

deeply rooted in the culture of Russian revolutionary intelligentsia in the late XIX century ('Going to people'), it is based on two ethic principles which should guide a SMs researcher: To be an insider and an advocate of population affected by the invasion in natural and social ecosystems of huge construction projects like 'River diversion project' (Zalygin 1987). I am deeply convinced that such researcher should be first of all an insider or even participant of a particular movement (as adviser, expert, etc.). And only in the second turn he should be a distant observer, that is, to gain information from second hands (interviewers, local informants, media sources, etc.). In this vein, my understanding of SMs advocates is a bit different from that of in the western sociology in which the term 'advocacy science' has a neutrally-market character (offering a service). In the Russian context this term has moral coloring: to support, to explain, to teach practically, and always free of charge. My empirical studies have shown that there is a ladder of such advocates built by the criterion of their involvement: neutral-distanced; those who understand the issue; partly involved in a SMO's activity; and fully integrated in it (Yanitsky 2009).

8. SMs in emergency cases

To begin with, there are two kinds of a SM mobilization: 'a regular', for example, in preparation of mass protest campaigns, marches and rallies, and of 'emergency character' when SM members are mobilized for rescue activity. But in our disciplinary structured sociological community, the activity of collective social actors dealing with disasters is related to a separate discipline called the sociology of mass emergences and disasters (Perrow 1984; Quarantelli 1998). The discipline has its own legal status, journals and textbooks, research networks and other institutional arrangements. In cases of disasters SMs continue to act but in other forms. Of course, participants of some SMs may be seen as victims of a disaster only. But many others, for example, the charity, environmental and local lore movements, in essence, are of a rescue nature. How their role, structure and functions are changing in such critical conditions – this question is rarely discussed in sociological literature, especially in Russian one.

I think that at least four concepts are of a paramount importance here: The already mentioned the concept of all-embracing risk, a social order in conditions of disaster, a risk-reflection of SM's leaders, and risk-solidarities of affected people (Ianitskii, 1998; Yanitsky, 2000a).

In conditions under consideration, the concept of all-embracing risk may be presented as a 'critical case', that is, the state of a human community in

which the production of risks (as losses, calamities) becomes a dominant mode of production. In this case, the aim of any social action is destruction, the instrument of an action is violence, and the outcome is the destruction of the existing social order.

As a result of genocide, wars, terrorism, violence there shapes a ‘critical symbiosis’ of the foreseers of violence, resisters, and the suffering peaceful population. The critical case is a humanitarian catastrophe when an affected human community is able to survive due to the external aid only. I consider this critical social order as the case when a community is forced to be subjected to abnormal natural or technical processes, for example, to processes of natural disasters or technical accidents (Yanitsky 1982, 2011). The typical examples are the Chernobyl and Fukushima catastrophic accidents when the social order had been determined by the spread and metabolism of the poisoning substances. As the result, the living environment has changed qualitatively for years or decades. Accordingly, the type of a SM and its activity has changed as well. I called the mechanism of this change a *risk-reflection*. It designates the cognitive process which transforms a direct perception of a risk by the SM leaders into one or another form of collective action. At the same time, risk-reflection as an interdisciplinary process plays the role of a practical tool for the definition of the level of socially acceptable risk for an individual or society. It is important that the notion of risk reflectivity is used both in the sociologies of risk, social conflicts and of SMs (Yanitsky 2000: 91).

If the sociologies of risk and of SMs are closely tied, there is a sense to introduce one more notion, that is, ‘*risk-solidarities*’. It is a tricky notion because it has a several meanings. First, it marks people from different social strata affected by a disaster. Secondly, risk-solidarities may be composed of socially and politically adversarial groups who are forced to act together with the aim of self-protection and survival (Yanitsky 2010: 78-95). Thirdly, risk-solidarities may present a temporal combination of affected people and their rescuers.

Schematically, this case may be presented as a set of concentric rings. In the very centre the affected people and their immediate rescuers are situated. The latter may be or may be not the SM members. Within the second ring there are those who are rescuers as well, but with another function: to organize a supply those who are affected with necessary resources, be it water, food, shelter or means of transportation to escape from the defeated zone. The third ring presents a space of actors and their networks which may embrace a region, state or whole world. These actors again may be or

not may be members of a SM. Their main function is to organize the aid and provision of the first two and to monitor the process of development of a disaster.

The permanent exposure of population to different kinds of risk (all-embracing, temporal or everyday) gives the impetus to the emergence of different SMOs. Here I'd distinguish the only two: a stable and permanent. In Russian condition the leader's core is usually stable. First of all because they have not opportunity to mount by the social ladder and therefore they are forced to implement routine work within a SMO (recruiting, fundraising, distribution of resources, etc). But in the emergency cases, the temporal structures are mushroomed. These emergent structures are the result of internet communication, by means of which the SMs leaders capable to mobilize volunteers and local population for coping with the disasters and its aftermaths. When the critical points have passed these structures may be transformed into new SMOs or its sustainable communicative structures (forums, social networks) or to switch their attention to another emergency case.

9. Social interpretation of natural and technical knowledge

It is not sufficiently reflected by the scholars of SMs that their object of study is multi-functional and multi-sided. It is obvious that interaction of SM with their counterparts – the state and its branches, business structures, NGOs, various experts and population strata – have their own subculture and language. What a sociologist sees from the 'top', (public opinion survey) is does not always coincide with the view from the 'bottom', ie of local people. I fully agree with those western sociologists who introduced and used in their empirical research the concept of local knowledge (Brush and Stabinsky 1996; Irwin, 2001; Irwin and Wynne 1996; Fisher 2003; Gregory and Miller 1998). Besides, many conflicts in which a SM is involved have rather complex, multi-sided character. All said speaks for the need of a more interdisciplinary approach to the study of SMs. In addition, I'd stress that natural and technical sciences have their own manner to present an accident in the media which is rarely resembles the actual causes and consequences of a given accident.

But there is more general substantiation of the necessity of interdisciplinary approach to the study of social movements. The further the more we are witnessing disasters and accidents, in particular of continental or global scale, when a behavior of individuals and collective actors is governed by natural and technical processes. To be capable to response to these calami-