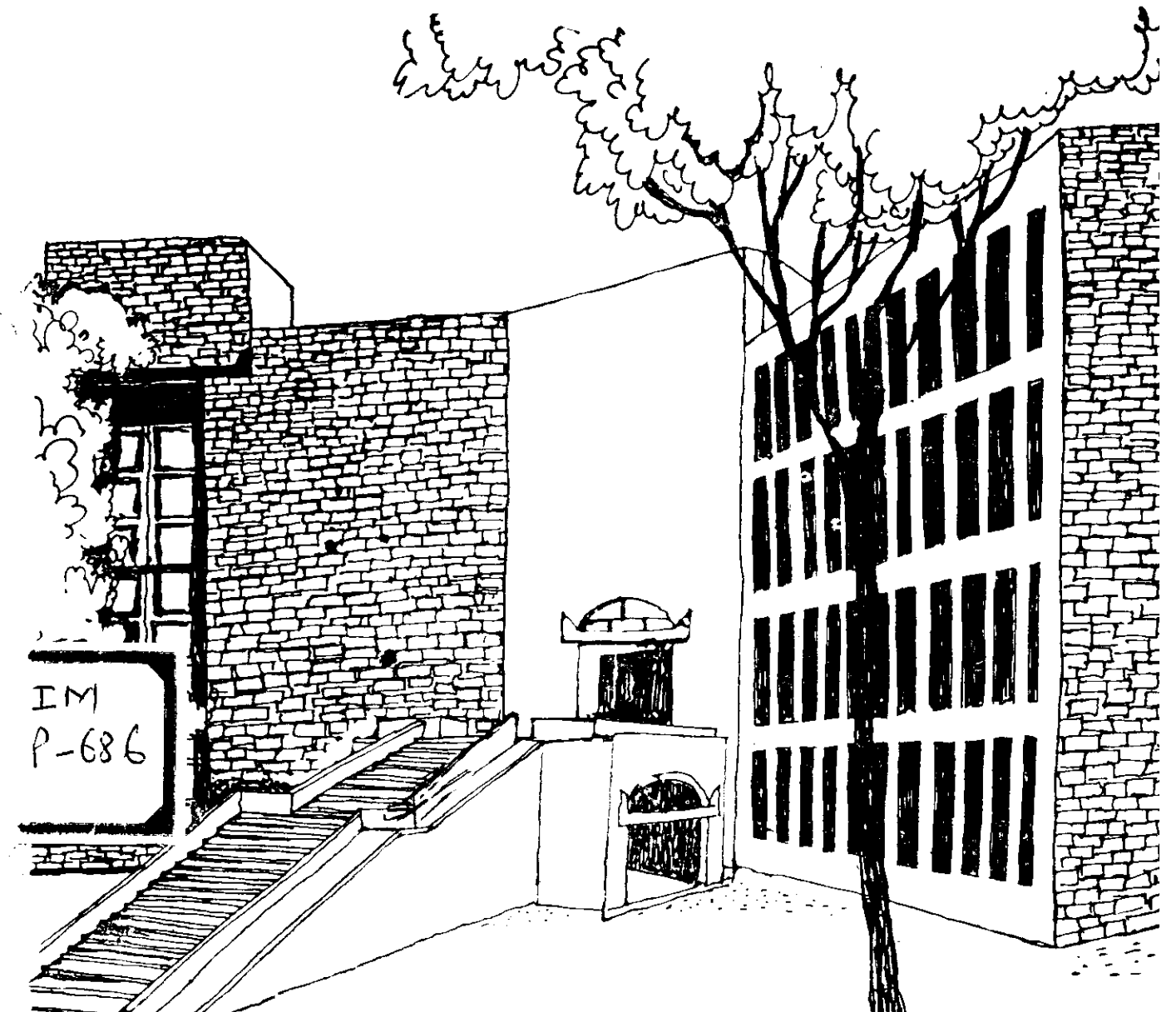


Working Paper



**SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: AN ORGANIZATION
THEORY PERSPECTIVE**

By

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ABSTRACT

The paper first reviews the available literature on social movements (SM). Following emerge:

- (1) Classical literature on SMs have missed out or tended to ignore the organizational aspects of SMs (Section I)
- (2) The more contemporary literature on SMs do have organizational focus; however, their theorisation is based on an inadequate understanding of SMs and its relationships with the relevant organization. Further, they do not justify why and how the collectives in question qualify to be deemed as organizations (Section II)

Section III attempts to rectify the above lacunas, and in the process provides a theoretical framework for SMs with due (and very important) place for organization theory. It puts forth the concept of social movement Kernel (SMK), the core of any SM, that guides and leads a SM.

Section IV seeks to establish that the SMK is indeed an organization, by comparing SMKs with various definitions of organizations, borrowed from the standard works in organization theory. This opens a wide gamut of possible theorization on SMK and hence also on SM, because of the close relationship between the two.

A preliminary attempt towards this is made in Section V, where ten propositions are put forth, mainly relating SMKs to SMs.

The last Section (VI) seeks to briefly highlight the likely usefulness of the study.

"One of the richest legacies of the French Revolution is a long-standing and by now well-established curiosity about the causes and consequences of man's engagement in the building of new social worlds", (Wilson, 1973). All the great nineteenth century sociologists were, in one way or another, influenced by the impact that the revolution had upon European society. Thus, Comte, Tocqueville, Le Play, Durkheim, Marx, Weber, Michels, and Mosea, all openly confronted the problems posed by that event for the understanding of social man (Nisbet, 1966). But the French Revolution was not the first social movement. The earliest of civilizations are known to have had social movements, mainly peasant, and at times, also religious.

Nor have social movements been studied only by the sociologists. Historians, movement activists, political scientists, social psychologists and behavioural scientists have all written on various aspects of social movements.

Smelser (1963) is recognized amongst the foremost of the classical theoreticians and social movements. "The intellectual apparatus" he chose to employ is the "value-added" approach, where he ordered the determinants (of social movement) in a scale from general to specific. "Each determinant is seen as logically - though not necessarily temporally - prior to the next. Each determinant is seen as operating within the scope established by the prior, more general determinant. Each determinant is seen as a necessary but not a sufficient condition for the occurrence of an episode of collective behaviour, taken together the necessary conditions constitute the sufficient condition for its occurrence" (1964). Smelser's determinants of social movement in this value-added scheme were, in the order, structural conduciveness, strain, generalised belief, mobilization and social control.

Turner, while agreeing with much of Smelser's theorising (1964), criticised this life-cycle approach, which, he felt, was rich "only in the input stage", because they tended to assume "a fixed goal and sequence". He sought to differentiate the goals of SMs into (a) formulate, elaborate, promote, values; (b) maximise power; and (c) cultivate member satisfaction. From this he made his theory of social movements. This had, "conditions affecting the development of each of the three tendencies", as independent variable(s) "dynamic interplay of the three causal system" as intervening variable(s), and "variety of aspects of collective behaviour" as dependent variable(s). This framework of social movements based on the three orientations, viz. value, power and participation, was further refined and elaborated by Turner & Killian (1972).

However in all this literature, the organizational issues of a SM have been almost entirely ignored. Smelser, Turner, Killian, as also Lang & Lang (1961), Kornhauser (1959), Davies (1962, 1969) and Gurr (1970), and even Gusfield in his excellent summary statement (1968), have studied social movements under "collective behaviour" with "discontent" or "relative deprivation" as the main causal factor.

Recent research has cast doubt on the classic "discontent" formulation. Marshalling substantial evidence, Oberschall (1973) and Tully et. al. (1975) have sought to argue that social movements do not arise from "disorganised anomie masses" but from groups organizationally able to defend and advance their interests. As for "relative deprivation", Snyder and Tilly (1972) and Hibbs (1973) have failed to find it useful in accounting for a wide variety of social movements. Mainly stemming from these criticism of the classical literature, there have been several attempts in recent times to study, either social movements as organizations, or what is qualitatively somewhat different, social movement organizations (SMO). We will quickly review the main works in this trend.

II

Zald and Ash's (1966) was perhaps the first work in this genre. They straight away defined as "social movement organization" (SMO), the collective through which social movements can manifest themselves". They distinguished these SMOs from "full-blown bureaucratic organizations" in two ways:

(a) SMOs wish to restructure society or individuals, not to provide it or them with a regular service - "as is typical of bureaucratic organizations", and

(b) they are characterised by an incentive structure in which "purposive incentives" predominate - borrowing from Clark and Wilson's (1961) categorization of organizational incentives into material (money and goods), solidary (prestige, respect, friendship) and purposive (value fulfilment). Having defined SMOs thus, Zald and Ash made issues with Weber (Gerth & Mills, 1946) and especially Michels' (1949) model of "goal transformation and oligarchisation" - works that were essentially concerned with political parties, particularly of the left - and argued that, as for SMOs, "there are a variety of other transformation processes that take place". The first part of their paper tries to show how the transformation of SMOs is conditioned or determined by factors outside of itself, the second part focusses on internal processes related to goals and commitment.

Zurcher and Curtis (1973), confining themselves to Zald and Ash's work (above), sought to regroup the 16 odd propositions that they had put forth under four headings, which they (Zurcher & Curtis) claimed were, "generalised organizational variables": (a) exclusiveness of membership requirements, (b) leadership characteristics, (c) origin of the organizations, and (d) organizational goals. In another work, published a little later (Curtis & Zurcher, 1974), the authors noted that "most studies of social movements have been descriptive, and conceptually have

concentrated upon such factors as ideological base, social - psychological characteristics of the members, or the general context of societal change". Having said that they asserted, "yet whatever else a social movement may be, it is a complex organization."

It was again Zald, this time with McCarthy (1977) who attempted some further theorising on SMOs. They criticised the mainstream studies of SMs that concentrated on structural strain, generalized beliefs and deprivation, which they felt ignored ongoing problems and strategic dilemmas of SMs: "The three most influential approaches to understanding of SMs - Gurr (1970), Turner & Killian (1972) and Smelser (1963) have in common strong assumptions that shared grievances and generalized beliefs (loose ideologies) about the causes and possible means of reducing grievances are important for the emergence of a SM in a collectivity. Despite the authors' mentioning, scholars following them have often even ignored the structural factors. Further, having focus on the psychological state of the mass of potential SM supporters within a collectivity has led to ignoring the process by which person and institutions outside the collectivity become. There is a need to move from a strong assumption of the centrality of deprivation and grievances to a weak one. There is always enough discontent in a society to supply the grass-roots support for a movement if the movement is effectively organized and has at its disposal the power and resources of some elite group. Further, grievances and discontent may be defined, created, and manufactured by issue entrepreneurs and organizations". Entertaining such a weak assumption, the authors argued, "leads directly to an emphasis on mobilization process".

The theorising that followed is essentially based on the "resource mobilisation process", resources being defined to include "money, labour, facilities and legitimacy". And "since resource aggregation requires some minimal form of organization",

contend the authors, "implicitly or explicitly, we focus more on the SMOs than do those working under the traditional perspectives".

Jenkins and Perrow (1977) also argue in a similar vein against the classical theories on SM. "Standard literature on social movements fail to deal adequately with either of the two central issues - the formation of insurgent organizations and outcome of insurgent challenges". And then again, "we do not deny the existence of discontent but we question the usefulness of discontent formulations in accounting for either the emergence of insurgent organization or the level of participation by the social base". And finally, "what increases, giving rise to social movements, is the amount of social resources available to unorganized but aggrieved groups, making it possible to launch an organized demand for change". Jenkins and Perrow however, do not attempt at much theorising on SMOs, the thrust of their work being to compare two farm worker movements in US; the unsuccessful attempt to organize farm workers by the National Farm Labour Union from 1946 to 1952 and the "strikingly successful" one of the united Farm Workers from 1965 to 1972.

Finally, there are the two papers by Zurcher, Snow and Ekland - Olson (1980 and 1983) where they have implicitly assumed SMOs, and have attempted to theorise mainly on the process of mobilization of human* in SMs, or "recruitment", if you please. Taking a micro-structural approach, the authors argue that though cognitive factors (like discontent, relative deprivation, beliefs) are important in the recruitment process, differential recruitment is best explained by the "social network theory". They contend that more than dispositional susceptibility, it is structural proximity, availability, and affective interaction with the movement members that influence the recruitment process in SMs.

* The word "human" is used in the text as a non-sexist alternative for 'man', when the intention is not to refer to only the males of the homosapien. Plural: Humen.

To recapitulate, in the discussion so far, we have first seen the classical theories of SMs, and then its critiques; the following main points emerge:

(a) The classical theories with their emphasis on structural strain, relative deprivation, discontent, and beliefs on causes and possible solutions (or ideologies), are inadequate to explain the occurrence, growth or outcome of a SM.

(b) Certain studies have directly assumed "social movement organizations" (SMOs) - as either equivalent to or as a subset of "social movement". The actual positions taken, though often left unclear, tends to veer more towards the former and have attempted theorising on various aspects of SMOs. (Zald & Ash, 1966; Zurcher & Curtis, 1973; 1974).

(c) Certain studies have perceived "resource mobilisation" as the key process in a SM and thence have justified the study of SMOs, because resource mobilisation, they argue, required some minimal form of organization (Zald & McCarthy, 1977, Jensen & Perrow, 1977).

(d) Confining themselves mainly to the mobilisation of one of the resources, namely human resource, certain studies have stressed upon the role played by "social network" in the process of "differential recruitment". These studies implicitly assumed SMOs. (Zurcher et. al., 1980; 1983). This writer agreed with much of the criticism about inadequacies of the classical theories on SM. He also agrees that organizational theory could provide useful insights into SMs. But he has problems with the works that have attempted this (reviewed above). Very briefly, it is that in these studies social movement organizations (SMOs) have been assumed,

- (i) without explaining what exactly is meant by SMO; and/or
- (ii) without giving justifications for deeming the entity in question (often unclear) as an organization; and/or

(iii) without rooting the discussion on a theoretical framework of SM that has due place for organizations.

Zald & McCarthy (1977) do have a framework (viz. resource mobilization), but that for many reasons is found to be inadequate. Indeed, what emerges from these studies seems to be the result of inadequate application of organization theory to SMs. In what follows this writer would attempt to correct this lacunae to a limited extent; hopefully, this would provide the base on which further theorising could be attempted. In doing this, we would begin with the third criticism (above), then deal with the first, and finally take up the second criticism.

III

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The first step in this exercise would be to define "social movement" (SM). We begin by noting that almost every work on SM has carried a definition and the wide variety of definition has made the task of generalising about SM all but impossible. With that caveat, we borrow Wilson's (1973) definition of SM, mainly because, (a) it has come to be widely accepted, which ensures that we do not talk of a very different set of phenomenon when we refer to SMs, and also because, (b) it suits our purpose well.

"A social movement (SM) is a conscious collective, organized attempt to bring about large-scale change in the social order by non-institutionalised means".

With this definition, SMs can be distinguished from related phenomena. The main distinguishing elements are :

- (a) SMs are organised collectivities.
- (b) SMs are large in potential scope.
- (c) SMs are uninstitutionalised means to achieve their objectives.
- (d) SMs are conscious, purposive attempts to bring about change.

We do not elaborate any further on the definition or any of the above elements, noting, that the entire exercise of obtaining a theoretical framework for SMs is in a way, defining SMs.

A very important dimension in understanding SMs is that of time, SMs have a much longer life than collectives like crowd, mob. Yet, they normally tend to have a shorter life span than most organizations.

This last point needs elaboration. We first clarify that when we say "most organizations", we mean the ordinary organizations that we come across in the normal course of day-to-day life; the key distinguishing feature in this context being, these are organizations that essentially accept the existing society and its structure, and provide service(s) to the society or a section of it. The qualifying adjective "ordinary" is used in a value - free sense. However, it is important to distinguish these organizations thus, because, we would soon argue that SMs may also involve organizations. Second, and this is a caveat, we note that there are SMs that have continued over a fairly long time span, and that there are "ordinary" organizations that have had a very short life. Without going into the question of defining the life of a SM and its death, and third, we contend that when we say "SMs tend to have a shorter life span than most organizations", we refer more to the intended than the actual life. Thus the contention is that whereas most "ordinary" organization normally behave as though they are "ongoing", and do not plan or aim for their demise; a SM dies with the attainment of its desired change, towards which it "consciously" and "purposefully" strives. Thus SMs would need a much more dynamic framework for their study, than do most "ordinary" organization.

The next important aspect of a SM is the nature of the change that it seeks to bring about or what we will term here, the issue. To conceptualise this aspect of SMs we would need a

preliminary understanding of the various parties involved in a SM. By definition, SMs are attempts to bring about change in the social order through "non-institutionalised means". This presupposes the presence of an institutionalised social order with its attendant structure, norms, and means of social control. That is the immediate domain of a SM. Very broadly, the people inside this domain could be classified as, (a) the section having vested interest in the social order and its continuance, the "vested interest group"; (b) the section that is (or could be potentially) discontented with a part or whole of this social order - the "affected group"; and (c) a possible third section that is neutral to the issue, -- the "neutral group".

Further, this immediate domain of a SM is certain to be part of a larger social order. For example, if the immediate domain is a city, the larger domain of which it is a part could be a state; if the immediate domain is an industry belt, the larger domain of which this is a part, could be a city, and so on. This larger domain would also have its institutionalised social order, with its attendant structure, norms, and means of social control. Thus (d) the fourth broad section of people would be the vested interest group of this larger social order. The relationship between this larger social order, and the social order of the immediate domain of the SM, and especially, between the two vested interest groups (a) and (d) is an important determinant of a SM. Then the larger social order may have various sections that are (or could be potentially) (e) favourable to the SM, (f) unfavourable to the SM, or (g) neutral to the SM.

The analysis could easily be taken further to include still larger social orders, and often it may be necessary too (e.g. industrial belt to city state to nation), on the same lines as illustrated above. Finally, we note that the above has been a rather static description, which, if left at that, is particularly unsuited for a SM, as evident from our earlier discussion. We

introduce the dynamic character by noting that the domain of a SM could increase, decrease, or otherwise change in the course of a SM. Likewise there could be additions, deletions, or transformations (from one category to another), in the various sections of of people described above.

Having thus very broadly categorised the various sections of people involved in a SM, we would attempt to conceptualise the important question of the "issue" of a SM. We begin by noting that the definition of SM we have adopted, provides us with precious little help on this. All it says is that the issue of a SM is "large in potential scope". "Large" is neither dimensionalised nor quantified. Further, qualitatively the issue could range from almost anything to anything. Indeed, the comprehensive studies of SMs have included extremes like from the Millerian and other religious movements to the nationalistic and radical movements seeking transformation of the State. (Cantril, 1941; Gusfield, 1968; Leites & Wolf, 1970; Wilson, 1973; Rao, 1979). Hence to put the question of issue of SMs in a framework, we would need to abstract from the rich details of the specific SMs. This is attempted below:

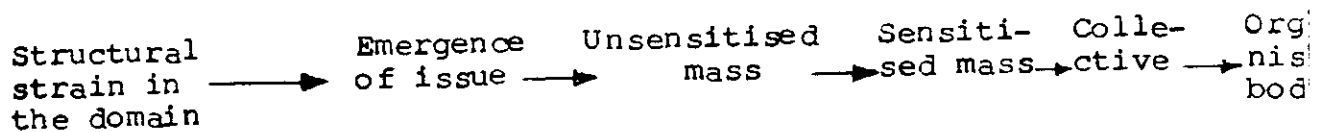
- (1) SMs that protest against or seek to alter, the stance/ decision/practice/norm of the section with vested interest in the social order of the immediate domain, ie. section of people categorised as (a) above.
- (2) SMs that seek to transform the social order of immediate domain
- (3) SMs that protest against or seek to alter, the stance/ decision/practice/norm of the section with vested interest in the social order of the larger domain, i.e. section of people categorised as (d) above.
- (4) SMs that seek to transform the social order of the larger domain.

Further, it could also be combinations of the above, like SMs seeking to alter stance/decision/practice/norm of the vested interest group in the immediate as well as in the larger domain. (essentially (1) + (3) above). The time dimension would be very important in all this. Thus, over time, a SM could take up more than one of the broad type of issues enumerated above or it could move from a lower order issue to a higher one, eg. from (1) to (2), or (1) to (3), or (2) to (4). The direction could even be reverse in certain cases, especially when the SM is receding.

The dynamic nature of SMs and the importance of time dimension in this study has been repeatedly stressed. We will find it useful to evoke the concept of career of a SM, which several writers have used in the literature (Smelser, 1963), Gusfield, 1968) though their contexts have been somewhat different. The theoretical framework that we propose will mainly be concerned with the career of SMs. We contend that the framework could integrate much of existing literature on SMs. While the framework allows for considerable fruitful theorising on the many facets of SMs - borrowing from the various social science disciplines - our main concern in this paper would be with the applicability of organization theory to SMs.

Our first approximation of a SM is to see it as the following sequence:

Schematic representation: (1)



The schematic representation is self-explanatory. In this first approximation we have only evoked the following concepts:

- i) domain of a SM;
- ii) the "affected section", referred first as the "unsensitised mass" and then at higher stages as "sensitised mass", "collective" and so on;
- iii) the concept of issue of a SM.

Before attempting incorporation of more concepts and their refinement, let us note two problems we already face and which will haunt us throughout this exercise. First, the phases outlined need not be in the same temporal sequence. Smelser (1964) also had passingly remarked on this as noted in our literature review. Let us examine this a little more carefully, confining ourselves to schematic representation (1). On close scrutiny, we find it is only phase two, namely "emergence of issue" that could perhaps occur elsewhere in the sequence; to be specific, somewhere later in the sequence. But for that, every phase must be preceded by the phases put before it, in the schematic representation.

As for the difficulty in exactly sequencing the phase "emergence of issue", this relates well with our earlier conceptualisation of the question of "issue" of a SM. Issue needs certain conceptualisation and defining; this could take place before the sensitisation and collectivisation of the affected masses, or it can emerge in the course. Further, the definition of issue could change during the career of a SM. We will have some more to say on the "emergence of issue" later in the paper.

The second problem is regarding the "death" of a SM. When do SMs die? How? Since SM is a dynamic phenomenon, up to what phase must it reach, for the phenomenon to be termed as a SM? We will begin with the last, which is a boundary question, and hence to answer it we must go back to our definition of SM. The relevant portion is: "A social movement is a conscious, collective, organized attempt". Two things follow: In our

schematic representation (1) the phenomenon must at least reach the phase of "collectivisation" for it to be deemed as a SM. And second, the word "attempt" suggests that such a 'collectivised' exercise need not necessarily succeed for it to be considered a SM. As for when SMs die and how, our schematic representation (3) and the following discussion would address the question(s) to a certain extent. But we must also caution the reader that these are conceptually important questions, and that our focus would not permit a fuller treatment in this paper.

Schematic representation (2)

Structural strain → Emergence of issue → Unsensitized mass → Sensitized mass → Collective → Organized body

Structural strain → Relative deprivation → Discontent generation → Mobilisation

The above representation is essentially to show that much of the classical theorisation on SM can be incorporated in our framework. The point to note is the correspondence between the two sequence.

Because of this strong correspondence and also for convenience in depiction and clarity, we will drop the second sequence from the subsequent refinements. However, we may refer time and again to the phase and the concepts (of the second sequence).

Schematic representation (3)

Here, essentially we will try to incorporate in our framework the existing "social order" in the domain, with its attendant institutionalised norms, regulations and means of social control. The "vested interest group" would also concern us.

By definition, a SM "attempts to bring about large- scale change in the social order". Hence the existing social order and the vested interest group are certain to feel threatened; the extent, depending on the "issue" - whether the SM seeks to alter a stance/decision/practice/norm of the social order or transform the very social order itself.

Firstly, there are social orders that are relatively tolerant - either by choice/culture or because they have relatively less means of social control - just as there are others that are more repressive. Secondly, most social orders do allow change. But generally to the extent that such changes are (a) incremental, and reformist and (b) preferably initiated by, or at least, with the sanction of the social order. Social orders normally do not perceive any threat in such changes.

The social order would generally have various regulatory norms, rules, to protect itself. These would influence the transition from one phase to another in the schematic representation (1) However at certain phase of the movement, depending on a number of factors, the social order may feel threatened enough to attempt to "kill" the SM. This could do in many ways. To state a few:

- i) It could crush the SM, eg. military action on the Telengana movement in India (1948).
- ii) It could break the movement, eg. by creating a division in the affected mass -- the standard "divide and rule" strategy.
- iii) It could launch a counter movement, eg. the National Ulstra Front in Ireland.
- iv) It could co-opt the movement, eg. by redressing the grievance, or by negotiating a compromise. And so on.

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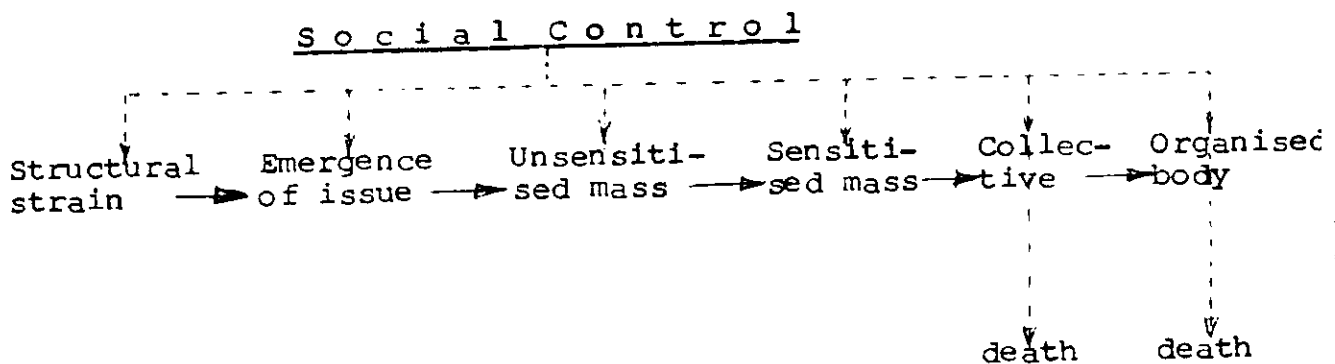
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The choice, again, would depend on many factors. There is considerable scope for useful theorising on much of these, but as stated earlier, our focus in this paper would not permit us the exercise.

We summarises the above discussion in the following representation:



The dotted lines indicate influence, on both the phase in question and the process of transformation to the next phase. For the last two phases we have brought in the concept of death because:

- i) if it is killed before the second-last phase, in any case, as discussed above, we would not consider the phenomenon to be a SM.
- ii) as the SM progresses from phase to phase, it is more likely that the social order will feel increasingly threatened by it and hence rather than regulate, attempt to kill it - in any of the manners described above.

A social movement kernel (SMK) is a core group that directs, guides a SM. In some ways, the concept is similar to that of "caucus" used by Duverger (1963) in his classic work on political parties. "This Unit" he writes, "might well be called a committee, a clique, or a coterie, the English political term 'caucus' will be used here".

However, there are some important differences. "The first characteristic of the caucus is its limited nature. It consists of a small number of members" - which is by and large true about SMK as well. But Duverger then adds, "It seeks no expansion, it does not indulge in any propaganda with a view to extending its recruitment". This need not necessarily be true for SMK. Firstly, this presents a very static picture - how did this core group come to be formed, if "no recruitment" and "no expansion" are such definitive traits? - almost assuming the existence of the coterie to be given; which might be useful for conceptualising a political party, but certainly not a SM. Secondly, most SMKs would infact exhibit the opposite trait and have propaganda-recruitment - expansion, as one of their main strategies. Thirdly, even if some SMKs do exhibit this trait, one, it does not warrent such a definitive statement in the conceptualisation of the core group; and then, for those SMKs, the reason is more likely to lie in the "social control" of the vested interest group, preventing propaganda-recruitment - expansion, rather than that being the "desire" of the core group, as Duverger seems to suggest.

In fact our notion of SMK, and its relationship with the SM, is closer to Lenin's conceptualisation in "What Is To Be Done" (1947; first published in Russia in 1902) of what he calls the "organizations of the revolutionaries", and its relationship with the "mass movement". He perceived the mass movement as concentric circles of people, having increasing involvement with the movement, as one moves inwards, with the "organization of revolutionaries" at the core, leading and guiding the movement. Presumably, it is this "organization of revolutionaries" which later came to be called as the

the "vanguard" - a term (and concept) often used by Lenin and many other Marxists including Mao (1971). Indeed one of the dictionary meaning of "vanguard" is, "those persons who lead a procession or (figuratively) a movement" (Hornby 1974).

However, we do not use the term "vanguard" here because of its close association and identification with the leftist revolutionary movements; our purview is somewhat broader in this paper, and extends to many other type of SMs. Further, the concept of "vanguard" as it evolved, also became closely linked with the concept of the "revolutionary party". Again, the notion of "party" is peculiar to mainly the leftist revolutionary movements, besides certain other, but certainly not to all SMs.

In this section, we have introduced the concept of SMK. We would withhold the necessary addition/modification in our schematic representation(s) of SMs for the time. Presently, we would argue that SMK qualifies to be considered as an organization, meeting the recruitment of most of the standard definitions and criteria of organizations.

IV

We begin with Barnard, one of the foremost organization theorists. Barnard, after considerable rigour, defined organization as a "system of consciously co-ordinated activities or forces of two or more persons" (1962). SMK satisfies this definition, completely.

Selznick, another leading organization theorist, defined organization as "a technical instrument for mobilising human energies and directing them towards set aims" - (1966). Again, SMK satisfies this definition completely.

Blau and Scott (1962) characterise a "social organization" by the two dimensions - "the networks of social relations (structure) and the shared orientations"; and then distinguish a "formal organization", as distinct from social organizations that emerge whenever men are living together, as "organization that has been deliberately established for a certain purpose". For the formal organization, "the goals to be achieved, the rules the members of the organization are supposed to follow, and the status structure that defines the relations between them have not spontaneously emerged in the course of social interaction but have been consciously designed a priori to anticipate and guide interaction and activities", SMKs agree with each of the above aspects of formal organizations.

March and Simon (1958) desist from providing an elaborate definition of organization, but they do say "organization's are assemblage of interacting human beings having a central coordinative system". Again, SMKs qualify.

Finally, we consider Khandwalla (1977), who puts forth one of the most exacting definition of organization in attempting to distinguish it from other collectives like family, friendship group, community. He lists six properties of organizations.

- (i) Hierarchy of authority: "In every organization some individuals carry out the orders of other individuals, and the latter in turn carry out the orders of their superiors. This, "writes Khandwalla, "is the hierarchy of authority". All SMKs manifest this. No matter how small the SMK is, it invariably, has a leader, who often, is also the leader of the SM; and the other members would carry out his orders/decisions/instructions. However, the hierarchy might not be very elaborate, with many levels, but then thats true for most small organization.

- (ii) Rules, procedures, controls & techniques: SMKs, whose broad goal is to guide, lead, the SM, do certainly evolve rules (often stringent) for their members. They also evolve procedures and techniques for their various activities - say awareness building, mobilising the affected group, mobilising resources, etc. However, given their turbulent environment, their activity-mix could change rather frequently and hence, for some SMKs, the procedures and techniques might not be elaborately laid down. Finally, rules and procedures are backed up by controls for most collectives, including SMKs.
- (iii) Formality of communication: "The language employed in organizations is quite a bit different from language employed at home or in purely social settings use of a standardised, work-related, technical vocabulary avoids ambiguity and misunderstanding and thus becomes a necessity for speedy communication". SMKs also have this trait. In fact some of them evolve a whole jargon and other formal means of communication that could compete with the industrial organizations.
- (iv) Specialisation of function and division of labour: SMKs have considerable division of labour despite their small size, mainly because of the turbulent environment, and complicated mix of activities. This in turn leads to specialization, though for SMKs, the rapid changes in their activities may not permit the kind of specialization that might be possible in a stable, ongoing organization.
- (v) Employment of skilled personnel: SMKs conform to this characteristic of organizations, if we understand the characteristic in a broader sense. Firstly, "employment" would not be the correct word, if it's SMKs; "recruitment" - which finds wide acceptance in organizational literature

would be a better alternative. Because, employment in many ways highlights the "material incentives", which has very low place in SMKs. "Purposive incentives" dominate in SMKs, followed by "solidary incentives". Thus SMK personnel are called "members" and not "employees". But this is not a trait unique to SMK's, Clark and Wilson (1961) discuss many organizations where "purposive incentives" dominate and "material incentives" are underplayed. Secondly, "skilled" has to be understood, vis-a-vis the goal and activity-mix of the organization. For example, for SMKs some of the relevant skills could be, clear understanding of the "issue", complete identification with the goal of the SMK, personal charisma, social network value, communication abilities, and so on.

- (vi) Specificity of purposes: "Generally speaking, families and communities do not have specific purposes; they are all-purpose collectivities. Not so organizations". Not so SMKs, too. Like other organizations, all SMKs also have very specific purposes. The most important being to lead, guide, the SM in its "attempt to bring about large-scale change in the social order by non-institutionalised means".

In the next section we would partly attempt to distinguish SMK from the concept of SMO as used in the literature reviewed in section II (ofcourse, this section itself ought have brought out many differences), besides attempting some theorising on SMKs. Before concluding this section we take heart from the fact that though the concept of SMK has rarely been invoked in the literature on SM, and even when similar notion such as coterie, core group are put forth (Wilson, 1973) these have not been seen and studied as organizations, Etzioni, in the second edition of his classic, "A comparative analysis of organizations" (1975), categorically states "social movements are not organizations. They are not oriented to specific

goals; their dominant subsystems are expressive and not instrumental; and there is no systematic division of labour, power and communication. Nevertheless, most movements have an organizational core which does have all these characteristics of typical organizational structure".

It would be useful to quote further from the brief elaboration that Etzioni does: "The organizational core is the skeleton of the movement's body. It consists of employed personnel (such as party functionaries), who make the organization their career or primary occupation; volunteers; and members who are not only highly involved but who also feel they have high performance obligations to the movement and are willing to be highly subordinated to the leadership in the performance of various tasks". And further, "to the degree that core organizations of social movements consist of one of the better known type of organizations, such as political parties or labour unions, their compliance structure is highly normative. Little is known about the nature of compliance of other core organizations, especially with respect to remunerative and normative powers".

It is a pity that Etzioni had to conclude his brief allusion to what he calls "core organization of social movement" here - "Even a tentative placement of these organizations according to the relative importance of normative controls must be delayed until more information is available".

V

Following from Etzioni, and of course our own theorising, we put forth our first proposition:

Proposition 1. All social movements (SM) have at their core an organization, which we will call the social movement Kernel (SMK). The SMK guides and leads the SM, and carries it forward.

In the earlier section we sought to establish that SMKs are organizations. Having done that, a whole gamut of theorising is open to us. Because neither SMKs have ever been studied as organization, nor SMs have been studied from the organization theory perspective of the SMK (also refer to Etzioni's lamentations, quoted above).

However, in this paper we would not attempt a detailed, comprehensive theorising. In what follows we would do some preliminary theorising, confining ourselves mainly to the latter task, i.e. studying SMs from the organization theory perspective of the SMK. But before that we would like to distinguish between the concept of SMK and the concept of SMO (social movement organization) as used by Zald et al, Zurcher et al, Perrow & Jenson and others (please refer to section (II)).

Firstly, in many of the works, concept of SMO has been used without elaborating on the unit under discussion, and its relationship with the overall phenomenon of SM. This not only makes our present exercise difficult - for how does one provide the distinction between two concepts, if one of the concept is not adequately defined? - but it also poses problems for future researchers who might like to build further on their theorising, for theories based on inadequately defined concepts, are themselves suspect.

However, some of the works do define SMO, or one can infer a definition if one reads them carefully (a) Curtis and Zurcher (1974) are perhaps the clearest when they, after criticising the earlier studies of SMs (see section II, p.4), contend "yet whatever else a social movement may be, it is a complex organization". Thereafter they do some theorising on SMOs, essentially equating SMOs to SMs. (b) Ash and Zald take similar position (1966), without actually spelling it out. (c) In a later paper, McCarthy and Zald (1977) do attempt some defining. They first define SM as a "set of opinions and

beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society". And then define SMO as a "complex or formal organization which identifies its goals with the preferences of a SM and attempts to implement these goals".

Below we list down our critique of the above formulations and in the process also complete distinguishing SMK from SMO:

- (i) First, we reject the definition of SM put forth by McCarthy and Zald. SMs are not merely "a set of opinions and beliefs in a population", though the latter may be and normally is an aspect of SM. SM is much more than that. It is a phenomenon, and is best defined by Wilson's definition (see p. 9), which we stand by. It may be useful to repeat the definition here: "A social movement (SM) is a conscious, collective, organized attempt to bring about large - scale change in the social order by non-institutionalised means".
- (ii) Nor is SM a mere organization, complex or otherwise. This should be apparent from the above definition as also from sections (III) and (IV).
- (iii) Finally, SMK is the core of a SM, an organization, that guides and leads a SM (see proposition 1 above). McCarthy and Zald's definition of SMO comes close to this, but because of their erroneous definition of SM, much of what truly belongs to the larger SM and not to its mere organizational core (SMK, as we would like to call it), is included in the SMO in their subsequent theorising.

Before winding up this critique, we would like to point out that both Etzioni (1975) and Wilson (1973) - though the latter refuses to deem the core of SMKs as organizations - agree with the broad positions taken by us.

The above is not to suggest that the contemporary literature on SM (see section II) is useless. Far from it, we would do well to quickly list here the main merits:

- (i) They for the first time brought organizational focus into SMs, thus pointing out an important shortcoming of the earlier theories of SMKs.
- (ii) The concept of "resource mobilisation", evoked among others by McCarthy and Zald (1977), and also Jenson and Perrow (1977) to a limited extent, could be very useful in theorising on both, SMKs and SMs.
- (iii) Zurcher et al's (1980 and 1983) use of "social network" theory to explain differential recruitment would also be very useful in theorising on SMKs and SMs.
- (iv) Finally, even the concept of social movement organization (SMO) may be useful, when put in a proper theoretical framework of SM (see propositions 9 & 10).

To continue with our attempt at some preliminary theorising, we propose to complete the work we had left unfinished in our discussion under schematic representation 4 (section IV, p. 19). Where does SMK fit, in our schematic representation of SMs?

Proposition 2: The SMK could emerge any time after phase 1, "structural strain", but certainly before phase 5, "collective formation" (please refer to schematic representation 1).

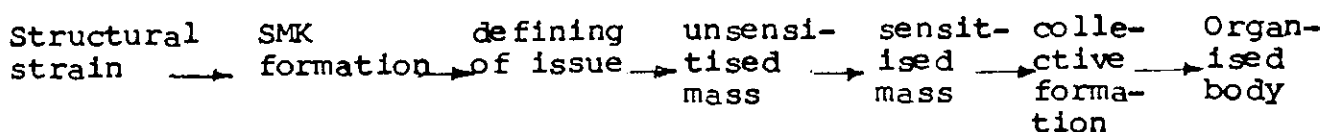
The explanation would be as follows:

(a) structural strain in the social order is a pre-condition for the birth of a SM, and hence, also for the birth of the SMK. Else, there is not even an "issue" and hence no goal for the SM and the SMK in the form of a "change in the social order" that they may seek. Of course the fact remains, as pointed out by many sociologists (eg. Parsons, 1979, Marx, 1954), that every social order has considerable structural strain at any point of time. Absence of such a strain would imply staticity for the society, a notion we know to be untrue, historically.

(b) The crucial part of the proposition is the last clause. It is our contention that a SM cannot make the transition from phase 4, "sensitised mass", to the next phase of "collective formation", without the emergence of a SMK that would lead and guide the transition. Further, since if this crucial transition is not made, we can not deem the phenomenon as a SM (see discussion on this in p. and p. in section III), this also explains the raison detre for our first proposition - that "all SMs have at their core(a) SMK"

(c) Finally, the second proposition contends that a SMK could emerge anywhere between the first and the fifth phase; and that the transitions till then of the SM could take place without the SMK. Though in most SMs, the SMK emerges much earlier.

We would like to pursue this (c above) further, presently. For many SMs it is the SMK that emerges first; it is this SMK that then defines the "issue" and thus the goal of the SM; and then it goes about taking the "affected group" from "unsensitised" to "sensitised" phase, and then further, to "collective formation" and so on. The schematic representation would be:



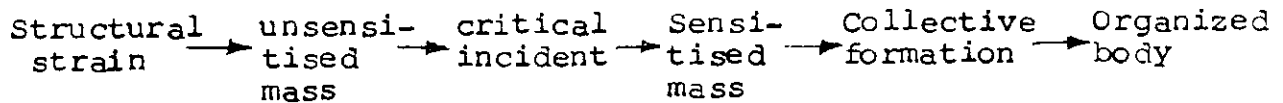
But if the "affected group" is unsensitised, where do the members of the SMK come from? We propose:

Proposition 3: If in a social movement (SM), the social movement Kernel (SMK) is formed before the "affected group" is sensitised, then at least some of the members of the SMK are likely to have come from the "favourable group" outside the "affected group" and probably outside the "immediate domain". (see Fig 1, p. 11). Else, they are likely to be persons from the "affected group" who have obtained resources (in the form of awareness, money, other material means, techniques, etc.) from outside.

But this leaves us with the question, if a SMK can emerge as late as till phase 5 as proposed in proposition 2, then how would the SM move through the earlier phases especially from "unsensitised mass" to "sensitised"? This is particularly relevant because the origin of organizational focus in the study of SMs, came from the critique of the deterministic nature of the earlier theories of SMs (see section I & II for review of the classical theories and their critique, respectively) We ourselves have addressed this question at some length while discussing the schematic representation (1) (p. 11), where we concluded that there is no monocausal relationship between one phase and the next and that occurrence of a particular phase is not sufficient condition for the next phase to follow. Finally, to our poser, "then how des a SM progress from one phase to another?" we had proposed that "one and perhaps the most important reason is the presence of a SMK". Which brings us back to the question we asked ourselves in the opening line of this paragraph, viz., in the absence of a SMK, how would a SM progress from the "unsensitised" to "sensitised" phase? To answer this, we evoke the concept of "critical incident"

Proposition 4. If the Social Movement Kernel (SMK) does not emerge in the second phase of a social movement (SM) (see schematic representation in p.26) then it is likely that there would be a "critical incident" between the phases "unsensitised mass" and "sensitised mass", for the SM to take place.

The schematic representation, in such an event is likely to be:



- schematic representation 4(b)

The "critical incident" could be anything that brings the "structural strain" openly and glaringly to the "affected group", possibly also with some focus on the "vested interest group" in the relevant "domain". It is such a "critical incident" that could bring about the transition from "unsensitised mass" to "sensitised mass" and even to some ad-hoc "collective formation" or in schematic representation 2(p.13), from the phase "relative deprivation" to "discontent generation," and even to some mobilization". However, for any sustained "mobilisation" or for any stable "collective formation", it is important that a SMK is formed. Further, the members of such a SMK are more likely to be from the "affected group".

We propose:

Proposition 5. If the "affected group" in a social movement (SM) are sensitised by a "critical incident", then

(a) there could be some mobilisation as a consequence of the "critical incident" itself;

(b) but, for any stable "collective formation" and for the transition to the next phase of an "organized body", it is important that a social movement Kernel (SMK) emerges;

(c) such a SMK is more likely to be constituted with members from the "affected group".

One of the most important strategies for most SMKs is resource mobilisation (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). McCarthy and Zald defined resource to include: legitimacy, money, facilities and labour. Considering "legitimacy" as a resource is an interesting notion; however, the authors do not explain what exactly they mean by the term. For instance, legitimacy in the eyes of the "affected group" - an important requirement for any SMK, for it to succeed is very different from legitimacy in the eyes of the existing social order or the "vested interest group", a feat that many SMKs might never achieve, and some might even not like to achieve. We propose:

Proposition 6: A social movement Kernel (SMK) must legitimise itself in the eyes of the "affected group" for it to achieve its goal of bringing about the desired change in the social order. If a SMK does not have legitimacy in the eyes of the "affected group", then one of its foremost strategy, as also short-term objective would be to obtain the legitimacy.

Proposition 7: (a) If a SMK has emerged after and as a consequence of a "critical incident", and hence, after the sensitisation of the "affected group" (see schematic representation 4(b), p.28), it is more likely that the SMK would automatically enjoy legitimacy in the eyes of the "affected group".

(b) If a SMK has emerged before a "critical incident", and the sensitisation of the "affected group" (see schematic representation 4(a), p.26), it is less likely that the SMK would automatically enjoy legitimacy in the eyes of "affected group", especially if the SMK has members from outside the "affected group", or even if it has obtained resources from outside (see proposition 3).

But what about the other resources, like money, material, and ofcourse human? From the elucidation of Zald and McCarthy (1977), we can say that availability of material resources is an important aspect of a SM. Hence mobilization of material resource is likely to be an important strategy and also short term objective, of a SMK. This is especially significant because:

(a) SMKs are not revenue earning organizations. (b) Hence all the standard channels of resource (mainly monetary) of commercial organizations, like organization's own resource from the revenue earned, financial institutions, investors, etc., are closed to the SMKs (c) Unlike some of the social service organizations which are also non-commercial, but which get financial support from the state, SMKs, since they oppose the existing social order, are not likely to have that possibility either. (d) Resource mobilisation from the "affected group" and hence, also the likely beneficiaries, if the SM succeed, is also difficult. For most SMs especially in developing countries, the "affected group" normally is very impoverished.

Besides the abundant empirical evidence, this is understandable conceptually too. Very broadly speaking, there is a dialectical relationship between the resources of a section/group in a society, and its stake/hold in the social order. The more the resource of a section/group in a society, more is its stake/hold likely to be in the social order. And again, the more a group/section's stake/hold in the social order, more are its resources likely to be (or, get). This group, for

most SMs, would be the "vested interest group". By the same logic, the "affected group" is likely to have little resource to itself. Which implies they will have little surplus, if any. Hence the difficulty. (e) Resource mobilization could also be difficult because of the "legitimacy problem discussed above. (f) Then there is Olson's (1965) logic of collective action. Though one has problems with some of the formulations as also derivations and conclusions, the issue he raises is particularly significant for SMs. Since SMs deliver "collective goods, few individuals will on their own bear the costs of obtaining them." (g) There is also the "social control" of the social order which would oppose the SMK, especially its activities like resource mobilisation. Yet all organizations, even non-commercial, need material resources, for their sustenance, and for furthering their activities. Therefore, we propose:

Proposition 8: Mobilising material resource is likely to be an important objective of the SMKs. The mobilization strategy would depend on a number of factors, some of which could be: the nature of the social order in the domain, its means of social control, the resources of the vested interest group, the phase of the SM, the nature of the issue, the resources of the affected group, the legitimacy of the SMK in the eyes of the affected group, the resources of the supportive group(s) in the larger domain, and so on.

Before moving on, in our this preliminary attempt at theorising (on SMKs), we note, that as in much else of what we have discussed, this issue too, offers immense scope for useful theorising.

Human resource is perhaps the most important resource for all organizations. This is especially true for SMKs. But there are several aspects to human resources in the context of SMKs. There is the formation of the SMK - the background of the members.

the mode of their coming together, further recruitment into the SMK, the incentive structure within the SMK and so on. Some of these issues have been touched upon in our discussion. Though there is room for much more theorising, we would not take these up in this paper.

As for mobilisation of human resource by SMKs, both, obtaining legitimacy from the "affected group" and also mobilising material resource (from the "affected group") involve successive levels of human mobilization in the "affected group". However, many SMKs do not stop at that. They would seek further involvement of the "affected group". Firstly, that in turn would help in mobilising material and other resources, from the people. Secondly, the SMK and its members being at the hub of the SM, are also the prime focus of the "social order" and its "vested interest group" often the "affected group" would be the only saviour for the SMK members against the social control and counter-movement measures. Thirdly, there is a strength in mere number itself. And if its an organized mass, it is all the more powerful. Since, to bring about a change in a "social order", it needs considerable force; and since most SMKs are quite poor in other resources, many SMKs adopt organizing the mass as an important strategy. We propose:

Proposition 9: Organising the affected group to a large and complex organization is an important strategy for many SMKs: to put pressure on the social order for the desired change, and also to coordinate the struggle. The SMK would normally be at the apex of such an organization, which we would call, the social movement organization (SMO).

This larger organization encompassing much of the SM, comes close to Zald & McCarthy (1977) and Curtis & Zurcher's (1974) definition of SMO and hence we adopt the name used by them.

However, to (briefly) continue with our earlier discussion (see p. 17), the essential difference in our conceptualisations are the following:

- (i) We distinguish SMK from SMO
- (ii) We see SM as a very dynamic phenomenon with several distinct phases
- (iii) We contend that all SMs are likely to have a SMK guiding and leading the movement, and we also propose, when, in the course of the SM is the SMK likely to emerge.
- (iv) We propose that at a certain later phase in the SM some SMKs could grow into a large and complex organization that would encompass much of the SM. It is this organization that we call the SMO.

(Point (i) has been elaborated at length, earlier. Points (ii), (iii) and (iv) are particularly significant because none of the authors base their conceptualisation of SMO on a theoretical understanding of a SM. Thus they tend to assume, that SMO exists from the birth of a SM, and they often, even equate the two.)

- (v) We see SMK and SMO as distinct from SM, and both always, a part of the latter.

We have not sought to rigorously establish that the SMOs are organizations. Instead, we merely contend that from the mobilising efforts of the SMK (or otherwise) in a SM, larger collectives could form at a certain phase. Some of these collectives may be organized enough to be deemed as an organization (albeit, often, complex).

We conclude this section with some preliminary theorising on the emergence of the SMO, relating to variables already discussed.

Proposition 10: (a) the more radical change (in the social order sought by a social movement (SM), more likely is the need for strong mobilisation of the masses, and more is the possibility of the social movement Kernel (SMK) to emerge into a larger and more complex, social movement organization (SMO)

(b) Longer the life of a SM, more is the likelihood of the SMK transforming to a SMO.

(c) Larger the "domain" of the SM, more likely is the transformation.

(d) Higher and more widespread the sensitization and discontent of the masses, more likely is the transformation.

VI

In this concluding section we would quickly (and quite immodestly) point out the significance and relevance of this paper:

- (i) Firstly the paper offers fresh insight into the study of social movements by bringing in the organizational perspective.
- (ii) In the process, it also integrates, builds on, and adds to the existing literature on SMs.
- (iii) In particular, the paper critically evaluates the growing and very contemporary interest in studying SMs using organization theory. Basing on the critique it attempts to provide a clear framework for studying social movements from organization theory perspective.

- (iv) A whole gamut of useful organizational theorising is possible, based on the above framework. A preliminary attempt towards this is made in the paper, in the last section.

It might be fruitful to elaborate a little on the utility of such theorising:

- (a) It could enrich the organization theory literature by (i) relating **to** other collectives, the society at large, and to change in the social order; (ii) organization theory is also enriched by bringing in a whole new type of organizations under its fold that have not been studied before.
- (b) Social movements have come to be accepted as very important social phenomena. To cite Wilson (1973) "It is the particular significance of social movements that they are one of the media through which new ideas and practices enter the social fabric. They are one of the "antistructures" generated by the process of institutionalization. The appearance of social movements is thus a sign that the old social order is being challenged, having lost its sacredness as it becomes irrelevant to peoples' needs. The rise of social movements is also an indication that new social worlds have been conceived, new hopes are being expressed, and faith has been renewed in the idea that humanity through its own efforts can make this world a better one. Social movements demand attention, therefore, because they provide valuable clues, articulated in cries of anguish and declarations of hope, about the direction which future change will take." Careful application of the growing body of organization theories could provide very useful insights into SMs.

Both (a) and (b) above have particular significance for developing countries like ours where some of the environmental requirements of SMs are present almost perpetually and in large measure.

Much of the theorising could find good application in studying other processes of social change and the organizations/collectives involved in the same. For example: (i) State initiated change in the form of policies and programmes. Indeed, the Planning Commission has time and again gone on record, saying, that most of the development programmes for the poorest are fated to come to nought, until the poorest themselves are organised. Interestingly, taking cue from above, and also from an ILO resolution (No.141, 1975) to similar effect, the progressive state of Gujarat has launched a programme to "organize the rural poorest", in 1982. (ii) Voluntary organizations, action groups, etc. that are involved in the process of initiating and bringing about social change. (iii) Political parties. (iv) Lesser phenomena like protests, agitations, etc. that may not evolve into a SM.

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