CHAPTER 1

Introduction: Towards a Global History of Social Movements

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Protests and social movements are back: Occupy, the 'Arab Spring', and a rise in protest movements and demonstrations around the world seem to suggest that we have entered a new democratic age that is no longer characterized by the dominance of political parties and interest groups and no longer confined to the territory of the nation-state, but that has a truly global shape.[1] Just as social scientists diagnosed the arrival of 'new' social movements in the 1970s and 1980s that replaced the labour movements as the key representatives of social conflict within a post-materialist and potentially post-industrial society, today they discover the arrival of global social movements that accompany our age of globalization.[2]

[1] See, for example, Manuel Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2nd edn, 2010); Benjamin Tejerina et al., 'From Indignation to Occupation: A New Wave of Global Mobilization', *Current Sociology* 4 (2013), pp. 377–392.

[2] The emphasis on novelty is strongest with Alain Touraine, *The Post-Industrial Society. Tomorrow's Social History: Classes, Conflicts and Culture in the Programmed Society* (New York: Random House, 1971), although weaker in his more recent *After the Crisis* (Cambridge: Polity, 2014); and Alberto Melucci, *Nomads of the Present. Social Movements and Individual*

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This interpretation seems to have become part of our common knowledge. *The Economist*, for example, in 2013 sketched out a direct genealogy from the French Revolution, across the revolutions of 1848, via the movements around 1968, the peace and human rights movements of around 1989 and the protests in many cities in 2013. The cover picture showed the embodiments of these protests: The French Marianne with the *Tricolore*, a hippy with a Molotov cocktail, a Lech Wałęsa lookalike with a candle, and a woman in tight jeans waving an iPhone. The leader writer interpreted this as the global march of democracy towards areas of the world where authoritarianism still reigned.[3] A bit more than half a year later, however, the same magazine sounded a more pessimistic note and wondered what had 'gone wrong with democracy', amidst the rise of populism in Europe and around the world and the seeming descent of stable countries into chaos in North Africa and the Middle East.[4]

These recent interventions rehearse some key liberal themes in the history of social activism: the story of social movement as one of modernization and specifically as one where social movements embody that modernization—in effect they often become paradigmatic of modernity. As such, their existence is, by definition if not in social reality, global: their claims and utopias that become connected with them purport to have universal applicability. They are also connected to the growth of a public sphere, and their existence is itself seen as proof for the importance of deliberative democracy and its cosmopolitan potential.[5] At the same time, however, social movements have also been seen as signs of decline and decay, often precisely because they seem to lack a territorial place and precisely because they cannot be fixed in time or in space: movement here

Needs in Contemporary Culture (London: Radius, 1989) as well as Castells, *Rise*. This novelty refers to 'the dominant patterns of social conflictuality' rather than the fact that movements that have emerged in the 1970s have no antecedents, as pointed out by George Steinmetz, 'Regulation Theory, Post-Marxism, and the New Social Movements', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1 (1994), pp. 176–212, here pp. 179–180.

[3] 'The March of Protest', *The Economist*, June 29, 2013. For empirical evidence on the spread of social movement activism see Jackie Smith, 'Characteristics of the Modern Transnational Social Movement Sector', in eadem, Charles Chatfield and Ron Pagnucco, (eds), *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997), pp. 42–58.

[4] 'What's Gone Wrong with Democracy', *The Economist*, March 1, 2014, pp. 47–52.

[5] Werner Hofmann (with assistance from Wolfgang Abendroth), *Ideengeschichte der sozialen Bewegung* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971).

becomes synonymous with menace.[6] Current discussions also make it clear that 'social movement' is not merely an abstract concept from the social sciences. It is a concept that performs work in everyday politics as well, and is connected with associations of utopias of community and belonging and social transformation. This double status of social movement is not new. It has accompanied the movements from when the term was first coined in the context of the French Revolution.[7] We lack, however, specific knowledge about '*this* existing world and how it has come about'.[8]

Despite the recent boom in global history, historical research that seeks to connect these conceptual and everyday histories of activism to specific historical experiences is still in its infancy. This is especially so because the subject matter of social movements has become somewhat unfashionable: conceptually speaking, references to holistic notions of 'society' or 'the social' are seen as out of date, so that social history is only seen to be happening in everyday experiences rather than in reference to political utopias.[9] This also means that the historical sociology that enabled so much innovative research on social activism and movements has been replaced by references to the profoundly ahistorical and self-referential theories of Niklas Luhmann and others, who have argued that protest and social movements were fundamentally about their opposition against social differentiation as the key hallmark to modernity.[10] Social movements, then, tend to become part of what Ingolfur Blühdorn has described as 'simulative democracy':

[6] Cf. Stefan Jonsson, *Crowds and Democracy. The Idea and Images of the Masses from Revolution to Fascism* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2013) and Christian Borch, *The Politics of Crowds. An Alternative History of Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). A masterful survey of radical movements as key drivers of democracy in Europe is provided by Geoff Eley, *Forging Democracy. The History of the Left in Europe 1850–2000* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[7] Otthein Ramstedt, *Soziale Bewegung*, Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1978, p. 7 and pp. 27–28 on these two dimensions.

[8] Michael Geyer and Charles Bright, 'World History in a Global Age', *The American Historical Review* 4 (1995), pp. 1034–1060, here p. 1059.

[9] See, for example, the contributions in Thomas Mergel and Thomas Welskopp (eds), *Geschichte zwischen Kultur und Gesellschaft. Beiträge zur Theoriedebatte* (Munich: Beck, 1997). Cf. the scathing critique of this by Geoff Eley and Keith Nield, *The Future of Class in History. What's Left of the Social?* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2007) and the plea by George Steinmetz, 'The Relations between Sociology and History in the United States: The Current State of Affairs', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 1/2 (2007), pp. 1–12.

[10] Niklas Luhmann, *Ecological Communication* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989); idem, 'Umweltrisiko und Politik', in Kai-Uwe Hellmann (ed.), *Protest. Systemtheorie und soziale Bewegungen* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 1996).

an ultimately meaningless activity in a post-democratic age.[11] But such system-theoretical and functionalist analyses are historically unspecific, and they are especially problematic in that they ignore the historical and ideological boundedness of their own observations. Equally problematic are presentist accounts which create and reify heroic movements by providing us with thick and often nostalgic descriptions of their activism, but do not make specific the boundaries power structures in which they are embedded.[12]

Research on global social movements can, we believe, make visible, and thereby open for discussion, the ways in which we might conceptualize this relationship between agency, structure, and political, social, cultural and material contexts more precisely, a relationship that has also provided the ground for the debates on the many 'turns' that has accompanied debates in the historical social sciences over the last decades.[13] In particular, they throw the question of what happens to the social if it is conceptualized from the perspective of a global horizon into particularly sharp relief.[14]

Against this backdrop, this volume takes on the challenge which Michael Geyer and Charles Bright developed in a brilliant keynote article more than a decade ago: the purpose of this volume is, with respect to the global history of social movements, 'to shatter the silence surrounding global practices, by tracking them, describing them and presenting them historically, [...] recognizing with Georg Simmel that, in an integrated world, we only encounter more strangers'. Accordingly, our global approach to the history of social movements does not seek to provide a coherent interpretation or even line of enquiry. Instead, we wish to highlight the

[11] Ingolfur Blühdorn, *Simulative Demokratie. Neue Politik nach der postdemokratischen Wende* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2013) p. 44; idem, 'Self-description, Self-deception, Simulation: A Systems-Theoretical Perspective on Contemporary Discourses of Radical Change', *Social Movement Studies* 1 (2007), pp. 1–20; Cf. also Slavoj Žižek, *Living in the End Times* (London: Verso, updated edn, 2011); Jacques Rancière, *La haine de la démocratie* (Paris: La Fabrique, 2011).

[12] See, for example, David Graeber, *The Democracy Project: A History, a Crisis, a Movement* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2014).

[13] See, for example, Gary Wilder, 'From Optic to Topic: The Foreclosure Effect of Historiographic Turns', *American Historical Review* 3 (2012), pp. 723–745, and Victorian Bonnell and Lynn Hunt (eds), *Beyond the Cultural Turn. New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999).

[14] See the conceptual remarks in Emily S. Rosenberg, 'Transnationale Strömungen in einer Welt, die zusammenrückt', in eadem (ed.), *Geschichte der Welt, 1870–1945. Weltmärkte und Weltkriege* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2012), pp. 815–998, here pp. 819–824.

'multiplicity of the world's pasts', the 'colliding, interacting, intermixing' that moves against 'the history of a homogenous civilization',[15] so that 'the whole and the fragment are not opposed but understood in dynamic and historical relation'.[16]

This means that the contributions in this volume do not subscribe to a view that regards social movements as agents of modernization across the board. The global perspective adopted here cautions in particular against a perspective that emphasizes the 'liberating potential of social movements' and portrays protesters 'marching lock-step toward human emancipation'.[17] Such a perspective would reify specific notions of freedom, liberation and movement, and would also reify the protesters' agency.[18]

This volume, then, seeks to contribute to the field in three ways: a dialogue between history and social sciences, the conceptualizations of social movements from a global perspective, and, empirically, to global history. First, this book, like the book series in which it appears, seeks to revive the dialogue between history and the social sciences in their attempts to conceptualize and analyse social phenomena that was so impressively begun by Craig Calhoun, Charles Tilly and others in the 1960s and 1970s.[19] Like global history more generally, a global perspective on the history of social movements problematizes and historicizes reified notions of society and their links to (nation-) statehood that have undergirded some of the

[15] Geyer and Bright, 'World History', p. 1059 and p. 1043. Cf. also Geoff Eley, 'Historicizing the Global, Politicizing Capital: Giving the Present a Name', *History Workshop Journal*, 63 (2007), pp. 154–188.

[16] Nico Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism. The Shared Struggle for Freedom in the United States and India* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), p. 251.

[17] Richard G. Fox and Orin Starn, 'Introduction', in idem, *Between Resistance and Revolution. Cultural Politics and Social Protest* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997), pp. 1–16, here p. 11.

[18] As an example for such an approach see the contributions Robin Cohen and Shirin M. Rai, *Global Social Movements* (London: Continuum, 2000). For a brilliant example that historicizes such images of totemic agency see Quinn Slobodian, *Foreign Front: Third World Politics in Sixties West Germany* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012).

[19] Charles Tilly, *The Vendée: A Sociological Analysis of the Counter- Revolution of 1793* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964); idem, *Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1758–1834* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); Craig Calhoun, *The Question of Class Struggle: The Social Foundations of Popular Radicalism during the Industrial Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982) and his more recent *The Roots of Radicalism. Tradition, the Public Sphere and Early Nineteenth-Century Social Movements* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

classical social history and social theory.[20] At the same time, a social movement perspective, because of its emphasis on protests, is especially good at highlighting how 'the condition of globality has always been organized locally, in one place after the other, according to particular circumstances and conditions that happen to obtain'.[21]

Second, we wish to encourage developing the conceptual tools of social movement history further. Historical research is 'in need of theory'.[22] But sociological research can also benefit from the rich insights of historical research in order to test its theoretical assumptions. A significant weakness of Tilly's approach to social movement studies is that he conceptualizes movements from the perspective of 'dynamics of contention' in which 'repertoires of action' are mobilized through certain 'mechanisms'.[23] Historically (and perhaps also sociologically) this is not satisfactory. Tilly's is an analysis of movements with the movement left out: it is action without agency.[24]

Although such analyses are grounded in time, they ignore the temporality of the movements' claims-making. A global perspective on social movements enable us to highlight the ways in which social movements expressed 'imaginary futures' that cannot easily be slotted into the rise of either the nation-state of a historical form or a homogenous form of globality and other stories of modernization. They were utopias, non-places, in the original sense of the word, but they nonetheless were promoted by specific actors in specific locales and in specific contexts.[25] In the practices of protest, however, such utopias turned into what Manuel Castells has called 'timeless time' that 'combined two different types of experience': the 'day by day' experiences in the occupation or protest camps and on

[20] For another field see George Steinmetz (ed.), *Sociology and Empire. The Imperial Entanglements of a Discipline* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013).

[21] Geyer and Bright, 'World History', p. 1057.

[22] Reinhart Koselleck, 'Über die Theoriebedürftigkeit der Geschichtswissenschaft', in Werner Conze (ed.), *Theorie der Geschichtswissenschaft und Praxis des Geschichtsunterrichts* (Stuttgart: Klett Cotta, 1972), pp. 10–28.

[23] Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[24] See the critique by James M. Jasper, 'Social Movement Theory Today: Toward a Theory of Action?' *Sociology Compass* 11 (2010), pp. 965–976, especially p. 974.

[25] Manu Goswami, 'Imaginary Futures and Colonial Internationalism', *American Historical Review* 5 (2012), pp. 1461–1485.

demonstrations, and the 'unlimited horizon of possibilities of new forms of life and community emerging from the practice of movement'.[26]

The global history of social movements is therefore not simply limitless, it still takes place, quite literally. It allows us to 'read time into space' and to identify the spaces at which history unfolds.[27] Our contributions are therefore sceptical of approaches that posit a 'world culture' as the basis for global social activism. Although John Boli, George Thomas and others make it clear that they do not wish to suggest the homogeneity of assumptions of culture, the approach nonetheless risks positing a globally valid framework of understanding as a priori, rather than opening it up for historicization and interpretations. In our view, their approach also does not take sufficient account of the way in which global imaginaries were just as much interpretations of specific cultural assumptions rather than universals, and gave rise to specific utopian longings of the future, rather than generic ones.[28]

These futures were often expressed locally, through the occupation of very particular spaces and by creating very specific places. Such spaces have created communities of belonging that make visible symbolically the

[26] Manuel Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope. Social Movements in the Internet Age* (Cambridge: Polity, 2012), p. 223.

[27] See the imaginative account by Karl Schlögel, *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit. Über Zivilisationsgeschichte und Geopolitik* (Munich: Hanser, 2003), whose title is inspired by the geographer Karl Ratzel. An excellent summary of the sociology of spaces and places is provided by Markus Schroer, *Räume, Orte, Grenzen. Auf dem Weg zu einer Soziologie des Raums* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 2006). As case studies see James Epstein, 'Spatial Practices/democratic vistas', *Social History* 3 (1999), pp. 294–310, especially pp. 309–310 and Sebastian D. Schickl, *Universalismus und Partikularismus. Erfahrungsraum, Erwartungshorizont und Territorialdebatten in der diskursiven Praxis der II. Internationale 1889–1917* (St. Ingbert: Röhrig, 2012); Davina Cooper, *Everyday Utopias. The Conceptual Life of Promising Spaces* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014); Francesca Polletta, '"Free spaces" in Collective Action', *Theory and Society* 1 (1999), pp. 1–38.

[28] John Boli and George M. Thomas, *Constructing World Culture. International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999). For a theoretical critique see Rudolf Stichweh, *Die Weltgesellschaft. Soziologische Analysen*, Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp, 2000), pp. 19–23; Bettina Heintz, Richard Münch, Hartmann Tyrell (eds), *Weltgesellschaft. Theoretische Zugänge und empirische Problemlagen* (Stuttgart: Lucius & Lucius, 2005); and Janet Wolff, 'The Global and the Specific: Reconciling Conflicting Theories of Culture', in Anthony D. King (ed.), *Culture, Globalization and the World System* (Binghamton, NY: State University of New York Press, 1991), pp. 161–173, and empirically Oscar Handlin, *One World: The Origins of an American Concept* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974); cf. Geyer and Bright, 'World History', p. 1047 and p. 1055.

movements' claims to power and are also public.[29] It is a well-known fact that social movements depend on the (mass) media to reproduce themselves, to frame their messages and to broadcast their aims.[30] The question that arises from this is whether the development of information technology and the possibilities of instant communications have fundamentally changed this relationship by making global connections more efficient and effective.[31] The contributions by John Chalcraft and Nora Lafi on the social movements in the modern Middle East express deep scepticism about such interpretations and highlight the importance of real over virtual networks; and a mere cursory glance at historical revolutionary conjunctures suggests that the mechanisms whereby global futures become embedded in specific local contexts that we can observe today also have their histories.[32] The question remains, though, whether the new technologies have, by reshaping the nature of power and statehood, also had an impact on the nature of protest, enabling new interactions between virtual and real connections.[33] The network metaphor has itself a fascinating history that was deeply embedded in the history of global movement activism and that deserves further exploration in this context.[34]

History, and global history in particular, allow us to bring agency and time back into sociological research on social movements and might provide crucial evidence to develop further action-theoretical accounts of social movements that take full account of the role of emotions and culture in social movement activism.[35] A conversation between historians

[29] See Castells, *Networks*, pp. 10–11.

[30] William Gamson and Gadi Wolfsfeld, 'Movements and Media as Interacting Systems', *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528 (1993), pp. 114–125.

[31] See, for example, the differentiated take by Jeffrey S. Juris, *Networking Futures. The Movements against Corporate Globalization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

[32] See, for example, the remarks on a 'globalization from below' in the context of the Paris Commune by Kristin Ross, *Communal Luxury: The Political Imaginary of the Paris Commune* (London: Verso, 2015) and, with a specific emphasis on the temporality of these imaginaries Lucian Hölscher, *Weltgericht oder Revolution. Protestantische und sozialistische Zukunftsvorstellungen im deutschen Kaiserreich* (Stuttgart: Klett Cotta, 1989).

[33] Castells, *Networks*, p. 15.

[34] Sebastian Gießmann, *Die Verbundenheit der Dinge. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Netze und Netzwerke* (Berlin: Kadmos, 2014) and the critique of the concept by Marilyn Strathern, 'Cutting the Network', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 3 (1996), pp. 517–535.

[35] Cf. Britta Baumgarten, Priska Daphi and Peter Ullrich (eds), *Conceptualizing Culture in Social Movement Research* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan 2014), especially the chapter by James M. Jasper, 'Feeling–Thinking: Emotions as Central to Culture', pp. 23–44.

and social scientists will enable us to avoid 'the danger of substituting the dogmatic structuralism of older forms of social history with a more accidental, but nevertheless exaggerated actor-centeredness'.[36] They will help to highlight in particular the multiple interactions between actors, their values, the political and social structures, as well as the processes within which they operated.[37] Within this general framework, the 'globality' of social movements might pertain to one of these aspects, but not to the others, so that the global nature and reach of the movements may often be smaller than the term suggests.[38]

Our volume, therefore, brings together historical studies that stem from a variety of theoretical traditions, although none of our chapters adopts only one particular theoretical model by, say, prioritizing political opportunity structures or the mobilization of resources over social and economic conditions. Historical research, in particular, highlights the importance of framing as well as cognitive aspects to social movement studies, while not reducing these activities to strategic choices made by rational actors.[39] For most of the sociological approaches, 'globalizing' social movement theory means investigating whether and to what extent global connections have had an impact of the nature and efficacy of social movement activism. The domestic theoretical toolkit is essentially transferred to the global arena.[40] Social movements often appear primarily as international non-governmental organizations or as domestic non-governmental organizations that act

[36] Wolfram Kaiser, 'Transnational Mobilization and Cultural Representation: Political Transfer in an Age of Proto-Globalization, Democratization and Nationalism 1848–1914', *European Review of History* 2 (2005), pp. 403–424, here p. 416.

[37] On these analytical distinctions see Carlos R. S. Milani and Ruthy Nadia Laniado, 'Transnational Social Movements and the Globalization Agenda: A Methodological Approach Based on the Analysis of the World Social Forum', *Brazilian Political Science Review* 1 (2007), pp. 10–39, here pp. 14–17, available at: http://socialsciences.scielo.org/pdf/s_bpsr/v2nse/a01v2nse.pdf.

[38] A point made forcefully by Frederick Cooper, 'What is Globalization Good for? An African Historian's Perspective', *African Affairs* 100 (2001), pp. 189–213.

[39] Cf. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy and Mayer Zald (eds), *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements. Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Ron Eyerman and Andrew Jamison, *Social Movements. A Cognitive Approach* (Cambridge: Polity, 1991).

[40] Cf., for example, John D. McCarthy (ed.), 'The Globalization of Social Movement Theory', in Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield and Ron Pagnucco (eds), *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1997), pp. 243–259 and Jackie Smith, 'Social Movements and World Politics. A Theoretical Framework', pp. 59–77 in the same volume.

internationally, so that their main activity appears as one of pressure groups that campaign for specific policy outcomes rather than as movements that try to promote broader programmes of social and cultural change.[41]

Tilly's analysis of social movements has also, broadly, been embedded within a modernization-theoretical account of social movement activism. Given the emergence of 'world history in a global age' that has highlighted the complexity of multiple modernities that coexisted side by side, such an account no longer seems reasonable.[42] This is why, third, we contend that the renewal of the history of social movement can only happen from the perspective of global history that takes account of the rich literature in transnational and global history that has developed over the recent decade or so.[43] A global perspective is especially adept at bringing to light both the structures of power and the power of contestation stemming from social movements that operate across national boundaries: domestic social movements challenge the boundaries of the political vested in a regime of territorial sovereignty,[44] social movements that operate in the global domain do this even more. In this context, it is important to be aware that the metaphor of 'flow' that is often used to described the global connections and reach of these movements was itself embedded in these networks of power and contestations and has the tendency to efface that power and the agencies that are associated with it. The metaphor opens up a 'rhetorical dichotomy that locates agency and dynamism in global systems all

[41] See the pathbreaking book by Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders. Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998).

[42] Geyer and Bright, 'World History', as well as the magisterial study by Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World. A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014) as well as and volumes by Emily S. Rosenberg (ed.), *A World Connecting* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012); Akira Irye (ed.), *Global Interdependence. The World after 1945* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014) and the textbook by John Coatsworth et al., *Global Connections. Politics, Exchange and Social Life in World History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), vol. 2: Since 1500.

[43] See only Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier (eds), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History. From the Mid-19th Century to the Present Day* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

[44] Charles S. Maier (ed.), *Changing Boundaries of the Political* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), especially the chapter by Claus Offe.

at the larger scales while treating small scales, such as the level of human experience, as essentially passive and reactive'.[45]

Global social movements therefore bring to light the 'alternative world destroyed and suppressed' within a global system of states.[46] We wish to stress in particular that it is not only progressive but also reactionary movements that make use of this global sphere of operations.[47] It is also this crossing of borders, real or imagined, that makes the legitimacy of global social movements so contested: they often operate outside the coordinates of domestic politics, while at the same time appearing as alien influences in domestic politics. They are, to use Sidney Tarrow's phrase, doubly 'strangers at the gate'.[48] This is why a global history of social movements cannot do without taking the history of power and its legitimacy into account. It can only be written as a socio-cultural history of politics.

But this alienation effect that a global perspective might have also applies to historical research itself: Park Chung Hee's conceptual chapter on Korean feminism demonstrates the vast creative conceptual potential of a global optic. As Andreas Eckert's contribution mentions, there has been an intensive and highly productive debate about whether a Western notion of 'social movement' can be applied to African countries, given the nature of statehood and the legacy of colonialism there. This debate essentially revolved around the nature of post-colonial agency and was a sub-set of the wider debate surrounding the theme of 'national liberation [as] a western derived project'.[49] Furthermore, it enquired whether there could be 'African' movements *sui generis*. This debate has resulted in a number of productive interventions on a 'politics from below' that crossed

[45] Stuart Alexander Rockefeller, 'Flow', *Current Anthropology* 4 (2011), pp. 557–568, here p. 564.

[46] Michael J. Schapiro, 'Moral Geographies and the Ethics of Post-Sovereignty', *Public Culture*, 6 (1994), pp. 479–502, here p. 481.

[47] See, for example, the ERC project by Robert Gerwarth on paramilitary violence in the context of the First World War and its aftermath: http://www.ucd.ie/warstudies/research-projects/demobilization/ as well as the contributions by Kevin Passmore, Klaus Weinhauer and Fabian Virchow in this volume.

[48] Sidney Tarrow, *Strangers at the Gate. Movements and States in Contentious Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Cf. also Olaf Kaltmeier, *Politische Räume jenseits von Staat und Nation* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2012), p. 70.

[49] See John D. Kelly and Martha Kaplan, 'Nation and decolonization. Toward a New Anthropology of Nationalism', *Anthropological Theory* 4 (2001), pp. 419–437, here p. 419.

national boundaries.[50] But this debate has also brought to light questions of power and influence and their legitimatizing discourses that frequently remain hidden in social movement scholarship and that can provide important clues for conceptual scholarship elsewhere. Marie-Emmanuelle Pommerolle, following Jean-François Bayart, has suggested an analysis that places 'dependency as a mode of action' centre stage and that regards the global and international orientation of social movements in Cameroon as the 'extraversion of African political spaces'. Here, 'the international sphere should not be viewed as external to national political space—it is, in fact, a constituent part of it'. In short: the global is already part of the national. This constellation has had highly contradictory effects: access to the global sphere is the result of contestations, and success or failure have had consequences on the distribution of domestic power.[51]

A global perspective on social movements therefore opens up the fixed Western meanings of some of the movements that are included in this volume for deeper historicization by asking how some of the universal languages and claims came 'with their own set of inclusions and exclusions' and how such more restrictive languages could nonetheless transform social relations in places like Africa. Our perspective therefore draws attention to the different meanings of 'equality', 'freedom', 'peace' and so on, while nonetheless bringing them together within a common frame of reference that help to create connections across the globe.[52] It

[50] Jean-François Bayart, Achille Mbembe and Comi Toulabor, *Le politique par le bas en Afrique noire* (Clamecy: Karthala, new edition, 2008).

[51] Marie-Emmanuelle Pommerolle, 'The Extraversion of Protest: Conditions, History and Use of the 'International' in Africa', *Review of African Political Economy* 125 (2010), pp. 263–279, here p. 264 citing Jean-François Bayart, 'L'Afrique dans le monde: une histoire d'extraversion', *Critique Internationale* 5 (1999), pp. 97–120. For a global history of social movements that places power at the centre see Susan Zimmermann, *GrenzÜberschreitungen. Internationale Netzwerke, Organisationen, Bewegungen und die Politik der globalen Ungleichheit vom 17. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Mandelbaum, 2010).

[52] Frederick Cooper, 'Networks, Moral Discourse, and History', in Thomas Callaghy, Ronald Kassimir and Robert Latham (eds), *Intervention and Transnationalism in Africa. Global–Local Networks of Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 23–46, especially p. 24 and p. 35. As case studies see, for example, Janet Polasky, *Revolutions without Borders. The Call to Liberty in the Atlantic World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015); Laurent Dubois; *A Colony of Citizens. Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787–1804* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2004) and on the specific regime of temporality Malick W. Ghachem, *The Old Regime and the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

highlights how 'projections of Western power were [...] locally articulated as self-mobilizations and absorbed into the very fabric of local affairs'.[53] Analysing social movement activism within a global framework therefore also enables us to unpack the meaning of some of the metaphors within the context of the (co-) production of social relations: rather than starting with preconceived notions of what 'the social' in the social movements is, a global perspective encourages us to follow and trace, unpack and unpick, the protests, networks, flows and stories as they occur, thus 'reassembling the social'.[54] We also believe that global approaches to the history of social movement are especially adept at showing how notions of class and gender were directly connected with notions of race and political domination.[55] In particular, a global perspective enables us to glimpse how the forms that social movements took were themselves embedded in and related to specific global formations, such as imperialism and colonialism.[56]

The conceptual history of (global) social movements developed in synch with the actual history of social movements, but has always been in a complex relationship with it. In particular, the concept 'social movement' emerged in the context of the conceptual changes in the wake of the French Revolution, so that the concept comes with intimate connections to the history of the European Enlightenment.[57] 'Social movement' always refers to both an abstract conceptualization and the actual occurrence of protests. Early conceptualizations of 'social movement' emerged in France around the French Revolution. For Saint-Simon and others writing in France in the 1820s, 'social movement' became a shorthand for progressive social change as such. After the July Revolution of 1830, the concept travelled to Germany, and French theorists instead discussed society from

[53] Geyer and Bright, 'World History', p. 1049.

[54] Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor–Network-Theory* (Oxford: OUniversity Press, 2005).

[55] See the important conceptual interventions on the mutual imbrication of gender and class by Kathleen Canning, Gender History in Practice: Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class, and Citizenship (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).

[56] Cf., for example, the case study by Matthew Hilton, 'Ken Loach and the Save the Children Film: Humanitarianism, Imperialism and the Changing Role of Charity in Britain', *Journal of Modern History* 2 (2015), pp. 357–394 and Gary B. Magee and Andrew S. Thompson, *Empire and Globalisation. Networks of People, Goods and Capital in the British World, c. 1850–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[57] On the French Revolution as a moment of conceptual change see Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002).

the perspective of 'the masses' posing a threat to the stability of social order. In Germany, however, the concept 'social movement' found resonance among Hegel and his followers, where it became shorthand not for any specific social processes, but the dialectical movement of history as such. It is only in the context of the left-wing Hegelians that 'social movement' regained its critical potential, when Bruno Bauer began to conceptualize 'movement' as the 'negation' of existing social conditions. It was in the critical engagement of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels with Bauer's writing that 'social movements' became connected to a specific social formation, the working class. In the conceptualization in the *Communist Manifesto* (1848), Marx and Engels connected the concept of 'social movement' with a positive rendering of 'masses', so that the emerging proletariat became the archetype of a social movement. By the end of the nineteenth century, 'social movement' was no longer in fashion, as the specifics of the labour movement came into view: Lorenz von Stein, for whom the concept had carried notions of holistic social change in the 1840s, refocused his interpretation of 'social movement' primarily on its empirical existence rather than any world-historical conclusions. In the wake of the First World War, 'social movement' then became a concept that was used both conceptually and in empirical practice as a counter-concept to 'revolution'. It was mainly connected to the rise of fascist movements that now occurred in specific protest events, a meaning that lingers on in the early socio-psychological work on collective behaviour in the 1950s as well as in the various incarnations of theories of totalitarianism.[58] As such, global movements and their (social-scientific) conceptualization have influenced the images of the social and of society that have circulated at any given time.[59]

Any serious attempt at writing the global history of social movements requires an awareness of the 'historical sociology of concept formation' and the 'epistemological unconscious' that is constantly brought into conversation with the empirical evidence.[60] In that sense, rather than regarding

[58] Wolfgang Schieder, ed., *Faschismus als soziale Bewegung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982) and the chapter by Kevin Passmore in this volume.

[59] For the preceding paragraph see Otthein Ramstedt, Soziale Bewegung (Frankfurt/Main Suhrkamp, 1978), p. 7, 27, 30, 43, 47–55, 59–61, 75–77, 105, 107–108, 110–112; Borch, *Politics of Crowds*; and Gabriele Klein (ed.), *Bewegung. Sozial- und kulturwissenschaftliche Konzepte* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2004).

[60] See Margaret R. Somers, *Genealogies of Citizenship. Markets, Statelessness, and the Right to Have Rights* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 173; George Steinmetz, 'Introduction: Positivism and its Others in the Social Sciences, in idem (ed.), *The Politics of*

the concept of 'social movement' as evidence of what Lutz Raphael has called the 'scientization of the social', it may be more apposite to regard 'global social movement' as a concept or category that performs specific knowledge work, both conceptually and empirically.[61] While not all chapters in this volume seek to engage in such an effort explicitly, they jointly, together with the conceptual contributions, seek to encourage a debate in this direction.

Social movements have played a vital role in determining the course of world history at many important junctures. They comprised many organizationally and ideologically different movements, including socialist and communist movements but also fascist ones. They go back deep into history, as the chapter by Marcel van der Linden in this volume particularly exemplifies, and yet they are often treated as extremely recent phenomena. The latter has much to do with the dominance of social movement studies, a field in which social scientists look mainly at contemporary social movements.[62] When representatives of social movement studies talk about taking a historical approach, they often go back to the new social movements of the 1970s, which are widely perceived as the origins of today's social movements. In particular, the big three social movements—women's movements, peace movements and environmental movements—have been studied extensively over recent years. The main academic journals in the field in English are oriented towards social science, in particular *Social*

Method in the Human Sciences. Positivism and its Epistemological Others (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), pp. 44–45. For a conceptual history of 'globalization' see Olaf Bach, *Die Erfindung der Globalisierung. Entstehung und Wandel eines zeitgeschichtlichen Grundbegriffs* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2013).

[61] Cf. Jakob Vogel, 'Von der Wissenschafts- zur Wissensgeschichte. Für eine Historisierung der "Wissensgesellschaft"', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 4 (2004), pp. 639–660 vs. Lutz Raphael, 'Die Verwissenschaftlichung des Sozialen als methodische und konzeptionelle Herausforderung für eine Sozialgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 2 (1996), pp. 165–193. Cf., as an example for such a coproduction of knowledge: Tova Benski et al., 'From the Streets and Squares to Social Movement Studies: What Have We Learned?' *Current Sociology* 4 (2013), pp. 541–561.

[62] Good introductions to social movement studies in English include Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements. An Introduction*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006); Hank Johnston, *What is a Social Movement?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2014); David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule and Hanspeter Kriesi, *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004); Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011); Charles Tilly and Lesley J. Wood, *Social Movements, 1768–2008*, 2nd edn (New York: Paradigm, 2009). Only Tilly and Wood, as historical sociologists, take a deep historical perspective.

Movement Studies, *Mobilization* and *Interface: A Journal for and about Social Movements*. By contrast, there is only one historical journal dedicated to exploring the deep history of social movements in their social history context—*Moving the Social. Journal of Social History and the History of Social Movements*.[63]

Whilst social scientists have been doing and continue to do a sterling job exploring contemporary social movements and their origins in contemporary history, it seems timely to explore in greater depth the deep history of social movements and to do so in global perspective. We take particular inspiration from Craig Calhoun's masterly attempt to trace the roots of radical social movements back to the early nineteenth century.[64] The Institute for Social Movements at Bochum University is dedicated to the task of historicizing social movements, although it also hosts social scientists and therefore develops deep historical analysis in close alliance with the perspectives from social-science oriented social movement studies.[65] Its current director, Stefan Berger, has joined forces with one of the foremost historians of social movements in Britain, Holger Nehring, to set up a new book series with Palgrave Macmillan, entitled *Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,* which has already published several volumes on social movements on different parts and at different times in world history.[66] The current volume, coedited by Berger and Nehring,

[63] For *Social Movement Studies*, see: http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/csms20/current#.VSqM4JO1eVM; for *Mobilization*, see: http://www.mobilization.sdsu.edu/; for Interface, see: http://www.interfacejournal.net/; for *Moving the Social*, see: http://moving-the-social.ub.rub.de/; of course, we also have a range of journals dealing with social movements in other languages: in German, see, for example *Forschungsjournal Soziale Bewegungen*: http://forschungsjournal.de/, and in French, the journal *Le Mouvement Social*: http://www.cairn.info/revue-le-mouvement-social.htm. [all accessed 12 April 2015]

[64] Craig Calhoun, *The Roots of Radicalism: Tradition, the Public Sphere and Early Nineteenth-Century Social Movements* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

[65] http://www.isb.rub.de/isb/ [accessed 12 April 2015]. One of the most recent publications in the Institute's German-language book series also calls for the more thorough historicization of social movement studies, whilst at the same time urging historians to make use of the theoretical and conceptual arsenal provided by social movement studies. See Jürgen Mittag and Helke Stadtland, 'Soziale Bewegungsforschung im Spannungsfeld von Theorie und Empirie: einleitende Bemerkungen zu Potenzialen disziplinärer Brückenschläge zwischen Geschichts- und Sozialwissenschaft', in Jürgen Mittag and Helke Stadtland (eds), *Theoretische Ansätze und Konzepte der Forschung über soziale Bewegungen in der Geschichtswissenschaft* (Essen: Klartext, 2014), pp. 13–60.

[66] For the range of titles published in the Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements, see: http://www.palgraveconnect.com/pc/browse/listsubseries?subseries=

is meant to provide a state-of-the-art overview on social movements in a deep historical perspective, first of all, because any such overview is missing and secondly, because the editors hope to inspire more work in the history of social movements by showing what a fascinating and exciting field of research this currently is.

Any deep historical turn in social movement studies raises the question: How deep is this turn supposed to be? This leads us straight to the question of whether and to what extent social movements are modern phenomena and how we intend to define modernity. Our position is that social movements go back to the beginnings of society—social protest is as old as the first communities of human beings setting up their settlements and constituting a field of the social. However, we have no wish to deny that something of fundamental importance happened in the century between roughly 1750 and 1850, and it happened in the West, i.e. mainly in Europe and North America. What happened can be described in terms of two processes: industrialization and democratization. Much ink has been spilt over the question why the Industrial Revolution happened in Europe and not in China, and whilst the debate on the 'Great Divergence' is far from over and decided in all of its details, industrialization in the West provided the basis for the West's global dominance.[67] But the fundamental change in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was not just technological and industrial; it involved massive social change as well. A society, ordered into estates, into which people were born and out of which they could not move, in other words, a relatively static society, gave way to a society of equals, which was theoretically meritocratic and where the abilities and potentials of the individual determined its position in society. Of course, there were many other factors, such as wealth, education and networks which determined positions in society, but the social sphere became more fluid. The dual political revolutions in North America and France in the late eighteenth century emancipated 'the third estate' and formulated for the first time the equality of citizens who were all, without distinction, equal members of a posited national community. As people were emerging from estates-based societies, they attempted to organize their own lives, societies and social conditions through forms of

Palgrave%20Studies%20in%20the%20History%20of%20Social%20Movements&order_by=publish-date [accessed 12 April 2015].

[67] Roman Studer, *The Great Divergence Reconsidered: Europe, India and the Rise to Global Economic Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 13–17.

organization, thereby paving the way to modern forms of mass societies. These emerging forms of bourgeois associationalism also can be understood as an important boost for social movements in Europe and the Western world.[68] The birth of modern nationalism went hand in hand with the birth of some of the most cherished principles of modern democracy.[69] The political and industrial revolutions in Europe and North America marked a watershed in world history and reconstituted the world, as it was known by contemporaries. Hence, under the new conditions of citizenship and industrialization, the character of social movements also changed significantly as they had to take into account the fundamental change in the self-understanding and constitution of societies transitioning from an 'old' world into a 'new' one. This is also why we asked authors in this volume to concentrate on the modern history of social movements, i.e. the last 250 years. Whilst, some, notably Marcel van der Linden, challenged that idea and self-consciously presented an even deeper history of social movements, most adhered to our framework. It still presents, we would argue, a significant enrichment of our understanding of social movements, as we intend to contribute to add to the existing and flourishing study of social movements the field of social movement history.

One intriguing question is whether it is possible to identify waves of mobilization of social protest through social movements on a global level.[70] On the basis of the articles assembled in this volume we would like to suggest that it is difficult to talk about such waves in strict synchronic ways. Sometimes we can identify global moments of protest, e.g. the revo-

[68] In Germany, the rise of bourgeois society has been analysed in great detail in massive research projects based independently at the universities of Bielefeld (under Hans-Ulrich Wehler and Jürgen Kocka) and Frankfurt/Main (under Lothar Gall). See, for example, Jürgen Kocka, *Industrial Culture and Bourgeois Society: Business, Labor and Bureaucracy in Modern Germany* (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 1999); Lothar Gall, *Bürgertum in Deutschland* (Berlin: Goldmann, 1996); Peter Lundgreen (ed.), *Sozial- und Kulturgeschichte des Bürgertums: eine Bilanz des Bielefelder Sonderforschungsbereichs* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

[69] John Breuilly (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), Chaps. 5 and 6.

[70] Dieter Rucht, for example, has tried to trace protest waves in West Germany after 1949. See his 'Zur Wandel politischen Protests in der Bundesrepublik', *vorgänge* 4 (2003), pp. 4–11; Stefan Berger has tried something similar for Western Europe in his 'Social Movements in Europe since the End of the Second World War', in Jan-Ottmar Hesse, Christian Kleinschmidt, Alfred Reckendrees and Ray Stokes (eds), *Perspectives on European Economic and Social History* (Wiesbaden: Nomos, 2014), pp. 15–46.

lutionary period between 1905 and the early 1920s, the 1968 protests, or the anti-globalization protests of the 1990s and 2000s. But beyond such moments there are also many longue-durée and diachronic waves, forming around particular issues or themes. Here, for example, we can identify, first, waves of mobilization around the constitution of bourgeois society and its delineation from older aristocratic societies, lasting from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century and largely restricted to the Western world. Secondly, we can identify waves of mobilization against the expansion of the Western world to 'the rest', i.e. against colonialism and imperialism, which stretch from the early modern period right to the present, but had a particular strength from the late nineteenth century to the post-Second World War period. Third, we can identify waves of mobilization around labour protests against diverse regimes of labour associated with the expansion of industrial capitalism: starting in Europe and the West in the nineteenth century they reached other parts of the globe later in time and today still form a major backbone of social movement contention in places like Latin American and Asia. Fourth, social protests against war are perhaps as old as war itself, but in the Cold War conflict during the second half of the twentieth century, the real possibility of mutual annihilation of mankind and global destruction led to a massive wave of social movement protest. Not only 'the bomb' threatened the very survival of mankind from the second half of the twentieth century onward, environmental destruction at the same time plumbed new depths and threatened the ecological collapse of the planet, spawninga many-faceted environmental protection movement that is still riding the crest of a massive and truly global protest culture.[71] Sixth, the search for equal rights for women saw a first wave of protest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and a second wave during the 1960s and 1970s.

Sometimes, waves of social movement mobilization have been connected to political generations, although this connection has never been a straightforward reflection of age differentials within society.[72] Thus, we

[71] See Joachim Radkau's magisterial account *The Age of Ecology. A Global History*. (Cambridge: Polity, 2014).

[72] Holger Nehring, '"Generation" as Political Argument in West European Protest Movements in the 1960s', in S. Lovell (ed.), *Generations in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 57–78. See also, more generally, Mark Roseman (ed.), *Generations in Conflict: Youth Revolt and Generation Formation in Germany 1770–1968* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

may speak of a revolutionary generation, influenced by the double revolution of US independence of 1776 and the French revolution of 1789, an 1832 and an 1848 generation, influenced by revolutionary events that spanned many parts of Europe in those years. Nationalist social movements are often connected to key events in the formation of modern nation-states, e.g. 1871 in Germany, 1867 in Hungary, 1905 in Norway etc. In a transnational Western vein, it makes sense to talk of a First World War and a Second World War generation, perhaps also a Great Depression generation. In the second half of the twentieth century, other generational caesuras spring to mind: the 1945 generation, the 1968 generation, and the 1989 generation.[73] Whilst 'generation' is rarely an exclusive explanatory factor in the formation and success of social movements, in many different ways generation can be usefully employed as a heuristic and analytical tool for a better understanding of social movement development.

No one volume can offer a complete history of everything, especially in sub-field where research is still in its infancy. Perhaps the most obvious omission in this volume is the absence of a chapter on anarchism, part of the movements for social reform that emerged around the world from the 1880s to the 1920s. Anarchism was especially adept at crossing boundaries and establishing global connections.[74] In a number of regions, the translation of anarchism into local movements and societies 'forged a culture of contestation [...] which [...] challenged existing and emerging class boundaries, redefined notions of foreignness and belonging, and promoted alternative visions of social and world order' that lay outside the traditional remit of the organized labour movement and depended on the appropriation and translation of culture as much as on direct political exchanges. It was frequently connected to 'nodal cities' that became connected through improved means of communication and cross-migration.[75] Likewise, we

[73] A. Dirk Moses, *German Intellectuals and the Nazi Past* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 55–73 on the 'forty fivers'; Dorothee Wierling, *Geboren im Jahr eins. Der Jahrgang 1949 in der DDR. Versuch einer Kollektivbiographie* (Berlin: C. H. Links, 2002); Jürgen Reulecke (ed.), *Generationalität und Lebensgeschichte im 20. Jahrhundert* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2003); Mary Fulbrook, *Dissonant Lives: Generations and Violence through the German Dictatorships* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[74] Benedict Anderson, *Under Three Flags. Anarchism and the Anti-Colonial Imagination* (London: Verso, 2005).

[75] Ilham Khuri-Makdisi, *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism, 1860–1914* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010), p. 1 and p. 26. Cf. also Constance Bantman, *The French Anarchists in London 1880–1914. Exile and Transnationalism in the First Globalisation* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013); Nicola Pizzolato,

might have also included a chapter on the global trajectories of revolutions and revolutionaries.[76]

The volume also does not include a chapter on global religious movements. While it becomes clear in some of the chapters that religion was a crucial force,[77] our volume does not engage with the global movements for religious awakenings, nor with the global nature of connections that religious movements were able to provide.[78] Religious movements, in particular, were deeply imbricated in colonial rule. But the social contexts in terms of race, class and gender in which the missionaries operated were never fixed; they changed as the missionaries travelled. The Catholic Church, in particular, has not only provided an organizational framework for these groups:[79] it has, through this organizational context, provided

Challenging Global Capitalism. Labor Migration, Radical Struggle, and Urban Change in Detroit and Turin (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013). On the specific task of 'translation' see Sean Scalmer, 'Translating Contention: Culture, History, and the Circulation of Collective Action', *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 4 (2000), pp. 491–514.

[76] See, for example, Polasky, *Revolutions;* Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, The Many-Headed Hydra: *Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2000); Matthew D. Rothwell, *Transpacific Revolutionaries: The Chinese Revolution in Latin America* (New York: Routledge, 2013), Padraic Kenney, *1989. Democratic Revolutions at the Cold War's End: A Brief History with Documents* (New York: Bedford/St Martin's, 2009).

[77] For example Holger Nehring's on peace movements and Alexandra Przyrembel's on moral reform movements.

[78] For summaries see Rosenberg, 'Strömungen', pp. 870–879 (published separately in English as *Transnational Currents in a Shrinking World: 1870–1945* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap, 2014) and Osterhammel, *Transformation*, Chapter 19. For case studies see Abigail Green and Vincent Viaene (eds), *Religious Internationals in the Modern Age: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012); David Bebbington, *Victorian Religious Revivals: Culture and Piety in Local and Global Contexts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Rebekka Habermas, 'Mission im 19. Jahrhundert. Globale Netze des Religiösen', *Historische Zeitschrift* 56 (2008), pp. 629–679; Harald Fischer-Tiné, 'Global Civil Society and the Forces of Empire: The Salvation Army, British Imperialism, and the "Prehistory" of NGOs (c 1880–1920)', in Sebastian Conrad and Dominic Sachsenmaier (eds), *Competing Visions of World Order: Global Moments and Movements* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 29–68: Alexandra Przyrembel, 'The Emotional Bond of Brotherliness: Protestant Masculinity and the Local and Global Networks among Religious in the Nineteenth Century', *German History* 2 (2013), pp. 157–180.

[79] Markus Friedrich, *Der lange Arm Roms?: Globale Verwaltung und Kommunikation im Jesuitenorden 1540–1773* (Frankfurt/Main: Campus, 2011); Vincent Viaene, *The Papacy and the New World Order: Vatican Diplomacy, Catholic Opinion and International Politics at the Time of Leo XIII (1878–1903)* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006).

a powerful backdrop to social movement activity.[80] Likewise, one might have also included chapters on the global history of nationalism in this volume, especially in the context of pan-Arabism and pan-Asianism. These movements highlight especially well the fracturedness of the global history of social movements, where global connections do not lead to the emergence of global utopias, but, rather, reinforce particularist visions. We hope, however, that this theme is made sufficiently clear in the other chapters to this volume.[81]

It seems appropriate to start the volume with one of the foremost theoreticians and practitioners of social movement studies, Dieter Rucht, who has been active in this field for many decades and who provides us with some conceptual and theoretical guidance. Thus, he discusses various attempts to define social movements and provides us with his own lucid and convincing definition. Rucht goes on to differentiate between descriptive questions and causal explanations in social movement questions, introducing the 'triple C'—characteristics, conditions and consequences. He also problematizes the normativity of much social movement studies research. Furthermore, he reinforces the need to theorize social movement studies and gives examples of the usefulness of a diverse body of theories helping to answer specific questions. After discussing some of the most common methods of and sources for research on social movements, he concludes his chapter by discussing ways of interpreting and contextualizing social movement research.

Rucht's conceptual chapter is accompanied by two chapters which apply a particular body of theory to social movement research in specific regions of the world. Rochona Majumdar underlines the fruitfulness of applying a subaltern studies perspective to the history of social movements. Subaltern studies scholars started out with a strong interest in popular movements,

[80] Cf., for example, Christian Smith, *The Emergence of Liberation Theology: Radical Religion and the Social Movement Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

[81] See, for example, Amira K. Bennison, 'Muslim Universalism and Western Globalization', in A.G. Hopkins (ed.), *Globalization and World History* (London: Pimlico, 2002), pp. 74–97; Cemil Aydin, *Politics of Anti-Westernism in Asia. Visions of World Order in Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asian Thought, 1882–1945* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press), 2007; Hasan Kayali, *Arabs and Young Turks: Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1918* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997); Ali Raza, Franziska Roy and Benjamin Zachariah (eds), *The Internationalist Moment: South Asia, Worlds, and World Views 1917–39* (New Delhi: Sage, 2014); Vijay Prashad, *Darker Nations. A People's History of the Third World* (New York: New Press, 2007).

on the Indian sub-continent in particular an interest in peasant movements. Their desire to give 'the subaltern' their rightful place in history has been a strong motivation for studying social movements. Furthermore, peasant identities were often seen as bedrock of a range of other identities informing social movements by industrial workers, craftsmen and religious communities. Hence, from the interest in the subaltern peasant spread the interest in other post-colonial social movements. Finally, the emphasis by subaltern studies scholars on the agency of the subaltern had important theoretical repercussions for the understanding of social movements and their agency both in the metropole and the colonial peripheries. It challenged both the statism and the methodological nationalism of more traditional social movement studies in India and elsewhere in the world.

Senjoo Park problematized the way in which Western feminism has successfully styled women's rights as human rights, thereby achieving a de facto unparalleled globalization of women's issues but at the same time providing both the women's movements and their historians with a totally Western-centric view on the history of women. Her chapter is critical of such universalizing feminist theory. Instead it seeks to explore the rich diversity of women's protest forms and resistances in the realm of 'trans-pacific feminism' without wanting to fall back on national trajectories of such resistances and protests. The challenge, according to Park, is to avoid both nationalist tunnel-vision and Western-centric universalism.

The second part of this volume assembles a set of chapters providing surveys on the development of social movements in distinct continents. Some readers may find the 'continental' approach to the geography of social movements that undergirds one of the sections irritating: we agree that the designation of continents is itself part of the history we wish to unpack.[82] But we feel that our contributions, although written from within the geographical framework of the world's continents, still highlight the flows in and out of these countries and problematize the ways in which these continental histories are constructed, through contestations and the ways in which 'racial inscriptions' might be contained in such practices.[83]

[82] Martin W. Lewis and Kären Wigen, *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997) and Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other. How Anthropology Makes its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

[83] Geyer and Bright, 'World History', p. 1035, fn 5. Cf. Thomas McCarthy, *Race, Empire and the Idea of Human Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Starting in the Americas, Chapter 5 explores a wide range of social movements in Central and Southern America. Claudia Wassermann introduces a periodization of their development which distinguishes between, first, post-independence movements from 1810 to 1870. They were led by indigenous peasants in times of great political instability. The peasants sought to defend themselves against the expansion of large European-owned landed estates and fought the compulsory labour regimes introduced for indigenous peasant populations. Secondly, anti-oligarchical social movements surfaced between the last third of the nineteenth and the first third of the twentieth century. They comprised traditional peasant groups but also traditional labour movement organizations and even urban middle-class protest groups: what united them was their enmity towards authoritarian oligarchies wielding power in post-independent Latin American states. Thirdly, nationalist social movements were prominent from the 1920s onwards. They were either inspired by European fascisms or by diverse forms of anti-imperialism. Fourthly, revolutionary social movements resisting right-wing dictatorships could be found in many Latin American countries during the second half of the twentieth century. Fifthly, new social movements, such as the women's and environmental movements as well as contemporary anti-capitalist anti-globalization movements emerged from the 1970s onwards.

A North American perspective is provided by Felicia Kornbluh's chapter. She acknowledges in her introduction the strength of methodological nationalism in studies on social movements in North America. It is a timely reminder of the strength of national research traditions in different parts of the world, albeit one that is hardly unique to the United States. While she is therefore almost forced to focus on developments in the United States she tries to look occasionally towards Canada and Mexico to put developments in North America into a more transnational perspective. Another bias of her chapter are the new social movements of the second half of the twentieth century. She explores to what extent the distinction between new and old social movements is a helpful one and finds it less helpful in the case of the US than in the cases of Canada and Mexico. After giving a survey of major social movements in the three countries under discussion, albeit with a clear focus on the US, she concludes that much of twentieth-century social change in North America cannot be properly understood without taking account of the multitude of social movements campaigning for such social change.

This is a conclusion that Marcel van der Linden's survey on social movements in Europe from 1000 to 2000 would concur with. Referring to the theoretical framework provided by resource mobilization, opportunity structure and framing, he emphasizes three long-term processes and their impact on the formation of social movements in Europe: state formation, capitalism and urban development. Whilst providing us with a longue-durée picture of social protest in Europe, van der Linden does distinguish pre-Modern from Modern protests. The Middle Ages and the Early Modern era, he argues, were divided from the Modern period by the transition from a predominantly agrarian to a predominantly industrial society. His survey focusses on forms of open and public protests: peasant protests, spanning all periods from the medieval to the twentieth century; guild battles that tended to peter out with the decline of the guilds in the Early Modern period; food riots, which again is a continuum throughout all periods of time; workers' and journeymen's struggles that van der Linden can also trace to the high Middle Ages; millenarian movements, spanning once again the pre-Modern and the Modern; social revolutions that he also traces to the high Middle Ages. Social protests under conditions of modern capitalism are then discussed with reference to the anti-slavery movement, the modern labour movement, and the women's movement. Van der Linden also gives us an intriguing glimpse into social protests under the twentieth-century communist regimes in Europe. He concludes by asserting three common threads that united social protest movements in Europe: the search for social security, social justice and respect.

Andreas Eckert's chapter on sub-Saharan Africa is a stark contrast to the chapters on the Americas and Europe. Whereas Wassermann, Kornbluh and van der Linden clearly struggled to provide a brief survey of immensely rich movements and their historiographies, Eckert states that there is an extreme dearth of studies on sub-Saharan African social movements—with the exception of the struggle against apartheid in South Africa. In his attempt to provide chronological caesuras, Eckert distinguishes a post-independence period from the 1960s to the 1980s, in which national liberation movements often turned dictatorial, from a period of democratization in the 1990s and a third period, in which civil society groups and international agencies joined forces to form a network of institutions furthering the overall aim of development. For a long time the sparse research on social movements was framed within the wider research focus on African civil society, or rather the absence of such a civil society and the

need to develop one. The Western concept of civil society points to a more fundamental problem of social movement research in Africa—the concepts of civil society and social movement are adopted from the West, meaning that certain movements, especially Muslim movements, that could easily be classed as authentic African movements, did not come into the focus of social movement researchers. In line with developments in the West, social movements in Africa have more recently shifted their emphasis from the productive sphere to the sphere of consumption and from more material issues to issues of identity. Eckert goes on to argue that there is much scope in discussing African labour and nationalist movements under the rubric of social movements—something that so far has rarely happened. But the history of both movements would focus attention on the colonial state and on the labour question, two areas of central significance for any understanding of modern sub-Saharan African history. Thus, Eckert concludes, the potential for histories of social movements in sub-Saharan Africa is huge and as yet largely untapped.

Popular protest movements in North Africa and the Middle East, as discussed by John Chalcraft, have been much better served by a rich stream of historiography that was again boosted by the impact of the recent Arab Spring. Chalcraft's periodization distinguishes between a nineteenth century, ending in 1911 and characterized by imperialist interventions and reactions against it, a second period from 1911 to 1939, characterized by nationalism, wars and invasions, a third period from 1939 to 1979, in which Third Worldism, national liberation, socialism and neo-colonialism marked important themes and a fourth period from 1979 onwards, in which he sees Islamism, people's power and neo-liberalism as forces dominating the landscape of social movement activity. Chalcraft lays out a rich tapestry of traditions of social protest, which were almost always translocal in character and evolved in a transnational imperialist dynamic that very much determined the development of the region. Colonialism and its legacy, processes of state formation, geopolitics and the cultural dynamics inherent in specific historical contexts are here highlighted as the most important determinants for the development of social movements in North Africa and the Middle East. Like many of the other chapters in this volume, Chalcraft's study concludes that it is impossible to understand the history of the region without understanding the history of its social movements.

Whilst we have sub-divided the African continent into two units each comprising many nation-states, it was impossible to find authors to pro-

vide us with a survey or surveys on Asian social movements. Hence the editors settled for two Asian case studies which focus on nation-states. Arvind Elangovan can also draw on a rich historiography on social movements in India, and, like Chalcraft, he emphasizes the importance of imperialism and colonialism for the shape of social movement development in the modern period. He distinguishes three periods, first, the imperial dependency of India, secondly, the nationalist self-determination of India and thirdly, post-colonial India. For each of the periods he focusses on one case study of a social movement: for the nineteenth century he chooses the socio-religious reform movement of Raja Ram Mohan Roy; for the nationalist period he focusses on the socio-political reform movements of Mahatma Gandhi and Bhim Rao Ambedkar, and for the post-colonial period he analyses the environmental movement, Chipko. He thereby traces a development from socio-religious to socio-political social movements over the course of two centuries. The relationship of state and society was crucial in determining the shape and outlook of social movements throughout, but only in the post-colonial period, he argues, did the fate of social movements become inextricably intertwined with political parties.

In Chapter 11 on post-colonial Korea, Jung Han Kim seeks to underline that in dictatorial post-colonial contexts spontaneous mass protests lead to the creation of a political subject that subsequently finds expression in organized social movements. The chapter clearly shows how the forces of nationalism and modernization shaped Korean social movements under conditions of civil war, Cold War and the dictatorial regime of Park Chung Hee. Labour protests and the alliances between student and workers' protests from the 1970s onwards were powerful social movements contributing to the end of the dictatorship in South Korea and paving the way for the transition to democracy. The influential democracy movement in Korea is analysed in some detail before the chapter turns to the development of social movements in a post-democratic South Korean society. Here the impact of the New Left on South Korean social movements is assessed and the case study of the Korean's women's movement as an important new social movement is introduced. Kim concludes that South Korea might well serve as an example of the importance of social movements to post-colonial laboratories of democracy in a post-independence period.

The final chapter of Part II of this volume deals with both an entire continent and a nation-state, Australia. Here, as Sean Scalmer underlines, the colonial setting was vital in shaping social movements, in particular the

important role of the colonial state and the manifold transnational connections that the British empire provided. Violent resistance of the indigenous population to colonial rule, and violent insurrections by convicts in the penal colony, characterized the early history of European settlement in Australia. Soon, less violent forms of protest, including petitions and the formation of movements by settlers or by miners demanding land rights and self-government could be found. They were inspired by the nineteenth-century European trend to form social movements in order to obtain certain rights and get what they regarded as their just demands fulfilled. The emergence of representative democracy in Australia and a relatively open society with many possibilities for social mobility turned out to be a positive environment for the formation of social movements. This is evident in the thriving of both the labour and women's movements and the emergence of an early welfare state. However, the more radical socialist and communist strands of the labour movement faced the full force of the state in an attempt to channel the labour movement in a parliamentary and reformist direction. Scalmer also introduces the repercussions of 1968 in Australia and talks at greater length on the campaign for aboriginal rights starting to gain momentum from the 1980s onwards. Together with the chapters on the Americas, the chapter on Australia confirms the basic distinction between colonial settler societies, in which white Europeans settled and dominated the post-colonial state and society, and colonies in which only a small colonial elite settled, where the Europeans withdrew after independence, leaving an indigenous, albeit often European-trained, elite in charge of the post-colonial state and society.

Following the survey chapters on diverse geographical regions of the world, Part III explores the history of social movements thematically. It starts off with Alexandra Przyrembel's chapter on 'moral movements', a diverse and wide-ranging array of largely middle-class and often aristocratic philanthropic societies that were motivated by a sense of bringing about moral improvement, be it in the field of the abolition of slavery, temperance reform, or the prevention of cruelty to animals. Such moral sentiments, Przyrembel shows, were intertwined with the formation of social movements from the Middle Ages to the twenty-first century. In her article she focusses on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, examining fields in which such transnational, albeit Western-centric, moral movements were active. They include the movement for the abolition of slavery, the Red Cross movement, and diverse movements aimed at morally uplifting the working classes. In the second part of the article, she

deals with the global rise of human rights discourse and its impact on diverse moral movements. She uses two examples—aid efforts in connection with the Armenian genocide in the context of the First World War, and the formation and rise of Amnesty International—to underline the diverse ways in which the language of human rights influenced the formation of social movements. Overall, her article is a powerful reminder of the impact of moral and often religious sentiments on movements intent on helping strangers who are perceived to be in need. These movements developed a range of powerful activities in pursuit of her objectives and sought manifold alliances. With hindsight they formed some of the most successful and wide-ranging social movement campaigns in the modern age.

Although Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels mocked the moral sentiments of middle-class social movements, the labour movement can indeed be understood as a moral movement, although most of the activists here came from the working classes. Stefan Berger's chapter starts off with a criticism of the Western-centric nature of labour history and its concern with industrial wage labour. Its tunnel vision did not take into account the full diversity of labour regimes and protest forms associated with those labour regimes in different parts of the world. His survey of the emergence and development of labour movements across five continents seeks to take into account those local differences, but his survey also highlights transnational moments in the development of labour movements in different parts of the world. In fact, his attempt to highlight global moments in the development of labour movements, somewhat counter to recent trends in global history, argues that as labour movements emerged as Western phenomena, Western movements had an overwhelming influence on the development of labour movements elsewhere in the world, although non-Western labour movements always adapted those moments in the context of their local specificities. Berger concludes with a section discussing contemporary problems of labour movements in a world in which industrial wage labour is declining in Europe and North America and increasingly shifting to Latin America and Asia.

Labour movements have, of course, for a long time not even been understood as social movements, as they consisted of formal organizations, such as political parties, trade unions and cooperatives, which, in themselves were organizationally different from the much looser networks usually associated with 'new social movements'. This is also why labour movements are sometimes described as 'old' social movements, especially

as they were allegedly less concerned with identity issues and more attuned to productivist and materialist concerns of their supporters. Such a view is criticized in Sean Scalmer's chapter, and Berger also underlines the firmly based status of labour movements as members of the family of social movements. In fact, a stream of articles on movements, usually referred to as 'new social movements', demonstrate that, in historical perspective they were not so new. In fact, the women's, the environmental and the peace movement, to name just the big three social movements, all had origins and roots that go back to the nineteenth century.

Frank Uekötter sets out to deconstruct the notion of a global environmental movement. From the beginning, the label 'environmentalism' covered a wide variety of fundamentally different and diverging movements. It was viewed differently in the global North and the global South, and the success of the movement and its consequences also varied enormously over space and time. Uekötter begins his survey with critical historiographical remarks stating how much of the existing literature is of relatively recent origin and how it tends to follow teleological narratives of progress. In the history of the environmental movement, as with movements discussed in other chapters, the state features large: it was the main addressee of the movement and the main actor in pushing through demands made by the movement. In environmentalism, Uekötter argues, certain iconic conflicts often had an important role in sustaining movements and campaigns for many years to come. Internationalization of environmental concerns is nothing new: it was perhaps, suggests Uekötter, as intense around 1900 as it was towards the end of the twentieth century, even if the movement was not yet so interconnected. The future of environmentalism appears uncertain to Uekötter on account of the many tensions that are inherent in a concept that is as undertheorized as it is changeable.

The women's movement, in Ilse Lenz's chapter, is delineated from feminism in an attempt, first of all, to achieve some conceptual clarity about what a chapter on the women's movement in global perspective should be dealing with. Like Berger on the labour movement, Lenz struggles with the Western-centrism of the concept of women's movement with its well-known caesuras and temporalities which do not work in other non-Western contexts. Whilst global gender inequality was at the heart of women's movements everywhere, their shape and consequences depended largely on markedly local contexts that varied widely. In Europe the ideological separation of a public (for men) from a private (for women) sphere served the legitimation of the subjugation of women. Furthermore, the productive (male)

sphere became separated from the reproductive (female) sphere under capitalism. These developments led to the setting up of space- and time-specific gender orders which are traced by Lenz in global perspective. However, she also points out that the transnational character of the women's movement ensured that the movement's highly time- and space-specific characteristics were blended into diverse characteristics on a global scale. Hence, Lenz speaks of a 'blended women's movement' in global perspective. Different ideological orientations characterized the women's movement, from liberalism to materialism and socialism right through to anarchism and anti-imperialism. The women's movement, like other social movements, was characterized by a strong internationalism that found expression in the setting up of many international organizations. Lenz charts the impact of the new feminism from the 1960s onwards and highlights the alliances it built, for example with the homosexual-rightsmovement—again at different times in different places. Under the impact of the new women's movement, the emphasis tended more and more to the cultural construction of gender and sexuality, with a strong rebuttal of biological explanations. There was also a significant push towards the globalization of gender issues, which now found new international platforms, raising all the conceptual problems discussed in Park's chapter. Overall, however, Lenz emphasizes the pluralization and flexibilization of gender concepts over time—something which the global women's movement had an important part in.

Similarly, Holger Nehring's chapter on peace movements does not tell a story of modernization. Instead, his chapter emphasizes the constant coexistence of different concepts of 'peace' as well as 'movements' over time. In particular, he calls attention to the importance of historicizing both the complex and often paradoxical meanings of 'peace' that the movements promoted and the forms of organization that they chose. He argues that it is possible to identify a broad shift from liberal bourgeois pressure groups organizing in the nineteenth century to a broader, network-based social movement activism after 1945. Although peace movement activists thought in terms of 'world peace' throughout the 200 years of their history, their conceptions of the world were not necessarily global and often contained particularist, if not exclusionary patterns. Nehring follows Sandi E. Cooper and others in analysing the national embeddedness of European pacifism in the nineteenth century.[84] He also highlights patterns

[84] Sandi E. Cooper, *Patriotic Pacifism. Waging War on War in Europe, 1815–1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).

of exclusion in terms of gender and race. Ultimately, the key issue that peace movements had to come to terms with in the twentieth century was the growing force of anti-colonial nationalism that sat uneasily with the peace movement's emphasis on a global universalism in a world threatened by nuclear war.

The environmental, women's and peace movements were all fundamentally affected by the student protest movements which are often referred to by '1968'. Gerd-Rainer Horn analyses 1968 as a truly global moment. He emphasizes the festival character of 1968 and sees its most important legacy in having shown the potential of a different way of organizing the social sphere. Student protests united Western and Eastern Europe in the late 1960s, even if the political contexts, ambitions, and messages were quite different in East and West, but, as Horn impressively demonstrates, 1968 was not just transatlantic and Northern, spanning also the North American continent, it made its presence felt in places such as Mexico City and Dakar. Horn relativizes the often-quoted spontaneity of 1968 protests and points to the underlying organizational networks and action groups that prepared the ground for protests that might have looked spontaneous but were grounded in social movement activities. He stresses the role of cultural nonconformity in preparing the ground for 1968 as far back as the 1950s and early 1960s, and he stresses that 1968 was at its most successful where it could build powerful alliances with the labour movement. Horn argues that there is a clear north–south divide in the way in which student protests in northern Europe remained singular and isolated, whereas in southern Europe, they managed to forge broad alliances with workers and represent a threat to the existing political system. Radical forms of political Catholicism in the south had their part to play in explaining this patterning of 1968, although Horn admits that research on the precise reasons for this interesting divide is as yet in its infancy.

One transnational phenomenon often connected to radicalized 1968ers is that of left-wing terrorism in the West during the 1970s. In his chapter on terrorism, Klaus Weinhauer seeks to analyse terrorism in conjunction with its intricate and manifold relationships with social movements, the state and the media, through which much societal communication is channelled. He distinguishes five broad time periods: a first period from the 1870s to the First World War, in which radical left-wing as well as radical nationalist terrorists were active. A second period from the end of the First World War to the 1930s dominated by right-wing paramilitary terrorism characterized by violent anti-Semitism and anti-Bolshevism. A third

period from the mid-1930s to the 1980s that saw the rise of anti-imperial and anti-colonial terrorism, often in search of liberation from imperial and colonial regimes. In a fourth period from the 1960s to the early 1990s, terrorism associated with radicalized student protest and the New Left came to the fore. Finally, during a fifth period from the 1980s onwards, religiously motivated terrorism was the focus of attention. Weinhauer surveys all five periods with a view to illuminating transnational connections and patterns. It is striking to see how the anarchist terrorism of the late nineteenth century already had a global presence. Once again the main addressee of terrorist attacks was for a long time the state; however, with the internationalization of terrorism and the globalization of media, more recently, it can be argued that there has been a shift from the state to global media as the main addressee of international terrorism.

In Weinhauer's chapter on terrorism, fascist terrorism already features prominently. The next two chapters deal with fascist and extreme right-wing movements as social movements. Rucht already outlined in his conceptual chapter that social movement studies have a clear left-wing bias in that they are predominantly concerned with left-of-centre movements. However, there have always also been right-wing social movements, many of which remain seriously under-studied in social movement research. Kevin Passmore starts his chapter by situating a social movement approach to the history of fascism in a variety of different, more dominant paradigms, from the search of generic types of fascism to the political religions approach, which has gained so much attention recently. He concludes that historians of fascism, whether they have looked for structures or for ideas, have tended to focus on fascist *regimes*, seriously underestimating the movement aspect of fascism. His chapter seeks to correct this by surveying the classic cases of Italy and Germany and augmenting them by two European cases, France and Hungary and three non-European ones—Latin America, China and India. Situating the emergence of fascist movements in the context of the political violence unleashed in the aftermath of the First World War, Passmore considers the many differences and parallels in the emergence and development of fascist and far-right regimes in different parts of the world, making a convincing case to take their movement character more serious than research on fascism has hitherto done.

Fabian Virchow's chapter brings the comparison of far-right social movements closer to the present. Like many contributors, he begins his chapter conceptually, separating post-fascist right-wing social movements from right-wing political parties and single events associated with the

political right. Throughout his chapter he uses the theoretical arsenal provided by social movement studies to explain the development and success of those right-wing movements across time and place. Ranging widely across European and non-European countries, Virchow looks at political mobilization, cultural representation, links of right-wing social movements to various counter-cultures, their position vis-à-vis the state and their internationalism.

The last two chapters deal with more contemporary social movements. Britta Baumgarten discusses the Global Justice Movement, which she sees characterized by diversity, decentralized horizontal networking, spectacular actions geared to achieve maximum media attention, a combination of local and global action repertoires and a radical critique of the dominant socio-economic models. She points to the deep roots of anti-globalization protests spanning several centuries, but concentrates on more recent development since the protests at the G8 meeting in Birmingham in 1998, which saw the mobilization of 70,000 anti-globalization protesters. At subsequent G8, WTO, and IMF meetings, protest gathered around economic globalization, as it was identified by a broad alliance of protesters as the root problem for a whole host of political, environmental, cultural and social problems around the world. Using mass demonstrations and the organization of counter-summits as the two major organizational protest forms, key representatives of the Global Justice Movements have been in the vanguard of shifting the discursive field on globalization and impacting on political decision-making at different territorial levels.

Finally, Nora Lafi asks whether the Arab Spring can be understood as a series of events initiated and influenced by social movements. Her search for its root causes and the reasons why it developed so differently in different parts of the Arab world uncovers a deep history to those protests, often ignored by social scientists analysing the events. Lafi points to the peculiar formation of civil societies in the Arab world, which reaches back centuries and was built against the background of the complex, rich social and cultural heritage of the region. Her analysis of the historical roots of civic mobilization in the Arab world highlights the importance of cultures and milieux rooted in city quarters and neighbourhoods and often going back to the Medieval period. She underlines the importance of professional organizations and religious communities operating in Arab societies over very long time periods. The Ottoman state had implemented traditions of petitioning and mediation which have taken root in many Arab societies and constitute a special relationship of civic society with the

state. If the state is seen by civic society actors as violating those traditions, conflict is the most likely outcome. This deep history also informs Lafi's analysis of events between 2010 and 2014. Thus, she relativizes the idea that it was largely the import of Western democratic and human rights thinking which prompted and sustained the protests. Her chapter is a fitting reminder of the dangers of Western-centrism in research on social movements in the non-Western world. Giving a rich tapestry of the evolution of diverse movement in different parts of the Arab world, she analyses the many differences in the transition from old to new regimes and the reasons why such transitions failed or succeeded.

Throughout the conceptual, spatial and the thematic chapters of this book, certain themes are particularly prominent. Thus, first, many spatial differences we can observe are directly related to the history of Western imperialism. Second, the role of the state has been a powerful one for many centuries, both as addressee of social movement action and as agency providing the environment in which social movements could thrive. Thirdly, a strong internationalism of social movements has been a major theme in many of the chapters assembled here. Fourth, such internationalism has been related to the transnationalism of particular themes and issues that social movements have dealt with in different parts of the world. Social movements thus combine the global with the highly local. Fifth, many authors of chapters grapple with definitions and concepts of social movements and how to apply them to their respective cases. It seems obvious that the rich tapestry of the history of social movements that emerges out of the narratives of the following pages cannot easily be pressed into the Procrustean bed of social movement theory. Thus this volume aims to contribute to a rethinking of the relationship of historical narratives to historical theory.