TOWARDS A MILLION CHANGE AGENTS
A REVIEW OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS LITERATURE: IMPLICATIONS FOR LARGE SCALE CHANGE IN THE NHS

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We would welcome any comments from readers on this review:
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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This review has four objectives:

- **to explore 'social movements' as a new way of thinking about large-scale systems change**
- **to assess the potential contribution of applying this new perspective to NHS improvement**
- **to enrich and extend NHS thinking in relation to large-scale, system-wide change, and**
- **to begin to establish a research and evidence base to support the emergence of an improvement movement in the NHS.**

The context for the review is the challenging change agenda set out for the English National Health Service (NHS) in the NHS Plan. Since 2000, a wide range of local and national improvement programmes have brought about significant - if mixed - results to the benefit of patients and staff in the NHS. However, at almost the mid-way point of the ten year NHS Plan, it is time to take stock and judge whether the scale and pace of the improvements underway will be sufficient to achieve the goals of the Plan in time. Are the theories and constructs that current NHS improvement plans are based on sufficient to deliver transformational change in healthcare delivery? Are some additional perspectives required? This review offers a new perspective on large-scale systems change which may provide new ways of thinking and approaching service improvement and organisational change and development within the NHS.

The central thesis of the review is that by combining insights from organisational studies and social movements theory and analysis, we may discover some previously unused or under-utilised concepts and theories of change that may - in parallel with existing approaches - contribute to or extend NHS improvement efforts. To date, social movement analysts have looked to organisational theory but there has been little exchange of ideas in the opposite direction. This review builds on recent work, mostly in the United States, which has begun to redress that imbalance and to promote two-way dialogue.

From the literature we have identified eight features or characteristics of a social movement:

1. radical action
2. transformative events
3. collective action
4. voluntary associations & social relationships
5. organisation & spontaneity
6. politics
7. conflict
8. durability

We are concerned here with the stream of social movement analysis that is concerned with 'collective action.'

There are at least three broad schools of thought in social movements analysis. Collective behaviour and social movements research was the dominant school from the 1940s to the early 1960s and focused on the role of emotion and non-rational behaviour (for example, by studying the Fascist movements in 1930 / 40's Europe). Resource mobilisation and political process theories in the 1970s and 1980s rejected this emphasis on the emotionality of the crowd and applied a new focus on rational action and structural opportunities for movement emergence. Then in the 1990s 'new social movements' theorists set movements in their social

and historical context, shifting the focus yet again to cultural issues (identity, meanings and beliefs) and 'framing' processes. Our review seeks to bring together these three schools and examine the key emotional, structural and cultural factors and the interrelationships between them that shape social movement emergence, growth and development.

Given the context for this review we are concerned to ask three questions of the different schools of social movements analysis which we consider to be of major relevance to the NHS: firstly, why do people join movements, secondly, why do they stay in movements and thirdly, why do they leave movements?

Our readings of the social movements literature point us towards six groups of factors which, to varying degrees, answer these three core questions as to why people are 'moved' or mobilised into collective action and how such mobilisation is spread and sustained. The six groups are:

- **Rational:** individuals are driven by self-interest and make rational assessments of the value or gain to themselves of joining with others in a movement - movement involvement is a calculative action

- **Emotional:** movement involvement is impelled from a 'feeling' within rather than being a response to any external stimulus; beliefs are more powerful than any personal calculus of costs or potential gains, and it is also emotional rather than task or instrumental relationships that bind the people in a movement together

- **Social and normative:** underlying historical, institutional and cultural conditions affect the decision to join, support and remain in a movement; social networks play a key role in recruiting, mobilising and retaining participants, and communities of practice can be cultivated as important mechanisms for mobilisation

- **Behavioural:** concrete forms of involvement in internal as well as external activities reinforce and sustain support for a movement. Shared cultural practices (rituals, celebrations, etc.) strengthen and reaffirm the underpinning cultural and ideological values of the movement

- **Organisational:** some form of enabling organisation is required for a movement to survive and grow; movements with access to other organisations and policy-makers will act differently to those that do not; resources (financial, time and human) are important to mobilisation and survival

- **Leadership:** movements require individual leaders and a particular kind of multi-level leadership system or process; 'framing' is a key leadership activity for igniting collective action and building commitment and consensus for the movement.

Like a number of social movement researchers, we believe that there is value in considering large-scale organisational change (such as contemporary NHS improvement efforts) from a social movement perspective. In applying a social movement lens to NHS improvement, this review has raised a number of questions (see annex 3). These questions will be addressed in our future collaborative research with the NHS and other social movement researchers.

This review has focused on why people might join a movement. Further qualitative research on the mechanisms which lead to movement success and sustainability in the context of the NHS is required. As part of our ongoing research we have begun to collect the stories and 'theories in use' from a small number of case studies of 'movements' or 'near-movements' that have been forming and taking root within the NHS. These case studies include stories both from within a single NHS organisation and across various organisations, on both a local and national scale.

Aims and scope of the literature review

During the period March to November 2003, we undertook a review of the relevant political, sociological and organisational literatures around social movements thinking[1]. The review built upon scoping work already carried out by the authors for the NHS Modernisation Agency which is summarised elsewhere (Bate *et al.*, 2004).

The specific objectives of this review were:

- to explore 'social movements' thinking as a new way of thinking about large-scale systems change

- to assess the potential use and value of applying this new perspective to NHS modernisation and improvement activities

- to enrich and extend current NHS thinking around large-scale systems change, and

- to begin to establish a research and evidence base to support the formation of an improvement movement in the NHS.

[1] Journals that were hand-searched were: Academy of Management Review, Academy of Management Journal, Administrative Sciences Quarterly, American Journal of Sociology, American Sociological Review, Contemporary Sociology. A Journal of Reviews, Mobilisation, and Social Movement Studies. Abstracts and papers from the American Sociological Association, 2003 conference were also reviewed. We are particularly grateful to Mayer Zald and Jerry Davis at the University of Michigan for granting us access to papers from their 2002 Social Movements and Organisations conference. The revised versions of the papers first delivered at the 2002 conference will be published later this year (Davis et al forthcoming). Relevant books and journal references from these sources were subsequently reviewed.

[2] This process has included running workshops at two recent Institute for Healthcare Improvement national forums (in 2003 'Building a health care improvement movement: learning from mass movements' and in 2004 'Mobilising for Improvement. Learning from Mass Movements about how to achieve rapid large-scale change and improvement in your organisation') and a 'Mass Movements Masterclass' for the London Learning Partnership (April 2003); and presentations to the NHS 'Leading Modernisation Programme' (May 2003), and NHS Modernisation Agency Associates 'Leadership for Improvement' conference (Stratford upon Avon, November 2002). In addition, we have established a NHS practitioners 'thinktank' which met for the first time in November 2003 and reconvened to meet with US academics from the movements field in May 2004.

With these four objectives in mind, this review is mainly concerned with explaining why individuals join and participate in a movement rather than formulating some kind of 'n' step guide to creating an improvement movement for the NHS. All movements are to some extent unique historical events located, as Koopmans (2004) points out, in a particular time and place, therefore any attempt to generalise or draw up a recipe for movement creation can be misguided. However, as in this review, one can seek to identify the factors that shape the dynamics of any particular social or organisational movement, at this point more as an aid to understanding than predicting or 'designing' a movement.

The review is an important step in our own collaborative research process,[2] as it has uncovered debates between the many different strands of thinking in regard to social movements and organisational change. A number of key questions have been prompted by the review, for example: do 'movements' have to arise out of unrest and deep grievance or can they emerge through discernible and coherent, yet decentralised and unorganised, shifts in thinking, acting and perceiving which do not entail any form of 'protest'? Why do people join movements and why and how do they become 'activists'? What is the appropriate model of leadership for a movement? Why do 'near movements' like healthcare coalitions, community networks, collaboratives, and communities of practice just fall short of that elusive phenomenon of a movement, where people are fired into taking action collectively and the process acquires its own energy and momentum, ultimately becoming auto-catalytic (self-fuelling)?

Such debates have important implications for determining the potential value of these new perspectives to large systems change such as that envisaged by NHS reformers, as well as the design and content of our ongoing empirical research and dialogue with leading NHS practitioners and academics in Europe and the United States.

After presenting the background to the work, the results of the review are presented in Sections 3 to 11 (see below), followed by a discussion of the implications of our findings for health care improvement efforts (Section 12):

- what is a social movement?
- schools of thought in movement research
- mobilisation and movements
- rational factors
- emotional factors
- social and normative factors
- behavioural factors
- organisational factors
- leadership factors
- towards a theory of motivation for healthcare improvement.

Why should NHS leaders be interested in social movement theory?
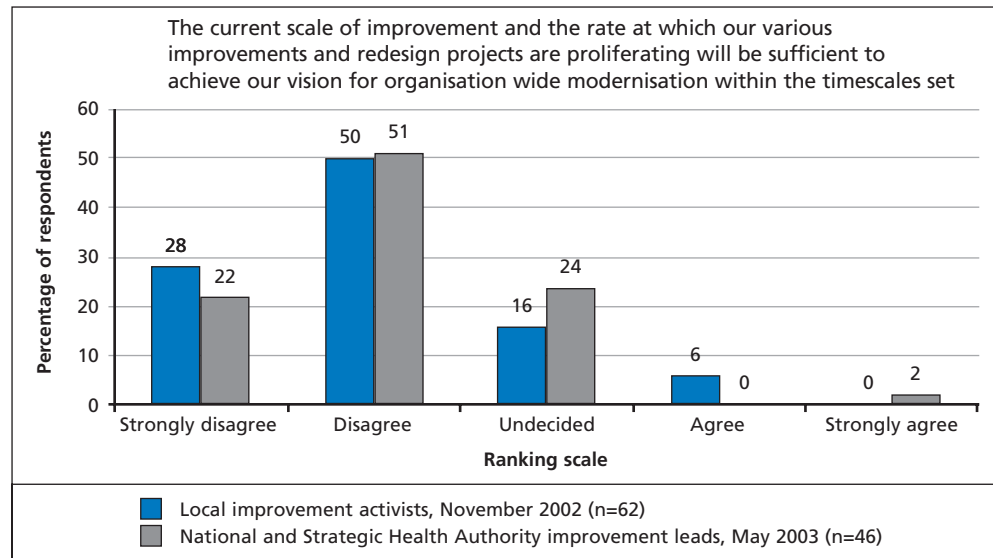
Key points for healthcare improvement leaders:

• the NHS is at a crossroads in its improvement journey

• NHS improvement work is often under conceptualised and lacks reflection and analysis

• most ideas that underpin NHS improvement have been based on mainstream organisational studies (organisational development, quality improvement, etc.)

• however, large-scale change in organisations relies not only on 'external drivers' but also the ability to connect with and mobilise people's own 'internal' energies and drivers for change, and

• social movements frameworks may be helpful in understanding how to mobilise improvement efforts inside, as well as across, NHS organisations.

2.1 The context for this review: the NHS 'improvement revolution'

The NHS is at a crossroads in its improvement journey. The NHS Plan (Department of Health, 2000) set out a transformational blueprint for the NHS. The resulting delivery strategy represents the 'most ambitious, comprehensive and intentionally funded national initiative to improve healthcare quality in the world' (Leatherman & Sutherland, 2003). A key aspect of the delivery strategy is a series of more than 30 national programmes. These aim to stimulate improvement for patients in priority areas such as cancer, heart disease and mental heath services, to reduce or abolish delays for patients and to accelerate the workforce and organisational capability of NHS systems. These programmes, which are co-ordinated by the NHS Modernisation Agency, have made an important contribution. They have targeted energy, expertise, and focus on key areas of challenge. They have created improvements for specific groups of patients, and helped to move NHS organisations on to higher levels of improvement. Improvement has become a way of life for thousands of clinical teams across the NHS. Few of these teams were even engaged in improvement work three years ago.

At this point questions are being asked as to what next and where it will end. Will the programmatic approach, on its own, deliver the desired results across the whole NHS system and for all NHS patients? And, will change happen fast enough to meet national goals in the time-scales required? As part of a wider survey, we asked this question of approximately 100 local leaders of NHS modernisation (Figure 1, on page 7); approximately 75 per cent did not agree that the existing scale and rate of improvement were sufficient.

We then asked the same individuals about the work of improvement 'activists' within their local health care organisation (Figure 2, on page 7). The results were mixed - respondents at a national or Strategic Health Authority (SHA) level were generally more optimistic than improvement leaders and practitioners at the front line of clinical care.

The current scale of improvement and the rate at which our various improvements and redesign projects are proliferating will be sufficient to achieve our vision for organisation wide modernisation within the timescales set

Figure 1
Responses on the rate and scale of improvement

Local improvement activists, November 2002 (n=62)
National and Strategic Health Authority improvement leads, May 2003 (n=46)

Wherever you look you can see 'improvement activists' at work within our organisation, people acting as local torchbearers for modernisation, working tirelessly to get the 'quality revolution' under way
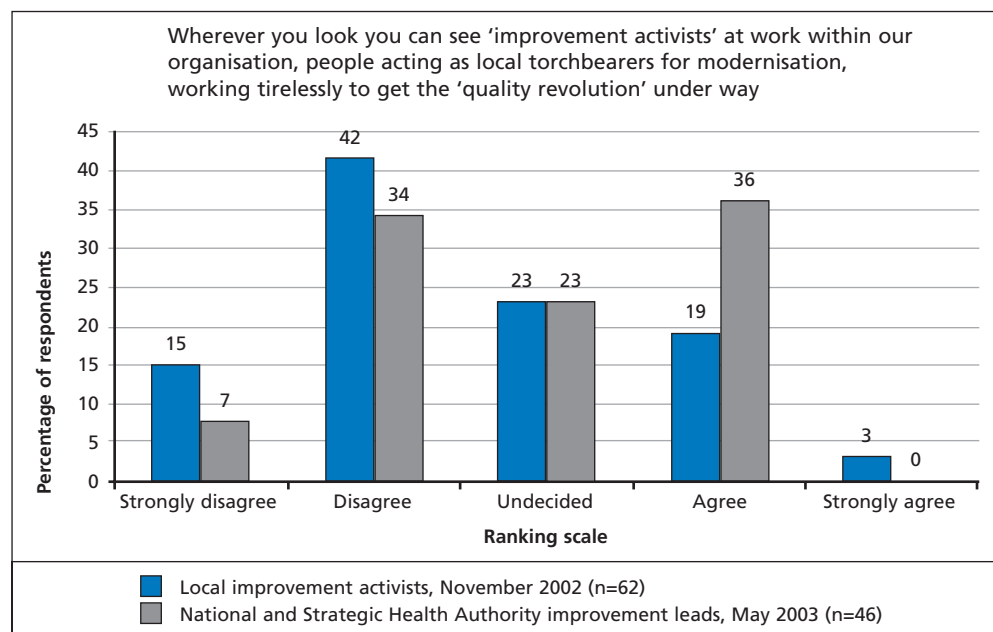
Figure 2
Responses in the spread of the 'quality revolution'

Local improvement activists, November 2002 (n=62)
National and Strategic Health Authority improvement leads, May 2003 (n=46)

There is a growing recognition at local and national levels of the NHS that the improvement process needs to change. A recent paper (NHS Modernisation Agency, 2004) sets out the reasons why a radical reconceptualisation of the NHS improvement system is necessary (Table 1 below).

Reflecting on what we have done and what we now know we could do with improvement methodology, we believe that we are:
• not progressing quickly enough
• not always integrating improvement methods into every priority effort
• at a national level, not always working in ways that are coherent at local level
• at SHA and local level, not always making best use of improvement methods to improve performance
• good at piloting, but not always as effective as we need to be at spreading improvement across the whole country
• not capturing enough of the impact that improvement work is making
• not always sustaining the improvement gains we have made
• not yet establishing a strong success record at integrating and embedding improvement thinking into day-to-day mainstream work

Table 1
Gaps in the improvement system
Source: How do we get a NHS that is continuously improving?
A concept paper for the next stage of NHS improvement, NHS Modernisation Agency 2004

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Research into three local health communities (Matrix RHA, 2003a) identified that each community is typically undertaking between 40 and 50 improvement projects sponsored by the NHS Modernisation Agency and 250 to 300 locally initiated projects. In another survey (Matrix RHA, 2003b) only 18 per cent of NHS Board Directors with responsibility for improvement stated that their organisation was making satisfactory progress in its strategic approach to improvement.

The picture that is painted is one of widespread, energetic (sometime almost frenetic) improvement activity at project team level but limited strategic co-ordination and purposeful direction at the level of the organisation. Furthermore, the prevalent style of project leaders is 'pragmatic activism'. NHS improvement work is typically under conceptualised and often lacks reflection and analysis (Bevan, 2004).

As implied above, to date NHS improvement has relied mainly upon a nationally-initiated, programme-by-programme approach to service change and development, which in the three years since the publication of the NHS Plan has spawned a multitude of different, and often impressive, improvement schemes and activities. Most ideas that underpin NHS improvement have been based on mainstream organisational studies. This discipline encompasses organisational development, quality improvement (total quality management, continuous quality improvement, etc.), individual and team development, and a wide range of approaches to planned or programmatic change.

Part of the background to this review is therefore the all-too-common scenario of 'undershoot' in planned change programmes, in which neither the end results or process goals are fully met during implementation: *'Although no studies document comprehensively the outcomes of such large-scale change efforts, experts seem to agree that most organisations are left with disappointing results' (Young, 2000: 66).*

The assumption underpinning this review also resonates with the views of a number of other leaders closely associated with healthcare improvement, namely that 'the prevailing theory of motivation [for undertaking improvement activities] is deficient'[1]: *'At present, prevailing strategies rely largely on outmoded theories of control and standardisation of work. More modern, and much more effective, theories of production seek to harness the imagination and participation of the workforce in reinventing the system' (Berwick, 2003: 448).*

It is estimated that 15 to 20 per cent of NHS staff are current actively engaged in quality improvement work. Achievement of NHS Plan goals may require 80 or 100 per cent staff engagement. How will this be achieved? Should the number of NHS improvement projects be quadrupled? Or are some different, additional ways of thinking required?

Evidence from the social sciences suggests that other perspectives may help to recast large-scale organisational change efforts - such as implementation of the NHS Plan - in a new light and offer a different, though complementary, approach to improvement thinking and practice. Particularly prominent is recognition that such large-scale change in organisations relies not only on 'external drivers' but the ability to connect with and mobilise people's own 'internal' energies and drivers for change (Palmer, 1997; Kotter & Cohen, 2002), in so doing, creating a bottom-up, locally led, 'grass roots' movement for improvement and change.

However, until very recently, little work has been done to combine or share learning from these two very different perspectives on change. There is a need to be constantly mindful of the current NHS 'taken for granted' approach to improvement, and the social movements perspective, being so different, may help us to reflect upon and critique this.

[1] Don Berwick, 'Making it Mainstream. A day for local and national leaders of NHS modernisation', London, March 2003.

2.2 Organisation studies and social movement analysis

In the early 1960s no connection existed, or appeared possible, between organisational studies and social movement analysis, as the former concentrated on instrumental, organised behaviour while the latter's focus was unorganised and unstructured phenomena (McAdam & Scott, 2002). Then, three decades ago, Zald and Berger (1978) drew our attention to the similarities between change processes in organisations and those in social movements and the wider society, later adding the intriguing suggestion that most major 'second order' changes in society had come about as the result of social movements, not formal, planned change efforts - offering a direct challenge to mainstream organisation development thinking and practice: *'In some measure, much of the social change we have witnessed in America in the last several decades can be attributed to social movements, large and small ...[these] have contributed to changes in the way we live' (Zald et al., 2002: 1).*

However, whilst social movement theorists have begun to look increasingly to organisation studies perspectives for ideas for the reason that *'...the most interesting problems and greatest advances in the sciences, often take place at the intersection of established fields of study' (McAdam & Scott, 2002: 3),* until quite recently, (Van de Van and Hargrave forthcoming), organisational change people have been unaware - or just not interested - in social movement research: *'Organisational Study scholars have been far less opportunistic in taking advantage of movement ideas' (McAdam & Scott, 2002: 3).*

Contemporary developments in the NHS, including the move towards devolution of ownership for improvement to Strategic Health Authority and local levels, and the increasing interest in the role of front-line clinical microsystems in service improvement (Donaldson & Mohr, 2000; Mohr & Batalden, 2002), highlight the timeliness of exploring this interface between social movements and organisational change further within the UK healthcare context[1] (Table 2 below).

Project / programme approach	Social movements approach
a planned programme of change with goals and milestones (centrally led)	change is about releasing energy and is largely self-directing (bottom up)
'motivating' people	'moving' people
change is driven by an appeal to the 'what's in it for me'	there may well be personal costs involved
talks about 'overcoming resistance'	insists change needs opposition - it is the friend not enemy of change
change is done 'to' people or 'with' them - leaders and followers	people change themselves and each other - peer to peer
driven by formal systems change: structures (roles, institutions) lead the change process	driven by informal systems: structures consolidate, stabilise and institutionalise emergent direction

**Table 2
Contrasting the project /
programme approach with
the social movements
approach**

Source: Bate *et al.,* (2004: 63)

As Strang and Il-Jung (2002) suggest, to traditional (organisational studies) questions like 'what is this programme?' and 'what evidence is there that it works?'. A social movement analysis adds 'who supports it?', 'how were they mobilised?' and 'how much influence do they have?'. Zald *et al.,* (2002), examining the impact of social movements on organisations, pose similar questions: what are the processes and organisational structures that shape how particular organisations respond to movement demands? How do the changes in discourse, and direct and

[1] McAdam & Scott (2002) recently used two case studies to illustrate the growing synergies and parallels between organisational studies and social movement scholarship. One of these examined institutional change in US health care during the period 1945-95 (Scott et al, 2000).

indirect attempts to implement movement goals, affect the commitments and procedures of organisations? How do movements 'get inside' organisations?

On the face of it, orchestrating organisational movements (such as an NHS improvement movement) should not be that dissimilar from social movements: for example, social movement researchers have 'spent much time and effort' exploring the conditions under which new (movement) organisations emerge and how they gain sufficient mass and momentum to survive and flourish (McAdam & Scott, 2002). There are also strong similarities in terms of the mechanisms by which organisations and social movements develop and change (Campbell, 2002). Moreover, some sorts of organisational change have already been fruitfully approached as social movements, for example, 'coup d'etats', and 'whistle-blowing' (Zald & Berger, 1986). On the face of it at least, social movements frameworks may therefore have utility for understanding mobilising efforts inside as well as across organisations.

Social movement research has become a major field of research today, especially in the United States (see References for various journals and recent conferences), and it is therefore timely to begin to consider what it may have to offer to organisational change, especially in the light of some inconsistent results from organisational development (OD) and planned change efforts to date.

Social movement and organisation theorists alike have recognised that change is usually gradual and evolutionary, often running out of steam before reaching its final destination. The question is how to accelerate or speed it up and to give it the energy required to carry it to its desired destination. Broadly speaking, a social movement perspective would suggest that NHS improvement needs to move away from a planned, 'programmatic' (Pettigrew, 1998) concept of change to one of unstructured and largely self-organised phenomena, as characterises social movements. This is why we find the phrase 'orchestrated social movement' in the literature when referring to organisational movements, suggesting that change is not created or managed as such but liberated or released, channelled and enabled.

To this end, 'elites' seek to trigger and set mobilisation processes in motion rather than to set organisational rules or roles or create programmes for change (Strang & Jung, 2002)[1]. The theory and practice of 'activism,' 'mobilisation' and 'conversion' are basically the same in both paradigms, incorporating a processual component: the activist-led mobilisation of relatively autonomous actors around an ideology or cause: '*A small cadre of professionals plays the role of activists, involving workers and managers in training sessions and problem-solving teams. The hope is that positive feedback between the converted and the unconverted will lead new behaviours to diffuse and become self-sustaining*' (Strang & Jung, 2002: 3).

Before proceeding to draw lessons from social movement analysis for the NHS, some initial words of caution are called for. Firstly, some commentators remind us that 'the outcomes of most movements are modest' (Palmer, 1997: 180), that most 'operate on the margins of success with burnout a common companion to mobilisation' (Strang & Jung, 2002) and that most movements do not overturn the prevailing order but only make incremental adjustments to it. In short, just as with organisational change programmes, we only tend to hear about successful movements and cannot assume that the success rates with movements is any higher than conventional change programmes. Most are not revolutionary (except in intent) and fairly small scale in terms of level of achievement: '*Movements are more likely to fine-tune reality than to give rise to the brave new world*' (Palmer, 1997: 180).

Secondly, given the strength of the 'managerialist' and functionalist paradigm in organisational and business management writings (which assumes managers have

[1] Strang and Il-Jung's case study of an 'orchestrated social movement' (taking a quality initiative within a global financial services corporation as its focus) is particular relevant in the context of NHS improvement.

a high level of control over events), it is important from the outset to resist the notion that movements can be manufactured, engineered, directed or controlled and generally counsel against the futility of trying to 'plan' a movement: *'...social movements are not now and were never as subject to direction and control as most of the discourses with them once assumed ...We cannot predict their emergence, we cannot make them happen, or consciously construct them ...and we certainly cannot control their direction or impact' (Kling, 1995).*

Consequently, *'An organisational reform initiative contains much less drama. Action is on a smaller scale, and there is no equivalent to the public and episodic character of social movement participation. While we see the program as social movement-like in form, we would not describe it as collective action. Organisational reform is structurally closer to a religious movement (Snow, 1976) than it is a political movement' (Strang & Jung, 2002: 29).*

Finally, before going further we need to flag up some of the moral and ethical issues, as well as some of the dangers that may be lurking in the movements concept. For example: *'change programmes often appear to be 'potentially liberating' to their participants in offering a solution to life's deeper existential dilemmas; they can instead represent an insidious form of tyranny by seeking to govern the very 'soul' of the organisational members' (Turnbull, 1997: 27).*

At best it needs to be recognised that movements are polyvalent: they can be forces for good just as much as they can be forces for evil, the challenge being to understand what makes them one or the other. Key issues in this regard are whether the movement is driven by passion or obsession, whether it is voluntary or coercive, open or closed, whether it is unitary or pluralistic in structure and ideology, and whether its leadership exists for itself or for the wider membership. A movement does not start out good or bad. There is no inherent genetic predisposition of a movement. As a human construction, the form and direction it takes will reflect where people want and intend it to go. It will only end up good or bad depending on human agency and action.

What is a social movement?

Key points for healthcare improvement leaders:

• well known social movements include the Civil Rights movement in the United States and the environmental movement

• social movements involve collective action by individuals who have voluntarily come together around a common cause; they often involve radical action and protest which may lead to conflict with accepted norms and 'ways of doing' things

• social movements can lead to transformational change

• although their beginnings are spontaneous, movements do require some form of organisation if they are to have an impact; and they often last for a long time, and

• the study of social movements may have some important lessons for bringing about large-scale improvement in the NHS; particularly in relation to sustaining improvement efforts.

3.1 Definitions

Crossley (2002: 3-7) offers a composite of four definitions of a social movement from the literature[1]: *'Social movements can be viewed as collective enterprises seeking to establish a new order of life. They have their inception in a condition of unrest, and derive their motive power on one hand from dissatisfaction with the current form of life, and on the other, from wishes and hopes for a new system of living. The career of a social movement depicts the emergence of a new order of life' (Blumer, 1969: 99). 'Social movements are ...best conceived of as temporary public spaces, as movements of collective creation that provide societies with ideas, identities, and even ideals' (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991: 4).*

'Contentious politics occur when ordinary people, often in league with more influential citizens, join forces in confrontation with elites, authorities and opponents ...when backed by dense social networks and galvanised by culturally resonant, action-oriented symbols, contentious politics leads to sustained interaction with opponents. The result is the social movement' (Tarrow, 1998: 2).

'Social movements are: informal networks, based on shared beliefs and solidarity, which mobilise about conflictual issues, through the frequent use of various forms of protest'[2] (Della Porta & Diani, 1999: 16).

Crossley proposes the notion that movements arise out of unrest and dissatisfaction (Blumer, 1969), thereby hinting at a central controversy in the literature. This used to be uncontroversial but more recently a number of movement analysts have challenged the idea of a direct link between dissatisfaction and movement emergence - an important debate in the context of NHS improvement that will be discussed later.

Eyerman and Jamison (1991) - the second definition above - adds two points to that of Blumer: (a) they specify more clearly that movements are a source of creativity and that what they tend to create are identities, ideas and even ideals, and (b) the reference to 'public spaces' conjures an image of previously privatised individuals being drawn into a public debate over matters of common concern.

[1] Commonly cited social movements include: Labour Movements, Religious Movements, Green Party / environmental movements, Anti Globalisation Movement, Anti nuclear activists / CND / Peace Movement, Civil Rights Movement / black militancy, Feminist / women's movements, Gay and Lesbian Rights, Suffragettes, Animal Rights Movement, Countryside Movement, Urban neighbourhood movements, Mother's Against Drunken Driving and Anti-smoking groups.

[2] Movements do much more besides - and sometimes instead of - protesting (Melucci, 1986; 1996). Blumer (1969) suggests some movements consist of little more than a 'cultural drift' - a discernable and coherent yet decentred and unorganised shift in particular ways of thinking, acting and perceiving. Drifts are 'movements' but they entail no protest.

In the third definition Tarrow (1998) makes reference to social networks, thus conveying a sense of the collective web-like nature of movements, and the fact that they are essentially socio-cultural phenomena. More controversially, Tarrow specifies 'elites, authorities and opponents' who are confronted in struggle. Again this is an important area of academic debate, as many contemporary movements struggle against more abstract targets which are not so easily identified or personified (for example, institutionalised racism). Finally, Tarrow also suggests that many contemporary movements involve at least a partial focus upon the complicity of their own participants in what they perceive to be an unacceptable state of affairs[1].

In the final definition, Della Porta & Diani (1999) add a further point concerning 'shared beliefs and solidarity' and informality. However, Koopmans (1993: 637) calls into question this unity and solidarity, arguing that 'social movements are characterised by a low degree of institutionalisation, high heterogeneity, a lack of clearly defined boundaries and decision-making structures, a volatility matched by few other social phenomena.' This is not to say that solidarity is never evident in movements but suggests rather that we cannot take it for granted as a stable and inherent feature.

More recently, Snow *et al.,* (2004: 11) provided the following definition as an introduction to a major new collection of writings on social movements. According to them movements are: *'collectivities acting with some degree of organisation and continuity outside of institutional or organisational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organisation, society, culture or world order of which they are a part.'*

Similarly, in the context of this review, we are concerned with social movements as relatively enduring organisations rather than with 'evanescent forms' of collective behaviour, such as panics, riots, fads and fashions (Rao *et al.,* 2000: 244): *'Collective action' refers to a broad range of purposive collective behaviour, the most organised of which are social movements that occur over longer time stretches, are driven by long-term goals and develop formal organisations.'*

Having defined what we mean by the phrase 'social movement', our next introductory task is to briefly reflect on why social movements are an important topic for our attention. Crossley (2002: 7-9) suggests that it is because they are key agents for bringing about change within societies. Whilst such a portrayal commonly conjures up an image of revolution or major legislative change, we need to be cautious because this is comparatively rare and the kinds of change that movements achieve are more often local and cultural in nature (McAdam, 1994). According to Crossley, movements problematise the ways in which we live our lives and call for changes in our habits of thought, action and interpretation - in other words they have an important role to play in consciousness raising, re-framing and social praxis. Movement actions may also trigger chains of events which cannot always be foreseen or controlled and they sometimes provoke backlashes and other unintended responses. Well-known examples include the peace movement, religious movements, civil rights and pro-democracy movements, the Labour movement, Women's movements, Gay and Lesbian rights, environmental movements and fascist movements. This last example highlights that social movements are not necessarily a force for 'good' (at least not in everyone's eyes), an important caveat to which we have already referred.

[1] For example, the anti-psychiatry movement of the 1960s involved psychiatrists turning back upon and criticising their own role in processes of social control.

3.2 Characteristics

From our reading of the literature we have identified eight core characteristics (Figure 3) of social movements which are summarised below:
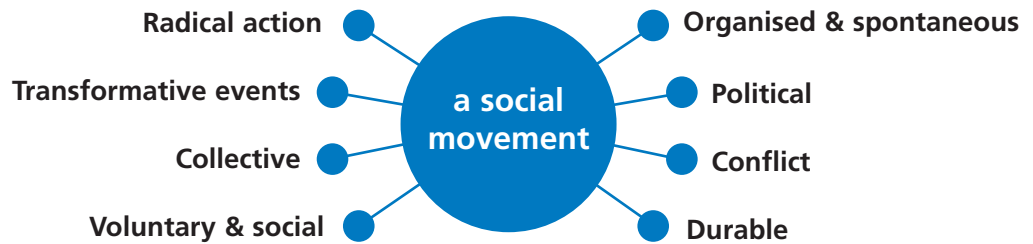
Radical action · Transformative events · Collective · Voluntary & social — **a social movement** — Organised & spontaneous · Political · Conflict · Durable

**Figure 3
Core characteristics of a
social movement**

3.2.1 Public protest and radical action

Public protest and the use of radical and unconventional means of political persuasion is a fundamental feature of most movements, large and small (Taylor & Van Dyke, 2004: 283), their purpose being either to foster or to halt change (Snow *et al.*, 2004). If the former, the agenda of a social movement is normally large-scale change at a rapid pace; second-order rather than first order change (Watzlawick *et al.*, 1974). This agenda is based on the belief that change cannot be achieved within the system and so aspects of the system itself have to be changed. Social movements are often born of this belief (and frustration) that incremental change is not working or is not delivering the desired or anticipated benefits within an acceptable time-scale; there is a recognition that scale and pace need to be 'radicalised' and redefined.

3.2.2 Transformative events

There is substantial evidence that social movements can be transformative events[1]. As already pointed out, writers have argued that all major changes in the United States have been brought about as the result of a social movement, never a planned - and certainly not an incremental - programme of change. Morris (2000: 452) suggests we need to carry out a lot more research on movements as transformative events.

3.2.3 Collective

'Social movements are uninstitutionalised, but co-ordinated collective activities' (Strang & Jung, 2002: 28). Hence collectivity and commonality define a movement: the whole basis of a movement being joint action, common outlooks and change goals and collaboration (Huy, 1999). Kebede and others define them as 'collective identities in motion' (2000: 317), whilst Croteau & Hicks (2003: 257) talk about them involving 'the identification and articulation of common ground among [participants]'. Tucker (1993) similarly talks about a 'sense of collective injury' that drives mobilization, and Tilly (1978, cited in Crossley, 2002) suggests that mobilization is always possible where there is some form of collectivity or natural community: *'where a group of people live together in form of close association and network, the historical record suggests that they are more likely to mobilize around an issue of shared grievance than groups who are not networked in this way. Close-knit networks or communities are more prone to mobilisation around a shared grievance where they manifest some form of collective identity.'*

[1] For example, the Vietnam protests in the US arguably brought down two Presidents, turned Congressional thinking - and membership - around, redefined Cold War philosophies (Franklin, 2000) and later deterred Ronald Reagan from sending troops to Nicaragua on the grounds of wanting to avoid another antiwar movement (Fendrich, 2003: 353).

The necessary translation of a common situation into a shared grievance requires the bringing together of a multiplicity of identities under a common social vision; this 'translation' resonates with our discussion below of 'frame alignment'. Such ideational factors and interpretive processes also shape the later tactics employed by a social movement.

3.2.4 Voluntary association and social relationships

People do not have to join a social movement; they join because of choice and some kind of commitment to join with others. 'Movements' are voluntary, not a 'programme' as such: they are spontaneous and self-organising (although as we note later, organisation is an important element). What we are talking about in the NHS context, therefore, is more accurately described as an improvement aspiration or ideal than an improvement programme. Individuals do not act in isolation; they are at least aware of others and - because of their social ties - often influenced or even pressurised by them. Consequently, in collective action 'social networks matter' (Marwell & Oliver, 1988) particularly in terms of recruiting participants (Tilly, 1978; Fireman & Gamson, 1979). How recruitment works, and why it works better in some networks than others, is an extremely complex issue that will require further discussion.

3.2.5 Organised and spontaneous

Social movements are a wonderful example of organisation and disorganisation. They do explode into life without being organised but if they are to stay in existence they need central co-ordinating and resourcing[1]. Snow *et al.,* (2004) suggest that there is 'absolutely no question' about the fact that social movement activity needs to be organised in some fashion or another but that there are clearly different forms of appropriate organisation. In this respect, Tarrow (1998: 123-4) offers the distinction between social movements as (a) formal organisations, (b) the organisation of collective action, and (c) social movements as connecting structures or networks.

3.2.6 Political

Protest movements are contentious politics (McAdam *et al.,* 1996) and movement participants are invariably 'protesters' of one kind or another (Piven & Cloward, 1979): *'Protest movements are acknowledged as a form of political struggle. Protest is political action using non-institutionalised means to influence those in power to bring about change' (Fendrich, 2003: 338).*

The primary goal of any movement is to have influence, and in order to do this it has to engage in a political process with those upon whom its satisfactory outcomes depend.

3.2.7 Conflict and resistance

Movements relate to the 'underlife' (Goffman, 1962) of an organisation or society, often seeking to avoid detection. They are also often seen as an unwelcome, subversive or forbidden oppositionary force and conflicts often occur 'in which challengers contest authorities over the shape and governance of institutionalized systems of power' (Morrill *et al.,* 2003). Such polarisation can have a strong impact on bringing and binding participants together: *'The sense of crisis that develops in such conflicts strengthens participants' belief that their fate is tied to that of the group. Because of the need to act quickly in a crisis, participants also become willing to submerge their differences with respect to the group's tactical choices' (Hirsch, 1990, as cited in Goodwin & Jasper, 2003).*

So, Palmer (1997) asks: *'Has significant social change ever been achieved in the face of massive institutional opposition? The answer seems clear: Only in the face of such opposition has significant social change been achieved. If institutions had a capacity for constant evolution, there would never have been a crisis demanding transformation ...Resistance helps change happen. The resistance itself points to the need for something new. It encourages us to imagine alternatives. And it energises those who are called to work toward those ends' (1997: 164-165).*

[1] For example, 'The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)' played a key role in the anti-Vietnam war movement (Fendrich, 2003). In 1965, SDS became the major catalyst in organising opposition to the war. Other examples include the 'Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee' (SNCC) which organised the Vietnam sit-ins and demonstrations, 'teach-ins' and the Mississippi Freedom Summer Project in 1964. SNCC went from movement to electoral politics when it formed the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party to challenge the all-white segregationists at the 1964 Democratic convention.

3.2.8 Durable

As McAdam and Snow (1997: xxii) aptly point out, social movements are not 'fly-by-night phenomena that are here today and gone tomorrow.'[1] The social movements literature might therefore help cast new light on issues such as the spread and sustainability of improvement throughout the NHS. For example, (and relating back to the issue of identity described above), some argue that: *'...social movement endurance is largely determined by the ability of social movement participants to develop and sustain a meaningful (and fluid) collective identity' (Kebede, 2000: 331).*

The kind of changes movements pursue, whatever their degree or level, typically require some measure of sustained, organised activity (Snow *et al.,* 2004: 11). In this case, the basis of sustained commitment is social cohesion and identity - Durkheim's 'communitas'. As Gamson (1991: 27) concludes: *'...any movement that seeks to sustain commitment over a period of time must make the construction of collective identity one of its most central tasks' (Hunt & Benford, 2004).*

In this vein, McAdam (1986) shows how much easier it is to get sustained commitment once people have entered the 'circle' of an active movement and begun to forge social relationships and a shared identity with each other (see Annex 1). Once people are in the movement circle they will therefore be more likely to remain there by virtue of the centrifugal forces of contact, interaction, socialisation, shared understandings, belongingness and community. This implies that sustainability is more a social and cultural matter than it is an institutional matter, although recognising the latter may also be important. People are held in by the 'pull' of commonly held aspirations and beliefs and the social ties they are able to forge with one another (McAdam, 1986).

They stay there because they want, and to some extent need to, since personal identity becomes inextricably bound up with group identity. As with all of the above stages, personality, personal biography and experience will be a mediating 'push' factor in this (some will feel the pull more than others). However, McAdam (1986) and others, suggest that this - especially in the context of the low risk / low cost activism likely to be found in an NHS movement - may be less important than we previously believed. Again, it underlines the important contact with the recruitment agent (entreater) because it is this single person who usually introduces the individual into the social circle, where the glue and the bonds and ties may be found.

[1] For example, the Rastafarian movement has been in existence for more than 60 years.

Schools of thought in movement research

Key points for healthcare improvement leaders:

- research into social movements falls into three broad categories that focus on:
  - emotions and non-rational behaviour as the central reason why social movements form
  - the need for social movements to be organised and properly resourced
  - the importance of shared social processes (such as language and interpersonal relationships) to formation of, and action by, social movements
- each of these has implications for how we go about improvement in the NHS but it is the interactions between these three groups of factors (emotion, structure and culture) that determine the form and success of social movements, and
- we need to discuss what an improvement movement might look like in the NHS and what combination of these factors is most likely to help bring it about.

How do social and political scientists explain and make sense of social movements? Crossley (2002: 11-13) distinguishes between American and European schools of movement analysis. US researchers have generally been less concerned with pinning movements to the dialectics of history or a specific type of society than with seeking to identify the empirical conditions which facilitate and inhibit their development. On the other hand, European researchers have typically focussed on the constitutive structure and type of society in which modern movements emerge, the relation of movements to that society and their 'historical role' therein.

There are three broad schools of thought in movement research:

- collective behaviour and social movements research
- resource mobilisation theory, and
- new social movements thinking.

4.1 Collective behaviour and social movement research (CBSM)

CBSM was the dominant school of sociological thought during the 1940s to early 1960s (c.f. Smelser, Turner and Killian). This research took emotions and non-rational behaviour - 'the imagery of the emotional crowd' - as the central issues in social movement formation. From this starting point CBSM research portrayed movement emergence as a reflex response to 'grievances', 'deprivations', 'anomie', 'structural strains' or other such forms of hardship (Crossley, 2002). Consequently, CBSM research naturally tended to focus on protest movements. Collective behaviour theorists thus believed that objective hardships were both a necessary and a sufficient cause of protest and movement formation. Shaped in part by Fascist movements in Germany, Italy and Japan, this school stressed the irrational, deviant and volatile dimensions of movements, and portrayed protests and movements as irrational psychological responses, manifestations of 'mob psychology' or collective hysteria. CBSM research thus lumped social movements together with other assorted forms of 'collective behaviour', such as fashions, crazes and panics, without any particular consideration for their distinctness and properly 'political' nature (Crossley, 2002).

Nevertheless, CBSM gave a prominence to the emotional dimension that was to take a further forty years before making its appearance in organisation research, something which is only happening now (Fineman, 1994). Thus, for CBSM

researchers: *'emotions and irrational methodologies were central because movements occurred in highly charged contexts characterised by mass enthusiasm, collective excitement, rumour, social contagion and mass hysteria. Thus, social movements and movement participants were viewed as nonrational, given the unpredictability, and heavy emotional content of movements' (Morris, 2000: 445).*

4.2 Resource mobilisation and political process theories (RM)

RM grew out of research that offered little to no support for the suggested linkage between real or 'felt' deprivation and the outbreak of movement phenomena and a willingness to participate in collective action. RM researchers in the 1970s and 1980s (c.f. McCarthy, Zald, Gamson, Tilly) began to reject the earlier emotional bias and applied a new focus on 'mobilising structures'[1] and rational, calculative, opportunistic political action.

RM theory does not deny the importance of feelings or the need for them to be present in social movement action but merely asserts that they will not produce a movement unless they are organised and properly resourced. Edwards and McCarthy (2004) propose a five-fold typology of resources: moral (legitimacy, solidary support), cultural (artefacts and cultural products), social-organisational (infrastructures, social networks), human (labour, experience, skills) and material resources (financial and physical capital). This is the concept of social movements as a form of organisation rather than a form of emotional expression or release; hence, building a social movement is not dissimilar to building any other organisation[2].

RM theories assume (a) a rational actor model of the social agent along with an economistic focus upon exchange relations in social life and the effects of the movement of resources between agents, and (b) a structural 'network' model of social relations and social life. With these elements movement theorists from within the resource mobilisation school were able to examine the balance of costs, rewards and incentives that provided agents with the motivation to become involved in struggle, and they were also able to focus upon the block mobilisation of whole communities (Crossley, 2002). By the 1980s this was added to by a consideration of the ways in which political systems and processes variously open up and close down opportunities for protest, thereby affecting the flow of activism itself.

The RM perspective therefore focuses on the social and organisational structures within which social movements form and grow (or not); 'structure' includes organisation, roles, relationships, resources and political processes at the social, industrial and organisational level. Obviously, the rational actor model has attracted its critics who object that it is overly structural and rationalistic and precludes many important issues from analysis, including the origin and distribution of preferences, movement identities and culture, and the role of emotion (Crossley, 2002).

4.3 New social movements research (NSM)

In the 1990s NSM theorists (c.f. Habermas, Touraine, Melucci) began to ask a different question to previous movement theorists. They took a step back from the usual battery of questions regarding the dynamics of movement mobilisation and sought to identify both the key movement clusters belonging to any given era, and the main structural tensions which those movements formed around. NSM research therefore relocates our understanding of movements within an understanding of society more generally, providing a new focus on cultural issues and framing processes.

[1] 'Mobilising structures' are those 'collective vehicles, informal as well as formal, through which people mobilise and engage in collective action' (McAdam et al, 1996: 3).

[2] There are of course differences. For example, a social movement organisation has goals aimed at changing society and its members, whereas the full blown bureaucratic organisation does not (stability - rather than change - orientated), and members work for ideological / purposive rather than instrumental / solidary reasons (Zald & Garner, 1986: 123). Nevertheless, they still both have goals, structures and resources, and survival, maintenance and growth needs.

Culture (shared ideas, beliefs, meanings, interpretations, outlooks) is seen to play a central role in generating and sustaining movements; hence cultural forms such as language (including stories and folklore), scripts, talk, rituals, ceremonies and rallies, dress, and symbols are central to movement formation, action and identity. Creating a movement is therefore regarded essentially as a cultural enterprise: an idea only 'moves' a group if it has cultural resonance[1].

NSM recognises that social movements are not so much about emotions or structures but interactive social processes within which people talk, argue, debate, build relationships and, through these interactions develop collective identity and purposes. This is the point at which new and less mainstream sociological and organisational theories began to enter the field - symbolic interactionism, dramaturgical analysis, culture and narrative - marking a shift away from structure and rationality towards the expressive, ideological, identity-shaping and consciousness-raising dimensions of movements. This type of research also reaffirms the importance of strains and grievances; whilst RM theorists (see Section 4.2) argued that strains are not important to movement analysis because they are constants, NSM theorists argue that societies change and with them so do the sources of strain. Thus strains are important because they are variable.

Bringing together these three schools of social movement research in one overarching perspective, Morris (2000: 452) describes movements as 'deep cultural and emotional processes that inspire and produce collective action.' The key lies not in any one factor but in the dynamics and interrelationships between emotion, structure and culture and the way the one reinforces or undermines the other; each one is a lever for mobilisation and collective action and in combination they add up to very powerful combined force[2] but the way one might go about 'creating' a movement depends upon whichever theory one favours and chooses to privilege, and / or exactly what type of movement one is striving to 'create'.

[1] Snow et al's (1986) concept of frame alignment is crucial in this respect.

[1] One of the best examples of all of these working together is Martin Luther King and the black civil rights movement (Morris, 2000: 448). The mobilising capacity of Montgomery's African-American churches was the key; it was significant that it was the ministers who endorsed the bus boycott after Rosa Park's arrest. King remarked 'I was filled with joy when I entered the church and found so many of them there; for then I knew something unusual was about to happen'. Morris (ibid) suggests 'something unusual happened because the church provided the emerging movement with its vast communication network, its organised congregations and its cultural and financial resources [authors' note: i.e. resource mobilisation] ...[the church also] contained the cultural framework through which the movement would be framed [authors' note: i.e. new social movements] ...[and] collective behaviour theorists were right to argue that movements often occur in the context of mass enthusiasm and highly charged emotions [authors' note: i.e collective behaviour and social movements].

Mobilisation and movements

Key points for healthcare improvement leaders:

- in order to form a movement, people need to be personally 'moved' or mobilised towards a shared goal; they need to want to join

- large scale radical change, such as that envisaged in the NHS Plan, requires lots of people to be mobilised

- there is huge variation in people's potential for mobilisation, and

- this review examines the factors that may effect why an individual would join a movement which takes as its goal NHS improvement. These factors are grouped here into six categories: rational, emotional, social and normative, behavioural, organisational and leadership factors.

Movements are made up of people, hence, no people, no movement. Huy (1999) suggests that at the individual level, mobilisation refers to the concrete actions taken by a person in the direction of change. At the organisational level, mobilisation refers to the process of rallying and propelling segments of the organisation to undertake joint action with the purpose of realising common change goals.

Klandermans (2004: 361) defines mobilisation as 'the marketing mechanism of the social movement domain, and thus the study of mobilisation concerns such matters as the effectiveness of (persuasive) communication, the influence of social networks, and the perceived costs and benefits of participation'. Whatever, the particular nuances of definition, mobilisation and movements are two sides of the same coin: without the one there will not be the other.

[1] Diani (2004: 341) discusses how mobilisation in social movements often occurs through mechanisms of 'bloc recruitment' (Oberschall, 1973); cells, branches of simply significant groups of members of existing organisations are recruited as a whole to a new movement, or contribute to starting off new campaigns.

The ability to mobilise hinges on the availability of adequate resources (for example, finances, time, human resources), support structures, and systems but, most important, the necessary commitment and skill sets for co-operating during the change process. Mobilisation during radical change requires significant emotional energy. In contrast to first-order change, such as change in formal structures, which often requires the action of a minority in the dominant coalition, radical change that alters core perspectives and values often requires widespread mobilisation[1]. Strong motivations and commitments promote strong efforts to complete the action in spite of obstacles or great difficulties.

[2] For example, Lazarus's (1993) stress theory clarifies the relationship between an individual's receptivity to change and mobilisation. Individuals go through a two-stage appraisal process. Through primary appraisal they evaluate the significance of a new event for their own well-being. If change recipients evaluate the potential consequence as harmful (arousing negative emotions), they are likely to be non-receptive to the proposed change, but if they construe it as an opportunity or a challenge (positive emotions), they will be better attuned. Through secondary appraisal individuals evaluate their own resources and capability for dealing with the stressor. Thus, primary appraisal determines the extent to which an individual is receptive to change, whereas secondary appraisal determines the extent to which the individual mobilises for change.

This leads us to our three core questions:
Why do people join movements?
Why do they stay in movements?
Why do they leave movements?

The first question - 'Why people join' - is often considered from the point of view of receptivity or readiness for change: how receptive are individuals to membership and participation? In organisational development and change management terms it is suggested that receptivity is higher when people (a) can perceive a degree of urgency, (b) perceive that there is a good chance of success, and (c) can see the first steps. By contrast, theories of social movement recruitment tend to deal with this question under the heading of incentives. Traditional theories have stressed the importance of material and ideological incentives, whereas more recent theories have attached greater importance to microstructural social and organisational incentives such as friendship and organisational ties (Cohn *et al.,* 2003). Other models provide different foci[2].

In all of this we need to recognise that there is huge variation in people's potential for mobilisation; some sign up straightaway, others remain unmoved or cynical. *'It is highly unlikely that conversion can be explained by any one theory ...There are simply too many variables, both on the side of the transformational techniques employed ...and on the side of the assumptions, values and personalities of those attracted'* (Heelas, 1996: 197).

Recruitment into social movements has been explained by:

- individual values (belonging, expression, affect)
- concrete forms of involvement (support for the change program is strongly connected to the concrete personal-experience of involvement)
- experience with related programmes
- expectations about the program's future, and
- the views of co-workers (driven by relational and organisational context - presence of ties to other participants is a robust predictor of social movement mobilisation in many settings).

Klandermans (2004: 361) suggests three 'dynamics of movement participation', explaining the theoretical basis for each[1] (see Table 3).

Dynamic	Definition	Theoretical basis
Instrumentality	Movement participation as an attempt to influence the social and political environment	Resource mobilisation and political process theories of social movements (and rational choice theory and expectancy-value theory)
Identity	Movement participation as a manifestation of identification as a group	Sociological approaches which emphasise collective identity component of social movement participation and to the social-psychological identity theory
Ideology	Movement participation as a search for meaning and an expression of one's views	Approaches that focus on culture, meaning, narratives, moral reasoning and emotion, and to theories of social cognition and emotions

**Table 3
Dynamics of movement
participation**

Our own reading of the social movements literature points us towards six groups of factors which explain why an individual may join a movement. These groups (highlighted below) are discussed in turn in the following sections:

rational (page 22)

emotional (page 23)

social and normative (page 26)

behavioural (page 30)

organisational (page 32)

leadership (page 35)

[1] He also states that he knows of 'no study that has attempted to assess the relative weight of all these motives in their effect on participation' (362).

Rational factors

Key points for healthcare improvement leaders:

- some people might join a NHS improvement movement for rational reasons; it seems a logical and reasonable thing to do. For instance, they might be motivated by self-interest (such as career progression). and

- but rational reasons are not sufficient to explain why large numbers of people join and stay in movements. There are other factors that need to be considered.

The first group of factors take an interest-based view consistent with the rational choice theory perspective (Rowley & Moloveanu, 2003). Individuals are assumed to have stable preferences based on (usually economic) utility maximisation which guide their behaviours; the underlying notion being that individuals self-interests drive them to mobilise. Thus, rational factors include the notions that individuals' have interests, mobilise to protect or enhance those interests, and are more likely to act when there is a sense of urgency attached to those interests. This interest-based explanation of individual mobilisation does not however explain the range of individual and group behaviours.

For instance, not all stakeholder groups with a high degree of discontent and access to the necessary resources actually mobilise. On the other hand, groups may take action even though their members realise they are pursuing a lost cause (when the expected rational benefits of the action are negligible or negative). Yet again, some groups may refuse to terminate their action even after the focal organisation has satisfied their claims. None of these behaviours seems to be consistent with the calculative theory of mobilisation.

It therefore seems that, under certain circumstances, a cost-benefit calculation of group mobilisation is a less critical or even an irrelevant factor in predicting action. Groups may forego a rational assessment of net benefits associated with collective action, because they are motivated to express and be recognised for a particular identity garnered to those participating as members of the group. Not surprisingly, scholars have raised: *'...questions about the wisdom of continuing to use a theoretical framework that views movement members solely as rational actors. While this framework has stimulated much important research and fundamental insights, it presents only a partial picture of human beings. Recent theorising has highlighted the importance of emotions as motivators of social action (Jasper, 1988), and it may well be that future research on social movements will indicate that movements must offer members cultural and emotional incentives in order to stimulate participation'* (Cohn et al., 2003: 334).

Clearly, people contemplating joining a movement will consider how far it will serve their best interests to do so, and to this extent reasoning and instrumentality do come into to it. However, reason and logic are just one component of a very complex behaviour or choice-making process to commit to participation in collective action[1]. There are other factors at work that need to be considered.

[1] So, for example, Van de Ven and Schomaker (2002) suggest that the persuasiveness of any message about evidence-based medicine is not only a function of logos (argument and scientific evidence) but also pathos (persuasiveness) and ethos (credibility) of the speaker as judged by the listeners.

Emotional factors

Key points for healthcare improvement leaders:

- strong, positive emotions can help to drive a movement forward

- commitment or consensus-based movements aim to create a better future whereas grievance-based movements are centred on protest and anger

- a NHS improvement movement is more likely to be commitment or consensus - as opposed to grievance-based, and

- feelings effect why people might join - as well as leave - a NHS improvement movement.

Social movement organisations, like any other organisation, are 'emotional arenas': *'Feelings shape and lubricate social transactions. Feelings contribute to, and reflect, the structure and culture of organisations. Order, and control, the very essence of the 'organisation' of work, concern what people 'do' with their feelings' (Fineman, 1994: 9).*

The general point from our second group of factors is that mobilisation requires more than rational cognition; it also requires significant emotional energy - those strong positive emotions that drive the movement forward (Huy, 1999). We need to appreciate that 'being in a movement is a thoroughly emotional experience' (Adams, 2003: 85) and that recruitment, emergence, longevity and decline all rest on emotional decisions (Jasper, 1998). Flam (1990) suggests that emotions are at least as important as rationality in social movements, and a recent empirical study of the Bread for the World movement by Cohn and others raised further doubt about *'the wisdom of continuing to use a theoretical framework that views members solely as rational actors'*, adding that *'recent theorising has highlighted the importance of emotions as motivators of social action, and it may well be that future research on social movements will indicate that movements must offer members cultural and emotional incentives in order to stimulate participation'* (2003: 334).

There is an important distinction here between two quite different types of movements which is extremely pertinent to the NHS context, and raises a fundamental question about which type is most appropriate. In the case of 'commitment' or consensus-based movements (McCarthy and Wolfson, 1992), people join in the hope or belief in a better or more joyful future, this spirit being characterised by feelings of caring and commitment, optimism and hope, joy, humility, awe and wonder, and emotional idealism. Such movements have an idea or ideal at their centre, which provide the rallying point around which collective action mobilises (Schon, 1971 cited in Van de Ven, 1986).

However, in the context of 'grievance' or protest-based movements which are often concerned to correct an injustice[1] people's feelings are more ones of injustice, outrage, hate, anger, blame, hostility, shame and guilt, tempered by anxiety, fear, and feelings of powerlessness, futility, and isolation. If other group processes have created sufficient group identification, the protesters will respond to threats as a powerful, angry group rather than as isolated, frightened individuals. Under these circumstances, polarisation can have a strong positive impact on participation.

[1] In such grievance-based movements the 'evil' must be dramatised and personalised in a way that lastingly ties the crisis image and emotion to the cause. For example, publication of the vividly descriptive and personalised account of slavery in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' undoubtedly played an important part in translating slavery from an ethical to moral issue and from a misfortune to an injustice (Turner, 1996).

The sense of crisis that develops in such conflicts strengthens participants' belief that their fate is tied to that of the group (Hirsch, 2003). Crossley (2002: 103) goes as far to suggest that: *'neither resources nor networks, any more than grievances or strains, are sufficient to explain movement emergence, however necessary or*

important they may be. Sometimes either one of these factors may be the missing ingredient whose emergence sets a movement in process but it is only too obvious that many well-resourced and well-networked communities do not give rise to movements most of the time. Well-resourced and well-networked groups with no grievances will not mobilise...'

Having joined a movement, people often stay because of feelings of affiliation, optimism, community, brother / sisterhood and belongingness, escapism, attachment, pride, empathy, support, love, caring and affection, intimacy, comradeship, solidarity, togetherness and exhilaration - what have been variously termed the 'bonds of commitment and community', 'collectively experienced emotion' and 'collective effervescence' (Adams, 2003).

An important change requires a leap of faith into the unfamiliar (Kanter, 1983), and an emotionally unifying purpose serves to minimise large divergences among groups (Barnard, 1968). Radical change often involves a collective, interactional and emergent process of learning and sensemaking (Bartunek, 1984; Gioia & Chittipeddi, 1991). In this way, having people committed to realising a vision is more important for its success than a well-thought strategy (Pascale, 1984) because concentration and passionate dedication are necessary to achieve distinctive competence and success (Miller, 1993). However, radical change often involves major uncertainty: the consequences of different alternatives are difficult to evaluate fully. During such periods, too much analysis may breed increasing doubt and paralysis (what McAdam (1982) calls 'a lessening of confidence in their ability to change the situation'); warm emotionality has to supersede cold rationality (see previous Section 6) to enable coherent collective action. *'...much of the work that organisers and leaders do to animate movements involves emotion work. Organisers reinforce group loyalties, inspire pride and calm fears' (Goodwin et al., 2004: 416).*

People may also leave a movement because of feelings - in this case feelings of disillusionment, disappointment (let down), bitterness, betrayal, impotence, depression, disconnection, pessimism, fatalism, disgust, disaffection, boredom, exhaustion / burn out, failure, alienation and personal crisis (Gitlin, 1987; Zolberg, 1972; Hirschman, 1982; Tarrow, 1988; Schneider, 1995). 'Feelings' can work in either direction.

Goodwin *et al.,* (2004) discuss several types of emotions and their relation to movement processes:

- reflex (arise suddenly, for example, fear, or surprise)

- affective bonds (persist over longer time, e.g. respect and trust)

- moods, and

- moral emotion (for example, pride or shame).

All of this implies a greater role for affect (feel) over cognition (perceive) in movement formation. Social movements are therefore all about 'movement sensibilities' and 'structures of feeling'; the heart is the 'heart' of a movement. All movements begin with a person(s) deciding that he / she cannot carry on living a 'divided life' (Palmer, 1997) - the Rosa Parks decision to act on her heart's knowledge of her own humanity - or an uprising of the heart against the situation in which one finds oneself[1]. The first step is about trying to bring one's action into harmony with one's inner life; another way of describing integrity or 'deciding to live divided no more.' Others will join because they feel impelled to do the same. Hence, the action is not motivated (stimulus-response) but released (an 'uprising'), inside-out not outside-in.

[1] See 'The Heart Aroused' (David Whyte).

One does not need to be 'encouraged': the movement has the status of an imperative so it must be done whatever the cost or because 'beliefs' are more powerful than the cost[1]. Given the crucial role emotion plays in movement formation and growth it is paradoxical that, 'scholarly attention to the role of emotions in the realm of movement participation is only in its infancy' (Klandermans, 2004: 369). So, in the case of the NHS, many staff would like to see a better delivery of service, even as they are caught up in problems and routines that stop them from achieving those improvements.

[1] 'No punishment anyone lays on you could be worse than the punishment you lay on yourself by conspiring in your own diminishment' (Palmer, 1997: 171).

Social and normative factors

Key points for healthcare improvement leaders:

- a NHS improvement movement is more likely to succeed if its stated aims and values are widely shared and supported by society as a whole

- pre-existing networks of people within the NHS have a key role to play in mobilising sufficient staff to join a movement

- individuals are much more likely to engage in improvement activities if their colleagues, friends and peers are already doing so, and

- finding those at the centre of these networks who are committed to improvement in the NHS is a critical first step in developing the self-sustaining communities of practice that can provide mass and energy to improvement activities.

8.1 Historical and cultural conditions

Mobilisation and social movement growth are more likely to occur when there is (1) a strong collective sentiment base (the number of people who feel, like and share similar goals - see previous Section 7), and (2) low societal hostility towards the movement (the extent to which groups and organisations accept the legitimacy or value of the movement) (Zald & Garner, 1986). The broad point in this section is that situational context is important. For example, it has been argued that the more a social movement threatens or perceives to threaten wider societal norms and power bases the more it will be resisted. On the other hand, if the views put forward resonate with current cultural narrations (Snow and Benford call this 'narrative fidelity') then they will be more effective in mobilising support (D'Anjou and van Male, 1998).

[1] So, for example, prior to passage of the Nineteenth amendment women's groups in the United States were more likely to win suffrage rights at the level of state government when they argued that women would use their voting rights to protect children, homes and families. In other words, they were more successful when they framed their demands in ways that convinced people that granting women the right to vote would reinforce rather than undermine women's traditional identity and gender roles (McCammon et al, 2001, cited in Campbell, 2002).

[2] The negative effect of social disapproval is more marked in 'exclusive' (require active membership, training) rather than 'inclusive' (only needs approval, pledge of support, no activism) movements.

[3] See Freeman (1973) and D'Emilio (1998) for specific examples (in regard to the women's liberation movement and militant gay and lesbian movements respectively) of the critical importance of social networks for mobilising people. Indeed, D'Emilio notes that many lesbians and gay men had already been radicalised and educated in the movements then current among American youth (including the feminist and antiwar movements), (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003).

McAdam and Paulson (1993) suggest that the ultimate decision to participate in a movement depends, in part, on the absence of strong opposition from others on whom other salient identities depend[1]. The decision to join, support and remain in a social movement is therefore greatly affected by social factors, either immediate ones like one's peer group or much wider ones related to prevailing views[2] within a society at the time: *'the modern social movement is not only a structural phenomenon - a complex of network actors and interactions - but a cultural phenomenon as well ...the interpretative packages they put forward represent views that are by definition against the grain, as they concern the cause of the socially marginalised. Packages have to resonate with current cultural narrations to be effective in mobilising support ...They must also be resonant or culturally credible because otherwise they would not convince authorities or the general public that their diagnosis is accurate and the proposed changes are needed'* (D'Anjou and van Male, 1998).

8.2 Social networks

In conjunction with historical and cultural conditions that legitimate movement narratives, social networks and ties play a key role in recruiting, mobilising and retaining participants (Passy, 2001)[3]; networks to a large extent determine who becomes a target of mobilisation attempts (Klandermans, 2004: 311). Alliances and networks lie at the heart of mobilisation, and may cross formal organisational, professional and social boundaries (Zald *et al.,* 2002: 11). These 'mobilising structures' (as RM theorists term them) enable movements to recruit members, obtain resources and disseminate information. Oberschall (1973, as cited in Crossley, 2002: 93) proposes that the networks of everyday life harbour a multitude of resources which can be tapped into for the purposes of struggle. With networks and communities come leaders, places of association, communicative channels and

means, and a stock of organisational and administrative materials. Without these, the spread of system-critical framings to the minimum number of people required to afford a basis for collective action would be prevented (McAdam *et al.,* 1996).

This naturally leads to the hypothesis that many movements will grow out of pre-established networks, communities and organisations, and that movement formation will be more common among tightly networked groups than in situations of high social atomisation. These networks provide the bonds of solidarity out of which a movement could grow. They provide pre-existing lines of communication, not to mention places of assembly and basic organisational and administrative resources[1].

As Campbell (2002) and others (Davis and McAdam, 2000) point out, organisation theorists also understand that networks provide the foundation for all sorts of organisational innovation and activity[2]; social movement activities are usually embedded in dense relational settings (Diani, 2004: 339). This is borne out in a great deal of empirical network research in both the organisational and social movement literatures. Many studies have shown that individuals who have friends or acquaintances who are already involved in a movement are more inclined to participate[3].

In his classic study of white college students going to the American south in 1964 to help in voter registration drives, McAdam found three factors (see annex 1) important in explaining who comes forward to join a movement (biographical availability, ideological compatibility and social-network ties) but in explaining those who showed up and those who did not, the first two factors drop out and the third factor - social network ties - becomes crucial[4]. *'If we have learned anything from the last twenty five years of social movement research, it is that movements do not depend on interest or opportunity alone, but build on indigenous social networks in domestic societies ...it is more due to networks of people who are linked to each other by a specific interpersonal bond than to formal organisation or individual incentives that collective action is aggregated'* (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, 1995).

Social networks socialise and build collective identity, provide participation opportunities and shape individual preferences in the decision to join a movement. Kitts (2000) differentiated between information, identity and exchange mechanisms. Information refers to the capacity of networks to create opportunities for participation; identity to the fact that social ties to significant others create and reproduce solidarity; exchange to the informal circulation of social approval, reward and sanctions through networks. They also discourage leaving, and support continued participation (Diani, 2004: 342).

However, we have to decide whether collective actions are more likely to thrive where a small number of people know many others (while most know no-one) or where many people each know some others, but no-one knows a large number.

There are advantages and disadvantages in both: a small number of people who know each other well will have a greater potential for co-ordination but if any one of them drops out or shows no interest in collective action, no-one else has much chance of getting things going. Meyer and Rowan (1977) argue that dense ties among a group of social actors facilitate the diffusion of norms and expectations. As the number of ties among a group of actors increases, the actors can communicate more efficiently with each other and can establish a shared understanding of how to address their dissatisfaction (Rowley, 1997). Alternatively, research by Marwell *et al.* (1988) strongly favours the network centralisation thesis: that mobilisation is a qualitative not a quantitative thing; what matters is not so much the number of ties that organisers are involved in, as their selectivity,

[1] For example, black churches were crucial to the Southern civil rights movement in the 1950s, fundamentalist churches helped defeat the Equal Rights Amendment and mosques facilitated the Iranian Revolution (Goodwin & Jasper, 2003: 51).

[1] See Granovetter's (1973, 1985) classic discussions of network embeddedness and strong and weak ties.

[3] Diani (2004: 341) cites Snow et al (1980) as showing social networks accounting for the adhesion of a large share (60-90%) of members of various religious and political groups, with Hare Krishna being the only exception. Diani & Iodi (1988) found 78% of environmental activists in Milan to have been recruited through private or associational networks.

[4] Three further important insights from 'Freedom Summer' were: (a) a clear emphasis upon emotion, culture, identity (individual and collective - see earlier section) and the sense of 'shock' which often prompts an individual to join collective action; (b) participation had a significant effect both at the level of personal and political lives; and (c) involvement in the activity disposes the agent both towards further involvement and towards the forms of belief and identity which correspond with and reinforce it. McAdam postulated a process of circular reinforcement and amplification in the process whereby each successive act of involvement commits the agent towards more costly and risky forms of activism: '...each succeeding foray into safe forms of activism increases the recruit's network integration, ideological affinity with the movement, and commitment to an activist identity, as well as his receptivity to more costly forms of participation' (McAdam, 1986: 70).

that is, the quantity of resources controlled by potential participants they are connected to: *'Collective action happens when a critical mass of interested and resourceful individuals can co-ordinate their efforts ...successful organising is more a matter of whom you can mobilise than of how many you can mobilise.'*

This research suggests an important alternative lesson: one needs to find and target an 'organiser' with a large personal network rather than try and reach the whole network. Marwell & Oliver (1993) emphasised the crucial role of a critical mass of people ('organisers') prepared to face the costs of starting collective action, regardless of the size of the group as a whole (Diani, 2004: 346).

Oberschall (1973) also introduces the notion of 'segmentation': segmented communities are those that are well integrated internally but are cut off from other groups and, specifically, from social elites. These communities are important for two reasons:

> The distance between groups means that less intensive forms of social control hold between them. Aggrieved groups have relatively few channels by which to influence elite groups, other than overt protest, and elite groups have little leverage by which to prevent such protest or uprising.

> The lack of mobility between groups means that the more talented and motivated members of the aggrieved group - whom Oberschall believes may become its movement leaders - are not drawn out of the oppressed group and into the elite. Their resources or resourcefulness remain within the aggrieved group, and at its disposal.

8.3 Communities of practice

As Campbell (2002) points out networks / mobilising structures can be cultivated deliberately in order to obtain critical resources, new organisational models and the like[1]. This is similar to the 'communities of practice' (CoP) notion (Wenger *et al.,* 2002; Bate & Robert, 2002), which may manifest itself as the equivalent of collective action in the workplace. Palmer (1997) uses the phrase 'communities of congruence' but these seem little different to a CoP. These 'offer mutual support and opportunities to develop a shared vision'. They are gathering places for people who feel shaky about what they are doing, and look to others for reassurance and strength. In the movement sparked by Rosa Parks, these communities of congruence found a home in black churches. Although they have now been recognised as such CoPs may be one of, if not the most important, mobilisation mechanisms for an improvement movement.

Gabbay *et al.,* (2003) define a CoP as a 'group of people who may not normally work together, but who are acting and learning together in order collectively to achieve a common task whilst acquiring and negotiating appropriate knowledge'.

A CoP is the place where individual identity (and personal stories) is forged into collective identity (collective narrative), where 'my' belief and 'my' struggle becomes 'our' belief and 'our' struggle. Klandermans (1984) calls this group process, in which group members develop a collective identity that articulates their shared interests and goals, 'consciousness mobilisation' (as cited in Rowley & Moldoveanu, 2003). Such collective identity serves as an alternative basis for mobilisation since it creates individual commitment and feelings of solidarity. Fireman and Gamson (1979) argue that the feeling of solidarity, which emerges among individuals through group affiliation, acts as a powerful catalyst for collective action. Despite the lack of material or pecuniary benefits, individuals may still participate in group action toward the focal organisation, because they have become 'linked together in a number of ways that generate a sense of common identity, shared fate, and general commitment to defend the group' (Fireman & Gamson, 1979: 21)[2]. It is interesting that many of the larger private

[1] This is of particular relevance to the NHS Modernisation Agency's Associates scheme which is an example of network cultivation in the NHS context. For instance, the work of those 'leading' the scheme sounds a lot like the 'agitators' or 'travelling activists' described in the literature who create a macro-network between otherwise disjointed groups of actors and regions.

[2] In this way, McAdam (1989) argues that the consequences of involvement in the Mississippi Freedom Summer project included a strong affiliation with a particular social identity and the tendency to participate in subsequent activism, which allowed the participants to strengthen their affiliation with that collective identity (as cited in Rowley & Moldoveanu, 2003).

sector companies such as Xerox and Shell have abandoned formal programmatic approaches to change, which they claim have achieved little, in favour of an informal, communities of practice approach, based upon natural, voluntary groupings. It would thus appear that the particular qualities of a community of practice - its informality and voluntarism, and its ethic of equality and co-operation, make it well suited to creating the 'collective contagion' that all large scale change requires.

8.4 Summary

Diani (2004: 350-1) identifies some recurring themes related to the question of 'what networks account for what type of participation in a movement?':

- the role of networks seems to vary, depending on the costs attached to the action that they are supposed to facilitate. More demanding forms of action have usually been backed by stronger and more specific networks. A central position in the network, linking prospective participants, has also been identified as an important predictor of actual participation

- the extent to which the mobilising messages and the cultural orientation of a movement differ from, and are at odds with, the dominant orientation in society also seems to make certain networks more effective than others

- networks perform different functions ranging from socialisation to the creation of concrete opportunities to become involved, and to influencing prospective participants decisions at crucial points in time

- modelling simulations have suggested that more centralised networks are more likely to overcome 'free-riding' problems and generate higher amounts of collective action; degree of network heterogeneity and homogeneity have also been found to play a role

- flows of communication and the links between different territorial areas have illustrated how levels of collective performance in one area depend on levels of performance in other areas and how diffusion of new forms of collective action are also facilitated by previous connections between different territorial locations.

Behavioural factors

Key points for healthcare improvement leaders:

- once individuals have decided to join a movement, their personal experiences of participating in that movement play an important role in determining how long, and how much they personally contribute, to its activities

- participating in formal and informal movement-related activities helps reinforce the shared values and commitments that attracted individuals to join initially, and

- in terms of a NHS improvement movement, there is a need to focus specifically on how to get people to join; the social processes around activism mean that once they get involved, it is easier to keep them involved.

The fourth group of factors are behavioural: what people do in itself generates and strengthens emotions and commitments. So acts of joining, staying and the level of activism within a movement are also determined by what people 'do' within the movement - 'enactment' and participation tie them in. For example, recruitment and fund-raising activities, voting (collective decision-making often plays an important role in motivating continuing commitment) and holding office, lobbying (phoning, writing letters to members and officials), and protesting / rallies all enhance solidarity (Fendrich, 2003: 346). Cultural practices are a particular form of collective behaviour, and especially powerful because they build and reinforce the cultural identity of the movement. Examples of such cultural practices would be certain kinds of meetings (e.g. prayer meetings), celebrations, festivals and rallies, ceremonials, music and rituals.

Language[1] and appearance[2] are also important, providing the visible 'glue' for the movement. There is also an important link here between cultural practices and the earlier section on emotion. As Cohn and others (2003: 334) have pointed out recent historical and ethnographic studies of social movement dynamics have pointed to the importance of cultural practices in sustaining emotional commitments.

So, whilst participation in the external mission of social movements is clearly important to movement success, as Knoke (1988) indicates many voluntary associations cannot persist unless members also participate in internal activities - the 'pragmatic actions', such as voting in organisational elections, recruiting new members and doing work that are necessary for organisational maintenance and continuity. As discussed in Section 7, participation in social movements is sustained by values, beliefs and emotional commitments but these are, in turn, fostered and nourished by active participation in a wide range of cultural practices such as those listed above. All this needs props and accessories to support such participation and to animate and 'bring it all alive' for the audience: backdrops, images, artefacts, wardrobe. Setting is also significant: all of these backstage and frontstage things convey meaning.

'Concrete forms of involvement' (Strang & Il-Jung, 2002) - and their impact in forging a collective identity - is a theme that comes out in many social movement writings (Castell, 1983; Hunt *et al.,* 1994; Taylor & Raeburn, 1997 as cited in Kebede *et al.,* 2000: 316).

'New Social Movement analysts argue that collective identity is both the product and the cause of collective action, stating that collective identities are created in the midst of collective actions, and the process of maintaining them stimulates further collective action' (Kebede *et al.,* 2000: 316).

[1] For example, Rasta 'soul language' or 'dread talk' reflects and expresses every aspect of Rasta philosophy about life, politics and nature, so 'I, a Rasta' confirms he or she is an active subject of history as opposed to an individual who has lost his or her personhood.

[2] As used to delineate symbolic boundaries between social movements and others, for example, Rastafari dreadlocks which demarcate in-group and out-group distinctions, establish identity and symbolise defiance and resistance (Kebede et al, 2000: 323).

Just as early studies in employee participation showed, workers did not have a high propensity to participate prior to their experience of participation; this came after, not before the experience. Put idiomatically, people cannot want 'it' until they have tried it, and once they have they may want more of it (the salted-nut paradox of motivation!). The concrete experience of participating in a movement is crucial, meanings and value being formed after the experience not before it. The challenge is to get them in to McAdam's circle (annex 1) - hence the importance of the recruitment agent - because once in, it will be easier to keep them in. Here they will find like-minded people, shared values and outlooks, and a climate of mutual support that makes them wish to continue their association.

Organisational factors

Key points for healthcare improvement leaders:

- movements do need some organisation and structure

- the concept of a Social Movement Organisation (SMO) is a relevant one in the context of NHS improvement

- the notion of a federated NHS improvement movement, balancing the roles and responsibilities of the 'local' and the 'national', may be particularly helpful

- NHS improvement needs financial, time and human resources. Many movements lack one or more of these. However, the availability of such resources is an important mobiliser that influences individuals to join a movement, and

- one of the most important organisational factors for movement activists is the availability of 'havens' or free spaces where people can openly express their hopes and concerns. This needs to be considered in the context of the NHS improvement movement.

The concept of the social movement organisation (SMO) - the focus of the Resource Mobilisation theorists who rooted their theory in the structural rather than the social psychological - defines a fifth group of factors. Focal concerns here are resources, structures and relationships (to other organisations and the wider political and state organisations). 'SMO's operate much like other organisations' (McCarthy & Zald, 1977), and like all organisations the SMO is all about efficiency, effectiveness and fitness for purpose.

10.1 Organisational structure

There is much debate in the literature about whether movements need 'enabling' structures (dedicated roles, authority positions, leadership, target goals). Some commentators argue that while informal structureless groups can be useful for early conscious and energy-raising, after this there is a strong case for more formal structure and structuring of the movement (Freeman & Levine, 1984)[1]. Others, like Rucht (1999) take the opposite line, pointing out the dangers of formalised movements becoming more centralised-bureaucratic and more moderate in their actions over time[2]. For example, in social movements we find examples of 'goal displacement', where the goal becomes survival, stability, maintenance and conservative respectability rather than major change (Zald & Ash, 1966). *'Whatever the form of goal transformation, it is always in the direction of greater conservatism (the accommodation of organisational goals to the dominant social consensus). Organisational maintenance is a special form of goal transformation in which the primary activity of the organisation becomes the maintenance of membership, funds, and other requirements of organisational existence. It too, is accompanied by conservatism, for the original goals must be accommodated to societal norms in order to avoid conflicts that could threaten the organisation's viability'* (ibid., 121).

These routinisation and goal-displacement processes explain why SMO organisations age, and begin to slow down and lose their fire. Structure may therefore bring its own problems and requires certain leadership actions (see Section 11) to correct these. Freeman (Freeman & Levine, 1984), however, exposes the 'myth of structurelessness' - the idea that movements are emergent and do not need organisation and central co-ordination - and argues that they do need it because it provides resources[3], professional support and co-ordination, and crucially helps prevent factional disputes (what Knoke (1988) refers to collectively as the SMO's 'internal maintenance activities'). As with any

[1] A strong case example would be Bread for the World (BFW), a leading professional SMO in the contemporary antihunger movement, which has required a high level of organisation in order to sustain its external Congressional lobbying activities in relation to hunger legislation (Barkan, Cohn & Whitaker (1993).

[2] Crossley (2002: 92) cites Robert Michels (1949) on the dangers of formal organisations to political struggle. Organisations tend inevitably towards oligarchy, and the demands of organisation and specialisation tend to cut the ruling elite off from the rank and file and lead them to focus on their own agendas. Hence, the organisation, or more precisely its survival, becomes an end in itself, to the detriment of the wider change agenda of the movement.

[3] Proponents of a formal organisational structure argue that mobilisation of money and mobilisation of labour, are heavily contingent upon the creation of movement structures, or organisation building. This is true because, in general, the most important factor in accounting for whether individuals will contribute money or time and effort to collective enterprises is whether or not they are asked to (Edwards & McCarthy, 2004).

organisation structure there are levels and in Mintzberg's terms (1979) this would be strategic apex, operating core, technostructure and support structure. However, in social movement terms it is usually the ordinary members who give time or money as organisational 'constituents' or 'workers' (operating core), the people who have control over decision-making as the 'cadre' (strategic apex), and full-time professionals who do not have involvement in decision-making as 'professional staff' (support and technostructure): *'Similar to a piece played in the theatre, collective protest requires a veritable production structure to enable the best performance to be offered to the public. In particular, protests which are large and / or are part of a broader campaign are preceded by the collection and management of resources, definition of roles and calls for action' (Rucht, 1999).*

On the other hand, Levine says more rules and structures are not needed, certainly not ones that take away local spontaneity, power and initiative. The literature tends to incline towards the alternative view.

Reger and Staggenborg (2003) propose the model of a federated SMO combining national and local structures which may be particularly relevant to the NHS improvement context; while the national organisation provides guidelines and policies and initiates action campaigns, local chapters mobilise participants and devise organisational forms and strategies to suit local conditions[1]. In this way, local chapters and national level organisations are mutually beneficial, with the national level maintaining the organisation and the chapter drawing on the opportunities within the local field.

Formal organisations are by no means necessary to sustain strong campaigns: there are many different ways in which protest activities and even sustained campaigns can be organised. However, protest requires some degree of organisation and co-ordination (or piggy-backing on a pre-existing infrastructure) otherwise it will not happen[2]. But too much organisation of the formal variety can lead to oligarchy and bureaucratisation, and indeed to political co-optation, such that movements ultimately become incorporated and lose their critical edge. Most successful movements pass somewhere between these two extremes, or perhaps counter-balance the tendencies of one against the other, thus avoiding the worse excesses of either (Crossley, 2002).

10.2 Organisational resources

Even if social movements did not need organisation they would still need resources and resource availability; adequate resources (financial, time, human) need to be present in order to fuel and feed the movement. Movements may - indeed invariably do - experience resource problems. For example of the three types of resources that Etzioni (1975) identifies: coercion, utilitarian incentives appealing to the self-interest of members, and normative incentives appealing to members' values, SMOs usually lack the first two types. Typically they do not coerce their members or provide them with money or other material benefits. All they have to offer are normative or ideological incentives, which may not be enough (Cohn *et al.,* 2003: 314).

But there is a subjective motivational as well as an objective aspect to this issue of resources, as the literature also shows that people are more likely to respond to the call to join if they believe there are adequate resources to deal with the events at hand (Huy, 1999) - the so-called 'secondary appraisal' that goes on after people have decided that change is a 'good thing' (Lazarus, 1993). Resources are therefore an important mobiliser. As Weston (1985) puts it, individuals are motivated to act only if they perceive they can bridge the discrepancy between goals and performance - and that is largely an issue of resources.

[1] What Clemens & Minkoff (2004) term 'meso-mobilisation structures' for generating and co-ordinating movement campaigns.

[2] For example, Rowley & Moldoveanu (2003) cite the example of the pro-life movement in the US abortion debate which was able to co-ordinate grassroots collective action immediately and effectively. Much of this success has been attributed to the existing infrastructure linking people through the Catholic Church (Zald & McCarthy, 1987). Many members of the pro-life group were involved in other Church-sponsored activism and had pre-existing relationships with other pro-life members from a broad array of past activism. Because the costs of forming these relationships, as well as norms of co-operation, had been incurred previously, the pro-life group had an initial advantage over its pro-choice opponent.

The issue here is that the level of motivation to join, take part or stay is very much determined by what people perceive as feasible and possible, and this calculus is very much based upon what they see as available by way of tangible (money, knowledge, time) and intangible resources (support, help, endorsement). The vision is what makes people 'up' for change (receptivity) but it is resources that actually get them moving (activity).

Social movement theory also talks about 'free spaces' (Polletta, 1999) and 'opportunity structures' - neutral, meaning-free areas where people can begin to engage, free of previous baggage; a place of escape, a place that gives 'cognitive liberation' for all those who enter, and therefore the opportunity to experience and feel something different. Hirsch (1989) similarly suggests that consciousness-raising is facilitated in non-hierarchical, loosely structured, face-to-face settings isolated from the people in power, where people can speak freely about their hopes and concerns; in such 'havens' people can more easily express their concerns, become aware of common problems and begin to question the legitimacy of institutions that deny them the means for resolving those problems.

Leadership Factors

Key points for healthcare improvement leaders:

- leaders of movements do make a difference

- there are different types of movement leadership, and single heroic leaders have an important role to play, but it is the process of leadership of a movement that is important

- multiple, multi-level, dispersed and networked leadership, including 'everyday leadership' by frontline staff, is needed if a NHS improvement movement is to bring about large-scale change

- the way in which any movement is described, discussed and presented by its leaders to both internal and external audiences is crucial

- the greater the alignment between the language and meanings used and an individual's own beliefs and values then the greater the likelihood that individual will join a movement and stay within in

- such 'framing' plays a number of important roles: it provides unifying stories, a compelling case and an irresistible emotional and logical argument; it ignites collective action, mobilises others and inspires change; and it can foster commitment and build community and 'collective identity'

- leaders of a NHS improvement movement must be able to frame its objectives and values in such a way that the great majority of staff working in the NHS can identify with, and personally commit to them, and

- the leaders of the future NHS improvement movement need to be willing to make a personal stand, to challenge the status quo and tackle the tough issues; they need to be able to do this within the existing system; they need to be able to preserve optimism, often against the odds.

'Leadership' is one of the understudied areas of social movements research, having made little connection with the large corpus of research on leadership in organisation and management studies. Leadership comes under the broader heading of, what Morris (2000) refers to, as 'agency': the intervention by key individuals to shape the context, organise and direct the movement. In general, the balance of the literature is in favour of the view that leaders do have a role to play but - if there is a criticism of the literature - it is that the importance of leadership has not been emphasised nearly strongly enough. Certainly judging by the evidence leaders do indeed 'make a difference' and there seems to be a wide range of functions that they can provide in relation to movement growth and development (Morris, 2000: 450).

For example, Morris & Staggenborg (2004: 171) suggest that leaders are critical to social movements because 'they inspire commitment, mobilise resources, create and recognise opportunities, devise strategies, frame demands and influence outcomes.' McCarthy and Zald (1977) also talk about the role of leaders in the 'manufacture of discontent' whilst Campbell (2002: 22) further describes leaders as 'the ones often responsible for cultivating networks for their organisations or movements.'

11.1 Types of movement leadership

Turnbull's (1997) work[1] shows that people often do need, and welcome, heroic, charismatic leaders whom they can follow. Nadler & Tushman (1990) talk about the 'Magic Leader,' the person who serves as the focal point for the movement, whose presence has some special 'feel' or 'magic.' This is active and visible leadership that serves to articulate the change and to capture and mobilise the hearts and minds of people in the organisation. These individual leaders display the following characteristics and behaviour:

- they exhibit elements of three distinctive behaviours: envisioning (creating an engaging and inspirational vision of an ideal irresistible future state - this is the 'moving' people aspect of the movement); energising (creating or stimulating energy through personal demonstration, rewards, punishments and setting high standards); enabling (helping to create processes, resources or structures that enables followers to do what they feel moved to do)

- the ability to create a sense of urgency; successful reorientations involve the creation of a sense of urgency right at the limits of tolerance and just at the point where responses border on the defensive

- guardianship of themes: the leader is the guardian of the themes of change; he / she is the embodiment of the change he or she wants to see, and

- a mix of styles: directive and uncompromising (autocratic) but also inclusive and participative (democratic).

Single leaders with special qualities - charisma, courage, intelligence, resilience, vision - are clearly an important ingredient of movements (for example, Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela) but there is always the problem of the 'cult of personality' which may lead to people to over attribute the results to a single person. In most cases of movements 'the idea of a single leader is sociologically unsound'. Rather, behind the figurehead one finds a configuration of leaders acting behind the scenes to mobilise and guide the movement and to give it its collective or institutionalised charisma[2].

Such leaders may even belong to different organisations such as the church, political parties, trade unions or, in the case of the NHS, Royal Colleges, Department of Health, and local NHS organisations. There are also the leaders who sit at various nodal points in their formal and informal networks and who use such networks to exert leverage and influence. Another type of leader may be what Robnett (1997) calls 'bridge leadership'[3], 'an intermediate layer of leadership whose tasks include bridging potential constituents and adherents, as well as potential formal leaders, to the movement'.

In his work on changing culture - one of the pre-requisites for movement emergence - Bate (1994) puts the emphasis somewhere else, suggesting that social movements need 'aesthetic' and 'political' leaders, the first to construct the new framework of ideas, the second to persuade others to buy in to those ideas and to mobilise support around them (Bate, 1994: 13). Single leaders may embody both or they may be shared between a number of leaders, the stress being on leadership as a process rather than a single person. The whole point about the social movement perspective is that any or many organisation members can take on leadership functions, such that leadership is no longer the privilege of a minority elite but of the masses who see themselves leading the movement forward together (see Meyerson's 'tempered radicals' on page 37).

Even if leadership is 'crucial in determining movement success', we still need to ask, is there an appropriate model of leadership for a movement? *a major task of movement theory is to unpack the 'black box' of movement leadership so that we can develop more robust models of how collective action emerges and is sustained' (Morris, 2000: 451).*

[1] Whilst research has suggested that organisational members are not easily convinced by evangelistic corporate rhetoric and religious imagery, Turnbull's (1997: 26) research at 'Aeroco' suggested that it did win converts. There was 'much evidence of quasi-religious experiences amongst managers': "Instead of overt resistance to the manipulative tenor of the [change] programme, I found that whilst some of the managers were clearly disengaged or 'agnostic' in their views, many of them appeared to be engaging with it on a deep level, apparently converting to its values, and welcoming the opportunity it appeared to offer them to find purpose and meaning in their work" (1997: 5). She suggests this may reflect the growing secularisation of our times and an increasing number of people who are re-enchanted by religion in various forms - particularly 'religions of humanity' (Heelas & Woodhead, 2000) which have a humanitarian focus on action in the service of humanity, offering a dual appeal to self and moral values. In this regard, it has been suggested that the growth of interest in the spiritual has started to spread into organisations, that there is a great untapped quest for meaning and transcendence.

[2] Morris & Staggenborg (2004: 175) suggest that to be successful, social movements require that a myriad of intellectual tasks be performed extremely well. A host of social movement activities - framing grievances and formulating ideologies, debating, interfacing with media, writing, orating, devising strategies and tactics, creatively synthesising information gleaned from local, national and international venues, dialoguing with internal and external elites, improvising and innovating, developing rationales for coalition building and channelling emotions - suggest a cadre of leaders doing different things at different times and at different locations within the movement.

[3] Building on Robnett, Goldstone (2001) writes 'bridge leaders are those neighbourhood and community organisers who mediate between top leadership and the vast bulk of followers, turning dreams and grand plans into on-the-ground realities' (as cited by Morris & Staggenborg, 2004: 188).

The literature strongly favours multiple, multi-level, dispersed and networked leadership processes. Within this, one can distinguish between (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004) four types of leaders:

- leaders who occupy the top formal leadership positions of SMOs

- leaders who make up the top team of the movement

- 'Bridge leaders' who (laterally) connect different parts of the movement together, and

- those organisers who, in addition to building connections between members of a challenging group and helping them to develop, also, routinely, engage in leadership activity.

Movement agency is contained in leadership configurations where pre-existing leaders have the capacity to mobilise social networks because of their nodal position. What we are describing here is 'network leadership'. Rao *et al.,* (2000) use the term 'institutional entrepreneurs' whom they identify as leading: *'...efforts to identify political opportunities, frame issues and problems, and mobilise constituencies. By doing so, they spearhead collective attempts to infuse new beliefs, norms and values into social structures, thus creating discontinuities in the world of organisations.'*

Coining the term 'tempered radical', Meyerson (2001) suggests that in an organisational context movement leaders have needed to learn how to oppose and conform at the same time[1].

Such people, Meyerson says, can be found at any and every level of the organisation, leadership being a set of actions not a position. These are the 'everyday leaders', people who would probably not consider themselves radical or leading a movement, or do not realise. They are convictions - and values - driven, holding fast to their own self-definition. Such people do not want change for change's sake but a better place and, importantly, they want to rock the boat, at the same time as wanting to stay in it. Such people thus walk the fine line between difference and fit, balancing conformity and rebellion (notions of 'insider-outsiders'; 'double-consciousness' and 'bi-polarity') working within systems not necessarily against them. *'Tempered radicals bear no banners: they sound no trumpets. Their ends are sweeping, but their means are mundane. They are firm in their commitments, yet flexible in the ways they fulfil them. Their actions may be small but can spread like a virus. They yearn for rapid change but trust in patience. They often work individually yet pull people together. Instead of stridently pressing their agendas, they start conversation ...to do all this, tempered radicals understand revolutionary change for what it is - a phenomenon that can occur suddenly but more often than not requires time, commitment and the patience to endure' (Meyerson, 2001: 40).*

Contrary to the 'charismatic school of leadership' leaders do not simply create movements by enthralling followers (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004: 18). Rather, the early stages of a movement are typically an 'orgy of participation and of talk' in which participants share stories, socially construct meaning and explore new ideas. To mobilise movements out of these early interactions, leaders offer frames, tactics and organisational vehicles that allow participants to construct a collective identity and participate in collective action at various levels (Bate, 2004). It is through the collective narratives and scripts then that leaders weave and make meaning for others (Morgan and Smircick, 1980).

11.2 Framing

The role of movement leaders is not to 'direct' but orchestrate, facilitate and enable a movement to grow by creating the 'receptive context' for its formation. 'Framing'[2], as a behaviour by which people make sense of both daily life and the grievances that confront them (Oliver & Johnston, 2000), is a key concept for social movement researchers in this regard[3].

[1] Tempered in two senses: (a) having the elements mixed in satisfying proportions; moderated (b) toughened by heating and cooling (like steel); Radical: marked by a considerable departure from the usual or traditional.

[2] Gregory Bateson (1954) introduced the notion of a frame as a metacommunicative device that sets parameters for 'what is going on.' Twenty years later frame analysis was introduced to sociological research by Erving Goffman. In 'Frame Analysis' (1974) and 'Forms of Talk' (1981) Goffman explored types and levels of framing activities.

[3] Snow et al (1986) remain the key reference point in the movements literature for collective framing. More recently, Snow (2004) has presented a review of 15 studies on collective action frames and framing processes.

Snow and Benford (1988) usefully distinguish between three types of framing:

- **diagnostic**: a problem needs to be addressed: 'this is a problem that has to be dealt with'

- **prognostic**: appropriate strategies, tactics and targets: 'this is what things could be like, these should be the targets, and this is the direction in which we should be moving', and

- **motivational**: arousing the right emotion: 'this is new and exciting and should really appeal to your inner needs and passions.'

They have argued that frames are more likely to be accepted if they (a) fit well with the existing beliefs of potential recruits, (b) involve empirically credible claims, (c) are compatible with the life experiences of the audiences, and (d) fit with the stories or narratives the audiences currently tell about their lives.

For frames read 'springboards for mobilising support'[1]. Frames are shaping metaphors, perceive their interests, identities and possibilities for change[2] and ultimately how and in what way they act (and react).

At a group or community level, framing processes are 'the collective processes of interpretation, attribution and social construction that mediate between opportunity and action' (McAdam & Scott, 2002: 17). Snow *et al.,* (1996: 468) emphasise the importance of framing processes in mobilisation efforts with regard to changing frames, logics, alignments and structures. They suggest there are four alternative framing processes: bridging[3], amplification, extension and transformation, with each having associated 'micromobilization tasks' (the devices, cogs, processes and mechanisms) but, of these, 'frame bridging appears to be the primary form of alignment.' *'By frame alignment, we refer to the linkage of individual and Social Movement Organisations (SMO) interpretative orientations, such that some set of individual interests, values and beliefs and SMO activities, goals and ideology are congruent and complementary. The term 'frame' (and framework) is borrowed from Goffman to denote 'schemata of interpretation' that enable individuals to locate, perceive, identify, and 'label' occurrences within their life space and the world at large. By rendering events or occurrences meaningful, frames function to organise experience and guide action, whether individual or collective. So conceptualised, it follows that frame alignment is a necessary condition for movement participation, whatever its nature or intensity' (Snow et al., 1986: 464).*

In the context of the question, 'why do people join movements?', frame alignment theory suggests the more my meanings, values, aspirations, identity and personal biography align with those of the movement, the more likely I am to join and stay.

Therefore, the extent of mobilisation is a function of the degree of consonance or congruence. The greater the degree of overlap / alignment between the individual (psychological) and the collective (cultural) in terms of ideas, interests, and above all sentiments, the greater the likelihood of support and participation.

The factors at work here include the extent to which:

- the 'movement' is perceived to address a grievance, problem or moral imperative. 'Felt' is better than 'perceived': Snow *et al.* talk about the mobilisation of sentiment pools, people's inner feelings[4]

- people believe the situation is actually changeable / mutable (i.e. worth doing / can actually be done / will make a difference; the complete opposite to the mentality of 'learned helplessness')

- it is seen to serve an interest (instrumentality) or rationale, and

- it is perceived to carry risk and cost (calculus).

[1] From an organisational theory perspective, the notion is that changes in organisational structures and strategy are driven by a logic where proposed changes are only likely to 'catch hold' - or even be recognised as viable possibilities in the first place - if they are consistent with local customs, habits, schema and routines (Campbell, 2002). Alternatively, frames can be thought of as the 'voice' - the question being how does the 'sender' get that voice heard. Not everyone hears (variations in personal receptivity), but how does one increase the likelihood of them hearing, especially those out there who might want to hear? Think of it in terms of a 'sender' and a 'receiver'; the sender has to have a message to send and it has to be embedded in a form where it will be picked up by those you wish to target (no different from politics and politicians looking for people to vote for them!). Much of it depends upon how it is presented - Campbell's (2002) 'cognitive framing:' it must resonate with ideologies, identities and understandings of supporters and potential recruits.

[2] Indeed, framing is often about establishing discursive oppositions. For example, in France when the characteristics of classical and nouvelle cuisine were juxtaposed by renegade chefs seeking to establish an identity and niche for the latter within the profession (Rao et al, 2001, as cited in Campbell, 2002).

[3] A social movement requires some kind of frame bridging or frame bending experience. This is another way of talking about changing the 'institutional logics'. 'Frame bending' is said to be the basis of large-scale organisational change / 'reorientation,' (this being distinguished from 'frame-breaking' change which involves a sharp break with the past: social movements spread rather than break from the past - a process of accelerated evolution). If it doesn't overlap or fit, the next step - arguably the role for the leader - is to try and bend or stretch the frame to accommodate it.

[4] Movement membership has been described by Kling (1995) as a 'personal search for embedded belief',

Such 'frame alignment' along these various dimensions is therefore key to enlisting support and participation in a movement: Framing will therefore only succeed in getting people's attention and commitment if it resonates with existing aspirations and logics ('the belief systems and associated practices that predominate in an organisational field' (Scott *et al.,* 2000)). In this regard, getting the right labels on the 'package' is crucial: *'Labelling is an indispensable part of perception and interpretation. It is the first principle of language, and is essential to all forms of discourse and communication (Miller & Johnson 1976: 222). Before people can change a culture, they must first be able to think about it within their own minds and then be able to talk about it with others. They need a set of labelling routines for cultural phenomena. Labelling is indeed a skill: finding a word that serves as a catalyst for some kind of 'inner cultural form' or semantic unity is by no means a straightforward business' (Bate, 1990).*

We discuss 'framing' below in terms of the context of the three sets of activities that movement leaders have to manage in order to get the attention and support required:

- **strategising**: provide unifying stories, a compelling case and an irresistible emotional and logical argument

- **mobilising**: ignite collective action, mobilise others and inspire change, and

- **uniting**: foster commitment and build community and 'collective identity'.

11.2.1 Strategising

Movements often fail because of poorly thought out strategies and tactics and, to put it rather crudely, bad decisions and wrong choices[1] (Fendrich, 2003: 341). Hence, the leader's role is to articulate and express a strategy that gives direction and purpose to the movement and to which people can identify and commit.

The 'strategic leadership' of a movement refers to two overlapping clusters of leadership activities: strategic framing and strategic choice.

Strategic framing

The movement leader(s) need to decide how best to frame and present the movement to prospective participants, knowing that such 'frames must resonate with the salient beliefs of potential recruits' if their attention and involvement is to be secured (Snow & Benford, 1988). By strategically framing movement positions in accordance with dominant values and folk theories, the leadership is thus able to elicit greater participation (Oliver & Johnston, 2000). Effective framing is very much a linguistic and dramaturgical skill, the leadership challenge being one of coming up with a 'unifying narrative' for the movement, a 'springboard story' (Denning, 2000) or script that will get people's commitment and involvement, and allow the movement to 'take off' (hence 'springboard').

Language and dramaturgy bring a theatrical metaphor to movements thinking and to the framing literature in respect of the leadership dimension (Hunt & Benford, 1997). From this perspective, leaders search for what Strong (1979) calls a 'plausible story,' defined simply as practical reasoning that convinces others. Not unlike the techniques of impression management, the leader(s) works to construct, foster and shape a compelling, convincing and irresistible image through words, words in this case being the 'messenger of meaning'. Dramaturgists tell us that this involves four main framing tasks:

> **scripting**: constructing a script that defines the rationale behind the action and offers justification and legitimisation of the action being proposed. The script contains the 'hook' that pulls people in.

> **staging**: putting on the show in such a way that it attracts the sponsors who 'put up the money' and the audience whose response will determine whether or not the 'play' is a hit. Issues here also include scenery, setting,

[1] For example, Ganz's (2003) case study of mobilisation of farmworkers by two unions in the US explained differences in their outcomes in terms of their strategy relating to the targeting, timing and tactics through which resources were mobilised and deployed. One union reframed its efforts as a farmworker movement. This led to the development of a dual strategy based on mobilisation of workers (without whom there would have been no people, no cause and no movement) along with the mobilisation of urban supporters (without whom there would have been no financial, political and economic resources).

costumes and props. Male leaders in organised hate movements may employ ostentatious titles such as Grand Dragon or Imperial Wizard (Taylor & Van Dyke, 2004: 269), which would not be out of place in a grand opera.

performing: this is the 'acting out' part of the play which involves the actors employing various dramatic techniques such as 'dramaturgical loyalty' to create the necessary air of reality (conveying a sense of being loyal to the values and beliefs of the target audience and an integrity to the script). Taylor and Van Dyke (2004) talk about collective actors choosing among 'tactical repertoires', many of these deliberately intended as spectacles that shock and grab people's attention (what Tarrow (1993) terms 'moments of madness'). Recent novel examples of what elsewhere Taylor and Van Dyke call 'guerrilla theatre actions' would be women lying down naked in the rain to spell out 'PEACE', bra-burning, and crowning a sheep Miss America in order to get the message to the intended audience.

interpreting: interpreting the script in a way that, on the one hand, resonates with the feelings, cognitions and values of the audience, and, on the other hand deepens and extends their interpretations and insights into the issues being dealt with. The leader acts as 'interlocutor,' linking the movement ideal to the target group.

From this perspective, strategic leadership and framing are about manipulation, confabulation, and fictionalism, not in the sense of something deliberately dishonest or untrue but in the Geertzian sense of 'something made, something constructed' (from the Latin original, 'fictio.').

Strategic choice

Strategic leadership is about decision-making but, perhaps more importantly, it is also about choice making. The choices the movement leader makes between different strategies, tactics and course of action will have a major impact upon the direction, and success or otherwise of the movement. Strategic choice and 'agency' are no strangers to movements writings (see for example, Gamson, 1975), but as Jasper (2004) has recently pointed out, the literature has been far from clear about what leaders in a movement setting are supposed to be choosing between.

Jasper's approach to this unanswered question is to pose the issue of choice in the form of dilemmas which need to be resolved by the leader's application of superior skill, knowledge and judgement (since there is rarely the luxury of an obvious best or right choice). In the context of leadership of a movement these dilemmas include:

the organisational dilemma: choices around manner and degree to which the movement needs to be organised, which involves complex and difficult issues such as nature and degree of formalisation, centralisation - decentralisation, incentivisation and motivation, professionalisation, and efficiency versus democracy concerns

the extension dilemma: issues around the optimum size and scale of the movement. As size increases, so does potential power and influence, yet at the same time the movement becomes susceptible to factionalism and conflict, dilution, and problems of co-ordination and control. Moreover, in explaining recruitment, social movement theory has emphasised the role of existing friendship and organisational ties and the possibility that joining movements will lead to new friendships (solidary incentives) (Oegema & Klandermans, 1994). Here large SMOs with national or international memberships have a serious hurdle to overcome, as their members typically have little to do with each other and usually do not even know each other (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Choice is not only about size and scale, but also extends to whether membership is open or restricted: *'Does your power lie in sheer numbers of members, no matter who they are, or in the kind of people they are? You may wish to restrict your mobilisation to those with*

special resources, skills or reputations to increase your effectiveness. You may wish to exclude those especially stigmatised by other audiences ...On the other hand, sheer numbers may be the source of the movement's power...' (Jasper, 2004: 8).

shifting goals: do you stick tenaciously to your original values and goals, or do you react flexibly and opportunistically to the emerging situation? Grasping new opportunities (such as unexpected alliances) can lead to greater movement growth and success, but it can also lead to compromise and limited victories at the cost of more sweeping, ambitious ones.

naughty or nice?: To what extent do you work with or against the system? Are you likely to gain more by having people loving you or fearing you? Jasper offers a further nineteen dilemmas / strategic choices for the movement leader and these are included in annex 2 of this review.

Behind each of these difficult strategic challenges lies a set of equally difficult tactical challenges. For example, in the context of the above naughty or nice? dilemma, one is tactically choosing between disruption, stealth, coercion, aggression and sabotage on the one hand, and collusion, co-operation, openness, and moderation on the other, and rarely will this be a simple either-or-matter.

Morris (2000: 449) talks about 'tactical breakthroughs', inspired tactics that outmanoeuvre the opposition and generate collective action. *'Widespread and sustainable collective action is not likely to develop if potential movement leaders fail to meet the tactical challenge. Such leaders must select and then execute appropriate tactics that will generate sufficient disorder and be attractive to their constituency. If they fail to meet this challenge, collective action will not develop' (ibid.).*

Such strategies and tactics do not just 'happen', they have to be carefully crafted and constructed: *'For mass-based movements to emerge leaders must develop tactics that are congruent both with the cultural framework of the challenging community and their main organisational vehicles ...The development of a tactical solution is one of the central factors in movement causation. Such tactical solutions are not inevitable and do not occur by happenstance. It is this challenge that leaders must meet if collective action is to occur' (ibid.).[1]*

The tactical and strategic decisions and choices leaders make and the actions they take are therefore crucial: *'What is usually ignored is that leaders of SMOs must choose from a number of options. The choices they make affect the mobilising capacity and outcomes of movements. If King had chosen to adopt an aggressive militant tactic that included the use of violence, the masses and their churches would not have supported it. Moreover, chances are great that the state would have violently crushed such protest in its infancy. Tactical choices that leaders make matter' (ibid.: 450).*

Tarrow (1998) suggests that strategic and tactical framing needs to focus on getting alignment with the cultural symbols and values which mediate agents' perceptions and understandings of the world. *'Out of the cultural reservoir of possible symbols, movement entrepreneurs choose those that they hope will mediate amongst the cultural understandings of the groups they wish to appeal to, their own beliefs and aspirations, and their situations of struggle' (Tarrow, 1998: 109).*

Tarrow adds that emotions also have a central role to play in collective mobilisation and action, the role of the leader being to channel and manage these towards the desired objectives. Frames are precisely about this - they give sense to emotions and direct an individual's course of action in such a way as to channel that emotion. Emotions are a crucial source of energy fuelling movement

[1] Morris (2000 449) cites the example of Martin Luther King: '...to link the boycott tactic directly to the mass-based church, King situated it in the context of love and evil - familiar themes in the African-American religious community ...King added the theme of evil by arguing that non-cooperation was a tactic whose 'attack is directed against forces of evil rather than against persons who happen to be doing the evil.' By imbuing the tactic with love and identifying the Jim Crow social order as an evil force, the leaders successfully rooted the protest in the moral frame of the African-American church. The result was a marriage in which culture, tactics and organisational capacity were linked so that collective action could be produced...'

activism and engagement (see Section 7). Consequently, the processes in relation to frame alignment must seek to tap into these symbols which are so invested into emotional meaning and significance.

11.2.2 Mobilising

'Movement success depends on organisers persuading others of the need to engage in collective action to solve a problem' (Adams, 2003: 85). Such persuasion may involve evocative new words and scripts. Emotional stories are an important part of this[1]: *'Social movements ...are created by the stories people tell to themselves and one another. They reflect the deepest ways in which people understand who they are and to whom they are connected. Whatever they are, and whatever historical sources of their development, they are constructed from the intermeaning of personal and social biographies from the narratives people rehearse to themselves about the nature of their lives' (Kling, 1995: 1).*

Fryer (2003) suggests that stories are the basis of any framing activity and whilst conventional managerial rhetoric is based on an intellectual process - quotes from authorities, data, statistics, evidence - the problem is that even if people are persuaded, this is not sufficient as 'people are not inspired to act by reason alone' (2003: 52). Better to 'unite an idea with an emotion', 'to tell a compelling story [and] arouse the listener's emotions and energy' as 'stories are how we remember; we tend to forget lists and bullet points.' *'Leadership through storytelling emphasises the more empowering parts of an organisation's past and brings them into the present for all members of the enterprise. Storytelling is an act of creating future opportunities. Communicating through teaching parables, that serve life as it is configured today, yet are grounded in the organisation's founding experiences ...is part of leading creatively. In this sense the stories are not old, but take an experience from the past ...and create a living 'collective memory' of the lessons learned, even for newcomers. The stories provide a continuous thread to bond all in the organisation with the energy and learnings derived from invigorating experiences ...The role of top management is to invent and give form to a transformational story for the organisation' (Butler & Zein 1996: 405).*

11.2.3 Uniting

Organisations are characterised by extreme factionalism: the challenge for leaders is to frame things in a way that finds space in the tent for all and help to foster 'collective' identity and commitment. *'An organisational frame too narrowly constructed makes broad mobilisation more difficult since it reduces the number of sympathetic people ...an organisational frame that is too broad makes it difficult for the organisation to communicate a distinct organisational identity and agenda' (Croteau & Hicks, 2003: 253).*

Framing is not a static activity but a constant and dynamic process in which leadership skills are deployed in negotiating, fitting, constructing and aligning different frames, building coalitions of purpose and resolving ongoing frame disputes between the parties. A sense of unity or collective identity is synonymous with 'solidarity' (Kebede *et al.,* 2000): *'We argue that a movement's endurance depends on its ability to develop and sustain a strong sense of collective identity.' (ibid.).*

As a movement develops, if it is successful it may become increasingly fragmented and pluralistic. Hence the uniting role of central leadership becomes even more important as it goes on. Again, in all these aspects, stories seem central to that process of maintaining unity and continuity.

[1] For instance, research on the Polish Solidarity movement shows that the 'emotional-volitional tone' of people's acts and speeches was an essential element of the sense they made of situations.

11.3 Storytelling: movements as narrative

Social movements are forms of narrative and narratives are framing devices. The chosen narrative will determine who and how many will 'sign up' to the movement, how the situation is defined and what action is taken: if people define a situation to be real it will be real in its consequences.

A movement must have its own text / form of narrative which acts as the 'hook' for new recruits, for example, people will join a peace movement or religious group when they understand, accept and agree with its basic story / stories. The story has to grab them, make sense, reinforce one's sense of one's own self identity and personal biography. Stories situate people and provide them with context and identity: *'It is to stories that people turn to make the incoherences of their lives coherent' (Culverson, cited in Kling, 1995). 'Social movements are ...a set of texts put together by social groupings ...those stories help people make sense of that everyday life' (ibid.).*

Narrative thus holds the key to meaning making and to this extent is the entry point into the practices through which people make choices, shape action, and form into social movements. *'Social movements ...are constituted by the stories people tell to themselves and to one another. They reflect the deepest ways in which people understand who they are and to whom they are connected ...they are constructed from the interweaving of personal and social biographies - from the narratives people rehearse to themselves about the nature of their lives' (Kling, 1995).*

The role of leaders, therefore is to assemble, craft and hone the script for the movement. The dramaturgical perspective (Mangham & Overington, 1987) asks what makes a good script in this regard? The stress is on crafting: this is more 'bricolage' than Shakespeare, a cut and paste job using scraps from different perspectives to build up the script. 'Scripts' assemble individual meanings into a coherent whole and carry the message to the masses. It is therefore important to get the script right. Actually, here, one is talking more about 'rhetoric' than 'language.' The primary purpose of language is to communicate whereas the primary purpose of rhetoric is to persuade. Features of a persuasive script - the 'rhetorical devices' used - are many. For example, careful choice of metaphor is essential. A movement often needs a fresh, emergent metaphor to hang it all on: *'Metaphors are integral to our language. It is through metaphors that we communicate. Often we are not aware of using them because we take them for granted and have begun to treat them as literal ...Metaphors have the effect of both describing and constructing our organisational realities. By naming a situation through a metaphor, we not only give it a rich identity but also engender actions that actually create the reality' (Karl Weick coins the term enactment to name this process (Akin and Palmer, 2000)).*

The choice of metaphor can make or break a change process[1]. If it is a 'good' metaphor, it can cast reality in a new light (i.e. reframe), get people out of thinking traps, and ignite energy; the creative and energising power of metaphor is immense. But it needs a particular kind of metaphor: *'Its evocative imagery produces an effect that touches a chord of comprehension in individuals. If this is missing, the metaphor will not take' (ibid.).* The skill of movement leaders like Martin Luther King often lies in assembling a rich array of different metaphors into a single coherent utopian vision that people will find irresistible. Thus it is words not arms that are the messengers of meaning and the 'wings' of the movement. The difference between a successful movement and an unsuccessful one may simply be a case of choosing the right words and the right story, and the part played by leaders in this regard is crucial.

[1] An example the above authors give is a change leader talking about change in terms of 'building on past successes' and the need for 'further development,' when what was wanted was a break from the past, something new and different; a transformational change. The language was first order whereas the aspiration was second order. The language needed to start to embrace more 'second order metaphors.'

Towards a theory of large scale change in healthcare

Can social movement thinking contribute to the transformation of healthcare services in England? Can models and frameworks developed through the study of emergent social movements provide perspective to a NHS change process that is essentially organisationally bounded?

12.1 Limitations of social movement theory and research in NHS context

Firstly - and the largest question concerned with applying social movements thinking to the NHS - is that many observers believe that we cannot predict the emergence of an improvement movement, we cannot make it happen or consciously construct them, and we certainly cannot control its direction and impact. In short, social movements are unpredictable and difficult to control: *'Social change exhibits varied moments and is transported by many carriers. It may result in the transformation of existing organisations or the creation of new and hybrid forms. It is advanced by institutionalised processes as well as by tumultuous battles. Settlements are realised but, they in turn give rise to different struggles among contending interests and logics' (McAdam & Scott, 2002: 46).*

Secondly, whilst social movement theory and research have long addressed differential recruitment, little research has examined differential participation after recruitment, even though an active and committed membership is critical for the success of many social movements (Cohn *et al.,* 2003). Some studies of social movements have found that only a few of the many people who may agree with the goals of the movement ever participate in its activities; some people participate a lot while most participate little or not at all (Knoke, 1988).

Finally, as McAdam & Scott (2002) suggest, social movement researchers have tended to limit their scope to 'transgressive contention' (change efforts that require the conscious mobilisation of marginalised or disenfranchised elements) whereas in the NHS context, the focus is more on 'prescribed politics' (the activation and reproduction of institutionalised authority).

However, Clemens & Minkoff (2004: 162) claim that movements inside organisations provide a 'fertile site' for the application and development of social movement theories. The impetus for insider mobilisations comes from mass-based social movements, but, once movement ideas and identities hit the workplace, organisational context, culture and relationships to the environment present activists with both distinctive opportunities and constraints. Palmer (1977) suggest that social movement thinking can give impetus to organisational change: *'The genius of social movements is paradoxical: they abandon the logic of organisations so they can gather the momentum necessary to alter the logic of organisations' (1997: 166).*

Scully & Segal (2002) suggest that workplace activists - such as those in the NHS - are advantaged by a relatively transparent view of how the system works and access to resources and strategies that give them local legitimacy and leverage. Still, such advantages carry the risk of incorporation and reutilization in ways that potentially diminish the grass-roots energy to sustain them. It should also not be overlooked, however, that - relative to other countries - the NHS is in a relatively strong position in terms of movement formation and durability[1]: *'If the medical profession in the UK could be convinced of the need for fundamental breakthrough in quality improvement and adopts the approaches for doing do, the chance for more rapid implementation and diffusion appears far greater than in the more loosely organised physician community in the US' (Ferlie & Shortell, 2002: 288).*

[1] Although note the interesting counterview from Pope's analysis of clinicians' reactions to the Evidence Based Medicine movement in the UK (Pope, 2003).

12.2 'Moving' people: the 'animating vision'

People will only be animated and moved if the message has 'cultural resonance' - it rings bells with people's beliefs, values, ethics and commitments (see Morris (2000) and NSM). Wide acceptance of the proposed vision accelerates the change process (Larwood *et al.,* 1995). Having people committed to realising a vision is more important for its success than a well thought-out strategy (Pascale, 1984): the vision is what makes people 'up' for mobilisation and change.

Over the past period, a number of NHS organisations have started to focus their improvement strategies around a 'theoretical idea' (Bevan, 2003). This means moving beyond the limits of the performance targets set out in the NHS Plan to aspire to standards of healthcare delivery previously not dreamed of.
An example vision statement, from the Luton and South Bedfordshire health community is shown below (Table 4).

- there are no avoidable deaths
- there is no feeling of helplessness by the public, staff and patients
- care is given in the right place at the right time
- we do the right things (based on evidence)
- clinicians practice in an interdependent system not an institution
- different organisations' leaders trust each other
- health inequalities are rooted out and removed

This represents evidence of leadership 'framing' to envision a future state that connects with core values and aims to inspire and produce collective action.

12.3 Planned programme or mobilisation?

The social movements perspective may help to shed new light on large scale change in the NHS by offering a new but complementary approach to current healthcare improvement thinking.

The paradoxical nature of social movement thinking (Palmer, 1997) fits well with a future model of healthcare improvement that combines planned programmatic approaches with actions to ignite energy and passion around deeply held beliefs and values. This is not 'either / or' (pragmatic or mobilisation approach) but 'both / and' - the social movement perspective adds the tension and energy that enables change to occur and be sustained.

12.4 Towards theoretical constructs for large scale change

In general, improvement activities in the NHS are under conceptualised (Bevan, 2004). Research has identified that, even in NHS organisations with a strong track record of improvement, there is typically little reflection, hypothesising or consideration of alternative actions before embarking on change processes. Rather, teams decide on a specific course of action and jump straight in to making changes (Matrix RHA, 2003a).

There is a need to strengthen the underpinning theoretical base of NHS improvement work, particularly focussing on theories for large system change. Social movement theory may not necessarily be the 'right' theory or the predominant theory for the next stage of the NHS improvement journey. It may not be an exact 'fit' with the organisational and cultural context of the NHS. However, the lens of social movement theory provides insight into ways to mobilise and liberate NHS staff around the goal of better patient care, with a perspective that is unavailable through the prevalent organisational studies paradigm.

Social movement theory has the potential to make a significant contribution to the development of explicit theories for motivation for large scale change. This area is a critical component for the future yet is largely absent from current thinking. Perhaps this is an appropriate starting point for the next stage in the NHS improvement journey.

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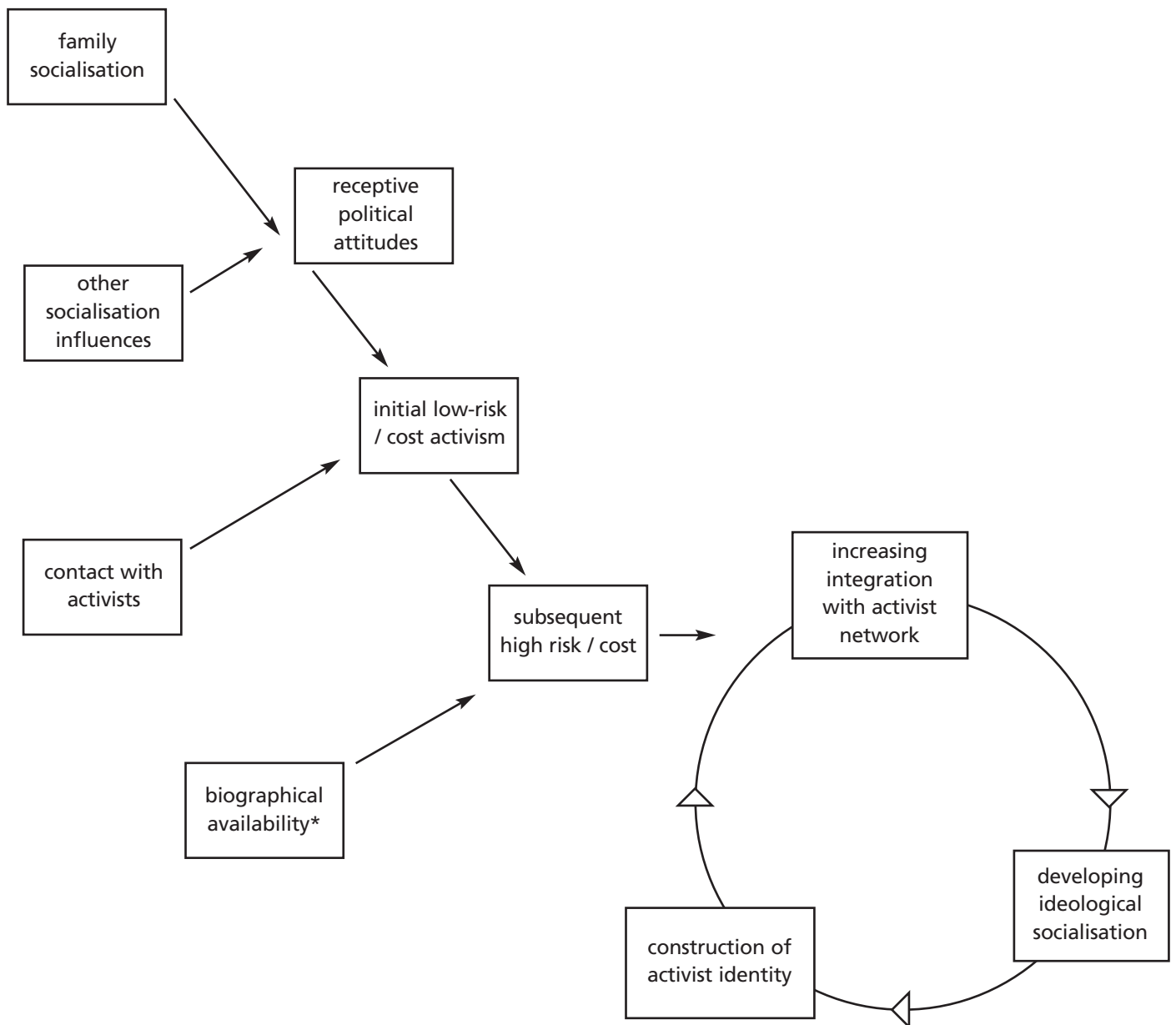
*Relative costs and risks associated with participation

Additional dilemmas

1. The dilemma of inevitability; an ideology that suggests you must eventually win offers confidence but makes collective action less critical

2. The band-of-brothers dilemma: affective loyalties to the broader group are essential, but there is a risk they will come to rest only a single fellow member or a handful at the expense of the larger collectivity

3. Leadership distance: will a leader be more appealing if lofty and unique, a kind of superhuman saint, or if a regular type, one of the guys?

4. The ambitious leader (a twist on the extension dilemma): we want strong and competent leaders, but if they are too ambitious they may substitute their own goals for those of the group

5. Direct or indirect moves? Attention can be devoted to direct confrontations with opponents, or to indirect moves such as persuading third parties, gathering resources, building networks and so on

6. Plan versus opportunity: you can initiatives of your own, or you can watch and wait for opponents to make mistakes

7. The basket dilemma: do you aim for one decisive engagement, winner-takes-all, or do you spread your risk over many smaller engagements?

8. The dilemma of false arenas: representation in certain areas, for instance blue-ribbon commissions, may take a lot of time without advancing your cause

9. The dilemma of cultural innovation: to appeal to your various audiences you must use the meanings they already hold, and pushing too far may cause you to lose them

10. Victim or hero? Do you portray yourself as wronged victim in need of help or as strong, avenging hero?

11. Villain or clown? Do you portray opponents as a strong and dangerous or as silly and contemptible?

12. The engagement dilemma: moving from latency and community into active engagement and visibility brings a number of risks, such as external repression or misrepresentation and internal conflicts over strategy

13. Dirty hands: some goals are only - or more easily - attained through unsavoury means

14. Money's curse: money is often seen as dirtying your hands, yet even organisations that are 'above' such mundane issues nonetheless depend on financial resources

15. The radical-flank dilemma: extreme words and action get attention, and often take opponents by surprise, but they usually play poorly with bystanders and authorities

16. The media dilemma: new media can get your message to broad audiences but - like all powerful allies - they are likely to distort it in doing so

17. The bridge-builder's dilemma: individuals who can mediate between groups, or different sides in a conflict, often lose the trust of their own groups by doing so - caught on the horns of reaching out or reaching in

18. The familiar and the new: new tactics surprise opponents and authorities but it is typically hard for your own group to pull them off, and

19. Segregating audiences: you would like to send different messages to different players, especially internal versus external ones but spillover across the boundaries can be used to make you look duplicitous.

Source: Jasper JM. (2004) 'A strategic approach to collective action:
looking for agency in social-movement choices', Mobilisation, 9(1): 1-16

Some questions for the next stage of thinking about Social Movement Theory and the NHS

- Is there an existing social movement organisation (SMO) for the NHS?
  Is it the NHS Modernisation Agency?

- Why would people join an improvement movement in the NHS?
  Why wouldn't they?
  And to what extent have they?

- Who are these activists in the NHS? Or as Senge would put it, who are the local line leaders or franchisees for improvement?

- Do these people oversee a cluster of local grassroots NHS movements, or do they come together in a bigger network or forum?
  In McAdam's (1986) terms are we looking for 'a merger or coalition of existing groups rather than an organisational offshoot of a single group'?

- Where might these communities of congruence be found or created within the NHS? What are the nearest equivalents?

- What type of 'association' ('radical grass roots' or 'public interest groups') is relevant to the NHS?

- Who we might say has joined the movement to date? Why?
  Have they joined a movement to change something, and if so what?
  Are they the right people?
  Management trainees, clinicians, nurses and/or senior managers?
  Who is on the 'bandwagon' and are they the people one would want/need?

- Where are the gathering places in the NHS that provide or might provide the physical and emotional space for people to meet and think the unthinkable?

- What are the current metaphors-in-use within NHS improvement communities of practice?
  Are there currently any dominant or dominating metaphors for improvement to be found in documents and speeches, and are they the right ones?

- Who are the 'institutional entrepreneurs' and 'tempered radicals' in the NHS?

- Is 'improvement' the right label?

- What is the core narrative for the NHS movement?

- So who should be the movement leaders in NHS healthcare organisations - and how should they be mobilised and assisted?

- How do leaders and leadership teams create effective strategies and frames?

- Does the NHS improvement movement have available 'mobilising' structures of sufficient strength to get the movement off the ground?

NOTES