & Ron Pagnucco, eds., *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997, pp. 260-275.

¹⁰⁰ William Gamson Social Movements and Cultural Change , in Maro Giugni, Doug McAdam & Charles Tilly, eds., *From Contention to Democracy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), p. 57.

to the anti-dam movement strengthened the pro-dam support, particularly in the state of Gujarat. Taking the cause from local to global terrain might also alter the focus of the movements to suit the ideas and interest at the international level..¹⁰²

5. Conclusion

Research Mobilization approach, with the help of social network analysis may be able to find the reasons for the asymmetrical success of social movements in Southern societies. Social network is the objective existence of social capital while ties of trust and norm of reciprocity represent its subjective part.¹⁰³ Ostrom has argued that the network fosters norms of reciprocity and trust.¹⁰⁴ The social network, both formal and informal ones, enhances a group s capacity to join together in collective action, to address common problems or to pressurize the authority to address these issues. For the successful mobilization, a movement in South depends mainly upon the social network, both formal and non-formal ones.¹⁰⁵ It is quite surprising that the researchers studying the movements in South have overlooked the impact of social network on the social movements. In the relationship between social network and social movement, the line of causation can run in others direction. Successful mobilization of a movement can help to build trust among the protesters, leading to generating and strengthening social network.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, social network, based on both *bonding* as well as *bridging* ties, can help the mobilization of the protests.

¹⁰¹ Paul Wapner, Horizontal Politics: Transnational Environmental Activism and Global Cultural Change , Paper Prepared for the International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, February 2001, p. 1.

¹⁰² Harsh Sethi, Movements and Mediators , *Economic and Political Weekly*, 27 January 2001.

¹⁰³ Pamela Paxton, Is Social Capital Declining in the United States? A Multiple Indicator Assessment , *AJS*, vol. 105, no. 1, July 1999, pp. 88-127.

¹⁰⁴ Elinor Ostrom, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p206.

¹⁰⁵ Emphasis should not be only on the number of formal associations and its membership, but also, research should include the importance of informal social networks. Richard Rose, Social capital: Definition, Measure, Implications , World Bank Workshop on Social Capital, Washington DC, 16-17 April 1996.

¹⁰⁶ Foley and Edwards points out the weakness in Putnam s works for not taking into account the role of social movements in fostering aspects of civic community. Michael W. Foley & Bob Woodward, The Paradox of Civil Society , *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 7, July 1996, pp. 38-52.

Some recent works on historical study of movements in the North have tried to see the pattern of ties guiding individual's judgments about their belongingness to the type of political groupings or collectivities.¹⁰⁷ The disadvantage of smallness of a group can be overcome through flexible coordination. Flexible coordination can be achieved through network of smaller groups, complement each other to achieve collective efficiency for the popular action. Movement gets larger support through coordination or network of various groups of supporters. For the enhanced participation, a democratic and extended group network is needed, not the pyramidal or restricted participation within the group. The more local, social and cultural ties are mutually reinforcing, the more likely people are to engage in collective defiance.¹⁰⁸ However, while measuring the success or failure of the movements in the South, there is an absolute need to take into account the importance of state and international factors.

¹⁰⁷ John F. Padgett & Christopher K. Ansell, Robust Action and the rise of the Medici, 1400-1434, *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 98, 1993, pp. 1259-1319; Peter S. Bearman, *Relation into Rhetorics: Local Elite Social Structure in Norfolk, England, 1540-1640* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1994); Roger V. Gould, Political Networks and the Local/National Boundary in the Whiskey Rebellion in Michael P. Hannagan, Leslie Page Moch & Wayne Te Brake, eds., *Challenging Authority: The Historical Study of Contentious Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), pp. 36-53.

¹⁰⁸ Susan Eckstein, *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 33.

Reference

- Alger, Chadwick F., Transnational Social Movements, World Politics, and Global Governance in Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield & Ron Pagnucco, eds., *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997), pp. 260-275.
- Andrain, Charles F. and David E. Apter, *Political Protest and Social Change: Analyzing Politics* (London: Macmillan, 1995).
- Barker, Jonathan, Power Shift: Global Change and Local Action , in his ed., *Street—Level Democracy: Political Settings at the Margins of Global Power*(Toronto: Between the Lines, 1999), pp. 1-26.
- Bearman, Peter S., *Relation into Rhetorics: Local Elite Social Structure in Norfolk, England, 1540-1640* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1994).
- Blomkvist, Hans & Ashok Swain, Investigating Democracy and Social Capital in India *Economic and Political Weekly* , vol. 36, no. 8, February-March 2001, pp. 639-643.
- Blumer, Herbert, Social Movements in Barry McLaughlin, ed., *Studies in Social Movements: A Social Psychological Perspective* (New York: Free Press, 1969), pp. 8-29.
- Boudreau, Vincent, Northern Theory, Southern Protest: Opportunity Structure Analysis in a Cross-National Perspective , *Mobilization* , vol. 1, 1996, pp. 175-189.
- Briet, Martien, Bert Klandermans & Fredrik Kroon, How Women Become Involved in the Women s Movement of the Netherlands , in Mary Fainsod Katzenstein & Carol McClurg Mueller, eds., *The Women Movements of the United States and Western Europe: Consciousness, Political Opportunities and Public Policy* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1987).
- Buechler, Steven M., Beyond Resource Mobilization? Emerging Trends in Social Movement Theory , *The Sociological Quarterly* , vol. 34, no. 2, May 1993, pp. 217-235.
- Buechler, Steven M., New Social Movement Theories , *The Sociological Quarterly* , vol 36, no. 3, Summer 1995, pp. 441-464.
- Calderon, Fernando, Alejandro Piscitelli, Jose Luis Reyna, Social Movements: Actors, Theories, Expectations in Arturo Escobar & Sonia E. Alvarez, eds., *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy* (Boulder, Col: Westview Press, 1992), pp. 19-36.
- Canel, Edurado, New Social Movement Theory and Resource Mobilization Theory: The Need for Integration , in Michael Kaufman & Haroldo Dilla Alfonso, eds., *Community Power and Grassroots Democracy* (London: Zed Books, 1997).
- Castells, Manuel, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983).
- Chandhoke, Neera, *State and Civil Society* (New Delhi, Sage Publications, 1995).
- Chhibber, Pradeep K., *Democracy without Associations: Transformation of the Party System and Social Cleavages in India* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999).

- Cohen, Jean L. & Andrew Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1992).
- Cohen, Jean, Strategy or Identity ? New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements , *Social Research*, vol. 52, 1985, pp. 663-716.
- Cohen, Robin & Shiin M. Rai, Global Social Movements: Towards a Cosmopolitan Politics in their eds., *Global Social Movements* (London: The Athlone Press, 2000), pp. 1-17.
- Coleman, James, Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital , *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 94, Supplement 1988, pp. S95-S119.
- Coleman, James, *Foundation of Social Theory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990).
- D Anieri, Paul, Claire Ernst, and Elizabeth Kier, New Social Movements in Historical Perspective , *Comparative Politics*, vol. 22, no. 4, July 1990.
- Dalton, Russel J. & Manfred Keuchler, eds., *Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- DeNardo, James, *Power in Numbers: The Political Strategy of Protest and Rebellion* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985).
- Diani, Mario, *Green Networks: A Structural Analysis of the Italian Environmental Movement* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995).
- Eckstein, H. and Ted R. Gurr, *Patterns of Authority: A Structural Basis for Political Inquiry* (New York: Wiley, 1975).
- Eckstein, Susan, Power and Popular Protest in Latin America in her ed., *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989, pp. 1-60.
- Edwards, Bob & Michael W. Foley, Social Capital and Civil Society Beyond Putnam , *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 41, no. 6, May 1998.
- Fernandez-Kelley, Maria Patricia, Social and Cultural Capital in the Urban Ghetto: Implications for the Economic Sociology of Immigration in Alejandro Porte, ed., *The Economic Sociology of Immigration* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1995).
- Foley, Michael W. & Bob Edwards, The Paradox of Civil Society , *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 7, July 1996, pp. 38-52.
- Francisco, Ronald A., The Relationship between Coercion and Protest: An Empirical Evaluation in Three Coercive States , *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 39, no. 2, June 1995, pp. 263-282.
- Frechet, Guy & Barbara Worndl, The Ecological Movements in the Light of Social Movements Development , *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* , Vol. 34, Nos. 1-2, 1993, pp. 56-74.
- Freeman, Jo, Resource Mobilization and Strategy: A Model for Analyzing Social Movement Organization Actions , in Mayer N. Zald & John D. McCarthy, eds., *The Dynamics of Social Movement* (Cambridge, MA: Winthrop Publishers, 1979), pp. 8-166.

- Fukuyama, Francis, *Trust: The Social Virtues and Creation of Prosperity* (New York: Free Press, 1995).
- Gamson, William A., *The Strategy of Social Protest* (Homewood, Ill: Dorsey, 1975); Frances Fox Piven & Richard A. Cloward, *Poor People's Movements: Why They Succeed, How They Fail* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).
- Gamson, William, Social Movements and Cultural Change, in Maro Giugni, Doug McAdam & Charles Tilly, eds., *From Contention to Democracy* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998).
- Gerlach, Luther P. & Virginia Hine, *People, Power, Change: Movements of Social Transformation* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1970).
- Gittell, Ross & Avis Vidal, *Community Organizing: Building Social Capital as a Development Strategy* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: 1998).
- Giugni, Marco, How Social Movements Matter: Past Research, Present Problems, Future Developments in Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam & Charles Tilly, eds., *How Social Movements Matter* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), pp. XIII-XXXIII.
- Gould, Roger V., Collective Action and Network Structure, *American Sociological Review*, vol. 58, 1993, pp. 182-196.
- Gould, Roger V., Multiple Networks and Mobilization in the Paris Commune, 1871, *American Sociological Review*, vol. 56, 1991, pp. 716-729.
- Gould, Roger V., Political Networks and the Local/National Boundary in the Whiskey Rebellion in Michael P. Hannagan, Leslie Page Moch & Wayne Te Brake, eds., *Challenging Authority: The Historical Study of Contentious Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), pp. 36-53.
- Granovetter, Mark, The Strength of Weak Ties, *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 78, 1973, pp. 1360-80.
- Grindle, Merilee S., *Challenging the State: Crisis and Innovation in Latin America and Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Gurr, Ted R., "Political Protest and Rebellion in the 1960s: The United States in World Perspective" in H. D. Graham & Ted R. Gurr, eds., *Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives*, Rev. Ed., (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1979).
- Gurr, Ted R., "Why Minorities Rebel: A Global Analysis of Communal Mobilization and Conflict since 1945" *International Political Science Review*, vol. 14, no. 2, 1993.
- Gurr, Ted R., *Why Men Rebel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970).
- Habermas, Jurgen, *Legitimation Crisis* (London: Heinemann, 1976).
- Habermas, Jurgen, *The Theory of Communicative Action* (2 Volumes) (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984-1987).
- Hannigan, John A., Alain Touraine, Manuel Castells and Social Movement Theory, *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 4, Winter 1985, pp. 435-454.
- Heller, Patrick, Social Capital as a Product of Class Mobilization and State Intervention: Industrial Workers in Kerala, India *World Development*, vol. 24, no. 6, 1996, pp. 1055-67.

Jayal, Niraja Gopal, *Democracy and the State: Welfare, Secularism and Development in Contemporary India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999).

Jenkins, Craig J., Resource Mobilization Theory and Study of Social Movements , *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 9, 1983, pp. 527-53.

Jenkins, J Craig, Social Movements, Political Representation, and the State: An Agenda and Comparative Framework in J. Craig Jenkins & Bert Klandermans, eds., *The Politics of Social Protest: Comparative Perspectives on States and Social Movements* (London: UCL Press, 1995).

Jenkins, J. C. & C. Perrow, Insurgency of the Powerless , *American Sociological Review*, vol. 42, 1977, pp. 249-268.

Jenkins, J. Craig & Kurt Schock, Global Structures and Political Processes in the Study of Domestic Political Conflict ; *Annual Review of Sociology* , vol. 18, 1992, pp. 161-185.

Kamrava, Mehran, *Politics & Society in the Developing World* (London: Routledge, 1993).

Karl, Terry, Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America , *Comparative Politics*, vol. 23, no. 1, 1990, pp. 1-21.

Klandermans, Bert & Sidney Tarrow, Mobilization into Social Movements: Synthesizing European and American Approaches in Hanspeter Kriesi, Sidney Tarrow & Bert Klandermans, eds., *International Social Movements Research: From Structure to Action-Comparing Social Movements Across Cultures*, vol. 1 (London: JAI Press, 1988).

Kohli, Atul & Vivienne Shue, State Power and Social Forces: On Political Contention and Accommodation in the Third World , in Joel S. Migdal, Atul Kohli & Vivienne Shue, eds., *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Langton, Nancy, Niche Theory and Social Movements: A Population Ecology Approach , *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 28, no. 1, Spring 1987, pp. 51-70.

Levine, Daniel H., Paradigm Lost: Dependence to Democracy , *World Politics*, vol. 40, no. 3, 1988, pp. 377-394.

Marullo, San, Leadership and Membership in the Nuclear Freeze Movement: A Specification of Resource Mobilization Theory , *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 3, Fall 1998, pp. 407-427.

McAdam, Doug & Ronnelle Paulsen, Specifying the Relationship Between Social Ties and Activism , *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 99, 1993, pp. 640-667.

McAdam, Doug, Recruitment to High Risk Activism: The Case of Freedom Summer , *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 92, 1986, pp. 64-90.

McAdam, Doug, John D. McCarthy & Mayer N. Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures and Cultural Framings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

McAdam, Doug, *Political Process and Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).

McCarthy, John D. & Mayer N. Zald, Resource Mobilization and Social Movement: A Partial Theory , *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 82, 1977, pp. 1212-1241.

McCarthy, John D. & Mayer N. Zald, *The Trend of Social Movements in America: Professionalization and Resource Mobilization* (Morristown, NJ: General Learning Press, 1973).

McCarthy, John D., The Globalization of Social Movement Theory , in Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield & Ron Pagnucco, eds., *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997, pp. 243-275.

McCarthy, John D., Jackie Smith & Mayer Zald, Assessing Media, Electoral and Government Agendas in Doug McAdam, John McCarthy & Mayer Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 291-311.

Melucci, Alberto, An End to Social Movements? Introductory Paper to Sessions on New Movements and Change in Organizational Forms , *Social Science Information*, vol. 23, 1984, pp. 819-835.

Melucci, Alberto, Getting Involved: Identity and Mobilization in Social Movements in Hanspeter Kriesi, Sidney Tarrow & Bert Klandermans, eds., *International Social Movements Research: From Structure to Action-Comparing Social Movements Across Cultures*, vol. 1 (London: JAI Press, 1988)

Melucci, Alberto, *Nomads of the Present: Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1989).

Migdal, Joel S., The State in Society: An Approach to Struggles for Domination in Joel S. Migdal, Atul Kohli & Vivienne Shue, eds., *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 7-34.

Migdal, Joel S., *Strong Societies and Weak States: State-Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

Moarion, Iris, Young, State, Civil Society, and Social Justice in Ian Shapiri & Casiano Hacker-Cordon, eds., *Democracy's Value* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Moarion, Iris, Young, *Inclusion and Democracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

Mueller, Carol M., Conflict Networks and the Origins Women's Liberation in Enrique Larana, Hank Johnson & Joseph R. Gusfield, eds., *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1994), pp. 234-263.

Neidhardt, F. & D. Rucht, The Analysis of Social Movements: The State of the Art and Some Perspectives for Further Research in D. Rucht, ed., *Research on Social Movements* (Frankfurt & Boulder: Campus & Westview Press, 1991).

Offe, Claus, New Social Movements: Changing the Boundaries of Institutional Politics , *Social Research* , vol. 52, 1985, pp. 817-868.

- Oliver, Melvin L., The Urban Black Community as Network: Toward a Social Network Perspective , *The Sociological Quarterly* , vol. 29, no. 4, Winter 1988, pp. 623-545.
- Olson, Mancur, *The Logic of Collective Action* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965).
- Onyx, Jenny & Paula Bullen, The Different Faces of Social Capital in NSW Australia , in Paul Dekker Oommen, T. K., *Protest and Change: Studies in Social Movement* (Sage Publications, 1990).
- Ostrom, Elinor, A Behavioral Approach to the Rational Choice Theory of Collective Action , *American Political Science Review*, vol. 92, no. 1, March 1998, pp. 1-22.
- Ostrom, Elinor, *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
- Padgett, John F. & Christopher K. Ansell, Robust Action and the rise of the Medici, 1400-1434 , *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 98, 1993, pp. 1259-1319.
- Paxton, Pamela, Is Social Capital Declining in the United States? A Multiple Indicator Assessment , *AJS* , vol. 105, no. 1, July 1999, pp. 88-127.
- Peet, Richard & Michael Watts, Liberation Ecology: Development, Sustainability, and Environment in an Age of Market Triumphalism in their eds., *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development, Social Movements* (London: Routledge, 1996).
- Pichardo, Nelson A., Resource Mobilization: An Analysis of Conflicting Theoretical Variations , *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 1, Spring 1988, pp. 97-110.
- Ponna, Wignaraja, Rethinking Development and Democracy , in his ed., *New Social Movements in the South: Empowering the People* (New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1993).
- Putnam, Robert D., *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000).
- Putnam, Robert D., *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, NJ.: Princeton University Press, 1993).
- Rochon, Thomas R., The West European Peace Movement and the Theory of New Social Movements , in R.J. Dalton & M. Kuechler, eds., *Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), pp. 105-121.
- Rose, Richard, Social capital: Definition, Measure, Implications , World Bank Workshop on Social Capital, Washington DC, 16-17 April 1996.
- Schock, Kurt, People Power and Political Opportunities: Social Movement Mobilization and Outcomes in the Philippines and Burma , *Social Problems*, vol. 46, no. 3, August 1999, pp. 355-375.
- Sethi, Harsh, Movements and Mediators , *Economic and Political Weekly*, 27 January 2001.
- Shah, Ghanashyam, *New Social Movements in India: A Review of Literature* (New Delhi: Sage publications, 1990).
- Shefner, Jon, Moving in the Wrong Direction in Social Movement Theory , *Theory and Society*, vol. 24, no. 4, August 1995, pp. 595-612.

- Sikkink, Kathryn, Human Rights, Principled Issue-Networks, and Sovereignty in Latin America , *International Organization*, vol. 47, 1993, pp. 412-441.
- Slater, David, ed., *New Social Movements and the State in Latin America* (Amsterdam: CEDLA: 1985).
- Smith, Jackie, Ron Pagnucco & Charles Chatfield, Social Movements and World Politics: A Theoretical Framework in Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield & Ron Pagnucco, eds., *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997, pp. 243-275.
- Snow, David A. & Cynthia L. Philips, The Lofland-Stark Conversion Model: A Critical Reassessment , *Social Problems*, 1980, vol. 27, pp. 430-447.
- Snow, David A., Louis A. Zurcher & Sheldon Eklund-Olson, Social Networks and Social Movements: A Microstructural Approach to Differential Recruitment , *American Sociological Review*, vol. 45, pp. 787-801.
- Somerville, Jennifer, Social Movement Theory, Women and the Question of Interest , *Sociology*, vol. 31, no. 4, November 1997, pp. 673-695.
- Swain, Ashok, Social Capital and Popular Mobilization: Studying Environmental Protests in an Indian State , *Asian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 8, no. 1, June 2000, pp. 33-46.
- Swain, Ashok, "Democratic Consolidation: Environmental Movements in India", *Asian Survey*, vol. 37, no. 9, September 1997, pp. 818-832.
- Tarrow, Sidney, Modular Collective Action and the Rise of the Social Movement: Why the French Revolution was not Enough , *Politics and Society*, vol. 21, no. 1, March 1993, pp. 69-90.
- Tarrow, Sidney, Social Movements in Contentious Politics: A Review Article , *American Political Science Review*, vol. 90, no. 4, December 1996.
- Tarrow, Sidney, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* , 2nd Edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
- Tarrow, Sidney, *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
- Tarrow, Sidney, *Struggle, Politics, and Reform: Collective Action, Social Movements, and Cycles of Protest* (Western Societies Program, Occasional Paper No. 21, Center for International Studies, Cornell University, 1989).
- Thomas, Stephen R., What Are Social Movements Today , *International Journal of Politics, Culture and Society*, vol. 9, no. 4, Summer 1996, pp. 579-585.
- Tilly, Charles, From Interactions to Outcomes in Social Movements , in Marco Giugni, Doug McAdam & Charles Tilly, eds., *How Social Movements Matter* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), pp. 253-270.
- Tilly, Charles, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1978).
- Touraine, Alain, *The Post-Industrial Society — Tomorrow's Social History: Classes, Conflicts and Culture in the Programmed Society* (New York: random House, 1971).
- Vasquez, John, A Learning Theory of the American Anti-Vietnam War Movement , *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 13, 1977, pp. 299-314.

Walzer, Michael, ed., *Toward a Global Civil Society* (Providence: Bergham Books, 1995).

Wapner, Paul, Horizontal Politics: Transnational Environmental Activism and Global Cultural Change , Paper Prepared for the International Studies Association Annual Meeting, Chicago, February 2001.

Weed, Frank J., The Impact of Support Resources on Local Chapter Operations in the AntiDrunk —Driving Movement ,*The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 1, Spring 1989, pp. 77-91.

Weitzer, Roland, Prostitutes Rights in the United States: The Failure of a Movement , *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol. 32, no. 1, Spring 1991, pp. 23-41.

Wignaraja, Ponna, ed., *New Social Movements in the South: Empowering the People* (New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1993)

Williams, B., C. Campbell & C. MacPhail, *Managing HIV/AIDS in South Africa: Lesions from Industrial Settings* (Johannesburg: CSIR, 1999).

Wiltfang, Gregory L. & Doug McAdam, The Costs and Risks of Social Activism: A Study of Sanctuary Movement Activism , *Social Forces*, vol. 69, 1991, pp. 987-1010.

Woods, Dwayne, Civil Society in Europe and Africa: Limiting State Power through a Public Sphere , *African Studies Review* , vol. 35, no. 2, September 1992, pp. 77-100.

Zald, Mayer & John McCarthy, eds., *Social Movements in an Organizational Society* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 1987).

Zimmermann, Ekkart, "Macro—Comparative Research on Political Protest", in Ted R. Gurr, ed., *Handbook of Political Conflict: Theory and Research* (New York: Free Press, 1980), pp. 167-237.

Zirakzadeh, Cyrus Ernesto, *Social Movements in Politics: A Comparative Study* (London: Longman, 1997).

Zuo, Jiping & Robert D. Benford, Mobilization Processes and the 1989 Chinese Democracy Movement , *The Sociological Quarterly*, vol, 36, no. 1, Winter 1995, pp. 131-156.