Politics, Social Movements, and the Body

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Abstract

This paper outlines a conceptual idea of the 'body' in social movement research that captures how the body is both the materialization of civic culture and empowering agent of change. After critically reviewing the three main debates on the body literature – 'biopolitics', 'embodiment' and 'feminism' – I explain why each fails to provide an adequate account of the embodied self in social movements. I suggest combining the concepts of 'performativity. and 'performance' to capture how social movements use, challenge, and reproduce civic norms to construct 'embodied performances' as forms of symbolic communication for the purposes of stimulating cultural and political change. By combining the two concepts, I will put forth an theory of the body in social movements that addresses: 1) the constraints of normative civic ethics that limit possible forms of struggle as well as foreshadow political consequences 2) how embodied performances create community and solidarity within a heterogeneous population to make mobilization possible and 3) the stratification and sometimes fracturing of social groups during the social movement process.

The body has been central to our understandings of political theory and power, yet, it has not been fully conceptualized in social movement research. Metaphors of the body, with phrases such as 'head of state', 'arm of the law', 'carbon footprint', and 'the political body' fill much of our political lexicon. For marginalized groups all over the world, the body is often the only thing in their lives they can control, as they transform their bodies and/or body parts into commodities despite the obvious risk to the self (Wacquant 2004; Crowley-Matoka 2005). Prior studies have noted the relationship between culture, political power and the body. For instance, common military body techniques of saluting and marching are culturally variable (Mauss [1935] 2006) but are also linked with state power and its monopoly of violence as states' molds ordinary bodies into good soldiers (Foucault 1977, 135–6). Despite the importance of the body in cultural and political theory, the contemporary debates on the body and their application to social movements and contentious politics are beset by conceptual difficulties. The focus of this paper will be to outline a conceptual use of the body for social movement research.

Before moving on to the importance of the body for social movements, it is worth commenting on the relationship between the political sociology and social movements literature to understand why the body has been absent from social movement research. Political sociology primarily deals with the important and ever-changing role of the state in domestic and global society. It features a top-down approach regarding the nature of power, and places causal emphasis on elites and elite decision-making on the makeup of society (Tilly 1978; Skocpol 1979, 1985). Over the past two decades, however, political sociologists have incorporated new approaches and concepts into their field of inquiry. For example, political sociologists study the importance of civil society to expand our understanding of how democratic societies influence state action, rather than view the state as having influence over every sphere of civic life (Jacobs 2003). Political sociology

has also incorporated theoretical concepts such as 'governmentality', 'networks', and 'fields' to understand the objectives and rationalities behind the state's actions, how states' are interrelated in the global world order, and how state's develop policy in relation to a limited set of possible outcomes at a given moment (Rose and Miller 1992; Castells 2000; Steinmetz 2007; Jessop 2007). Thus, it is in the incorporation of governmentality and biopolitics that we see the connection between the state, power, and the body.

The social movement literature is conceptually distinct, yet, intertwined with the political sociology of the state and civil society. What makes each literature distinct is their different understanding of power in society. For state centered or 'autonomy of the state' approaches, social movements' challenge and demand concessions from the state in the form of rights, policy changes, and/or inclusion in the decision-making processes (Piven and Cloward 1977). For the political processes theorists, successes or failures of social movements depends largely on how long a political opportunity remains open on the state level (McAdam 1999). Rather than view states and social movements as opposing actors struggling for power, the literature on civil society argues that social movements 'work' within the sphere of civil society (Cohen and Arato 1992). The strength of civil society, often measured by the active citizen participation, determines the limits of state power. Unlike state centered debates that define power in terms of coercion, the monopoly of violence and the legitimation of authority, power in civil society is defined in moral terms, where citizens use cultural ideals to judge the actions, intentions, motives and moral worth of their fellow citizens (Alexander 1992).

Based on the relationship between the two sets of literature, it is not surprising that the body has been overtly absent from social movement research. The debates over the nature of power and authority have relied on an idea that power in modern societies is primarily rational, and thus, shapes our subjectivities – thoughts, desires, etc. – to control our bodily needs, emotions, and pleasures. Indeed, the social movement debates have drawn from and reproduced the mind/body split to understand how social movements form identities and develop political strategies (see Eyerman and Jamison 1991; Melucci 1996; McAdam et al. 1996; Polletta 1998; Armstrong 2002). Yet, the body was never fully absent from political sociology's understanding of power. For example, Weber (1946[1958]) saw the 'handshake' between businessmen and/or members of voluntary organizations as an acknowledgement of ones outstanding moral character necessary for capitalist transactions. However, it was not until Foucault (1977) showed how political power is inscribed on and through the body did political and cultural theorists begin to consider the body as key to understanding the variability, spatial context, and temporality of political power.[1]

What is distinctive about the body and social movements is how social movements embody the cultural norms embedded in the discourse of civil society as they challenge the basis of civic inclusion. Unlike other political processes, the body cannot be reduced to a strategic or instrumental approach to cultural and political change. The framing perspective exemplifies a strategic/instrumental use of culture. Framing argues that social movements place their ideology in strategic frames, such as a 'democratic frame', so that audiences can easily understand their claims and grievances (Snow et al. 1986; McAdam et al. 1996; McCammon et al. 2007). As the deployment of an ideology, framing proposes a movement can speak truth to power. Cultural sociologists have argued that frames are too abstract to make assumptions about the audiences' ability to interpret the frame correctly, the length of time a frame remains valid, or how a frame was constructed (Steinberg 1998; Polletta 1998). Thus, the body cannot be reduced to a 'resource' or expression of ideology that social movements use to achieve political gains. For social

movements, the body represents the materialization of the movement's collective identity and becomes who the group is through its social practices and performances.

The aim of this paper is to outline a conceptual idea of the body in social movements that captures how the body is both the materialization of civic culture and empowering agent of change. After critically reviewing the three main debates on the body and their relationship to politics–biopolitics, embodiment and performativity – I will explain why each fails to provide an adequate account of the embodied self in social movements. The final section of the paper argues for an embodied approach to social movements. I suggest combining the concepts of performativity (Butler 1997; Bell 2007) and performance (Alexander et al. 2006) to capture how social movements use, internalize, and reproduce civic norms to construct embodied performances as forms of symbolic communication for the purposes of stimulating cultural and political change. By combining the two concepts, I will put forth a theory of the body in social movements that: (1) explains an active and empowered body that uses dominant discourses, narratives and civic codes to overcome the limits of the marginalized embodied political self (2) elaborates on how emotions/affect are used to form connections and reproduce political communities (3) further elaborates on the normative consequences of the failure/success of performances to consider how embodied performances open space for only one aspect or representation of the social movement for incorporation into the political mainstream.

Biopolitics

Foucault distinguished the concept of biopower from his earlier studies of disciplinary power to analyze how the biological self becomes the object of political power (Foucault 1977, 1978, 2007). Disciplinary power sought to ward off and prevent bad behavior (crime, vice, and violence) by isolating criminals, prostitutes and the mentally ill in social institutions, such as hospitals and prisons, for the purposes of establishing what counts as 'normal' or good behavior. Rather than focus on the individual, biopolitics emphasized using the measurements of human vitality, the value of life, and the well-being of the population as a means to efficient governing. Biopolitics connected larger projects of public hygiene to the population without reducing politics to biological explanations of human behavior. The study of biopolitics and its companion concept governmentality have linked politics to fields of inquiry not readily associated with political overtones, including medicine, genetics, and disabilities (Rose 2007), farming (Herring 2007), green economies and geography (Rutherford 2007). However, questions remain as to what we can adapt from the biopolitical framework for social movement research.

While the rise and uses of disciplinary and biopower were intermittently linked with the establishment of nation-states in the 18th and 19th centuries, biopolitics differed from disciplinary forms of power on one key aspect: how the body was conceptualized and used for political purposes. Disciplinary power worked through the individual or 'docile body', 'at the level of mechanism itself – movements, gestures, attitudes, rapidity: an infinitesimal power over the active body' (Foucault 1977, 137). For example, schools provided pedagogy on what counted as good posture when sitting at ones desk or standing for attention, and divided up the day into specialized tasks of how/what to read and write. Schools focused on the training the body to be obedient and productive because, unlike the mind, the body, through various bodily habits, does not forget. For this reason, Foucault noted that it was not accidental that schools, factories, and prisons shared an similar spatial layout (Foucault 1977, 228). Disciplined bodies attached individuals to

early nation-states and the capitalist political economy. Thus, disciplinary power seeks to regulate social life through the docile body to establish an idealized subject.

Biopolitics, in contrast, targets the biological functions of the body and links them with a 'global project' like 'public health' and 'optimal performance' (Foucault 2007; Rose 2007). Biopolitics focuses on the level of the population, whereas disciplinary power regulates and prohibits dangerous and risky behaviors on the individual level. While the state embedded disciplinary power in the prison, it embedded biopower in the field of medicine. For example, 19th and early 20th century nation-states faced the problems of tuberculosis (TB), cholera, and syphilis in their cities and colonies (Quetel [1986] 1990; Kertzer 1999; Bashford 2000; Jochelson 2001; Howell 2004). Syphilis was particularly troublesome because of the moral implications of a sexually transmitted disease for which there was no cure. The spread of syphilis facilitated social unrest, especially in France, where the sick, criminal and insane were all sent to the Bicetre or Salpetriere – institutions that served as both hospital and prison in France (Quetel [1986] 1990). When efforts to isolate and reform prostitutes failed, France attempted to legalize, and thus regulate, prostitution to minimize the spread of syphilis by sending in public health officials to inspect a prostitute's vagina, anus, armpits and areas between the toes for chancres (Quetel [1986] 1990). The problem of syphilis linked the quality of the military's health to France's national identity, and combined with bad harvests, epizootic epidemics and abandoned children, affected France's ability to remain a world power. Similarly, Britain passed a series of public health laws in the 1880s that divided colonial prostitution based on native and colonist clientele to prevent the spread of syphilis to its armies and colonial officials (Howell 2004). In contrast, late 19th and early 20th century Italy the problem of abandoned children and their survival led to foundling homes matching syphilitic infants with wet nurses, which subsequently facilitated the spread of syphilis to the Italian countryside (Kertzer 1999). Indeed, impoverished Italian cities, especially Naples, suffered from frequent cholera outbreaks where the state's refusal to invest in biopolitics created doubts about its legitimacy (Snowden 1995). In short, states' figured out that a healthy population was a happy population. The state's ability to 'care for' their population other than militarily became a central element to the legitimacy of the state's authority. It is the idea of prevention and creating space to accommodate for slippages in the disciplined body that we find the difference in a 'docile body' that is disciplined and a 'social body' that is governed.

While most of the conceptual criticism directed at Foucault's work concerns his emphasis on disciplinary power (see Turner 1996) the idea of biopolitics holds some promise for social movements. Social movements invest in the health and well-being of their populations, and thus, employ their own variations of biopolitics. During the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer, SNCC (The student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) set up community centers to instruct what counted as a healthy diet, prenatal and childhood care and provide medical surveillance to the rural black population (Hohle 2008). Also, environmental movements challenge the lack of environmental laws and their enforcement by targeting the body as a symbol of environmental injustice. For example, in the late 1970s, the Love Canal Homeowners Associations (LCHA) collected data from neighborhood residents on new family medical aliments (epilepsy, migraines) and used them as grounds to demand state action (Levine 1982). These groups exemplified how the neglected, sick and malnourished body symbolized the marginalized citizen, and provided a point of entry for social movement action. Yet, the biopolitical framework is not entirely clear about how the process of maintaining an optimal level of biological existence translates into broader political engagement.

Limits for social movements

The concept of biopolitics and governmentality are attached to the establishment and reproduction of nation-states, and addresses the sociological question of establishing legitimate forms of knowledge and authority. In this framework, the study of biopolitics is limited to questions of specific forms of governmentality and how nation-states and local municipalities police social movements. While many social movements have a biopolitical dimension, they also attempt to secure political rights for economic and political protection from the same political and economic circuits they seek to enter into. Furthermore, social movements are situated in the sphere of civil society where social movements and the body are placed in the matrix of institutions autonomous from state action, as well as a malleable field of civic ethics (Hohle 2009). Therefore, the current focus of biopolitics and the state deal with a different set of conceptual questions and do not address the research questions pertinent for social movements.

Embodiment

A second important approach to the body and politics is the literature on embodiment. Embodiment attempts to capture how an individual experiences and interprets the world through their body in relation to a range of political and economic forces. Embodiment posits a 'foundational' view of the body. A foundational view of the body suggests that our knowledge of the world is always situated from our body's standpoint and location in a field of power relations (Turner 1996, 2005). The emphasis is on how the body serves as the vehicle for both the resistance and perpetuation of political inequalities. Indeed, the embodiment approach draws from Bourdieu's concept of habitus, in that our bodies are the product and carriers of cultural (social tastes) economic (what we can afford access to) and social capital (who we know), and thus, we reproduce political inequalities beneath the level of consciousness (Bourdieu 1990; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992). Therefore, our understanding of politics and our capacity to resist political forces is always 'read' through our bodies.

Embodiment can be read as a critique of disciplinary power and biopolitics based on the degree in which individuals perpetuate social inequalities. Embodiment theorists, as well as other cultural sociologists, are especially critical of the idea that various forms of power − penal, medical, etc. − constantly regulate the body. Disciplinary and biopower are critiqued as top-down approaches that leaves little room for individual action and resistance. The embodiment approach proposes that post-industrial societies present a degree of agency not accounted for in the disciplinary or biopolitical approach. For Turner, disciplinary power reflects a pre-capitalist configuration of power on the body that was concerned with regulating the 'internal' body of desire. In contrast, when placed in consumption driven economic cultures, the body becomes 'the sign of the good life and cultural capital' (Turner 1996, 3). Indeed, Schilling (1993) argued that the project of the self (character) has been replaced by a project of the body (personality) thanks to increase consumer practices (also see Falk 1994, Featherstone 2000). Rather than a docile body that the state shapes into a productive body, Schilling (1993) argues that individuals draw from a range of materials to finish or work on their body. These materials include self-help manuals, plastic surgery, or even extreme dieting to make our bodies look how we want them to look. For Schilling, however, this unprecedented degree of control over our embodied selves accompanies increased doubts on how we perceive and attempt to control our bodies.

Thus, embodiment attempts to address the limitations of the biopolitical and disciplinary approaches by placing the idea of increased individual agency into the study of power and society.

Although the embodiment literature lacks empirical studies on the topic of politics, we can infer the application of an embodiment approach towards questions of the degree of agency found in the construction of our political identities, as well as our unwitting role in the perpetuation of social inequality. While political differences are always etched in the body and the potential for resistance is always present, one would have to empirically show how and where this resistance takes place.

Limits for social movements

Embodiment has been criticized for the 'over physicalization' of the body at the expense of discourse (Latour 2004). When applying an embodiment approach to social movements, however, it is not a question between discourse-physical body, but the degree of agency implicit in middle and upper-middle class lifestyles (consuming practices) and applying that same degree of agency to a political field constrained by specified civic codes and normative ethics. Politically speaking, additional questions arise regarding the consequences of increased agency in terms other than doubt or anxiety about physical appearances. Social movement research has already established anxiety, strain, and apprehension are not factors in why people become politically involved (see McAdam 1999, 1–19; Ferree and Hess 2000, 25–32). In part, the problem is that embodiment uses agency to connote creativity rather that social change. This raises two specific questions. First, how do we deal with problems that affect the individual from problems that affect a population, and how does this difference translate into political action? For example, AIDS marks the body's surface in terms of blemishes, scabs and a general physical deterioration, which plays an important part of what it means to be a person living with AIDS. However, social groups (gay men, drug users etc.) are marginalized by the association of AIDS with a 'polluted' lifestyle, effecting individuals who do not have AIDS. AIDS advocacy is also fought on behalf of many people who do not have AIDS. Thus, the physical presence and embodied process involved making an identity does not deal with the cultural and political difficulties of representation.

The second question raises concerns about the social consequences of adopting and choosing to fashion the body one way over another. The consequences obviously differ by race, sexuality, and geography. But more importantly for this paper is that social movements' face real political consequences of state backlash (imprisonment, death, and further marginalization) if they violate dominant cultural codes. While embodiment argues for a stronger causal role of the importance of social structure on the bodily experience, they have no account of the role of normative civic ethics on social movements that accompany various degrees of sanctions if the ethics are violated. For example, I could envision using embodiment as a conceptual tool for understanding how communities experiment with different local economic and living arrangements, found in farmers markets and historic preservation movements, which may shed light on questions of why people choose to pay more for commodities or choose to live in certain areas over others, or ride bikes and walk in place of driving cars, without reducing these explanations to economic theories of rational-choice decision-making. Yet, questions over the degree of agency as the capacity to create change, not to be creative, and the role of normative ethics on social movement practices and performances would remain. This is especially the case when conceptualizing the paradox of increased agency in 'new social

movements', where the increased agency of social movements struggling for the rights of 'others' happens at the expense of limited or no agency of the marginalized population.

Feminisim and performativity

One could argue that the importance of the body has always been at the center of feminism, more so than any other critical sociological approach. Feminists have struggled for bodily rights – of reproductive rights, against rape and sexual abuse, in debates over nursing children, and standards of beauty – before academic feminism began to explore theoretical implications of the female body. Feminist scholarship used the body to argue against dualism in favor of an anti-essentialist feminism represented through the 'cyborg' metaphor (Haraway 1991), to challenge the biological and universal assumptions of humanism that underwrite patriarchy (Grosz 1994) and approaches to how medicine, science and culture produce 'distortions' of women's bodies (Bordo 1993). While feminist accounts of the body owe a lot to the disciplinary perspective on the body, they nevertheless have expanded on the limits of discursive and/or textual approach that 'recovers' the gendered body and addresses questions of agency within a field of power.

The most thoroughly developed and politically useful concept formulated around the body by feminist scholars is the concept of 'performativity'. Performativity refers to 'the embodiment of normative ideals via a process of mimesis whereby the body is rendered culturally intelligible' (Bell 2007:100). The idea behind performativity is that our words and actions do not just describe the world, but make it (Loxley 2007). Butler (1990, 1993) spearheaded the importance of the performative aspects of the body in relation to the limits of the social construction of gender approach, which implied a distinction between 'sex' and 'gender', and emphasized the autonomy of 'culture' at the expense of the body.[2] The performative aspect of gender emphasized how men and women learn to stylize their bodily gestures, postures, grammar and physical appearances to reflect gender conventional norms. For Butler, sex is an idealized construct and powerful social norm linked to gendered performances that attach ideals of femininity to women and masculinity to men. Performativity works over time, in that it is the constant repetition of how, for example, I present myself as a straight man by performing typical masculine postures (a firm handshake, slouching in my chair) or by dressing my body in certain clothes (shirt, tie) that fashions my heterosexual identity. Over time, I cease to be conscious of my embodied gender performance. This is evidenced not just in the performance my postures and style of dress, but also in the postures I do not do perform (i.e. a limp handshake).

Performativity is linked to power through the repetition of cultural norms. The relationship between performativity and norms are twofold. First, the strength and resiliency of cultural norms are reproduced on the collective level over time through bodily performances. That is, we create and reinforce cultural ideals by acting them out. Second, society supplies a handful of sanctions that compel us to enact the correct performance in the proper way. For Butler, these sanctions range from laws to the pervasive threat of violence against gays, lesbians and transgender individuals. If we think how the state also policies and supports social norms of marriage or inheritance, coupled with our own performances that support social norms, then we get a sense of the complex and overlapping nature of power and culture in our society.

Despite conceptual similarities on the role of power and the body, performativity differs from the disciplinary and biopolitical perspectives. Whereas disciplinary power defines what is permitted and prohibited by inscribing cultural ideals into bodily gestures, the

performativity perspective emphasizes our capacity to act in/as a given social category in order for us to repeat it over time (Bell 2007, 11–28). Unlike disciplinary power, which leaves no room for social practices to escape as it constructs cultural ideals, performativity argues that the need to replicate social norms indicates that power may be more open to challenges and resistances than a disciplinary perspective indicates (Butler 1997).

Performativity differs from biopower based on their different understandings of the relationship between individuals and society and the extent of the state's power. Biopolitics is a top-down down approach, which concerns how the state governs and manages the health and biological functions of the population as a whole to produce and maintain state legitimacy. Various forms of scientific and medical expertise supply individuals with knowledge on how to best care for the self. The state takes political action to prevent famines and epidemics, in the form of providing vaccines, public housing, and supporting the biotech industry's practice of growing vitamin–enhanced food to legitimate its governing authority. Performativity, in contrast, considers how our actions reproduce cultural ideals and subsequent inequalities despite state intervention. For example, cultural practices of 'risky health behavior', like smoking, riding motorcycles, or unprotected sex, are linked to specific health outcomes of cancer, injury, disease and premature death. The performativity of 'risky behavior' helps harden medical ideals of what constitutes healthy/sick, and subsequently, normal/abnormal behavior, despite large segments of the population who do not have access to medical expertise, and thus, have minimal capacity to understand what causes adverse health effects, evidenced by inadequate levels of 'health literacy' (Nutbeam 2008; White et al. 2008).

The concept of performativity also differs from the embodiment approach over questions of agency. While both approaches agree that we perpetuate political inequalities through our embodied actions, performativity holds that agency is possible, but severely constrained by, for example, gender norms of the feminine, masculine or beautiful body. This differs from embodiment which assumes that consumer culture accompanies an increased amount of agency only to be hindered by psychological factors like anxiety or apprehension over the body's appearance. Performativity, on the other hand, views subjectivity as the effect of a performance, and does not limit the range of subjective attributes to psychological abnormalities. For example, the performativity of gendered norms of beauty (i.e. thinness) does not lead to anxiety over or distortion of the female body. Rather, it reproduces and 'cites' the coercive gender norms of thinness by the ritual preparation of how a woman gets dressed, and applies her makeup, prepares and selects foods to eat, where the outcome of the beauty ritual materializes in ones' embodied appearance.[3]

Limits for social movements

In its current conceptual formulation, performativity would further our understanding of how social movements produce, use, and maintain collective identities. Incorporating insights from the performativity approach would highlight the way social movements form new identities or empower existing identities to challenge cultural codes. However, questions would arise regarding political outcomes, the unintended consequences of performances, and competing performances over the issue of representation. One of the principles of performativity is that performances correspond to the hierarchy. Yet, for social movements, competing performances also take place regarding the struggle for representation, in that, a specific ideal will represent the group as they make claims for rights or state concessions. For example, Seidman (2002) has shown how the outcome of gay and lesbian political struggles has produced an idealized image of the 'good gay citizen',

the sexually non-threatening gay who reflects gender conventional norms, which serves to exclude gays and lesbians who cannot or do not want to conform to the good gay ideal. While gays and lesbians reflecting non-threatening sexual and gender norms has helped the struggle for same-sex marriage, and subsequently opened up space in mainstream or 'straight' society for good gays and lesbians, it has done so at the expense of bad sexual citizens (see Seidman 2002, 163–98). The broader impact and consequences of the good gay citizen has been to reinforce the idealized sexual norms and practices of the 'good sexual citizen'. Therefore, the use of performativity should be expanded to consider the importance of political outcomes and the causal effects of specific forms of resistance on mobilization.

Toward an embodied approach to social movements

Despite conceptual differences between the above approaches, they converge on issues pertaining to the cultural/historical construction of the body and how the body represents asymmetrical power relations. Therefore, any use of the body in social movements should start with these two assumptions. Regarding social movements, however, our conceptual use of the body must address the following issues: (1) the constraints of normative civic ethics that limit possible forms of struggle as well as foreshadow political consequences (2) how embodied performances create community and solidarity within a heterogeneous population to make mobilization possible and (3) the stratification, and sometimes fracturing of social groups during the social movement process. These three issues address social movement research questions dealing with the importance of political communities, why individuals join and remain with a social movement, how social movements are organized, and the kinds of changes or political outcomes that result from mobilization.

To address the above questions, I argue for the importance of the 'embodied performance' in social movement struggles. The embodied performance is based on the combining the concepts of performativity and performance. Performativity has to do with how the ritualized performance of norms are used to create new arrangements, categories, limits, and connections with others to sustain community, while performance has to do with the competence of carrying-out and completing the performance. By combining the two concepts, I put forth a conceptual outline of the body in social movement research that captures how social movements mobilize to create change, use affect to create a sense of solidarity, and can be used empirically to note the importance of normative consequences of performances.

All social movements take place within a territorial bounded system, and thus, have to negotiate with the constraints of normative civic codes located in the discourse of civil society (Alexander 1992; Baiocchi 2006). Citizens use the discourse of civil society to distinguish 'friends from enemies' when they judge and interpret the actions of others. In contrast to the idea that norms are only textural and coercive, and that individuals feel compelled to adopt them for their existence and cultural survival (Butler 1997), I argue that reform based social movements 'appeal' to civic norms, in that they draw from, contest, and negotiate with the dominant meanings that divide 'friend from enemy'. By appealing to civic codes, social movements do more than align themselves with the good meanings, but create the idealized representations they claim only to represent. Social Movements fashion their bodily postures, gestures, style of speaking, and physical appearance around idealized civic norms so their bodies symbolize idealized citizenship. Social movements do this at the level of the body because the physical body represents the limits at which the construction of an imagined community is possible. To illustrate, in the

black civil rights movement, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) sought to deracialize the body to challenge what counted as good citizenship in order to change who counts as good citizens. In the early 1960s, SCLC organized a series of citizenship schools to deracialize the black body through pedagogical training. This training included good handwriting lessons, word pronunciation, and a style and tone of speech that produced an embodied rational, confident, and 'good black citizen' (Hohle 2009). While blacks shared the same democratic values and norms as whites, skin color, and the negative stereotypical meanings attached to black skin, overrode shared cognitive understandings of democratic values. Therefore, deracializing the body provided a point for blacks to contest meanings of good citizenship by severing whiteness from idealized citizenship, while simultaneously opening space for blacks to reflect and exhibit good citizenship through embodied performances.

Although performativity has primarily focused on questions of identity and subjectivity, scholars working within this framework have recently started to consider role of performativity in relation to the idea of 'belonging'. Belonging captures how group membership entails our participation in various performances (Bell 1999). The performativity of embodied norms are important for establishing connections and linkages between individuals, collective identities, places and the important role of re-membering (Fortier 1999; Bell 2007). Drawing from the idea that group solidarity involves embodied performances of belonging, we can consider the broader importance of emotions/affect in producing social bonds and social capital within and between political communities. Emotions are important for social movements to encourage membership, strengthen social bonds between members, and gain audience support (Jasper 1998; Eyerman 2006). Bringing in the body to social movement research adds a more complex understanding of the relationship between emotions, norms and social movements because it deals with the question of what happens to affect after the initial emotion. Rituals are emotionally charged, but temporary, therefore communities construct totems to remember and celebrate the sacredness of society (Durkheim [1912] 1995). For example, SNCC used emotionally charged rhetoric in meetings and rallies to arouse the audiences' emotions to get them to join. The emotions and sentiment created by the rallies was transferred into positions within the organization, which were not only re-membered, but also *re-felt* through subsequent embodied performances of holding meetings, protesting, canvassing for support etc. to reinforce why they joined and continue to participate in the social movement (Hohle 2009).

While the concept of performativity addresses how social movements embody civic norms, it does not address the questions of how civic norms foreshadow political consequences, nor does it address the questions of political outcomes. In order to address these questions, I draw from the idea of 'performance' as used in the theory of cultural pragmatics (Alexander et al. 2006) to understand embodied performances as a form of symbolic communication. Social movement scholars have long noted the use of public performances in contentious politics (Eyerman 2006; Tilly 2008). However, it is not just the presence of a performance that is important, but the embodied repetition of civic norms, materialized through the postures of how one walks during a picket to how one holds the candle in a religious pose mimicking that of a choir, that the ritualized performance links performers (political community or social movement) to audiences. Therefore, embodying or failing to embody civic norms foreshadows political consequences. If a social movement fails to embody sacred meanings of the civic code, it will prevent the group from achieving their intended outcomes of the protest, as well as preventing them from achieving their broader symbolic outcomes of communicating their normative worldview that challenges the existing civic culture.

The embodied performance expands on our understandings of political outcomes through performance by highlighting the role of the body in a successful performance. Alexander (2004) distinguished successful performances from unsuccessful performances based on the extent the performers are able to achieve 're-fusion'. A successful performance achieves re-fusion because audiences interpret the actors as believable and 'authentic'. Indeed, this use of performance captures the importance of how a social movement makes or presents their argument through performance that binds the activist and audience through ritual, as opposed to how social movements frame their arguments to an audience. Even before an audience considers the evidence supporting a social movement claim, the performer must appear authentic in order for audience to correctly interpret or even pay attention to the performance. I argue that bodily gestures, movements, facial expressions etc. provide an embodied reading and cultural understanding of the performance without having to put it into spoken discourse. During the civil rights movement when the students began using sit-ins, for instance, SNCC made sure that that all students appeared neat and clean by having men dressed in suits and women in dresses, that the students brought along text books, and sat upright with good posture at the lunch counter. James Farmer noted the response of the southern media was to condemn whites for looking and acting like juveniles in relation to the students neat and orderly postures (Farmer 1965, 67–68). Whites spat, swore, and hit blacks as the black students calmly sat their and refused to respond to whites in kind. Thus, part of the success of the sit-ins was that the students appeared authentic through their embodied performance of good citizenship.

The embodied performance and re-fusion allows us to rethink the important idea of 'political opportunities': the cleavages and openings in political structures that provide social movements' access to mainstream political channels (McAdam 1999). The idea of political opportunities is passive, in that they are not immediately recognized by social movement actors and determine social movement outcomes. In contrast to the passive reading of a political opportunity, the successful embodied performance actively looks to create openings by separating and recombining audiences through the performativity of civic norms. If we take the above example of the student sit-ins, they were able to create their own political opportunity by separating whites who were appalled by the behavior of the white youths. In doing so, they were able to desegregate lunch counters without any changes in the local or state ruling alignment. Therefore, social movements, through normative embodied performances, create openings for aspects of the movements that reflect the dominant civic norms while closing opportunities and hardening boundaries for alternative challenges and competing positions within the social movement. Thus, the successful embodied performance does not sit neatly between a binary of inclusion/exclusion, and subsequent research has to deal with the question of which representations are being re-fused with what audiences.

Conclusion

This paper reviewed the current debates and literature on the body to note the limitations of adapting or using the body in social movement research. It was not an exhaustive critique, since the research questions and conceptual debates of the disciplinary, biopolitical, embodiment, and performativity approaches were not developed in lieu of social movements. Nevertheless, the importance of the body and need for an embodied approach to social movement research expands on the fundamental questions of politics and social movements, namely, political community, mobilization, political consequences, and political outcomes. I proposed a conceptual use of the body based on combining the approaches

of performativity and performance in order to overcome problems regarding the paradox of using the same set of civic norms that constrain action to increase the probability of stimulating social change. My intention was to carve out a space for the body in social movement research to improve our understanding how embodied rituals of belonging produce affective bonds necessary for solidarity and collective action, as well the relationship between embodied normative civic ethics and political outcomes. Adopting an embodied approach could lead to promising new inquiries for political and social movement research.

Short Biography

Randolph Hohle is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at D'Youville College in Buffalo, New York. He completed his doctoral work on the body and social movements, with an empirical focus on the civil rights movement, at the University at Albany, SUNY in 2008. He was a recipient of the University of Albany's 2008 Distinguished Doctoral Dissertation Award. He is preparing a book manuscript based on his dissertation research. In addition to his work on the body and social movements, his current research focuses the state's response in relation to the challenges of citizenship rights in lieu of race, space, and forms of governing. His research interests include cultural sociology and the body, political sociology, citizenship, civil society, social movements, contemporary social theory, race, urbanization and comparative historical sociology.

Notes

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[1] The anthropological tradition of the representational body predates Foucault's work, yet, considers the body as emblematic/symbolic of cultural difference [i.e. Douglas's (1990)] purity/pollution distinction) and does not deal with nature of power, nation–states, institutions, social movements or revolutions.
[2] Indeed, the performative approach has set itself in debates against 'ampersand' and 'add-on' models of identity (see Probyn 1999; Fortier 1999).
[3] As Bordo (1993) has already shown, the anorexic and bulimic do not have a distorted sense of the beautiful body, but unfortunately, they understand what 'beauty' is all too perfectly.

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