SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

AN INTRODUCTION

DONATELLA DELLA PORTA
AND MARIO DIANI

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For Wladimiro della Porta and Vittorio Diani, in memoriam

SECOND EDITION **SOCIAL MOVEMENTS**

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COLLECTIVE ACTION AND IDENTITY

I think it's made me stronger. I think it's made me really clear about who I am . . . I almost feel my life has a theme. It's not just like I'm this little ant out there living and working with all the other ants on the anthill. There are things that I care really, really deeply about, and that sort of infuses my whole life with meaning. And I've retained that, and I think I always will.

–Radical feminist activist, Columbus, Ohio, USA, quoted in Whittier (1995: 95)

Until two years ago, I was a woman who belonged to a man. Then I met the women of the collective, and slowly I have acquired the ability to develop new and different relationships with people. Today, I feel myself to be equal in my relationship with this man and in my relationships with the women of the collective.

–Martina, member of a women's collective, Milan, Italy, quoted in Bianchi and Mormino (1984: 160)

After Greenham I realized how in fact I was putting myself down on occasions. Simply because there were men around I wasn't verbalizing my thoughts enough. I wasn't coming forward . . . the men were dominating, and I was allowing them to dominate me.

–Carola Addington, Greenham Common activist, UK, quoted in Roseneil (1995: 146)

We are not a unionist movement, nor do we have anything to do with unionism. They have their organizations and we have ours. We are offering an alternative by and for women.

–Laura, worker and activist, Managua, Nicaragua, quoted in Bandy and Bickam-Mendez (2003: 179)

If someone asks me, "Who are you?" I'm a radical feminist . . . And I see radical feminism as my life's work, even though I'm spending most of my days, most of my weeks, most of my years, doing something else.

–Employee of a public interest organization, Columbus, Ohio, USA, quoted in Whittier (1995: 95)

For me, being part of a women's group is an essential influence not only on my way of life but also on my thinking. It is important to know yourself. The collective has died and been reborn many times over, along with my own aspirations. Wherever I go, I will always find a women's group.

–Irma, Member of a women's collective, Milan, Italy, quoted in Bianchi and Mormino (1984: 159)

There was the miners' strike and a lot of miners' wives used to come down . . . And there was the American Indian from the Indian reservation . . . And there were delegations from South Africa. And we were just dead ordinary working-class women from the inner cities and we were talking to people who were directly involved in struggles from all over the world.

–Trisha, Greenham Common activist, UK, quoted in Roseneil (1995: 149)

This [visit] gives us more confidence to continue with our struggle, for we see that we're not alone. . . . We hope each of you [North American labor and community organizers on a visit to Mexico] will continue forward with love, for your brothers and sisters, for communities like ours. This is the same struggle all around the world.

–Hortensia, worker and activist, Tijuana, Mexico, quoted in Bandy and Bickam-Mendez (2003: 179)

Irma and Martina were part of the Ticinese Collective, a group of women active in Milan around the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s (Bianchi and Mormino 1984). Trisha and Carola were among the women who took part in the occupation of the Greenham Common area, where cruise missiles where located in Britain between 1983 and 1991 (Roseneil 1995). Hortensia and Laura were active in the mobilization of female workers of *maquilas*, small industrial units producing all sort of goods for export, usually under appalling working

conditions, in Central America (Bandy and Bickam-Mendez 2003). The two anonymous quotes[1] belong to women who were involved in the radical feminist movement in the American city of Columbus, Ohio, between the 1970s and the early 1990s (Whittier 1995, 1997). The characteristics of these movements were different, and so was the political and cultural context in which they developed. And yet, for all the differences, these quotations reveal more than random commonalities. They all appear representative, in their own ways, of the relationship between collective and individual experience in social movements. In particular, they tell us about the intersection of collective involvement and personal engagement which characterizes so much collective action (Melucci 1989, 1995; Rupp and Taylor 1987; della Porta 1992; Calhoun 1994a; Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2001; Downton and Wehr 1997; Passerini 1988).

On the one hand, these stories are about personal change: they testify to the new sense of empowerment, and to the strengthening of the self, which originate from collective action. Fighting the cruise missiles in the context of a "women only" campaign, Carola became aware of how much she had undervalued her potential in the past, especially in situations with a strong male presence. For Trisha, being at Greenham Common opened up spaces for contacts and experiences that her working-class origins would have denied her otherwise. For Laura, action in the workplace means developing an original experience of interest representation from a gender perspective, thus reaffirming her autonomy from the male models reflected in unions' practice. For Martina, joining a self-awareness group signified transforming her private life, without developing a strong commitment to public engagement. Even in her case, however, it was the nature of collective experience which made her personal growth possible.

On the other hand, these stories are about the continuity in one's life that a sense of collective belonging provides. For Irma as well as for the Columbus women, being a feminist provided a linkage between different life stages and different types of experiences. The linkage is not necessarily between different points in time; it is also – as Trisha's and Hortensia's quotations suggest – between people acting in different localities and on different specific issues, but united by a common set of values and aspirations.

These stories are, in other words, about identity: in particular, about the relationship between identity and collective action (Pizzorno 1978; Cohen 1985; Melucci 1989; Calhoun 1991, 1994a; Mach 1993; Stryker, Owen, and Whyte, 2000; Horton 2004; Hunt and Benford 2004). In speaking of identity we are not referring to an autonomous object, nor to a property of social actors; we mean, rather, the process by which social actors recognize themselves – and are recognized by other actors – as part of broader groupings, and develop emotional attachments to them (Melucci 1989, 1996; Polletta and Jasper 2001; Goodwin et al. 2001: 8–9). These "groupings" need not be defined in reference to specific social traits such as class, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or the like, nor in reference to

specific organizations (although they often get defined in those terms). Collective identities may also be based on shared orientations, values, attitudes, worldviews, and lifestyles, as well as on shared experiences of action (e.g., individuals may feel close to people holding similar postmaterialist views, or similarly approving of direct action, without expressing any strong sense of class, ethnic, or gender proximity). At times, identities may be exclusive, and rule out other possible forms of identification (as in the case of religious sects expressing a wholesale rejection of the mundane world). Other times (actually, most of the time), however, they may be inclusive and multiple, as individuals may feel close to several types of collectivities at the same time.

Building or reproducing identities is an important component of the processes through which individuals give meaning to their own experiences and to their transformations over time. It is worth noting the complexity of the relationship between the individual dimension and the collective dimension in identity-building. On the one hand, through the production, maintenance, and revitalization of identities, individuals define and redefine individual projects, and possibilities for action open and close. The individual stories we just reported show us precisely that "identities are often personal and political projects in which we participate" (Calhoun 1994a: 28). On the other hand, the construction of identity and the rediscovery of one's self cannot be reduced simply to psychological mechanisms; they are social processes (Berger and Luckmann 1966; Moscovici 1981; Billig 1995).

In the following pages we discuss some characteristics of identity construction. We show, first, that identity production is an essential component of collective action, through the identification of actors involved in conflict, the facilitation of trusting relationships among them, and the establishment of connections linking events from different periods. Consistent with what has long been asserted by both sociological (Touraine 1981; Pizzorno 1978; Melucci 1989, 1996) and sociopsychological (Moscovici 1979; Drury and Reicher 2000; Howard 2000) perspectives on collective action, we regard identity as neither a thing one can own, nor a property of actors, but as the process through which individual and/or collective actors, in interaction with other social actors, attribute a specific meaning to their traits, their life occurrences, and the systems of social relations in which they are embedded.

Subsequently, we confront some of the paradoxes which a concept as fleeting as that of identity inevitably creates. First, social identification is simultaneously static and dynamic. On the one hand, reference to identity evokes the continuity and the solidity of allegiances over time. On the other, identity is also open to constant redefinitions. Links postulated by social actors with certain historical experiences and with certain groups appear, in fact, always to be contingent. They are the fruit of symbolic reinterpretations of the world which are inevitably selective and partial (Calhoun 1994a; Melucci 1996). Moreover, identi-

ties are forged and adapted in the course of conflict, and their boundaries can be modified quite drastically in the process (Bernstein 1997; Drury and Reicher 2000; Drury, Reicher, and Stott 2003). As a result, in spite of their relative stability, even feelings of identification can be – and in fact are – subject to recurring modifications.

A second paradox is represented by the presence of multiple identities – or, in other words, individuals' feelings of belonging to several different collectives, sometimes defined in reference to very diverse criteria. From a certain point of view, identity operates as an organizing principle in relation to individual and collective experience: for example, it helps actors to identify their allies and their adversaries. At the same time, however, the definition of lines of solidarity and of opposition is often anything but clear: the rise of feminist movements has created, for example, new lines of identification which have often revealed themselves to be in contrast with those which preceded them (for example, those of class). Rather than uprooting these older lines of identity, new identities co-exist with them, generating tensions among actors' different self-representations,[2] or between activists who identify with the same movement yet belong to different generations (Whittier 1995, 1997; Schnittker, Freese, and Powell 2003). Although an idea of similarity is surely behind the concept of collective identity (e.g. Berezin 2001: 84), this homogeneity is rarely if ever multidimensional. Actors who are similar in some traits/attitudes/experiences may differ substantially in other dimensions (Simmel 1955, Diani 2000a). One has also to note, though, that multiple identities need not necessarily be in a tense relation to each other.

4.1 How Does Identity Work?

Identity construction should not be regarded simply as a precondition for collective action. It is certainly true that social actors' identities in a given period guide their subsequent conduct. Action occurs, in fact, when actors develop the ability to define themselves, other social actors, and the "enjeu" (stake) of their mutual relationship (Touraine 1981). At the same time, however, identity is not an immutable characteristic, preexisting action. On the contrary, it is through action that certain feelings of belonging come to be either reinforced or weakened. In other words, the evolution of collective action produces and encourages continuous redefinitions of identity (Fantasia 1988; Hirsch 1990; Melucci 1995; Bernstein 1997; Goodwin et al. 2001; Drury et al. 2003).

Let us look more closely at the mechanisms by which action "constitutes" identity. This happens, first, through the definition of boundaries between actors engaged in a conflict. In contrast to macrostructural approaches to the analysis of social conflicts, the sociology of action has drawn attention to the problematic nature of the structure–action nexus, stressing that conflict cannot be

explained exclusively in the light of structural relationships and the contrasting interests which these have determined. It originates, rather, in the interaction between structural tensions and the emergence of a collective actor that defines itself and its adversaries on the basis of certain values and/or interests (Touraine 1981). Collective action cannot occur in the absence of a "we" characterized by common traits and a specific solidarity. Equally indispensable is the identification of the "other" defined as responsible for the actor's condition and against which the mobilization is called (Gamson 1992b). The construction of identity therefore implies both a positive definition of those participating in a certain group, and a negative identification of those who are not only excluded but actively opposed (Touraine 1981; Melucci 1996; Taylor and Whittier 1992; Robnett 2002; Tilly 2004a). It also includes a relationship with those who find themselves in a neutral position. It is with reference to "protagonists, antagonists, and audiences" (Hunt, Benford, and Snow 1994) that movement identities are formed and come to life.

In the second place, the production of identities corresponds to the emergence of new networks of relationships of trust among movement actors, operating within complex social environments.[3] Those relationships guarantee movements a range of opportunities (see chapter 5 below). They are the basis for the development of informal communication networks, interaction, and, when necessary, mutual support. They seem to be an essential replacement for the scarcity of organizational resources; furthermore, information circulates rapidly via interpersonal networks, compensating at least in part for limited access to the media; trust between those who identify with the same political and cultural endeavor enables those concerned to face with greater efficacy the costs and the risks linked to repression; finally, identifying themselves – and being identified – as part of a movement also means being able to count on help and solidarity from its activists (Gerlach and Hine 1970; Gerlach 1971).

The presence of feelings of identity and of collective solidarity makes it easier to face the risks and uncertainties related to collective action. In the case of the workers' movement, close proximity of workplaces and living spaces facilitated the activation and the reproduction of solidarity (see chapter 2 above). Socialist subcultures constructed "areas of equalities" where participants recognized themselves as equal, and felt they belonged in a common destiny (Pizzorno 1996). In postindustrial society, however, direct social relationships founded on territorial proximity have become weaker. While this has not necessarily meant the disappearance of community relations, on the whole, systems of social relations are more distantly connected than they were in the past to a defined territorial space. Their borders extend now to encompass entire national and supranational communities (Wellman et al. 1988; Giddens 1990; Castells 1996; Sassen 1998; Vertovec and Cohen 2003). As a result, collective actors are now less likely than in the past to identify themselves in reference to locality. Collective identity is less depend-

ent on direct, face-to-face interactions which develop in the local community and in everyday spaces. Phenomena of this type had already signaled the shift from premodernity to modernity, and the emergence of public opinion integrated via the printed word (Anderson 1983; Tarrow 1998). But they have undergone a further acceleration with the expansion of the media system and the electronic revolution (Calhoun 1992; Wasko and Mosco 1992; Bennett 2003; Wellman and Haythornwhyte 2002).

To identify with a movement also entails feelings of solidarity towards people to whom one is not usually linked by direct personal contacts, but with whom one nonetheless shares aspirations and values. Activists and movement sympathizers are aware of participating in realities which are much vaster and more complex than those of which they have direct experience. It is in reference to this wider community that the actor draws motivation and encouragement to action, even when the field of concrete opportunities seems limited and there is a strong sense of isolation. It is of course an open issue the extent to which the spread of computer mediated communication may facilitate the diffusion of identities disentangled from references to any specific time and space (see chapter 5, section 5.4 below).

Third, collective identity connects and assigns some common meaning to experiences of collective action dislocated over time and space (see e.g. Lumley 1990; Farrell 1997). At times this takes the form of linking together events associated with a specific struggle in order to show the continuity of the effort behind the current instances of collective action. Let us look for example at the "Call of the European Social Movements," issued before the European Social Forum in Florence in November 2002: "We have come together from the social and citizens movements from all the regions of Europe, East and West, North and South. We have come together through a long process: the demonstrations of Amsterdam, Seattle, Prague, Nice, Genoa, Brussels, Barcelona, the big mobilisations against the neoliberalism as well as the general strikes for the defense of social rights and all the mobilisations against war, show the will to build an other Europe. At the global level we recognise the Charter of Principles of WSF and the call of social movements of Porto Alegre" (cited in Andretta 2003). Here, occurrences which took place at different points in time are brought together as the background of the 2002 meeting, to show continuity between them. Likewise there is an obvious attempt to connect across space mobilizations taking place in all corners of Europe, and to relate them as well to recent developments of collective action on a global scale.

The issue of continuity over time is also important because social movements characteristically alternate between "visible" and "latent" phases (Melucci 1996). In the former, the public dimension of action prevails, in the form of demonstrations, public initiatives, media interventions, and so on, with high levels of cooperation and interaction among the various mobilized actors. In the latter,

action within the organizations and cultural production dominate. Contacts between organizations and militant groups are, on the whole, limited to inter-personal, informal relationships, or to interorganizational relationships which do not generally produce the capacity for mass mobilization. In these cases, collec-tive solidarity and the sense of belonging to a cause are not as obvious as they are in periods of intense mobilization. Identity is nurtured by the hidden actions of a limited number of actors. And it is precisely the ability of these small groups to reproduce certain representations and models of solidarity over time which creates the conditions for the revival of collective action and allows those con-cerned to trace the origins of new waves of public action to preceding mobi-lizations (Melucci 1996; Rupp and Taylor 1987; Johnston 1991b; Mueller 1994; Whittier 1995).[4]

This linking function of identity does not operate only on the level of col-lective representations and socially widespread perceptions of certain social phe-nomena. It also relates the latter to individual experience. In constructing their own identity, individuals attribute coherence and meaning to the various phases of their own public and private history. This is often reflected in their life histo-ries and biographies, i.e., the "[i]ndividual constellations of cultural meanings, personalities, sense of self, derived from biographical experiences" (Jasper 1997: 44). Long-lasting militant careers develop with a constant commitment to a cause, even if articulated in different ways at different times (Downton and Wehr 1997). It is true that any wave of mobilization attracts to social movements people with no previous experience of collective action – at least for biographical reasons. Still, continuity in militancy – the fact that those who have already par-ticipated in the past are more likely to become active once again than those who have never done so – has been confirmed by a large number of studies, devoted to both contemporary (McAdam 1988b; Whittier 1995 and 1997; Klandermans 1997: ch. 4; Robnett 2002) and "historic" examples of collective action (Thomp-son 1963; Gould 1995; Catanzaro and Manconi 1995; Passerini 1988). The "1968 generation," for example, has remobilized in various waves of protest – latest in the global justice campaigns (della Porta 2005e).

Speaking of continuity over time does not necessarily mean assuming that identity persists, let alone that it is fixed. Reference to the past is, in fact, always selective. "Continuity" in this case means rather the active re-elaboration of ele-ments of one's own biography and their reorganization in a new context. In this way, it becomes possible to keep together personal and collective occurrences which might otherwise appear to be incompatible and contradictory. As an example, let us look at a case of radical collective action which would seem to presuppose a drastic personal transformation at the moment of mobilization – that of terrorism. Biographies of Italian terrorists of the 1970s (della Porta 1990) show that they had in many cases moved from militancy in Catholic organiza-tions to armed struggle. In this case, there was clearly a marked break in forms

of action and political programs. Nevertheless, there were also elements of coherence in these histories which seem, on the surface, to be so lacking in continuity. One of these was the aspiration to construct social relationships which went beyond the inequalities and the distortions of the present. Also common to both biographical phases was a conception of collective action as the proclamation of absolute truths and the concrete testimony of one's own ideal (and ideological) principles, no matter how distorted.

On the other hand, the outset of each new experience of collective action inevitably means also breaking with the past to some degree. In some cases, the decision to engage in collective action, or join an organization or a project, which is clearly different from what individuals have done up to that point, results in a radical personal transformation. In these cases, people experience genuine conversions, which often mean breaking with their previous social bonds. The transformation of identity can be much more profound in these cases. It will affect not only the political leanings of individuals and their levels of involvement in collective action, but also global life choices and even the organization of everyday life.

The same phenomena are often found among those who join religious movements (Robbins 1988: ch. 3; Snow et al. 1980; Wilson 1982; Wallis and Bruce 1986).[5] Conversion to a cult or a sect often implies a more or less radical transformation of one's identity and loyalties, and this is deeper the more demanding membership criteria in the new group are. For example, joining a group like Hare Krishna implies the acceptance of a highly ritualized lifestyle in which everything has to be in accordance with the sect's precepts (Rochford 1985). Furthermore, the history of conflicts typical of industrial society documents the force of "traditional" political identities and the often exclusive and sectarian nature of collective action. In the century of great ideologies, abandoning political and/or class positions – that is, giving up a certain system of social relationships and of affective identifications in order to adopt another – was always costly. A good example of this is provided in the segmentation of Northern Ireland along religious lines (one could also think of the Israeli–Palestinian conflict for another obvious illustration of this pattern). In Northern Ireland, religious identities have provided criteria for the organization of social relations at all levels, including community and family linkages. Ties cutting across sectarian barriers are infrequent and people involved in them regularly meet with ostracism from their own communities (Bew et al. 1979; McAllister 1983; O'Sullivan See 1986; Maguire 1993). This has rendered the activation of ties with members of the opposing group a very costly and often very dangerous exercise. This applies to social movement organizations too, and has often resulted in failure to cut across sectarian divides. Although many attempts have been made over the last two decades by different types of organizations, from environmentalist to women's (Connolly 2002; Cinalli 2002), to develop new intercultural forms of political

participation, even after the Good Friday agreement of 1998, social segregation in Northern Ireland is still high (McGarry 2001).

4.2   Multiple Identities

In modern society, social movements are often represented as "characters" with a strategic capacity for action and bearing a specific cultural role. For these reasons, they are also seen as having a homogeneous and integrated identity. Little attention has been given to the systems of relationships in which actors are involved, and this has prevented the multiplicity of identities and allegiances among militants and movement groups from being recognized. Rather, it has favored the tendency to see identity as the mirror of an underlying objective reality.[6]

In fact, however, collective identification is rarely expressed through the integrated and homogeneous identities which these visions of movements presuppose.[7] As identity is, first, a social process and not a static property, feelings of belonging among groups and collectives which originated from these are, to a certain extent, fluid. A less rigid approach to the question of identity leads us to recognize that it does not always presuppose a strong "collective we" (Lemert 1994; Billig 1995). Identifying with a movement does not necessarily mean sharing a systematic and coherent vision of the world; nor does it prevent similar feelings being directed to other groups and movements as well. Forms of allegiance which are not particularly intense or exclusive can, in certain contexts, guarantee continuity of collective action (Melucci 1984a; Diani 1995a). In reality, it is rare that a dominant identity is able to integrate all the others. More usually, identities have a polycentric rather than a hierarchical structure.[8] But excessive insistence on the role of identity as a source of coherence often leads to neglecting the importance of forms of multiple identity (Calhoun 1994a).

Tensions among various types of identification have to do, first, with the fact that the motivations and expectations behind individuals participating in social movements are, in fact, much richer and more diversified than the public images of those movements, as produced by their leaders, would suggest. By taking part in the life of a movement people often seek answers to their own specific aspirations and concerns. The Milanese women studied by Melucci and his collaborators in the early 1980s, for example, saw their involvement in feminism in many different ways. Some gave pride of place to personal reflection, others gave greater relevance to external intervention. Some valued group action, above all solidarity and affective elements, while others insisted on the importance of developing new forms of interpreting the world (Bianchi and Mormino 1984). Along similar lines, Reger (2002) shows that it is possible to accommodate different positions within the same organization. Her example is the New York chapter

of the National Organization for Women (NOW), which included both feminists oriented to political advocacy and those privileging practices of personal empowerment. Even the identity of a single group can therefore be seen as a meeting point for histories, personal needs, and heterogeneous representations.

Similar mechanisms are to be found in the relationship between single organizations and movements, in the broad sense. On the one hand, organizations aim to affirm their own specific formulation of their collective identity as the global identity of the movement. On the other hand, the reinforcement of an organizational identity allows, at the same time, for differentiation from the rest of the movement (Taylor 1989). Therefore, one identifies with an organization not only to feel part of a wider collective effort but also in order to be a particular, autonomous, distinctive component of such an effort. In this way it becomes possible to anchor identity to organizational forms, which are more structured and solid than those constituted by networks of informal relationships among the various components of a movement. What is cursorily termed "movement identity" is, in reality, largely a contingent product of negotiations between collective images produced by various actors and various organizations. Moreover, even small groups can experience the multiple orientations which characterize the identity of a movement in its entirety (Melucci 1984a). In Milan, for example, analysis of the experience of the Ticinese Collective facilitated the identification of two basic tensions in the way in which feminist practice was perceived (Bianchi and Mormino 1984). The first distinguished between action aimed at society beyond the movement and that which was inwardly directed, towards small groups; the second between action which was purely affective and solidaristic and action which aimed to value women's competences and professional qualities. The same dichotomies offered a useful key to reading the identity of the movement as a whole. There were, in fact, consciousness-raising groups, or lesbian groups which were virtually unconcerned with public action and concentrated on the affective-solidaristic side of action. On the other hand, writers' groups and those concerned with reflection on intellectual issues from a women's perspective associated a low level of external intervention with their goal of calling attention to women's intellectual and professional capacities. Among the groups concerned with external intervention, some placed a high value on the solidaristic element, such as feminist collectives in squatter communes; others were concerned with consolidating women's social presence, both on the economic level and on that of cultural production (Bianchi and Mormino 1984: 147).

It must be remembered that movement identities can be shared by individuals, detached from every organizational allegiance. In fact, it is possible to feel part of a movement without identifying with any specific organization and, indeed, even express an explicit dissent towards the notion of organization in general. In particularly effervescent conditions, simply to participate in meetings and demonstrations gives the sensation of being able to count on the definition

of strategies and on goals, even without having passed through the filter of specific organizations. In fact, when identification mechanisms tend to shift mainly towards specific organized actors, this is an indicator of a movement demise. One of the characteristic traits of the wave of working-class protest which crossed Italy between 1968 and 1972 was the modification of the relationship between militancy in specific trade-union organizations and militancy in the workers' movement in its broad sense (Pizzorno et al. 1978). New forms of representation were introduced in factories (factory councils). They offered ample opportunities for participation even to those who were not enrolled in any of the traditional unions. The push towards trade-union unity and to overcome preexisting group allegiances was also strong in those years. Group allegiances came to dominate once more only when mobilization was in decline and movement identity was weak. Analysis of grassroots working-class action in the USA also supports this claim: phases of rising conflict tend to strengthen broader collective solidarities rather than identification with specific unions (Fantasia 1988).

In some cases, collective identities expressed by different movements or different movement organizations can be mutually incompatible. The rise of feminism has revealed the persistent subordination of women within workers' movement organizations or in many of the "new movements" themselves. In this way, they have shown the deep contradictions in actors' identities which, nevertheless, can generally be explained with reference to the same area of "progressive" movements. From another point of view, the salience of religious or ethnonationalist identities has often left actors facing dramatic dilemmas, in view of the difficulty of integrating these and other sources of identification. For example, allegiance to a radical nationalist ideology such as that of the Serbs, or to a religious movement such as Algerian fundamentalism, places considerable difficulties in the path of those women who want both to maintain and affirm their gender identity (Calhoun 1994a; see also Fantasia and Hirsch 1995). On the other hand, global justice activists have so far displayed a great tolerance towards each other's combinations of multiple identities (della Porta 2005e; Bennett 2004c).

4.3 Does Identity Facilitate Participation?

Reference to identity is essential – even if, as we shall see, controversial – in order to understand the mechanisms underlying individuals' decisions to become involved in collective action. The debate started in the 1960s with Mancur Olson's (1963) provocative thesis on the irrationality of collective action. Olson's argument is well known and can therefore be reviewed in a few sentences. The starting point for his reflection is the concept of collective action as concerned with the production of collective goods. These derive their nature from the fact that,

once obtained, they may be enjoyed by any member of a social group, regardless of his/her contribution to the cause. Sometimes the "social group" consists of people living in a given territory. For example, once a local environmental coalition has had stricter controls on car emissions implemented in its community, the collective good "cleaner air" is accessible to all the residents, no matter whether they supported the campaign or not. At other times, the "social group" may consist of a collectivity defined by specific characteristics. For example, once voting rights were extended to women, any woman was entitled to them, again irrespective of her contribution to the suffrage movement. Or, if a regional business association successfully pressures the government to launch a plan of massive investment in public communications in the area, all single-business operators will profit from it, including those who are not members of the association. The properties of collective goods determine the fundamental irrationality of collective action, if valued on the basis of criteria of instrumental, individualistic rationality. It would not be at all rational for individual actors to invest resources in an undertaking – the production of a collective good – if they had to bear all the costs of failure but could enjoy all the fruits of success without having contributed directly to the production of the good.

For collective action to occur, political entrepreneurs or organizations have either to coerce prospective participants or to distribute selective incentives – thus enabling participants to receive greater benefits than those who do not participate. This problem applies above all to large groups – or in other words to those groups in which no individual contribution is so relevant as to affect the final result of a collective undertaking. Two factors increase the difficulties of mobilization for large groups: first, their great size implies high coordination costs; second, certain social incentives – prestige, respect, or friendship – which can work with small groups become more difficult to activate as the dimensions of the group increase.

Not surprisingly, reactions to Olson's model have been very different.[9] Some scholars have extended the notion of selective incentives in such a way as to include rewards of a solidaristic and normative type. These can, in their turn, be divided into at least two categories. External selective incentives consist of expectations which individuals have of the group to which they refer; these are seen, more generally, as rewards and as sanctions which this group and other social actors can make use of when facing a decision or else a refusal to become involved collectively. Internal selective incentives cover the internal mechanisms which bring individuals to attribute to collective action a certain normative value, or else to derive from this an intrinsic pleasure or to experience a cathartic transformation (Opp 1989: 58–9). According to numerous pieces of research on individual participation, among the "selective incentives" it is references to the values and the solidarity bonds shared within the group, rather than motivations of a material kind, which have emerged as the best predictors of collective action

(Marwell and Ames 1979; Walsh and Warland 1983; Oliver 1984; Opp 1988, 1989; Passy 2003).

The incorporation of normative and symbolic elements into selective incentives does not, however, resolve one of the main problems of Olson's model, namely its lack of attention to the diachronic dimension. The microeconomic rationality on which Olson's argument is based unravels itself in a short period of time. In contrast, collective action is a process which develops over time, in particular when considering the achievement of goals. It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine costs and benefits appropriately, therefore. On the one hand, there is the certainty of engagement and of the acceptance of risk in the short term; on the other, the unknown territory of results which are not only difficult to calculate from the point of view of the individual but whose achievement also seems a distant prospect. Collective identity reduces these difficulties. Olson's approach assumes a short-term timeframe for the maximization of individual utility. In contrast, as we have seen, collective identity takes a longer time perspective. Even the definition of actors' interests is a social process which requires a definition of a "we" and a "them," and thus is inextricably linked to identity construction. As a result, feeling part of a shared endeavor and identifying one's own interests not only at the individual level but also at the collective level makes costs and risks more acceptable than they would otherwise have been. Physical risks and material deprivation, hardly rational from an individualistic, short-term perspective, may be justified if looked at as the costs attached to carrying on a longer-term historical project (Pizzorno 1978, 1983, 1986).

Moreover, the intensity and, above all, the exclusiveness of collective identity in defining actors' limits can vary. A key question is therefore whether various identity traits influence decisions to move to action, and if so how. Some have hypothesized a link, in inverse proportion, between the level of inclusiveness and openness of a particular definition of identity and the capacity for mobilization: "Some groups attempt to mobilize their constituents with an all-inclusive we. . . . Such an aggregate frame turns the 'we' into a pool of individuals rather than a potential collective actor . . . Collective action frames, in contrast, are adversarial" (Gamson 1992b: 85). This does not mean that all social movements at all times develop exclusive identities: a wealth of examples, recently including environmental and global justice movements, actually suggests the opposite. However, the lack of explicit adversaries for environmentalism has long been pointed out as a source of weakness for that movement (e.g. Diani 1995a), and some have raised doubts about the global justice movement's capacity to mobilize its constituency beyond the most visible events on very similar grounds (Tarrow 2005).

The problem is therefore how to achieve a balance between reach and selectivity (Marwell and Oliver 1993: 157–79); namely, how to define identity to include as many people as possible in a movement's potential constituency, while

continuing to provide strong incentives to the movement's core supporters. An inclusive and flexible identity will not associate a movement with a particular social group, a specific ideology, lifestyle, or symbolic code. In this way, it will facilitate communication among movement activists and the outside world, as well as their capacity to speak to different cultural and political contexts. An exclusive identity which defines the profile of a particular movement with some force will instead tend to stress isolation in relation to the outside world: but will probably be able to provide more notable (selective) incentives for action, making the definition of both the actor and of its adversaries more precise in the process (Friedman and McAdam 1992).

One should be aware, though, that how to combine these two contradictory demands effectively is only partially under actors' control. Collective identity is surely affected by actors' deliberate attempts to craft and manipulate identifying symbols. It is, in other words, partly a result of strategic action. But it also depends – and in all likelihood, much more heavily – on mental attitudes and collective memories, consolidated over time, and over which movement activists have little control. Not to mention the fact that other social actors may be capable of manipulating in varying degrees the image which a particular collective has of itself (for example, the media: Gitlin 1980; Gamson and Wolfsfeld 1993; van Zoonen 1996; Gamson 2004; Earl, Martin, McCarthy, and Soule 2004; Myers and Caniglia 2004).

Furthermore, it is important to distinguish in this regard between the mobilization of people and the mobilization of other resources, for example organizational or financial (Oliver and Marwell 1992). Exclusive identities appear to be more effective in motivating direct participation. Inclusive identities, however, seem more useful, in principle, to the mobilization of the second type of resource (Diani and Donati 1996). Attempts to mobilize resources on the part of movement organizations are increasingly conducted by traditional marketing techniques and strategies like direct mail (McFarland 1984; Donati 1996; Jordan and Maloney 1997). Although messages of this type are often carefully tailored to specific sectors of the public and specific market niches, still their contents tend to be far more inclusive and all-embracing than those passed by movement activists through their personal networks (Snow et al. 1980). Access to the general public is therefore globally easier for movement actors who are bearers of an inclusive identity. Conversely, organizations with a more clear-cut cultural and political identity will have easy access only to the most sympathetic sectors of public opinion.

While they recognize both the limits of a strictly economic reading of collective action, and the opportunity to take into account nonmaterial incentives, the positions we have just presented are compatible with a rationalist paradigm. Other movement scholars have, however, expressed serious reservations about the opportunity to apply to the analysis of collective action concepts which were originally developed with reference to individual action of a utilitarian type

(Fireman and Gamson 1979; Ferree 1992; Melucci 1989). Speaking of nonmaterial incentives, or looking at identity as a criterion, enabling the costs and benefits of action to be calculated over time, is inappropriate for various reasons. First and foremost, the assumption that social actors always move on the basis of rational principles is debatable. On the contrary, nonrational elements, such as emotions, affections, and feelings, are also very important (Melucci 1989; Flam 1990; Taylor and Whittier 1995; Scheff 1994a, 1994b; Jasper and Poulsen 1995; Jasper 1997; Goodwin et al. 2001). The predominance of rationalist perspectives since the 1960s is easily explainable in the light of the need to challenge those analyses which reduced movements to a show of irrationality, the mere product of gaps in socialization processes (Taylor and Whittier: 179–80). However, this does not authorize support for the notion that emotions and reason are irreconcilable (Turner and Killian 1987; Goodwin et al. 2001: 2–16; Kim 2002).

Critics also charge the rationalist approach with overlooking the fact that social actors act and make choices within a system of interdependence with other actors. The decision to participate in action is, in reality, conditioned by the actor's expectations of those to which it is linked. The actor's capacity for autonomous choice varies according to the social class to which it belongs, and is limited by asymmetries in the distribution of power and social resources (Ferree 1992). When one recognizes that even economic action is governed by networks of relationships and by actor-binding social norms (for example, White 1988; DiMaggio and Powell 1991; Granovetter 1985), recourse to the concept of a rational actor for the analysis of collective phenomena appears to critics even more debatable.

A further problem derives from the fact that the goods among which the actor has to choose would naturally be different from those to which models of economic derivation normally refer (Fireman and Gamson 1979: 23–7). The legitimacy of the analogies between individual and collective interests should not be discounted. Many of the "goods" for which movements mobilize owe their very existence to collective action. Let us think for example of the reinforcement of women's identity and the transformations in women's private and public lifestyles. This particular "good" comes into existence also because of the very fact that women's collective action takes place. This is not to deny that many "goods" for women (e.g., those originating from policy change) may be treated within the boundaries of Olsonian models. But we want to point out that the collective action dilemma may also be seen in terms not necessarily compatible with Olson's approach to public goods.

Finally, even the last presupposition of rationalist paradigms – that of the stability of the structures of preference on which individual decisions to act are based – seems very unlikely in the case of collective action. The matter would be broadly plausible if the problem of collective action were one of decisions

limited to a single moment, such as those relating to whether or not to participate in a particular demonstration. However, collective action is often a process which develops over time, in which the motivations which lead to action, and the underlying concerns, are modified through relationships with other actors, and where decisions to remain involved are continually renewed. In particular, many participants in collective action do not necessarily mobilize on the basis of solid preexisting identities, but these may develop in the course of action (Hirsch 1990; Fantasia 1988). This makes it difficult to support the idea that a structure of preferences exists.

To summarize, the model of the rational actor proposes a vision of action which, according to its critics, is fairly unrealistic and fails to take account either of the dynamic nature of action or of the importance of processes of identity creation. Furthermore, the adoption of a rational-choice perspective, paradoxically, ends up by obscuring even the role of interests: actors do not mobilize on behalf or in support of specific concerns or demands. Rather, they tend to become involved in those forms of collective action for which the greatest incentives are available. Finally, extending the model to normative and solidaristic incentives would imply broadening the concept of incentive to the point of tautology (Fireman and Gamson 1979).

As this is a controversy which covers the whole gamut of the social sciences, it would be unrealistic to dream of an appropriate synthesis of the two perspectives which we have reviewed here (Cohen 1985). Suffice to recall that supporters of rational-choice approaches have attempted to confront criticism directed at them by those upholding the identity paradigm. In particular, they have tried to analyze the location of actors in complex interdependent relationships, developing a vision of action which is more realistic and further away from the original hypothesis of the independent actor (Marwell and Oliver 1993; Gould 1993b; Opp and Gern 1993; Oberschall and Kim 1996; Heckathorn 1996).

4.4   How Is Identity Generated and Reproduced?

4.4.1   Self- and hetero-definitions of identity

If identity is a social process rather than a property of social actors, then feelings of belongingness and solidarity in relation to a certain group, the recognition of elements of continuity and discontinuity in the history of individuals, and the identification of one's own adversaries, may all be subject to recurring reelaboration. Identity emerges from the processes of self-identification and external recognition. Actors' self-representations are, in fact, continuously confronted with images which institutions, sympathetic and hostile social groups, public

opinion, and the media produce of them (Melucci 1996; Drury and Dreicher 2000; Howard 2000).

The construction of identity at the same time contains an aspiration to differentiate oneself from the rest of the world and to be recognized by it (Melucci 1982; Calhoun 1994a). A collective actor cannot exist without reference to experiences, symbols, and myths which can form the basis of its individuality. At the same time, however, symbolic production cannot count solely on self-legitimacy. It is necessary for certain representations of self to find recognition in the image which other actors have of the subject. Movements do indeed struggle for the recognition of their identity. It is only in the context of mutual recognition among actors that conflict and, more generally, social relationships can exist (Simmel 1955; Touraine 1981). Without this, self-affirmed identity on the part of a group will inevitably lead to its marginalization and its reduction to a deviant phenomenon.

The story of movements is therefore also the story of their members' ability to impose certain images of themselves, and to counter attempts by dominant groups to denigrate their aspirations to be recognized as different. A major example comes from the conflicts related to the construction of the modern nation-state. The development of vast, highly centralized political units led to an emphasis on cultural homogenization, through the affirmation of one "national" language and one "national" culture. Assimilationist policies often followed from this, in view of the multicultural nature of the territories coming under the dominion of new state formations. Cultural traditions different from those of the social groups, promoting the construction of the new nation-states, were stigmatized as relics of the past. For example, the construction of the French national identity led to the marginalization of the Provençal and Breton cultures. These became mere residues of a backward, premodern society, whose survival represented an unwelcome obstacle to the spread of the positive values of progress of which the French state made itself the bearer (Beer 1977, 1980; Safran 1989; Canciani and De La Pierre 1993).

The power to impose negative and stigmatized definitions of the identity of other groups constitutes, in fact, a fundamental mechanism of social domination. Especially at the early stages of mobilization, social movement activists are routinely described by powerholders as depraved, morally weak, corrupted people, unable to adapt to society's basic values. This applies to the early nineteenth-century's reactionaries facing massive social change (Tilly 1984a: ch. 1) as well as to the establishment's attempts to delegitimize protestors following the 2001 anti-G8 mobilization in Genoa. In the period between August 2001 and November 2002, when the Florence European Social Forum took place peacefully, the Italian government and sympathetic media waged a massive campaign portraying the movement as an unruly bunch, and invoking severe restrictions on rights to demonstrate (Andretta et al. 2002; see also chapter 7 below). As the

accounts of protagonists of the post-Genoa phase suggest (Agnoletto 2003: ch. 3), a great effort had to be put into counterframing activity by movement activists.

At the same time, definitions of movement identity by movement opponents are not necessarily of the dismissive type. For example, over the last few years representatives of business have repeatedly attempted to portray global justice protestors as good-faith carriers of worthy sentiments and orientations, who despite their often unacceptable means should be taken seriously (think e.g. of George Soros's quotation, reported in the case history at the beginning of chapter 3 above). It has been suggested that big business should actively engage with protestors in order to find common grounds and create a space for dialogue (Callinicos 2001: 391).

Social movements challenging forms of domination deeply embedded in cultural practices, lifestyles, mental habits, and inbred stereotypes offer a particularly fitting illustration of these dynamics. Stigmatization from the outside often ends up blocking the development of a strong autonomous identity and limiting the possibilities for collective action. This is very clear, for instance, in the case of gay and lesbian movements (Armstrong 2002; Bernstein 1997; Valocchi 1999) as well as in less controversial movements like those acting on behalf of animal rights (e.g., Einwhoner 2002). In all cases, challenging negative stereotyping is a major component of movements' cultural production. A most blatant example is the stereotyping of women as uninterested in the public and political dimensions of social life, inclined towards the private sphere, most particularly family life, and as lacking the rational abilities which are held to be essential in order to act in the public sphere (Taylor 1996; Ferree and McClurg Mueller 2004: 596). Alongside creating practical opportunities to facilitate women's participation, political feminism has long attempted to overturn such images in places as diverse as the affluent postindustrial West (e.g., Taylor and Whittier 1995; Taylor 1996; Ferree and Roth 1998) or deprived South America (Auyero 2004; Bandy and Bickham-Mendez 2003) or India (Ray 1999). "I did not accept being beaten and staying quiet . . . any more. I didn't accept him [controlling] my body. . . . If I painted my nails, he would say, 'I'm going to crush them with a hammer,' and I didn't accept that any more" (quoted in Thayer 2001: 250). This sentence comes from a community organizer from one of the extreme peripheries of the world, the Brazilian *sertão*, but it could have come from women anywhere in the world.

4.4.2 Production of identity: symbols, practices, rituals

Among contemporary movements, nationalist movements are probably those most explicitly rooted in historical experience. Even students of nationalism,

however, are skeptical of essentialist views of identity. Differences run in the historical foundations of the symbols and myths used to fabricate modern national identities. Some argue that modern national identities draw upon events, institutions, myths, and narrations which precede by a long period of time the existence of the nation-state (Smith 1981, 1986). Others object that large parts of the myths on which these are based do not have any historical foundation, and that one should rather talk of "invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; see also Anderson 1983; Hobsbawm 1991).

Even where identity appeals to the history of the group and to its territorial and cultural roots, symbolic re-elaboration is always present. Studies of collective memory have shown that actors reappropriate social experiences and history, manipulating them and transforming them creatively, forging new myths and new institutions (Swidler and Arditi 1994: 308–10; Franzosi 2004). In fact, it is not necessary to attribute "objective" foundations to identity in order to recognize its continuity over time. A national sense of belonging, for example, is not reproduced solely at times of great patriotic fervor. On the contrary, its revitalization over time also depends – perhaps most importantly of all – on preconscious practices and on the persistence of mental forms and consolidated lifestyles (Billig 1995). But if this is the case, then it becomes important to look at the forms through which identity is developed and sustained, beyond intellectual and doctrinal production.

It would be dangerous to hazard a complete classification, but it is nevertheless possible to identify some basic manifestations.[10] The identity of a movement is, first, reinforced by reference to models of behavior which define in various ways the specificity of its activists in relation to "ordinary people" or their adversaries. In adopting certain styles of behavior or certain rituals, movement militants directly express their difference. Think for example of the Black Block and the Tute Bianche (literally, "white overalls") in the global justice movement (Andretta et al. 2002, 2003). They also refer to a series of objects, associated in various ways with their experience. Among these are a series of identifiers which enable supporters of a particular cause to be instantly recognizable (such as the smiling sun of antinuclear protesters, or the Palestinian *keffiyeh*, or the tattoos and shaven heads of right-wing movements [Blee 2002]); characters who have played an important role in the action of a movement or in the development of its ideology (M. L. King and Malcom X in the 1960s black mobilizations in the US , Ronald Laing and Franco Basaglia of the radical mental health movements in the 1970s and 1980s [Crossley 1998, 1999]); artifacts, including books or visual documents which help people to reconstruct the history of the movement and its origins in time, or to identify its stakes (Carson's *Silent Spring* [1962], Klein's *No Logo* [1999], or even Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* [1961/1902]); and events or places of a particular symbolic significance (the Seattle anti-WTO demonstrations in 1999 [Smith 2001], the killing of Carlo Giuliani during the anti-G8

demonstrations in Genoa in 2001 [Andretta et al. 2002, 2003], the Tiananmen square massacre of 1989 in Beijing [Calhoun 1994c]). These elements are merged into stories or narratives (Somers 1994) which circulate among members of a movement, reflecting their vision of the world and reinforcing solidarity.

Combining these elements often produces identities that are difficult to associate strongly with any specific social trait or historical experience. For example, it has been observed that in societies characterized by multiple cultures and traditions, as in the USA, conditions exist for the development of forms of "symbolic ethnicity" (Gans 1979). These forms of identification have no foundation in the historic and cultural heritage of a given group, but mix together symbols and references deriving from diverse social groups to form a new synthesis. For example, collective identities such as Rastafarianism are founded only partly on specific cultural models and religious allegiances. They are also the product of choices made by individuals who come from a range of backgrounds but derive feelings of belonging and incentives for action through reference to a particular culture. It is therefore possible to be a "Rasta" without having historical roots in this group (Kuumba and Ajanaku 1998).

Models of behavior, objects, and narratives are often merged in specific ritual forms. The ritual component fulfills an important role in movement practice, and above all in the production of identities. In general, rituals represent forms of symbolic expression by which communications concerning social relationships are passed on, in stylized and dramatized ways (Whutnow 1987; Kertzer 1988). These consist, in particular, of procedures which are more or less codified, through which a vision of the world is communicated, a basic historical experience is reproduced, a symbolic code overthrown (Sassoon 1984a, 1984b). They contribute to the reinforcement of identity and of collective feelings of belonging; and at the same time, they enable movement actors to give free rein to their emotions (Goodwin et al. 2001).

Recurrences of particularly significant events in the history of opposition movements or their constituency are often marked by ritual practices (Kertzer 1996). By demonstrating on May 1st or March 8th, workers' and women's movements remind themselves and society at large of their roots, thus revitalizing their identity. On a more modest scale, protest movements across the world have promoted demonstrations on the anniversaries of crucial events in their development, from the assassinations of black American leaders Martin Luther King and Malcolm X, to the Chernobyl nuclear accident, to the Milan bombings which, in 1969, marked the beginning of a particularly dramatic period in Italy's life. Rituals remain important even in those cases where movements have succeeded in gaining power. The French revolutionary government celebrated the advent of "new man" in ceremonies at the Champs de Mars; the Italian Fascist regime, for its part, stressed its continuity with Italy's glorious past by celebrating the anniversary of the foundation of Rome (Hunt 1984; Berezin 2001).

Religion, especially but not only in authoritarian regimes, offers many contexts for the production of identity (Smith 1996). Opposition to the communist regime in Poland heavily relied on religious symbols and practices to reinforce identity and commitment to the cause (Osa 2003a, 2003b). Religious celebrations provided the context for the production and spread of nationalist interpretative frames in the Baltic republics at the time of their enforced association with the Soviet Union. The Catalan and Basque churches played a similar role during Franco's dictatorship in Spain (Johnston 1991a, 1991b, 1994). The legitimization of religious rituals creates opportunities for collective gatherings, and therefore for the strengthening and the diffusion of alternative messages, in repressive regimes. The funeral of the Abbot of Montserrat monastery, a well-known Catalan nationalist and opponent of the Franco regime, in 1968, represented an opportunity for different sectors of Catalan opposition to get together and reinforce their collective solidarity (Johnston 1991b: 156–8). Likewise, religious functions in Reza Pahlevi's Iran not only supported the emergence of opposition cultures in that country, but also ensured that these cultures developed a marked theocratic character, paving the way for the advent of the ayatollahs' regime (Moaddel 1992).

Ritual practices cannot, however, be reduced simply to public demonstrations of a celebratory nature. All protest events promoted by movements have a ritual dimension, which often assumes a powerfully dramatic and spectacular quality. The forms which demonstrations take, the type of slogans shouted, the banners or placards waved, even the conduct of marshal bodies, are all elements which, potentially, render the practice of a movement distinctive. Opponents of nuclear energy have often acted out, in the course of their demonstrations, the catastrophic consequences of an atomic explosion. Similarly, women's, ethnonationalist, and youth movements have included theatrical-type performances in their repertoire of collective action, alongside political demonstrations (see also chapter 7 below). Through rituals, traditional symbolic codes are overturned and the rules which habitually determine appropriate social behavior are denied. For example, by recounting in public their experiences of sexual abuse, many American women have transformed episodes, which might otherwise have produced only feelings of shame and personal isolation, into a source of pride (Taylor and Whittier 1995).

Identities are often created and reproduced in specific social and/or communitarian settings. Over 20 years ago, Melucci (1984a) spoke of "movement areas" to identify the actors involved in various forms of identity politics in Milan, and the relationships which linked them, not only through participation in associations but also and most importantly through the involvement in cultural activities, the patronage of specific cafes, bookshops, meditation centers, etc. In doing so, he referred to a form of social organization that was far less rigid and exclusive than world-rejecting alternative communities or sects, but still provided the

social context to experiment with new lifestyles. Over the last decades, the concepts of subculture and counterculture have often been used to characterize sectors of the population sharing similar cultural orientations (see also chapter 3 above), yet with varying degrees of hostility and open challenges to cultural power and dominant lifestyles (e.g. the gay and lesbian scene: Duyvendak 1995; Rupp and Taylor 2003). Some have spoken of "social movement scenes" to stress the association of these sub- and counter-cultures to specific physical space, normally city neighborhoods (Haunss and Leach 2004). Others (Kaplan and Lööw 2002) have used the concept of "cultic milieu" to characterize the collection of organized labor and environmentalist groups, anarchists and progressive Christians, gay and lesbian organizations, and Catholics involved in the recent global justice campaigns and stress analogies to the cultural underground of the 1960s.

Rituals which relate to the internal life of a group and are not in public view should not be forgotten. Procedures signaling the admission of new members into movement organizations often take on the form of genuine "rites of passage" (van Gennep 1983; Sassoon 1984a, 1984b). The fact that membership entails – to a degree, at least – the death and rebirth of one's personality, is of particular relevance in the case of neoreligious movements (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Furthermore, procedures which signal some form of transformation of the position of militants, at times when their involvement seems to have increased, are found in virtually every type of organization. In radical extra-parliamentary groups, becoming a member of marshal bodies was usually preceded by other forms of militancy which were less demanding and less risky, such as distributing leaflets. These duties also fulfilled the task of determining the trustworthiness and firmness of the political passion of the new militant (della Porta 1990). In many feminist groups, behavioral rituals support the action of consciousness-raising and personal transformation (Taylor and Whittier 1995); the same may be found in white supremacist organizations (Blee 2002).

4.4.3   Identity and the political process

For political movements, the construction of identity is often conditioned by variables of a strictly political nature. The criteria by which social groups identify themselves and are identified externally echo characteristics of the political system and of the political culture of a given country. It seems that the development of collective identity can be explained by reference to a reformulated version of the well-known argument that forms of policymaking determine forms of political action, and not vice versa (Lowi 1971). Social actors, in fact, tend to structure their action and establish alliances in different ways on different policy issues, with large interest groups dominating distributive policies and more pluralistic networks characterizing regulatory policies.

Other peculiarities of policy areas have also been singled out for their impact on the structure of contentious politics in those areas (Bartholomew and Mayer 1992; Jenson 1995). For example, the emergence in the USA of a specific identity linking Asian-Americans, and the development of "pan-ethnic collective action" (Okamoto 2003) at that level, have been put down to the fact that, in crucial areas such as those of immigration policy and the rights of minority groups, public agencies tended to treat ethnic groups as homogeneous. This despite their seeing each other as profoundly different, such as the Vietnamese or the Koreans. In this case, the adoption of a certain political/administrative criterion has produced interests and identities which enable different groups to act collectively on a number of issues (Omi and Winant 1994).

On another level, actors' identities are defined also in the context of dominant political divisions/cleavages in a given society. Movements develop in political systems which already have a structure: they try to modify it and to activate processes of political realignment (Tilly 1978; Dalton et al. 1984; Bartolini and Mair 1990). When established political identities are salient, i.e. still capable of shaping political behavior and solidarities (Kriesi et al. 1995: ch. 1), emerging social movements have to produce identities which are sufficiently specific to provide the foundations for the diversity of the movement in relation to its adversaries; but at the same time, sufficiently close to traditional collective identities in order to make it possible for movement actors to communicate with those who continue to recognize themselves in consolidated identities. Under those conditions, opportunities for genuinely "new" movements, i.e. movements cutting across established cleavages, will be relatively limited (Diani 2000a).

Interactions with authorities often represent important sources of identity. It has long been noticed how "encounters with unjust authority" (Gamson, Fireman, and Rytina 1982) may facilitate the consolidation of both motivations to act and hostility towards powerholders and their representatives (see also chapter 8 below). For example, accounts of Italian terrorists of the 1970s often mentioned mistreatment by police or by the judiciary as one of the driving forces behind their radicalization (della Porta 1990; Catanzaro and Manconi 1995). In much broader – and milder – terms, we can view interactions with state agents who do not behave according to expectations or political representatives who fail to recognize people's genuine needs as facilitators of the development of political identity. For example, Drury et al. (2003) analyzed how the identities of local residents, participating in an antiroad protest in England in 1993–4, evolved during the conflict. They found that the role of the police in supporting the bailiffs in the eviction of protestors from the area contributed to enlarge participants' feelings of identification from the boundaries of the local communities towards a global social movement. Investigating the relation between everyday life and protest in 1990s Argentina, Auyero (2004) showed that the transformation of an unemployed, divorced woman with no tradition of political interest

whatsoever into a prominent community organizer depended in no small measure on the sense of outrage that she experienced at her interactions with two types of "unjust authorities": "political authority," in the form of the local governor, who portrayed hungry protestors as a mob; and "social authority," in the shape of a fellow male protestor who reproduced gender stereotypes by dismissing the role of women in the struggle.

4.5 Summary

Identity construction is an essential component of collective action. It enables actors engaged in conflict to see themselves as people linked by interests, values, common histories – or else as divided by these same factors. Although identity feelings are frequently elaborated in reference to specific social traits such as class, gender, territory, or ethnicity, the process of collective identity does not necessarily imply homogeneity of the actors sharing that identity, or their identification with a distinct social group. Nor are feelings of belonging always mutually exclusive. On the contrary, actors frequently identify with heterogeneous collectives who are not always compatible among themselves on fundamental issues. To reconstruct the tensions through the different versions of identity of a movement, and how these versions are negotiated, represents, according to some scholars, a central problem for the analysis of collective action.

Identity plays an important role in the explanation of collective action even for those who see in collective action a peculiar form of rational behavior. Those who perceive in collective identity certain criteria for evaluating, in the medium and long terms, the costs and benefits of action, are numerous. However, those who hold that this use of the concept of identity cannot be proposed are equally numerous. Because of its strongly emotive and affective components, as well as its controversial and constructed nature, it is difficult to associate identity with behavior of a strategic type. Identity develops and is renegotiated via various processes. These include conflicts between auto- and hetero-definitions of reality; various forms of symbolic production, collective practices, and rituals. It is important, furthermore, to bear in mind the characteristics of the political process, which can influence definitions of identity.

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