

Unit 30 Types of Social Movements

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Learning Objectives

After going through this unit on types of social movements you will be able to:

- describe the nature of social conflict;
- explain the types of social conflicts;
- discuss the polymorphy of social movements and the problem of classification;
- develop a typology of social movements, and finally;
- distinguish between the Old and New types of social movements.

30.1 Introduction

It is desirable, that before we initiate the discussion on the 'types of social movements' or try to develop a typology of movements, some preliminary explanation about its conceptual background need to be presented. Social movements are a form of collective action. Collective action refers to the mobilisation of a group of people putting their efforts including struggles and strives to achieve certain collectively shared goals or values held as important for society. It may be realised that collective actions can be consensual and co-operative without any element of conflict. One can visualise the co-operative efforts of a group of people to make a ceremonial or festive occasion a grand success. These are examples of consensual and non-conflictual collective actions. In the study of social movements, it is important to note that we deal only with conflictual collective actions. Neil Smelser refers to them as, "uninstitutionalised mobilisation for action" (1962:71). The conflictual un-institutionalised collective actions can be of various types. They may range from an episodic, short-lived, leaderless and unorganised collective outburst of, some times of violent nature, of an unexpected gathering of a wayside crowd to a systematically organised with some degree of understandable structure with leadership and communication struggling for or against certain social and cultural practices or to achieve certain set of goals and objectives held important for the community or society.

We need to remember that while all social movements carry some elements of conflicts in them, not all forms of conflictual collective actions can be treated as social movement. In social sciences, different forms of conflictual collective actions carry specific conceptual meaning. Collective action, such as *riot*, *rebellion*, *revolt* and *revolution* carry conflict contents, including the element of violence in them. Readers are advised to gain conceptual clarity about these different types of collective action from the relevant literature on the subject (such as Rajendra Singh; 2001 : 32-37). Conflicts, as readers can understand, stands out as the central element lying at the core of non-

institutionalised, nonconsensual and conflictual collective action. And these forms of collective action also include the conception of social movements. A brief analytical discussion on the nature and forms of social conflict, therefore, becomes essential.

30.2 Nature of Social Conflict

Social conflict is essentially an inter-actional concept. It presupposes the existence of two or more individuals or groups: castes, communities and classes in a situation of opposing claims and contestation about some issues, goals and objectives. As an adversarial concept, conflict always involves the elements of struggle, strife and active effort of one group to exclude or cancel the claim of another group over some values, object or goal. Conflicts vary from a mild disapproval to a brutal physical assault and killing. At this stage, a few points need to be emphasised. First, the mere existence of conflicts do not presuppose the existence of collective action. And all forms of collective actions do not involve conflicts. Secondly, norm oriented institutionalised collective actions such as efforts of a collectivity to make a festive occasion a success or instances of the collective celebration of ceremony or performance of a ritual are devoid of conflict contents.

As one can easily make out, in the study of non-institutionalised conflictual collective action, one has to exclude personalised types of conflicts such as one often witnesses in his everyday life between parent and child and husband and wife or differences and conflicts between the neighbours. Personalised conflicts do not belong to our field of study. But an outburst of spontaneous or organised protests and violence of one group against the other or against some institution and social practice do. A slogan shouting collectivity of people, marching in protest against the exploitation or against the use of unjust power by a caste, class, gender or institutional authority characterise the nature of collective conflict. Some examples such as the cases of peasant uprisings against the erstwhile class of zamindars in the countryside for ownership and control over land or the sit-in "*dharna*", protests and strike in the industry by the worker for the demand of increase in wage, bonus and better work conditions, including the demand for the share in the decision making process against the capitalists, can be easily cited. Further, like the above two examples, the case of farmer's strikes against the state for the demand of cheaper cost of electricity and chemical manure or for the sale of their agricultural produces such as grain and vegetables can also be presented as the examples of collective conflict in society.

Conflicts also manifest when one group of people in order to gain and retain an exclusive possession of values and objects try to cancel out the chances or opportunities of another group in achieving the same values and objectives. The acts of one group to expel and exclude another group from the social values against their wishes always tend to involve conflict. Lewis Coser rightly defines conflict as a "struggle in which the aim is to gain objectives and simultaneously neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals" (1956:8). Conflict is always an adversarial concept involving tussle and tension between at least two groups of people in opposition of each other.

Social conflicts are not homogeneous phenomenon. They tend to fall in different categories and types and assume different forms. Since conflicts lie at the core of conflictual collective actions and their typologies, as we shall see below, they sometimes tend to correspond to the typologies of social movements, it is appropriate that a brief discussion on the typology of social conflicts be presented before we discuss the typology of social movements.

30.3 Types of Social Conflicts

Social movements are expressions of conflicts. Conflict presupposes a clear

definition of the opponent, "*the enemy*" or the adversary. All conflicts, according to Alain Touraine (1985 : 750-80), have (a) organised actors, (b) valued or desired stakes and (c) tussles and competition among the actors to achieve those stakes. Against the background of the structure of the concept of conflict, let us study different types of conflicts. Touraine formulates eight types of social conflicts.

- 1) Competitive pursuit of collective interest: This type of conflict is characterised as the expression of the relationship between the actor's input and output in an organisation, or of their relative deprivation. If the employee of a company invests high or low input and receives high or low reward, there can be four possible combinations: (a) high input low reward, (b) high input high reward, (c) low input low reward, and (d) low input and high reward. The first situation has greatest chance for producing conflict. Industrial unrest, labour strikes and workers movements can be result of the first situation.
- 2) Reconstruction of social and cultural or political identity: In this type of conflict situation the adversary is projected and defined as "they", the other' and as 'foreigner' or as 'invader' rather as class opponent or class enemy. Social world gets divided between the 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. The conflict is generally around the conception of the ' *defense of the community*' Many contemporary movements in India, such those of *Shiv Sena* in Maharashtra, and in the recent past, *Jharkhand* in Bihar, *Gorkhaland* in Bengal and *Uttarakhand* in Uttar Pradesh are and have been the expression of this type of conflict . In its uglier expressions, this type of conflict can have a tendency to take the forms of regionalist, linguistic, racist, caste and communal movements. Actors in this type of movement tend to raise slogans relating to the 'purity', and 'moral health' of society being put in danger by the 'others, the 'outsider'. It can produce an intense solidarity among the 'inside' members of the 'brotherhood' and generate a fierce hatred against the 'other' who are generally projected as the 'corruptors' and 'polluters' of the society. Here the left wing concept of 'class enemy' gets replaced by right wing concept of 'cultural enemy '.In both situations the spirit of science is the causality.
- 3) A political force. This type of conflict generally aim at changing the '*rule of the game,*' and not just the advantage in the given system. Industrial disputes, trade union and worker's movements generally assume the form of political conflict. Shorter and Tilly in their study of strikes in France (1971) argue that strikes, instead of being the expression of deprivation were reflections of their sharp progress and decline of political influence of the workers union. Sudden change in the structure of power or in its normative bases have a strong tendency to generate this type of conflict.
- 4) The defense of the status and privilege. This type of conflict is illustrated by the attempt of an interest group converting their essentially private selfish interest into public issue. Thus, in its worst expression, one notes that a basically corrupt and essentially dishonest political system often raises the slogan, "nation is in danger "merely to hide their ugliness and divert people's attention from the declining political ethics and public trust in the system of governance. Its milder manifestations are found in the cases of farmer's mobilization and teachers struggles. In many cases, farmers movements and teachers struggle instead of defending their income directly, begin proclaiming that agriculture and education be given *national priority* as these are matters of '*national importance*'.
- 5) Social control of main cultural pattern. Touraine conceives of the conception of cultural pattern in terms of three constituent elements. (a) *a model of knowledge* ,(b) *a type of investment* and (c) *a body of ethical principles* and these three elements in return represent respectively the conceptions of *truth, production* and *morality*. These elements are subject

to society's capacity to produce it self. In the large complex societies there is always tussle and conflict between the ruling groups and also between the ruling groups and the masses. The ruling group attempts at identifying itself with the main cultural values of society in order to use those values as weapon of exercising domination over the masses. The masses on the other hand attempt at dislodging the dominant ruling group in order to identify themselves with the same values. This type of tussle between culture and power remains a perpetual social reality in most of the complex and large societies.

- 6) Creation of a new social order. The sharpest example of this type of conflict is found in the cases of the revolutionary overthrow of an entire political system and its method of governance by the masses in order to establish a 'new community' with a 'new political system' and a new 'social order'. Such a collective action involves almost all sections of society in a mass upsurge initiating a vast and radical changes in society and in its method of governance. One of the most important consequences of revolutionary type of collective action is that revolution abolishes all types of social conflicts, and by abolishing conflict, revolution abolishes all possibilities for the emergence of social movements. One can note, that movements are expressions more of democratic open than the totalitarian closed societies. Revolutions kill movements. Revolutionary leaders call for social 'order' as the precondition of development. But generally, the need for 'order' is cleverly manipulated in the defence of the power and privileges of the new political class and 'new leaders' (see Rajendra Singh ; 2001:121) .
- 7) National Conflicts. According to Touraine historical conflicts at their highest level are national conflict. Identity and continuity of a society undergoing the process of development and industrialisation can not be defended by the actors or by their social relations as the nation alone can proclaim identity and control over the changes. 'In all countries, 'states Touraine, 'conflict around control of change is conflict about states (1985 : 758). Here emphasis is the need to separate political system as the representative of social, cultural and economic systems from the state as the main agent of historical transformation among societies.
- 8) Conflict of neo-communitarianism. National conflicts generally show the separation between social and historical conflicts. The negative equivalent of national conflict is neo-communitarian conflict. The neo-cmmunitarian conflict attempt at rejecting the historical transformation which generally come from abroad and tend to erode the traditional values and forms of social organization. It refers to the atavistic, indigenous ideologies and demands and in process assume the forms of restorative-revivalist and sometimes, even fundamentalist inward- oriented conflicts and movement.

30.4 Polymorphy of social movements And the Problem of Classification

Social movement, like social conflicts are not homogeneous phenomenon. We have suggested above, that the elements of conflict lie at the core of social movements. The range and variations in the types of social conflicts are bound consequently, to give rise to different types of social movements in society. Social movements generally emerge as a response to some collectively shared social issues, questions and challenges in a situation of conflict .The nature of social issues and conflicts, in a complex society like India, vary by regions, castes, classes, communities and by territorial groups, like tribes, peasants and urban communities. Readers can easily understand that sea-shore fisherman of Kerala may have type of issues and conflicts entirely different from those of the mountain people of Himalaya in Uttarakhand. Consequently, different types of movements find their expressions in society. The polymorphous nature

of movements need to be made amenable for scientific analysis.

Codification and classification are essential methodological steps undertaken to make a range of complex and widely varied social phenomenon, such as social movements, amenable to scientific inquiry and analysis. Classification of movements into different 'types' are based on the principle of 'resemblance' and 'difference' (see, Durkheim : 1963). In what ways do different movements resemble and differ with each other?. In the study of social movements, the problem of typology has been acute. Suiting the theoretic or ideological preference of the scholar, the same movement, has in the writing of one scholar, been characterized as 'peasant movement' and in the other as sectarian one (for detail, see Rajendra Singh; 1984: 93-95). While it is simple to treat 'tribal uprisings' as 'tribal movements' or women's protests against gender discrimination as 'women's movement', it is far more difficult to separate reformative, restorative and revivalist move movements from other types of social movements, including tribal and women's movements. Readers require for an illustration a case from Kathleen Gough's (1974:94) system of classification and typology of social movements. Taking goal, ideology and method of organization, Gough presented a five-fold typology of peasant movements in India. The five-fold types are:

- 1) restorative rebellion,
- 2) religious movements,
- 3) social banditry,
- 4) terrorist vengeance, and finally,
- 5) mass insurrection.

I have critically examined the limitations of Gough's classification (ibid: 93-9). How could the revolt of raja Chait Singh (1778-81) and Vazier Ali (1799) against the British could be included in the category of 'peasant movements'?. Similar problem is noticed in other studies (such as Malavya ; 1956; : 183-4) including those by historians (such as Irfan Habib; 1975 : 36 and S.B Chaudhary; 1957 : 32) who treat the Mutiny of 1857 as the example of 'peasant uprising'. The revolt of the Rajas and Vaziers can not be treated as or equivalent of peasant movements. What is therefore, required is an objective method helpful in developing a workable classification and typology of different types of social movements in India. Before we discuss the theme on the 'types' of movements, it would be beneficial to acquaint the readers the way attempts have been made to formulate a working typology of movements.

Reflection and Action 30.1

Do you know of a social movement which has taken place in your society/ community in the past or present. Give a description of a page on this social movement and in which type of social movement will you place it and why? in another page.

Compare your report with those of others at your Study Center.

30.5 Developing a typology of social movements

Scholars in the field have attempted, on different grounds, at developing a typology of movements. Some illustrative attempts can be described here. As reported by Oommen in his ICSSR's Survey Report of 1969-1979 M.S.A.Rao makes a distinction between three levels of conflicts and social structural changes in society, and correspondingly, arrives at the conception of three types of social movements, namely, *reformist*, *transformative* and *revolutionary* (1985 : 84-85). 'Reform' movements, according to Rao, bring about partial changes in the value-paradigm of society. The 'transformative' usher in middle

level social structural changes. The 'revolutionary' movements, on the other hand, bring about radical changes in the totality of social and cultural systems of society. Ghanshyam Shah, on the basis of the socio-economic characteristics of the participants and the nature of social issues involved, presents eight types of social movements in India (1990:27) These types are: (1).Peasant movements, (2).Tribal movements, (3).Dalit movements, (4).Backward caste movements, (5).Women's movements, (6) Students movements, (7). Middle class movements, and finally, (8).Industrial working class movements. T.K. Oommen offers threefold classification of movements. His classificatory schema is based on the way society responds to the situations of social strains (1985:86-87). Oommen's analysis reflects some degree of methodological realism when he observes that, "None of the attempts made so far is comprehensive enough to encapsulate all varieties of movements found in India" (ibid). It need to be realised that all topologies and classifications are provisional and tentative in nature. In fact, there exists an underlying hypothesis or a theory in light of which grounds of classifications is decided. **Typologies and classifications are tools to help meeting the theoretical requirements of a particular study at hand and to illuminate the nature of empirical realities.**

Rajendra Singh, (1984:93) in his endeavor to develop a relatively more dependable model of classification of social movements into different types has developed a set of three inter-related indicators or questions. These are as presented below:

- a) What were or are the foci of the movements?. The answer of this question would require identifying the axial or central issue at the stake of the movement. It would generally refers to the aims, objective or issues involved in the movement such as those relating to forest and tribes, land and its produce, communal, gender, religious, ecology and environment , industrial workers etc; around which a protesting or angry collectivity of men and women comes into being.
- b) Who are the people who are participating in the movement ?.This question relates to the structure of membership of the people and to their participation in the movement .The identity of the participants belonging to a specific section of society: class, caste, gender or religion or even a region who rise to share the foci or the objectives (a above) of the mobilised collectivity and decide to 'swim or sink together', helps in narrowing down the process of classification to locating a more dependable specific 'type' of movement. And finally,
- c) What is the nature of the adversary group or institution or social practice against whom (which) the movement is launched .The identification of the target group or the 'enemies' of the people, caste, community, gender etc; of the movement

The three indicators, 'Who' 'What' for and against 'Whom', constitute a triangular paradigm of classification of movements into different 'types' such as *peasant ,tribal, dalit, women's , ecology , workers , sub-nationalist* etc;. However, the above classificatory model has also to take into account the changing nature of the contemporary Indian society. In the contemporary setting, India's social and economic character seems to be defined by its movement from an incomplete and *immature modernity* and development to an equally incomplete and *immature post- modernity* (see, Rajendra Singh; 2001:16-8, 43-70). The mutually odd combination of these two types of movements tend to characterize the historico-specific representation of the Indian society. By the phrase 'representation' of society we mean, "...the system of people's ideologies, ideas and concepts; their myths, legends and history; their conception of past, present and future; their defeats, successes, aspirations and struggles"(ibid; 44). There has been discussions on different types of movements such as *old movements, alternative movements classical*

movements, new movements, micro-movements, , proto-movements (ibid; 20) or even as Touraine conceptualizes ' *beyond social movements* ' (Touraine ; 1992). Before we elaborate on the typologies of movements, it is appropriate that a brief discussion on the conception of social movement be presented at this juncture.

It may be realised that social movements are not 'made. It can not be artificially invented. Movements are always the natural expression of the conflictual contents of society that lie at the core of its structure. The very making of society and social structure; the process of stratification of population into unequal stratum: castes, class and occupational groups are based essentially on the principle of in equality. The distribution of social values such as material resources, power, prestige, honour etc; carry the natural condition of conflicts in them The birth of rich and poor, weak and strong, powerful and powerless, the dominant and the dominated in society are the perennial and inescapable social realities conducive to producing relative social deprivation, conflict and opposition among different groups and segments in society. It has been mentioned somewhere that "Movements are not made; much less they are launched or led by leaders. Whenever opportunities permit or human disenchantments exhaust the limit of human perseverance, movements decoil (unfold) automatically and reveal themselves in the actions of the awakened conflictual consciousness of the collectivity. (Rajendra Singh ; 2001: 20) . In the light of the above observations, one can easily identify some of the 'normal types' of social movements. These are: universalism, relativism, social optimism and the idea of self-renewal and self-actualisation. (see for detail, Rajendra Singh ; ibid : 40-41).

Reflection and Action 30.2

You all may have read about the 1857 uprising of Indians against the Colonial rulers. Try to gather more information about this uprising from history text books.

Analyse the different aspects of this uprising and state what type of a social movement it was and why?

Compare your answer with those of other students at your Study Center. You may ask your Academic Counsellor to explain this topic in the context of the 'uprising' as a social movement.

30.6 Old and New Types of movements

The plural and transforming nature of social conflicts in the contemporary India, the claims and contestations of different collectivities; the types of stake they articulate and the nature of the method and style of their mobilisation suggest of two major typological orientations in the themes on movement studies. These orientations help us in identifying the different types of social movements in India. The traditions of movement studies in India have been broadly divided into themes of:

- 1) *the classical tradition,*
- 2) *the neo-classical* tradition and finally,
- 3) into the contemporary '*new*' social movement (hereafter referred to as NSMs) study tradition (Rajendra Singh; 2002 : 89).

However, by far the most popular and currently widely used classification of themes of movements in types, are those of **Old and New** social movements. The first, refers to the conventional 'old' themes of *peasant, tribe and industrial worker* and other movements. It may be understood, that these old themes, as we shall note bellow, some times continue to persist as the main concern of a number of studies on social movement in India. The second orientation

however, reveals the emergence of new types of movements such as, for example, those on the issues of *identity, environment* and collective mobilisations of people on the questions relating to *gender and social justice* etc.; Some times these two themes tend to overlap upon each other, blurring the line of their mutual separation.

It may be pointed out that the articulation of the conception of *the classical* 'old' and NSMs are found in the writings of a large number of European and American scholars (such as Tilly et al 1975, Tilly ; 1978, 1985, Melucci ; 1980, 1981, 1985, Habermas ; 1981 and 1985, Jean Cohen ; 1982 and 1985 , Arato and Jean Cohen ; 1984, Eyerman ; 1984, Eder; 1985, Offe; 1985, Touraine; 1985, Eyerman and Jamison1991; and Frank and Fuente ; 1987, etc;). Indian and other Asian scholars (such as Omvedt ; 1988, 1989, 1993 ; Rajendra Singh ; 191995, 2000 ; Ramachandra Guha1989 and Wignaraja ; 1993) have already initiated theoretical discussions and field reporting on the questions on relating to the conceptions of 'old' and 'new' social movements.

The classical tradition mostly include the contributions of western social psychologists, such as, G. Tarde's *Law of Imitation* (1903),Gustave Lebon's *The Crowd* (1909), William McDougall's *The Group Mind* (1920) and E. D. Martin's *The Behaviour of Crowd* (cited in Smelser; 19 62 : 20) on the collective behaviour of crowd and riotous mob. These studies did help in laying down of the tradition of collective behaviour studies in social sciences. One may also include William Trotter's study of *Animal behaviour in Peace and War* (1920) which analyses the behaviour of animal in extreme situations. Trotter's study provided a powerful paradigm for similar study of stress and its impact on human behaviour to social science studies on collective behaviour. (b) *The neo-classical* tradition is generally reflected in social movement studies based on the (i) functionalist and (ii) Marxist theoretical models (see, Rajendra Singh ; 2001 : 156-158, 171-174). (i) The functionalist model treats society as an organised 'whole', consisting of interdependent parts or constituent units; the 'whole' is based on value consensus and it has an ability to resolve the problems of *deviance, conflicts, protests and oppositions* by producing appropriate *adjustive-adoptive* and *conflict-resolving* social responses (Berghe ; 1969 : 302-305). The functionalist model had, it seem, a strong organismic root. Walter B. Connan's powerful book, *The Wisdom of Body* (1932) provided a strong analogical base bestowing upon society an inherent restorative ability somewhat akin to the self-healing ability of human body. (ii) The Marxist model is based on a set of conceptions about the idea of *materialistic* conception of *social classes, dialectics as philosophy and methodology* in social sciences, *mode of production* and *class formation, class dialectics, classes and social structure, materialistic conception of history and class transformation and materialistic determinism of history, knowledge and human symbolic expressions including human consciousness etc;* and finally, (d) the contemporary or 'new' social movement tradition. In developing the typologies of traditions in the social movements themes into 'old' and 'new' types, we, on various grounds, include the classical and neo-classical studies into the broad category of 'old' and the contemporary themes, in the category of the 'new' types of social movement study tradition. Each of the above two major types of movements are further divided into sub-types. The sub-types of the 'old' movements are divided in the following traditions: (a) Peasant movements and agrarian struggles; (b) Post-history and peasant consciousness, subaltern studies , (c) Tribal movements , (d) Workers movements (see Rajendra Singh ; 2001 :227). We are going to present first, the social characteristics of 'old' social movements. It will be followed by the characterisation of the 'new' social movements, bellow.

a) Social characteristics of 'old' social movements and their sub-types

- 1) Old or classical social movements have generally been defined by their *class contents*. It has been treated as the child of three major socio-

economic characteristics the contemporary world, namely *capitalism, industrialism and materialism*. Readers may find discussions on these concept in publications (such as Rajendra Singh ; 2001:44-50). Old social movements are therefore, mostly '*class-bound*' movement. The term 'class' is required to be explained. Omvedt insists that the concept of class need to be defined in terms of social Marxist concept of *relations of production* (see for detail, Omvdt; 1982:13) Reduced to its simplest meaning, the term 'class' refers to (a).the division of population into unequal groups; (b). inequality among the groups emerge because of differential distribution of economic resources; (c) a minority group happens to get more share in the ownership and control over the economic resources than it actually requires; others; the majority groups, consequently, gets less than what they actually need; (d) this faulty system of the distribution of economic resources or property gives birth to 'the rich' and 'the poor' or the bourgeoisie and the proletariats classes in society, (e) the poor on account of 'being on the same boat' develop a sense of class unity among themselves and enter into an antagonistic relationship with the class located above them. This antagonistic relationship between the rich and the poor, in course of their dialectical relationship gives rise to what Marxist scholars refer to a 'class struggle'. Most of the studies on peasants and peasant movements (such as, Dhanagare; 1983, Oommen; 1990, Omvedt; 1982 etc;) or those on trade unionism and the working class movements (such as, Giri; 1958, Mathur; 1964, Karnik; 1978 etc) are some of the examples of old movement studies based on class model .

- 2) The class based old social movements tend to have a strong ideological grounding in the conception of 'class struggle', 'class revolution' and in the overthrow of the entire political system of governance and re-establishment of a new social order. Many 'old' social movement studies of Marxist theoretical orientation (such as, Sundaryya ; 1972, Sunil Sen;1982, Mitter; 1977, P.N. Mukherji; 1980 and 197 etc;) envision a radical recasting of society . Phrases such as ' peasant war' (wolf; 1971) or 'agrarian struggle' Desai;1986) have been in usage to orchestrate the revolutionary ethos of the Marxist construction of peasant conflict in the countryside . The role of violence in such types of collective mobilisations are not ruled out as all revolutionary struggles have witnessed the use of violence in wide scale in the name of ' cleaning the system' or 'the 'purging' of the corrupt from the society.
- 3) In the case of old social movements, it may be noted that the adversaries are easily identifiable social groups- a caste or a class. The peasant uprisings in the region of Avadh and eastern districts of the state of Uttar Pradesh (see, M.H Siddiqi; 1978, Rajendra Singh; 1984 respectively) have had a clear image and known identity of the opponent. The category of the rural dominant, then (that is, the abolition of talukdari and zamindari system in 1952, in Uttar Pradesh) who generally belonged to the classes of talukdar and in Avadh and the Zamindars in the zamindari region of East U.P. respectively were clearly identifiable group of rural population. Restive and insurgents; the tenants could name them, blame them and hold them responsible for their misery and the life of subjugation and wretchedness. It were their victimisation at the hands of the local landlords that forced the peasants ultimately to get organised and rise to voice their resentments through collective struggle. Like-wise, the opponents in Shiv Sena movement in the state of Maharashtra, or tribal's uprisings in Jharkhand region, now in the state of Chhattisgarah, have had a clear picture of the Dikhu- the "outsiders" who were held responsible for the tribals exploitation and social miseries. In addition, it can also be pointed out that the opponents or the target of the movements, in most of the cases are or were located in the same locality or region, such were the

situations in the cases of peasants uprisings against the zamindars and talukdars residing in the villages along with the peasants (ibid, Siddiqi; 1978, Rajendra Singh ; 1984).

- 4) And finally, The mass society conception of movements generally reflected in the writings of scholars such as (Lederer; 1940, Arendt; 1951, Kornhauser;1960). Their attempt at presenting a social diagnosis of the contemporary societies present a pessimistic picture of people's place in society. They emphasise on the growing process of social alienation, anomie and the fragmentation of social world one lives in. The image of the modern mass society is characterised by the increasing sense of social rootlessness, facelessness and powerlessness. The individual finds himself in a highly bureaucratised and mechanical social world, finding it difficult as how to orient his relation towards others in different social situations. There is a sense of loss of direction. The dissolution of normative bases of social anticipations expectation produce atomised mass society.

b) Social Characteristics of New Social Movements and their Sub-Types

New NSMs are the reflections of a new 'representation of society characterised by post-capitalism, post- industrialism and post-materialism. In the 1960's and 1970's European and American societies gave rise to large-scale movements around issues and questions which were non-materialistic in nature. These movements generally raised questions which were basically cultural and humanistic. Unlike the region or locality bound old types of social movements, the new movements espouse the goals, objective and values of universalistic application. Their objectives are to defend the essence of the mankind and protect the conditions on which human life depends on .The ideological discourse of the 'new' movements centre around the question of identity, human dignity, peace and social justice. There has been a radical shift from the discussions on capitalism 'class exploitation', class revolution etc;' to the questions of the expanding nature of state power and the shrinking space of the citizen and the civil society. In these new movements, at the stakes are the problems of individual freedom, personal liberty, identity and social equality. These mobilisations did not carry with them the questions of 'employment' 'wage', 'bonus' and economic security as it used to be in the industrial sector or the question of 'land' and 'share' in land produce' as one used to notice in the cases of peasant movements in the countryside. The NSMs can be divided into two sub types.

The ethos of NSMs germinated in India during the Freedom Struggle movement back in the 1920's and 1930's or even earlier .The emphasis on *Swadeshi* (indigenous), village handicraft, self-help, native small scale industries and boycott of foreign goods as weapon to defend the self-identity and to fight against the British colonialism in India , was a part of emancipatory ideology of the Indian National Congress as far back as 1906-10 (Sitaramyia; 1941, 85) The appearance of Mahatma Gandhi on the scene was an epochal event in the long history of India. Mahatma's insistence on *ahimsa* (non-violence), *stayagraha* (insistence on truth), *civil disobedience*, *non-cooperation*, *local-self government* and the call for the restoration of *village panchayats* (ibid; 84, 135,140-41, 160, 195-96, 202-3, 215-216) and on the *spinning wheel and khadi* (charkha and home spun cloth) for winning *swaraj* (independence), self-reliance and social reconstruction of the Indian society was indeed one of the most successful post- industrialist and post-modernist expression of new social movement in the human history. The *bhoodan-gramdan* (Oommen;1972) and *sarvodaya* (Radhakrishna;1987) movements are the example par-excellence of the new social movements in Indian. The contemporary NSMs mirror the image of a new society in the process of its self-making. These movements project a new self-consciousness among the individual and communities about not only their culture and society but also about their future. And in this, the NSMs can be treated as the reflection of the cultural revolt of the contemporary

individual against the exercise of increasing surveillance and control of the state over the civil society on the one hand and on the other hand growing realisation and self- confidence of the civil society that (a) it ought not to place the destiny and future of the mankind in the hands of the state alone; it must remain vigilant against the unwisdom of the state and the political system and; (b) that society has an agency and that it can alter the path of its movements and transformation. The NSMs are divided in (1) **Inclusivist type** of movements, and (2) **Exclusivist type** of movements. For the detail references, discussion and analysis of themes of these types of movements, discussed bellow, the readers are advised to check the relevant literature contained in books (such as Rajendra Singh ; 2001 :88-104, 227-298)

1) **The Inclusivist New movements:** The inclusivist movements actively articulate generally universalised, non-violent and mostly pacifist, pan-humanist homophilic values. In India, the NSM of inclusivist type found its early expressions in the bhoodan-gramdan and sarvodaya movements. In the contemporary setting, the manifestations of inclusivist movements are seen in the forms of mobilisations in the defence of ecology and environment. These movements also find their manifestations in the collective struggles for identity, equality, personal dignity and social justice.

~~Readers may note, that most of the collective protest and mobilisations of women and the Dalits in India belong to this type of inclusivist movements. Farmer's movements fighting the state for fair price of their agricultural produce, cheaper rate of the cost of chemical manure and more reasonable cost of electrical power deal also belong to this type of movement. What is important to note is that these movements are non-~~

political and they do not question the legitimacy of the state. With some degree of variations, most of the NSMs aim at connecting the centres of power with the grassroots localities. As we have suggested earlier NSMS are mostly non-violent in their expressions. However, there can be exceptions. Dalit struggles and mobilisations, mainly an identity-oriented collective protest, some time, may give expressions to caste violence. Movements relating to peace, disarmament, human rights and personal liberty are inclusivist type of NSMs.

Most of the NSMs struggle for social reconstruction of society, ensure equality and social justice for all. They also aim at resolving the social structural anomalies of society- such as discrimination of the human on the basis of caste, community, region and race. These movements are non-radical, non-separatist and non-autonomist. Inclusivist types of movements high light the internal and external structural tensions of the contemporary society, now loudly defined *by market, technology, communication and democratic* upsurge at a global level. The NSMs symbolize cultural pluralism, polymorphy of new types of social conflicts and increasing emphasis on the democratization of all aspects of society.

2) **TheExclusivist movements:** The exclusivist movements generally develop the conception of the 'other' and hold them responsible for their miseries. These movements, instead of integrating the members of the community in socially cohesive 'whole' split the population in 'we' and 'they'. The conception of the 'outsiders' is one of the dominant characterizing element of exclusivist type of movements. In India, the exclusivist type of NSMs find their manifestation in the narrowly defined mobilisation *of subnationalism, community divides and ethnic* demands. The'son of the soil' paradigm of *subnationalist* and *semi-autonomist* movements belong to exclusivist type of movements. The exclusivist movements, in many cases, articulate demands for socio-spatial enclave with some degree of socio-economic and political autonomy. Most of the exclusivist movements generally give a call to the community to rise in defense of their social,

economic and cultural identity. The mobilising slogan is that the 'purity' and the symbol of their cultural essence and heritage are in danger; requires sacrifice in terms of money, efforts and struggles. The nearest example of the exclusivist movements are the subnationalist mobilisation in the state of Assam with a slogan that, '*Assam is for the Assamese*'. In the recent past, the call for *Gorkhaland* and *Uttarakhand* in north India illustrate the character of exclusivist movements. Further, the regionalist movements of the mainly tribal population of the state of Bihar, in the near past, for Jharkhand state essentially because it has dominantly tribal character, mentioned above in the section on 'old' social movements show the elements of exclusivist NSM. The radical and ultra-radical exclusivist movement some times tend to assume fundamentalist character. The violent struggle for the 'homeland' in Shri Lanka and the fundamentalist struggles with religious orientation being witnessed in some parts of West Asia are wholly in contrast to the homophilic, pan-humanist with universalised goals and values of the inclusivist movements. However, it must be noted that whether NSMs are inclusivist or exclusivist, they are non-class, non- materialistic and mostly non-political movements.

In the light of the above discussion, we are going to identify some of the ideal-typical characteristics of the NSM bellow.

c) **The ideal-typical character of the NSMs**

- 1) Most of the NSMs base their ideological conceptions by imputing a duality between the state and the civil society. The assumption is that the social space of the civil society getting increasingly shrunk the "social" of the civil society is being systematically eroded by the penetration of the expanding tentacles of power and control in almost every aspect of life. What more is disturbing the reality is that the expansion of the state coincide with and overlap upon the process of the expansion of market. The institutions of state and the market grip the civil society so tenaciously that society is rendered helpless in their combined pressure of surveillance and control. NSMs therefore, emerge in the 'self-defense' of the community. The state, in the name of the 'public' interests attempt making encroachment at almost every aspects of the 'private' lives of the individual (see Rajendra Singh ; 2001 : 99). Its perhaps on account of the all-round attack of the state and the market on the civil society the diverse forms and types of NSMs : urban, ecological, anti-authoritarian, anti-institutionalists, feminist, anti-racist, ethnic and regionalist have sprung up in the contemporary society. The site of the struggle have shifted from the traditional workplace of industries and factories, and field and farms. The basic agenda of the NSM is to establish a post-bourgeois, post-industrial, post-materialist democratic civil society. Such an agenda is, indeed, a new phenomenon in the contemporary the post-modern world.
- 2) The NSM radically alter the Marxist paradigm of explaining all forms of social conflict and contradictions in terms of class and class conflicts, a point we have suggested earlier. The Marxist system of the explanation of movements and change in society could not account for the issues emerging from the questions relating to ecology and environment, gender, race, ethnicity etc; Marxism treated all forms of struggles as class struggle and all forms of social conflicts as class conflicts. It went far beyond to assert that human cognition and the consciousness is fashioned by the material forces and conditions of society. Further, it went to treated all forms of social groupings and organisation as class grouping and class organisation. It may be realised that many types of contemporary struggles, such as those of anti-racism, disarmament. Feminist and environmentalist movements are not class struggle, nor do they reflect movements of classes. The groupings in the above movements are not class grouping -

they often go beyond class confines. Marxism as a method and a general theory of explanation in social sciences is in shambles; at the face of the new social reality, it has totally collapsed both as philosophy as well as methodology of science. Marxism saw all forms of conflict located in the class structure of society. In the contemporary setting of societies conflicts spill over space wider than the space of classes and often crossing over the boundaries of a nation and society. Contemporary movements are trans-cultural, trans-national and trans-political systems of societies. NSMs raise questions and issues of universal nature, relating to future of the humankind. Their goals and values are global and overarching the width of mankind. Their agenda include issues relating to disarmament, peace, nuclear pollution and nuclear war; issues regarding the defence of the planet (the earth), ecology, environment and human right .The ideological paradigm of the NSMs go beyond the confines of materialistic determinism and successfully overcome the inabilities of Marxism.

- 3) With the collapse of Marxism, it became evident that the class background does neither determine the identity of the actor nor define the nature of its stakes. Therefore the NSMs generally abandon the industrial worker model of union organisation as well as the political model of political parties. With the exception of the German Green and the Green Party, most of the NSMs evolve grass-root politics , initiate grass-root actions , micro-movements participated by small groups and struggle for localised issues and questions with small institutional base. The new movements generally, produce horizontally organised democratic associations, " that are loosely federated at the national level (Jean Cohen; 1985 : 667) According to Cohen the NSMs target the social domain of the civil society rather than launching an attack on the economy and the state (ibid).The chief social characteristics of the NSMs are seen in its self-limiting nature. According to Cohen, (ibid ;1985 : 679) they are self-limiting in four senses as presented below.
 - a) Generally, the actor in NSM's do not struggle for the return of the utopian undifferentiated communities of the past,
 - b) The actors struggle for the autonomy, plurality and difference, without rejecting the egalitarian principles of democracy, parliament, political participation and public representation of its juridical structures,
 - c) The actors make a conscious efforts to learn from their past experiences, to relativise their values through reasoning, except in the cases of the fundamentalist expressions of the NSMs, and finally,
 - d) The actors in the NSM's accept the legitimacy of the state and the formal existence of the market.

30.7 Conclusion

We have tried to identify social movements as a specific form of conflictual collective action. The structure of conflict and their typology suggesting their linkage, in some cases, with the different forms of movements have been discussed and highlighted in some detail. There has been an attempt to convey to the readers that the nature and types of social movements are related to the nature of the 'representation' of society. The 'representation' of society defined mainly by capitalism, industrialism, materialism and modernism generally gave rise to 'classical', 'neo-classical' or **old** social movements. The transformation of society from capitalism, industrialism, materialism and modernism to post-capitalism, post-industrialism, post-materialism and post-modernism gave rise to an altogether new forms of collective action, we refer to them as NSMs. Social movements, at this juncture get divided in two different types, namely, the **old** and the **new** social movements. The new social movement went under further sub-division into different sub-types.

The major sub-types have been those of **Exclusivist and Inclusivist** types of NSMs. Each of these two major sub-types of the NSMs is divided into separate types.

It may be remembered, that no system of classification is complete and perfect. The relevance of classification is defined by their ability to and effectiveness in simplifying social reality and help rendering their explanation. The application of the classificatory principle of 'resemblance' and 'difference' has to be carried on with caution keeping in mind the nature of social reality one is classifying.

30.8 Further Reading

- 1) Rao, M.S.A. 1984. (edit) *Social Movements in India*. Manohar Publications. New Delhi.
- 2) Desai, A.R. *Peasant. 1979. Struggle in India*. (edit.). Oxford University Press. New Delhi.
- 3) Singh, Rajendra, 2001. *Social Movements, Old and New: A Post-Modernist Critique*. Sage Publications. New Delhi.