Chapter 2

Theoretical Framework For Studying Political Movement

“The notion of social movement, like most notions in the social sciences, does not describe part of “reality” but is an element of a specific mode of constructing social reality” (Touraine;1985:749), Alain Touraine describes the study of social movement as a mode of constructing social reality. In constructing social reality, man’s political life is decisive factor. Man’s political and social consciousness determines social-political order. In modern world, it is peoples, not any supernatural identity who makes or breaks the social order in history.

1789 is the year which heralded this new era, the year of the French Revolution which raised the banner of ‘Liberty, Equality and Fraternity’ making people conscious of their social position and social power. As John A. Hall, highlights the importance of French revolution,

“There is no doubt however that the French revolution did affect the European society in other way. It helped to introduce the people into the political stage.”(Hall;1986:161)

People’s ascendancy to the centre-stage of history was not an accidental event. It was due to the long and arduous struggle waged by conscious efforts of people in the world.
The entry of people into the political arena did not look back thereafter, attaining new heights. This people’s power with the help of movement at times accommodating into institutional framework of power structure like state or revolutionizing society. It is through social movement people’s power expressed as a powerful force in world. In the modern world industrialization and mass-education created a fertile ground for social movement to develop and flourish. Industrialization leading towards urbanization is the pillar of social change in modern society in comparison earlier system of feudalism. Social movement today has acquired an important role in all of world whether developed or developing countries. In developing countries the task of building democratic institutions ravaged by colonial exploitation, social movement plays vital and important role in social change, or maintaining the ethos of civil society. (Oommen; 2010)

Concept of social movement in society is recent origin in modern history. In medieval era there was rebellion, revolt, battle, wars also between opposite force for the control of power, but not conscious efforts like movements. As consciousness of man regarding his social-political environment increased which led to the growth of social movement which shaped the contour of modern history. When did modern history arrive in this great march of humankind? E.H. Carr, writes

Modern History begins when more and more people emerge into social and political consciousness, became aware of their respective group as historic entitles having a past and a future, and enter fully into history (Carr;1976:149)
In modern history rights became central elements as highlighted in the declaration of rights of man and of the citizen, which was approved by the national assembly of France on 26, August 1789. The 17 point declaration was the basis of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity concept which had a preamble, stating......

........ believing that the ignorance, neglect or contempt of the rights of man are the sole cause of public calamities and the Corruption of Governments, have determined to set fourth in a solemn declaration the Natural, Unalienable and Sacred rights of the Man,.... (Grayling; 2007:285).

Public calamities are nothing but people anger against system. It was concluded that the cause of public calamity taking the form of social movement was due ‘ignorance, neglect or contempt of concept of man’ in feudalism. The rights of man declaration after French Revolution of 1789 led to expansion of social-political movements. Freedom to express one’s ideas, thoughts were absent in feudalism which got due recognition in this declaration, which stated that,

“The free communication of Ideas and Opinions is one of the most precious of the rights of Man. Every citizen may, accordingly, speak, write, and print with freedom but shall be responsible for such abuse of this freedom as shall be defined by the laws.”

This concept of, “Man are born and remain free and equal in rights”, ushered the new era where freedom of expression, opinions and Ideas
which provided favorable ground for development of socio-political movement. This created the philosophical basis for social change in world. Radical ideas, opinions expressed in society created scope for more movements on various issues in every part of globe.

In describing social change brought by social movement, Robert A. Nisbet draws the premises of change in society (1977: 166-187). These six premises are drawn from the metaphor of growth, from the analogy of change in society to change in the growth-process of the individual.

The six premises are:

1. Change is natural.  
2. Change is directional.  
3. Change is imminent.  
4. Change is continuous.  
5. Change is necessary.  
6. Change proceeds from uniform causes.

Movement is accepted as social force of change in modern industrial society. Change is natural, directional and necessary for development of society. It advances from lower to higher stage in development. It is counted as ‘natural’ as society keeps on advancing to higher stage; movement accelerates this process of development in world. In dealing with this present study on movements in Gujarat this six premises of Nisbet will be helpful.

2.1. Review of literature
In developing this study a detailed analysis of movement studies has been carried out from books, journals, periodicals, magazines, articles and seminar papers related to the present research of movement dealing with the state of Gujarat.

In developing this thesis, books and articles are divided in three groups. First one dealt with material regarding theoretical aspect of social-political movement and social change. Second group deals with Indian political context and third regarding socio-political development and movement in Gujarat. Apart from pure academic work some non-academic popular books related to this study were also been reviewed and cited.

In numbers of books, articles on movement studies it was observed that term ‘social movement’ is used broadly, which encompasses all elements of political movement. Man is not in ‘Robinson Crusoe’s island’ but belongs to society and state apparatus which is a law governed system. In this modern state system any issue, question pertaining people’s lives would be in ultimate scrutiny is a political one. Public – private sphere of human life is also in preview of political analysis. Even in traditional societies all nationalities are competing to gain political accommodations for their betterment of communities.

India is an ideal case-study for this debate. The multi-cultural, multi-religious Indian society provides an example of political accommodation of various castes; religious, linguistic identities which are incorporated into the all encompassing Indian political system. Gujjar movement in Rajasthan is glaring example of this accommodation. The agitation of Gujjar community of state of Rajasthan in 2008-09 was for demanding scheduled
tribe status from Government of India. Economic interests was undercurrents as jobs are reserved for schedule tribes and castes in India. To pressurize government on their demands various collective action programme were undertaken. Even some militant protest like stalling of main railway link between political capital Delhi and economic capital – Mumbai were undertaken (India Today 3/6/2008). After months of protest activities forced Government officials and leaders of agitation to negotiated out the settlement. Despite the fact that social or caste issue was main issue, but executive agency for fulfillment of their demands is Indian state, a political structure.

Similar is the case with Ram-Janmbhoomi movement in nineties, overtly appear like religious movement, but it has an ingredient of political movement. The main demand of this movement was for building a huge Ram Temple in Ayodhya for which government had to allocate land for building a temple in Ayodhya, state of Uttar Pradesh (Yagnik; 1996).

If public opinion is created on any social or nationalities issue, for conducting movement on caste, creed or religions subject essentially is a political one, as the implementing agency is the political system. It is from the ground of civil society any social movement grows, develops and even diminishes like other social phenomena, but as political institution of state is final decision holder (Touraine;1981:100). The example of social reform movement in Indian society is example of this society- state relationship. In 18th century a social movement was waged by social reformer Raja Rammohan Ray (1772-1833) on the issue of sati system- the inhumane system of burning of women along with their dead husband. Rammohan even went to England for pursuing his social cause before the members of
British Parliament. This societal evil was banned by then British Governor General William Bentinck in 1829. This Act was passed in Parliament – a political institution intervenes on the social issue.

There is a thin dividing line between social and political movement in social science. Politicization of social movement or ‘social protest’ is the term used by many theorists in dealing with various such movements (Porte & Diani; 2006, Tilly; 2009). Ghanshyam Shah brings forth this distinction between two as follows:

More often than not, political scientists and sociologists do not make a distinction between ‘social’ and ‘political’ movements. Sociologists assume and rightly so, that social movement also includes those movements which have a clear objective of bringing about political change. (Shah; 2002:19)

Shah elaborated this premises taking the cue from Herberle’s work on social movements (1951) which concludes that all movements have political implications even though their members do not strive for political power. With the emergence of modern state after French revolution, every question is of ‘state-power’. ‘Who rules?, and for whom?’ is central questions of all social-political issues.

India provides a perfect case of this collective action displaying social force by political movement. Different section of Indian society like students, workers, and peasant’s organization are directly control by political parties. They frequently organize movement on various issues to influence and pressurize political authority in power. Different form of
public awareness, campaign or communication in society is undertaken in movement which is a political participation of peoples in shaping their good will. In any movement, public space is been filled by common people or crowding of political space in democratic society (Tilly;2009).

Taking into consideration the vital observation about the problem of division between ‘social’ and ‘political’ movements some books are been revived.

Rudolf Heberle seminal work ‘Social movements - an introduction to political sociology’ was written in 1951. This book was the first attempt to include all form of collective action or mass-mobilizations organization into the vast arena of social movement. After Second World War (1939-1945) the geo-political condition of world politics underwent changes like emergence of socialist block in Europe, crushing defeats of fascist and Nazi government, revolution in China created a vast scope for social movement. Heberle gave more emphasis social movement to play bigger role in state formation. The book locate social movements link with political parties and processes.

‘Why Men Rebel’ by Ted Gurr is important work on peoples tendency towards protest movement. It was through Gurr’s work the theory of relative deprivation developed, one of the most debated theories of social movement. But his over emphasis on deprivation, frustration tends to ignore other factors like emotions or organization. Presently in view of various movements’ world-over, this book is still running innumerable editions every year.
Social movements—An introduction by Donatella Della Porta and Mario Diani, is a primer book on social movements. The book is most extensive source material on dealing with concept of social movements. The book traces various theories and tendency in social movement studies. The premises of this book is on social movement cannot be termed ‘unconventional’, as it was thought earlier, now has acquired centre stage of public politics. This work also deals with the role of established party-system and the growth of social movement in cold-war period in modern world

‘Social movements 1768-2008’ by Charles Tilly and Lesley J. Wood is narrates the history of social movement from contentious gatherings in 18th century to cyber-activism of today. Charles Tilly name is synonyms with the social movement theories. His large amount of work on various aspect of social movement theory prepared the ground work in movement studies. The title of book has a period namely 1768, symbolize the year in which people gather know as ‘contentious gatherings’ first time in England. And by 2008 various protest programmes are been undertaken by spread of message in email and social media. The book deals with various dimension of movement from 1768 to 2008.

‘Socialism and the Social Movement’ by Werner Sombart was published in 1896. This book is one of earliest to have a title as ‘Social movement’ (first one was 1850 Lorenz Stein book). The popularity of this book on social movement can be judged for the fact that by 1908 its publication was running sixth edition and was translated into 17 languages. The book concludes socialism as suitable ideology for development of
social movement. The author conviction on socialism as a philosophy of social emancipation is reflected in this work.

Frances Piven and Richard A. Cloward’s ‘Poor Peoples Movements-why they succeed how they fail’ is an empirical study regarding poor people’s movement in USA published in 1978. This study covers four area of movement namely of unemployed, industrial workers, civil Rights and welfare rights movement in America. The essential feature of this study is regarding the role of leaders and organizers in any movement. Piven and Cloward believe that protest activity is due to momentous changes in the institutional order. It is not created by leaders or organizers as was believed by earlier theories. One of the drawbacks of this book is that though it has given importance of momentous changes, but these changes are not dealt in appropriate manner. Piven and Cloward work were influence in development of new theory called political process theory in the field of social movement theories.

Nick Crossley, ‘Making sense of Social movements’ is a sound academic work on movements. Crossley states the intention of book is to the broad outline about why social movement is important in world over. He presents the broad outline on how in specific level movements are agents of social change in society. As societies are not static, they flow and social movements are key currents within this flow. This work dealt on Collective Behavior theories with the help of Blummer and Semelser approaches. Other notable theories like resources mobilization, rational action theory, political opportunities, protest cycle are been discussed in detail. Major shortcoming of this book is conspicuous absence of Marxist
theory on movement. In understanding dynamics and growth of social change Marxism has played in movement studies is not dealt in detail.


Some research papers were also referred in this present study, some of notable research papers like C.A. Roots ‘Theory of Social Movement’ Theory for social movement’ created a debate on importance of theory for movements. It focused on need of theory for social movement, as a vital area of social science. This paper is vital in bridging the gap between empirical and normative element of movement.

James M. Jasper, paper ‘Social Movement Theory today: Towards a theory of action?’ draws element from various theories to move towards cultural and emotional theory. Jasper major contribution in movement studies is in the field of ‘Emotion’ - as an element of social movement. It provides the understanding into recent growth of movements worldwide where actors are those who are not directly affected by movement issue.

Literature on Indian political structure, civil society and social movements are revived, which helped in developing this present research.
Ayesha Jalal in book *Democracy and Authoritarianism in South Asia-a comparative and historical perspective* is divided in two parts. The first one deals with colonial legacy of India subcontinent in state formation and political process from 1947 to 1971. Second part is about politics of populism in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh from 1971 to 1993. Jalal observes a striking feature of Army not interfering in Indian political space as compared to its neighboring country, particular Pakistan. This is due to the fact that elected wing is competent to dissuade, demystified and blunting the dissent voices in Indian Society, though with some exceptions. In Indian context the dissent voice is silenced or gets accommodated into the system. The concept of Gandhian class-collaboration works perfectly in Indian socio-political structure.

But the survival of India’s Parliamentary system in the long run is inexplicable without reference to the symbiotic relationship between the Congress high Command and the non-elected institution of the states – the Civil Bureaucracy, the Police and the Army. Without the IPS, the IAS and when necessary, as during the insurgencies in the north-east, the Indian Army, the Congress party alone could not have assured the Political centre’s authority throughout the length and Breadth of the Country. (Jalal;1996:42)

This analysis is important for this present study as after movement, the political class accommodate the radical section who raise the voice, and wage the struggle in conduction of social movement.
Paul Brass *Politics in India after Independence* is a sound academic work about caste, politics and movement, in India after 1947. Analyzing about mass involvement in political movement during national liberation movement, he observed it was “Extra-party, extra-parliamentary movements have been integral, if sporadic elements in India Politics”, (1995:112). The involvement of student and youths in various movements during 60’s and 70’s were due to economic problem like unemployment. The upsurge is due to socio-economic-political condition of that period were main factor behind it. About components of collective action in any movements Brass observed,

A second great recruitment pool for contemporary violent movements in India comprises those with no education and no respectable like chances, namely, that large underclass which inhabits all urban areas of the country. Goondas (Thugs, Hooligans), Criminals, Lower Caste People living in filthy slums whose participation can be purchased with money and whiskey (Brass;1995:115)

The above observation on mobilization for movement by political parties Brass concluding of popular notion is be little the serious and cultural aspect of movement in India. But on contrary there also is a large section of white-collar middle-class employees and students, youths and women joining movement in India today. A sort of cultural concept by the actors of movement as in words of Alain Touraine.(1977) Notable example of anti-corruption movement and anti rape movement in Delhi in 2010 firmly establishes the fact about serious nature of movement and its component.
Atul Kohli’s work ‘Democracy and Development in India’—From socialism to pro-business’, is a collection of essays written over three decades. He academically analysis the economic policies from Indira Gandhi ‘Garibi Hatao’ to liberalization policy of nineties making the state as pro-business attitude from socialist welfare mode.

The title of book is indicative in respect of essays, which are divided in three parts. First one been Political Change and second one deals on political economy and third is politics and development in some states. As the case study five states namely West Bengal, Bihar, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka has been taken. Kohli puts up strong case for selecting these states according to their socio-political settings. His selecting of states is by criteria of politics in these states. On neo-patrimonial feature of some government in north Indian state he observes,

The Political arena is dominated by a single leader, surrounding by loyal minions; modal political relationship are vertical, of a patron-client type; bureaucracy is politicized; symbolic appeals are used regularly to build diffuse electoral support. (Kohli; 2011:19)

Through social movement have occupied new spaces created by vibrant democracy. Class and caste movement have been in power in some states, but according to kohli they are obstacles for creating cohesive majority governments.

Ghanshyam Shah’s edited book “Social Movements and the state” (2002) is about various movements like tribal autonomy, women’s
movements, labour movements across the length and breadth of India. Shah is credited of having written substantially on social movements. ‘Social Movement and the state’ is having three theoretical articles apart from articles on particular movements in India. By going through book one would know about rich and diverse people’s movement all over India.

‘India To-Day’, is classic work on Indian transition from colonial nation to independence by Marxist theorist Rajni Palme Dutt written in forties. This book is important text with Marxist orientation about Indian society, politics and economy in forties which was at the critical juncture before India’s independence. With critical understanding of society and British Imperialism in reference of India’s freedom movement has raised debates and discussion for future social scientist dealing with Indian political structure.

Sudpita kaviraj has written on various aspects of civil society and state. Civil society is area where social movement germinates and stake it claim in state. The book was very helpful in understating the claims and demands of civil society.

Sunil khiliani masterpiece ‘The idea of India’, though an academic work written in easy language to be understand by layman about Indian politics. The simple narrative style of transition of Indian political structure has helped in this study. The modern institution of Indian society has replaced the structure but mindset of feudal hangover which is evident in political structure.
Nagindas Sanghavi’s latest book ‘Gujarat at cross roads,’ is a vital book on socio-political history of Gujarat. This present book is improved edition of his earlier work ‘Gujarat - a Political analysis’ written in mid nineties, which traces the political history of Gujarat since inception. This is only book on authentic source on political history of Gujarat in English. This recent book ‘Gujarat at cross roads’ is kind of a popular book on Gujarat written in lucid language, is helpful in understanding of dynamics of Gujarat politics.

‘The shaping of Modern Gujarat’ by Achyut Yagnik and Suchitra Sheth traces the history of modernization in Gujarat, by probing the debates and discussion on the various trends and currents which made the modern Gujarat. This book also deals with the politics of Gujarat which has seen paradigm shift from Gandhian principles to communal riots of 2002. This shift has been dealt in detail along with corresponding changes in society.

Neera Desai’s ‘Social Change in Gujarat’ has a setting of 19th century Gujarat. The Impact of British education, rise of middle-class and changing socio-cultural dimension is the theme of this study. Desai’s work is important for any student of Gujarat society and its modern development. This study if advanced further supplementing with political structure can be very helpful for future researcher on Gujarat.

‘Land acquisition, Displacement and Resettlement in Gujarat, 1947-2004’ by Lancy Lobo and Shashikant Kumar in depth work on Development and Displacement is commendable empirical work in recent years about Gujarat politics of development. This empirical study was done in three
phase. First one was collecting data from across 25 District collector offices by way of RTI which acquired huge data of about 80,000 notifications. Second phase was village wise data on land acquisition and compensation. With the strength of such important data field study were undertaken. The field survey was conducted by researchers in various districts by interviewing 2184 households. This work would be very helpful for researches policy planners and social activists and advocacy groups on Gujarat.

2.2 Major Theories of Political Movement

Social Movement is getting importance in world over with the increase in peoples participating in political activity increasing. Movement, been an empirical value which emerges from action, act of dissent in society. It is difficult on the part of social scientist to fit movement into a normative one- a theory. There are exception cases of movement emerging out of theory, but there are various theories developed from movements. This theory may help in developing or advancing movements in society. On principal basis of movement is from theory to practice in society, in practical experience of movements develops theory. So social movement is quite different field of study where difference between theorists and activist split is wide open. Notable among is the issue of fundamental enquiry ‘Theory of Social Movements: Theory for Social movement’ (Roots;2000)

But on other hand due to theorizing movement develops movement to crystallized and develops with passage of time. Movement theories can be broadly divided between European and American schools of movement.
analysis. This is to understand the growth and nature of social movement. European schools are molded into Marxist\Hegelian tradition of Philosophy of History. Europe had been ground to major philosophies in modern world. Their writing and action along with streams of thoughts from Renaissance, Reformation and Revolution have made it a fertile ground of healthy debates and discussion.

American tradition relied more on behaviorism, structuralism in dealing with social movement. That does not mean Marxism has no impact the study of social movements. These discussion are been made to understand various theories in social movements. Nick Crossley in ‘Making sense of Social Movements’ describes four traditions of movement analysis between European and American system. Seventies had been the divided line between various traditions. Prior to seventies the theory of collective behavior theory was dominated American theorist and in Europe it was Marxism with its various trends.

Seventy onwards a theory of new social movement emerges in European traditions whereas in America it was resource mobilization which developed further into political process theories. These are broad outline for theories for classification in terms of its objective and method of analyzing the phenomenon of social movements. Various scholars have made distinction on American and European traditions.

American scholars sought to explain the emergence of a particular social movement on the basis of changes in the institutional structure or informal power relations of a given national political system (Crossley; 2003:16).
Whereas in European scholars have focused on “Cross-Natural differences in the structure, extent and success of comparable movements on the basis of differences in the political characteristics of the nation states in which they are embedded” (Domy and McAdam, et al; 1996:3).

**Society – State model on social movements.**

In modern political system, a movement as collective action grows out of society direct towards state. The present research would probes into this society-state relationship in dealing with movements. Jenkins and Klandermans throws light on this aspect in their book ‘The politics of social protests’. In this design, they assume the existence of an institutionalized political representation system based on mass parties and interest associations. This is especially in view of movement-state relations in the western democracies. This illustration helps for study the premises of movement and theory debates; movement is a source of theory which in tune develops movement also.
The diamond outlines the different relations that need to be addressed in discussing movement-state relations. The left side of the diamond (arrows $a$ and $d$) refers to the relationship of citizens to the political representation system, political parties and formal interest associations, and the state. Their primary emphasis is be on the center and right side of the diamond (arrows $b$, $c$, and $e$)—on the impact of social protest and movement efforts on the political system and the impact, in turn, of the political system back on social movements.

They describe in detail about the state, political representation system, social movements, and other components. In this illustrative figure by arrow $c_2$ is impact of social movement on political representative system in democratic country. The arrow $b_1$ and $c_1$ denotes impact of the state and system on social movements. In conclusion they believe social movements can have indirect effects on system by shaping the attitudes and actions as in $e_1$ and $e_2$.

Though this model is based on democratic states but provides outline between state and social movement which will be helping this thesis. Movement is interrelated and interdependent with state and society. Let’s put this above postulate is put on test of this research topic. if one fits this graph In 1974 Gujarat movement it is through $d_2$ and $e_2$, through social movements and Vidhan Sabha. Resignation of duly elected chief minister is direct impact $a_2$, $d_2$ and $c_2$ to be precise it was the pressure from $d_2$ and $c_2$ and advance by $a_2$ (state). The political movement in Gujarat can be easily understood with the help of kaldernman diagram.
Let’s examine some major social movement theories which would be helping this particular study. A survey of major theories discussed here which will be helpful for better understanding of political movements in India and particular in Gujarat. The theories which are dealt in this topic are deprivation theory, political process theory, collective behavior theory, Marxist theory, and new social movement theories.

**Deprivation theory.**

This theory is built on the premises that one who is deprivate would come into protest, deprivation would lead peoples to oppose. Some questions arise like what motivates people to conduct movement? Ted Gurr takes the help of sociologists and psychologist developed a theory called ‘Deprivation Theory’. The basis of theory in analyzing collective behavior and collective action depends on principle of deprivation. Those who are denied from economic fruits of development, the voiceless section of society are in forefront of any agitation and protest in modern world. Seeing this fact, Ted Gurr develops his theory with the help of data from various countries where violence become instrument of movement.

Ted Gurr, in his book ‘Why men Rebel?’ defines Relative Deprivation

As actors perception of discrepancy between their values expectation are the goals and condition of life which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Values capabilities are the goods and condition they think are capable of getting and keeping (Gurr; 2011:24).
According to Gurr values are of three fold, first are those welfare values which contribute to physical well being and self-realization like food, shelter, health service and physical comforts for development of physical and mental abilities. Second value is power values deals with influence of actions. The control, authority of power where one person had on another is also discussed. Third value is interpersonal values which derive from non-authoritative interaction with other individual and also desire for status.

Deprivation theorist believes that any individual if deprived values capabilities of welfare, power or interpersonal would drives towards field of movement. Collective action to achieve these goals would develop it further.

The assumption of this theory implies that providing shelter, food, health or basic services provider is state- a political authority. Any misbalance or disequilibrium in this value led to people to revolt. The roots of this Deprivation theory are broadly from both the behavioral as well as Marxist theories. The propagators of deprivation theory consider frustration or aggression would lead to collective violence.

But recent emergence of movement like anti-corruption or justice for rape victim in Delhi in 2011 wall-street movement in USA, Arab spring and many more such movement saw the participants as those who were not directly affected. They were not deprivate section of society, but a conscious one. Emotion and social-cultural values also plays important role in development of movements.
The main drawback of Deprivation theory is it gives much emphasis on the material condition of ground reality but tend to ignore factors like organization or agency. The Deprived section of society needed some agency to put forward their demands, anguish for redress. Though for any collective action disgruntled of deprivate section is imperative but it cannot be sole basis for collective action.

**Collective Behavior approach.**

Social movement is a social force expressed collectively in society. The social relationship between members of society keep it a unified whole. By social movement collective identities of people get expressed for social-political purpose. The individual as unit and collective action as net result were studied by theorist of this a collective behavior stream. Mostly American schools have dominated this stream. Bulmer’s is the main theorist of this stream, he describes in details about how the pressure for change develops. This stream also have basis of deprivation as a source of movement which ignited and develop further the collective action of people.

Blumer’s model of movement formation
Bulmer diagram of movement formation shows how pressure for change in given society germinates and develops. The premises are based on material change and behavior of actor. (Crossley; 2002). The validity of this diagram can be proven by various studies of collective action in India. In this present study this Bulmer model of movement formation leading to social change in form of the graph will be of imminence help in understanding political movements in state of Gujarat.

This theory gave much emphasis on psychological and sociological factors rather than political – economic one. American scholars have constructed on the aspect of why men behave as a collective identity? Why does a section of society subjected and revolts? Theorist like Oberscally, Tilly, McAdam, Jenkins have dealt in detail about collective behavior approach. Mick Cossley sums up following points this collective behavior approaches:

- portrays movement emergence as a reflex response to ‘grievance’, ‘deprivation’, ‘anomie’, ‘structural strains’ or other such forms of hardship. The stereotypical collective behavior theorist believes that objective hardship are both a necessary and a sufficient cause of protest and movement formation;
- portrays the protest and movements triggered by these hardship as irrational psychological responses; manifestation of ‘mob psychology’ or collective hysteria;
- portraits those who become involved in these ‘mobs’ as (previously) isolated individuals who are often not very well integrated into society; (Cossley ;2003:11)
Social movement is collective endeavor in the social order, so need to understand the human behavior and collective action is the task of movement studies. The drawback of this school is its overemphasis on the behavior aspect led to concluding that all collective actions or programme as irrational, violent or strange. During civil rights movements in America, if some act of violence, or mass- action would be of not so good taste or became violent it would be counted as ‘irrational’, without probing into background of such behavior and orientation. This collective behavior theory was replaced by resource mobilizing theory.

Resource Mobilization Theory

This school has been dominating in American tradition since mid sixties among movement scholars. The propagators of Resources mobilizing Theory assumed that movements are shaped by and work within the limit set by resources. The resources can be economical, political or organizational which a group has its disposal. This school believes collective action drives from a calculation of the costs and benefits, influenced by a presence of resources.

In describing about Resource Mobilizing Theory, Donatella Porta and Mario Diani writes,

The capacity of mobilization depends on the material resources (Work, Money, Concrete Benefits and Services) and/or non-material resources (authority, moral engagement, faith and friendship) available to group. These resources are
distributes across multiple objectives according to a rational calculations of costs and benefits (Porta & Diani ;2006:15)

The major contribution of this theory is in defining social movement as rational, purposeful and organized actions in comparison with earlier schools. The focus of social movement has turned toward more sociological from psychological by resources mobilization theory. The outside influence on social movement was viewed critically by propagators of this theory. Using of available resources for social change is main concern of resources mobilization theory. These resources can come from state as well as society for social change. Providing resources from state means it is not imperative that all movements are not against system- like revolutionary movements. Bob Edwards and John D. McCorhthy explain “about State and Resources” state redistributes to social movements..... (2004:121)

**Political Process Theory**

The overemphasis on resources and linking with interest politics resulted in developing of an approach called political process. The political process theory gave importance to the political and institutional environment in which social movement operates. This process builds up relationship between institutional political actors and protest. A political process theorist assumes that a movement if developed in some area does not imply that it would get same response in another social setting. In the study Social Movement, Porta and Diani, points the contribution of political process Theory in advancing the study of social movements that
It has succeeded in shifting attention towards interactions between new and traditional actors, and between less conventional forms of action and institutionalized system of interest representation. (Porta & Diani; 2006:30)

This theory developed a major shift from the position from the social movements as expression of dysfunctions of the system to processes. Piven and Cloward work on ‘Poor Peoples Movement’ in USA is an example of Political Process Theory. Indicating the role of leadership in protest movements, the study briefly summarizes as:

1) Protest wells up in response to momentous changes in the institutional order. It is not created by organizers and leaders.

2) Once protests erupt, the specific forms it takes are largely determined by the features of social structure. Organizers and leaders who contrive strategies that ignore the social location of the people they seek to mobilize only fail.

3) Elites respond to the institutional disruptions that protest causes, as well as to other powerful institutional imperatives. Elite responses are not significantly shaped by the demands of leaders and organizers. Nor are elite responses significantly shaped by formal structured organizations of the poor.

4) Finally, protests in the United States have been episodic and transient, for as its gains momentum, so various forms of institutional accommodation and coercion that have the
effect of restoring quiescence. Organizers and leaders cannot prevent the ebbing of protest, nor did the erosion of whatever influence protest yield the lower class. They can only try to win whatever can be won while it can be won. (Pivan and Cloward; 1980)

Due to rising pressure on political system in western democratic countries increasing role of impartial judiciary and social media political process is becoming more suitable ground for movement studies to engage with. This theory gave birth to some new approaches like ‘Political opportunity structure’ and ‘protest cycle’ perspectives. Good work is been carried out from this perspectives by numerous scholars like Sydney Tarrow, Gamson, Piven and Cloward on different social settings.

**New Social Movements**

In the cold war period after Second World War, Europe and America witnessed series of protest movements centering on issues like civil rights, environmental issues, peace movement, and women’s issues. These issues were outside the preview traditional political parties which thought it as an insignificant as a social movement.

New Social Movements Theories developed in Europe to address various new type movements like feminist, environment, peace movement during sixties and seventies. This new social movements had peculiar local sites of struggle and new actors who were not known earlier in the field of movements.
Taking from the departure from ‘Classical’ class movements this new social Movements theories set political discourses in movement studies. Andre Gundre Frank and Marta Fuentes gave broad outline of new social movement in ‘Nine Thesis on Social Movements’:

1) The ‘new’ Social Movements are not new, even if they have some new features, and the ‘Classical’ once are relatively new and perhaps temporary.

2) Social Movements display much variety and changeability, but have in common individual mobilizations through a sense of morality and (in) justice and social power through social mobilization against deprivation and for survival and identity.

3) The strength and importance of social movements in cyclical and related to long political-economic and (perhaps associated) ideological cycles. When the conditions that give rise to the movements change (through the actions of the movements themselves and/or more usually due to changing circumstances), the movements tend to disappear.

4) It is important to distinguish the class composition of social movements, which are mostly middle class in the West, Popular/Working class in the South, and some each in the East.

5) There are many different kinds of social movements, the majority seeks more autonomy rather than state power, and the latter tend to negate themselves as social movement.
6) Although most social movement are more defensive than offensive and tend to be temporary, they are important (Today and Tomorrow perhaps the most important) agents of social transformation.

7) In particular, social movements appear as the agents and re-interpreters of ‘delinking’ from contemporary Capitalism and ‘Transition to Socialism’.

8) Some social movements are likely to overlap in membership or be more compatible and permit coalition with others, and some are likely to conflict and compete with others. It may be useful to inquire into these relations.

The new social movements are a departure as well as continuity of classical movement theory. These new movement were not been addressed properly by leftist or communist parties. In spite of organizational structure to deal with these rising movements they missed the opportunities. Some claim the social movements like street theatre, write their own scripts—if any—as they go along, any prescription of agendas or strategies, let alone tactics, by outsiders—not to mention intellectuals—is likely to be irrelevant at best and counterproductive at worst. (Shah; 2002)

In an attempt to locate the philosophical background of new social movements some writers have ventured into, one of them is Steven M. Beuchler, who traces the sources of New Social Movements.

“Four Theorists best exemplify the range of new social movement theories in the context of their intellectual traditions. Manuall
Castells (Spain), Alain Touraine (France), Alberto Meulucci (Italy) and Jurgen Habermas (Germany)“. (Beuchler; 1995)

It is not that these above theorists had explicitly written on these new social movements, but their writings on society, behavior, very thought to be close with objectives of these new movements. Habermas is Germany’s well-known philosopher having a background from critical theory, Castells from Spain deals with clinical psychology, Touraine works created ground for the new social movement to flourish.

Alain Touraine in his book, ‘The voice and the eye – An analysis of social movements’ describes the transition of society towards programmed society. He assumes that such a society would be answer to all ills of present society which have seen all ideologies of socialist, capitalist countries. He illustrated his concept of programmed society with the help of graph.

Alain Touraine outlines the principle stages in the transition from the social movements of industrial society of those of programmed society starting from the decline of workers movements.
1. The decline of old social movements;
2. A more widespread cultural crisis, threatening of foundations of the past society;
3. The rejection of growth and the search for new forms of balance;
4. The liberal or libertarian criticism of the state, serving to replace a still confused social struggle;
5. Rejection of the concentration of power and exchanges, which necessities falling back upon primary groups and past experience;
6. The determination of the threatened categories to rediscover their identity while still accepting the change; and leading to the emergence of new social movements.

Though Touraine view of programmed society is limited to western democracies where massive industrialization had been attained, and similar workers movement has developed. Then also some valid points like cultural crisis and the rejection of growth, criticism of state leading to movements are visible in all societies. This can be applied to case of Indian social movements also.

**Marxist Theory of Movement**

Though French Revolution created a deep impact on political history of world but it was short-lived because it was followed by restoration in the Nepoleonic rule. The Social movement was thought to be suppressed by the reemergence of monarchy at surface level. But the ideas and thoughts which emerge in society cannot be pulled back. The spirit and force was carried forward by ideas of Marxism. About this power of thought Immanuel Wallerstein put it,
But it clearly was not to be so easy to put the genie back in the bottle. The sentiments that inspired both the social and natural movements continued to spread in multiple towns. (2006:15)

With the growth of Industrialization a vast section of workers also come into being. The feudal system was hindrance for rapid expansion of industrial activities, the rising class of bourgeois felled down feudalism in famous French revolution of 1789. Though workers were also comrades in arms but after revolution it was same, two classes of haves and have-not facing each other. It is in this social settings Marxism developed in Europe with its appeal of social emancipation quickly griped the toiling masses across the world. Karl Marx and Fredrick Engels bring forth the main tenants of Marxism, which were reflected in their works like ‘Capital’, ‘Civil war in France’, ‘The German ideology’ and scores of other political-economic writings. Most notable work was ‘Communist Manifesto’ which was published in 1848 created a storm in world. It was claimed that communist revolution would keep the ideas of French Revolution to its logical end.

About the changes in 19th centuries, where with advent of industrialization, education and urbanization, Karl Marx hints as very different for preceding form previous one. As society develops form of social changes also acquires new methods in the realm of strategy.

“The social revolution of the nineteenth century cannot draw its poetry from the past, but only from the future. It cannot begin with itself before it has stripped off all
superstition in regard to the past. Earlier revolutions required recollections of past world history in order to drug themselves concerning their own content. In order to arrive at its own content, the revolution of the 19th century must let the dead bury their dead. There the phrase went beyond the content; here content goes beyond the phrase.” (Marx;1977:400)

Karl Marx describing about change in feudalism where intellectual – social ground of bourgeois was preparing in the period of renaissance and reformation. These concepts were an attempt to realize minds enslaved by feudal pride and prejudice, in the words of great French Philosopher Rousseau, “Man is born free, but everywhere in changes” is a example of freeing man’s mind from bondage. This approach is what Marx described as “Phrase went beyond the content.” The Marxism world outlook is developed from its three sources and three streams namely German Philosophy, English political economy and French socialism. (Lenin, 1981:18)

Marxist theory believes world is class-divided with two hostile class facing each other. Every socio-economic stages of civilization is having struggle between two opposite classes. The struggle between have’s and have-not would reach the nodal point where total transformation of society is needed by the way of ‘Revolution’. The theory of revolution made Marxism as the ‘Radical Theory’ in 19th century.

Emergence of workers and revolutionary movements in various parts of world made the ideology of Marxism as social force. Some successful revolution in overthrowing the power structure proves that Marxism not
merely a theory but ‘Guide to Action’. Ernst Fischer describes this transition of Marxism,

The ‘philosophy of practice’ transfers the active, creative principle from the system of idealist philosophy into materialism: Reality as process, Movement, Change and Social reality as the interaction of objective and subjective factors of objective circumstances and human activity. (Fischer;1987:153)

Critics of Marxist theory of movement point that Marx has not written in specifically about movements. But on the contrary whole discourses of Marxism is about the change and movement. Movement functions at macro level in transformation of old society. Marxism as a theory of revolution has been vindicated by phenomena of Russian and Chinese revolution. (skopol:1979)

**The theoretical Framework of thesis**

The present research while examining various theories of social movement, locates itself much with theories of new social movement, especially in the writing of French theorist Alain Touraine. His vast work on social movement raised valid points on movement which is helpful in this present study.

These New Social Movements (NSMs hereafter) grew out of new left, student’s movement, and anti- Vietnam movements of the 1960s. The action field of these NSMs was primarily in Europe. The debate, premises of
these new movements were “as an occasion to reform or reject Marxist theory and social democratic politics” (Cathoun;2007:57). These NSMs grew out of some elements from Marxist theory and but were in opposition to practices of Marxist government in power.

The reason for the present study to align with the works of Alain Touraine is his contribution on growth, development of social movements. Every philosophy or ideas sprang from socio-political background; French has a long history of movement from revolution of 1789 to Paris commune insurrections of 1871. French society has a long history of radicalized theory into action which was evident in student’s movement of 1968. About French society popular writers like Larry Collins and Dominique Lapierre, in their popular work ‘Is Paris burning’ narrates the long cultural history of protest, dissent in French society which carried a long underground movement even against Nazi occupation. “people make their history …………….at the heart of society burns the fire of social movement” (Touraine;1981:1) Alain Touraine places importance to people and social movement in society in the world.

By going through Touraine voluminous work on movement studies, three important works and relating to the present study were identified and studied. The following works which were undertaken are:-


His philosophical foundation is on Marxism, which states social relations and class conflicts responsible for the growth of social movement. His rupture with Marxist tradition is about the attitudes of Marxist government in power. The dichotomy between Marxism as theory and practice of state power had created disillusionment among many great thinkers in world during the cold war era. Touraine is also product of this dichotomy in dealing with Marxist ideology. Social movement and state relationship is bone of contention for his theoretical work. He puts movement as any social science phenomenon they all are born and die as any other natural events. It is through social movement if it gets institutionalized would develops as a political pressure.

Not all movements have the same history, but they are all born and they all die.......Once relations become institutionalized, social movements degenerate into political pressure (Touraine; 1981:100)

His elegant writing on hard philosophical subjects and socio-political issues of social movement theories is unique. Some of his main theoretical point about the design for social movement is been discussed here. Every movement has the combination of three principles, seen in a broader context as an actor in a field of historical action. They are:

1) The principle of identity –
The definition the actor gives of himself in conducting movement as his identification with issue, cause of movement.

A social movement cannot be organized unless this definition is conscious; but the formation of the movement largely precedes that consciousness. It is conflict that constitutes and organize the action (Touraine ;1977;312).

Touraine states the example of working class where the actor of social movement is aiming, through its conflict with the capitalist class in this historical action, he brings role of consciousness of identity in defining the class in a class social forces. It cannot be defined other than in terms of social relations. In any movement if this principal of identity is not codified it may not reach to level of pressure on force which the movement is conducted against.

In people’s movement of Gujarat in 1974, this identification process was not consistent; it was like moving up and down the ladder. In this movement different ideological forces were operating without any monolithic organization as compared to working class movement, where actors identifying itself conducive to Touraine principle of identity framework.

2) The principle of opposition –
After principle of identity, second major principle envisaged by Touraine is the principle of opposition which puts movement to have an adversary, against whom the movement will be addressed -

A movement cannot be organized without being able to name its adversary, but its action does not presuppose that
identification the conflict causes the adversary to appear, as it shapes the consciousness of the actors confronting one another (Touraine; 1977:312).

The dimension of the social conflict is fundamental for any social movement to operate. In 1974 Gujarat movement and afterwards, in every movement an element of adversary is visible which this present research will try to trace. In modern political system peoples issue is diverted towards state. State as adversary is premises of this study. Only those movements are undertaken which is directed towards state. The primordial identities like caste, religion movements are not considered in this present study of movements in Gujarat.

3) **The Principle of totality**-

   The principle of opposition needs to be developed for this principle of totality to happen, without understanding the adversary role this aspect cannot be understand.

   The principal of totality is nothing but the system of historical action of which the advisories, situated within the domination dialectic of the social classes, are disputing the domination (Touraine; 1977:313)

   Even though the arena of movement is localized, it still express a principle of totality, Touraine is apprehensive of the “ultras” – radical section of movement, who deny any principle of totality. They create a “rupture” in social movement by forming the clashes, not with an adversary but with the adversary identification with social development. He states example of workers smashing the machine or sabotaging production, students rejecting all teaching in universities as act of these ‘ultras’. A social
movement cannot be analyzed outside the field of historicity in which its forms a (Touraine; 1977:314). Industrial enterprise or educational Institutes are arena where movements are born; to destroy it would also means destroying the social movement forming within it. Touraine view of “ultras” is similar with architect of Russia revolution Lenin’s book an ultra Marxists called ‘left- wing communism –an infantile disorder’. In the name of communism, these ‘ultras’ attempt was to destroy the very essence of social movement formation.

A social movement is not the expression of a contradiction; it causes a conflict to explode. It is a form of collective conduct oriented not toward the values of the social organizations or towards participation in a system of decision, but towards the stake of the class conflicts, that are the system of historical action. (Touraine; 1977:315)

Within these three principles namely, identity, opposition and totality any movement functions. In this present study of movements in Gujarat these principle were of immense help in understanding of dynamics of social change and movements.

What is Political about social Movement? Touraine analyzed any movement as a political action for the management of society. He also erase out the distinction between social and political movement, using the term interchanging.

A social movement is not the raw material of political action; it is both the reason for that action’s existing and its opposite, for political action is always aiming at the management of society and is therefore opposed to the
recognition of conflicts, which are what a social movement is always defined by (Touraine; 1977:367)

About reaction of state in dealing with any social movement, Touraine view is either movement had to incorporate into system or towards revolutionary movements. So was the case with Navnirman movement in Gujarat where elements of movement were against single individual rather than on overall change of system. Same was fate of JP movement which turned into changing of political power form Indira Gandhi’s congress party to Janta party government. This proves Touraine view of state’s political hegemony in dealing movement will result to repression or persuasion.

A social movement cannot occur pure and simple. Either it tends to be incorporated into the political system as a force applying institutional pressure and into the state whose intervention it determines, or else it is linked with a revolutionary crises through which the political hegemony of a new state is set up (Touraine; 1977:320)

Touraine divides movement into crises in society. These crises are divided into two parts. One is total social movement and other revolutionary crises. Response of political system in withstanding the pressure to such extend that the revolt does not happens. In cooperating into the system or let to revolutionary movement is only option. His social movement theory is put social movement “as a principle agent of history” (Touraine; 1981:9). He also emphasis on moral protest as incitation of any
public cause, any demand would be addressed to moral moving towards political.

“In a society still in the process of formation, public causes initially take on the form of moral protests, of an appeal to principles or needs, to utopias. It is when they become more political, by seeking their way through the institutions, by joining up with other social forces and with representational agents by showing an active awareness of the general problems of society.” (Touraine; 1981:22)

The major contribution of Touraine in field of movement studies is on two points. One is historicity and other is cultural orientation. An actor has a history is making construction of social reality. In many people’s issues movement like environment, women safety, anti-nuclear movement there is a involvement of persons who not directly affected by the issues. Their involvement proves Touraine theory of cultural orientation of movement.

So high that it sometimes seems to detach itself from all social conflict, and on the other hand, it plunges so deeply into crises situated that it seems to disintegrate in them and lost in marginality (Touraine; 1981:96)

Defining Cultural Movement Touraine view is that it as stable category they split as quickly as they are develops. Cultural aspect of movement or element of cultural is very necessary for longevity of any movements.
Cultural movements are unstable; they split quickly. On the one side, there is modernizing strain which cannot elude the ruling elite except by seeing refuge in an intellectual critique of modest scope; on the other side, they is a trend of protest, which is revolutionary because it is battling at area against birth the dead and the live elements of social domination.” (Touraine ;1981:97)

To sum the writings of Alain Touraine which will be helpful in this present study as his contention of social conflict, man’s role in history, the elements of historicity and lastly cultural orientation. “But in every social struggle there is also present an element of protest against social, aggressiveness towards people and property a longing” (Touraine ;1981:97)

2.3 Major Indian Theorists.

The Indian subcontinent and India in particular is important area of understanding of social movements. It’s operational and practices in social and political studies. Numbers of theorists have pondered over the Indian perspective of social movements. Most notable work on movements is by Ghanshyam Shah on political aspect of movements and T.K. Oommen on
sociological aspect. Shah’s major work on movements in seventies on various aspects of movements. Oommen contribution is on Gandhian and other Indian perspectives. The element of civil society is also central to study of movements, which has been studied in depth by Indian scholars. M.S.A Rao brings out the conceptual problems in the study of social movements in India. He notes down five points on conceptual problems in study of movements in India, they are:

1. Problems of definition and classification.
2. Problems relating to the emergence of movements.
3. Problems concerning the formulation of ideologies and establishing identities.
4. Problems of collective mobilization, organization, leadership, internal dynamics and routinization.
5. Problems concerning the nature of the consequences for changes in the wider society and culture. (Rao;2000:10)

Anger manifest into movement against system and system in response move towards ‘maximizing economic efficiency’ led to the politics of development and deprivation debate. Development leads to displacement and deprivation section of society pave the way of movement, when articulate their anger; state turns to move aggressively implement development agenda. To curb this rising discontent against system, state uses coercive power. Use of force in movement has raised the questions the legitimacy of state. G.Hargopal put it as the lightening Crisis of the Indian State,
“All the people’s movements – Tribal, Dalit and poor peasants, are dealt with iron hand. The force used against these movements is not only brutal but totally arbitrary. The rule of law and constitutional norms are thrown to the winds. Any keen observer or activist of the grassroots movement s know how the coercive apparatus uses its fire power . . . . . The tentacles of repression extended to the press, judiciary machinery and civil liberties movement. The heavy use of physical force by the state indicates more of the weakness and the low legitimacy levels of the state. (Hargopal ;1997:235)

During 60s and 70s was a period of revival of social movements in various part of world. These movements raised debates and dialogue on role of state as well a power structure and ruling elites. Within this movement, debates on the concept of civil society also emerge. The civil society is back in political sphere from late seventies. Though the concept of civil society dates back from Hegel to Marx and scores of political thinkers have written and discussed about it in length. In view of renewed debate on social movements, the role civil society and state are to be addressed in new way.

The contribution of Indian Theorist in this renewed debate of civil society is important. Kaviraj and Khilnani observe the debate about ‘Civil Society’ is both fascinating and unclear. There view of political process in the third world or developing countries is different from political life in the west societies. Any institution, in west has a meaning in describing the terms, developed by series of movements so is a value-loaded concept. But in third world countries they are only ‘Word’. For example, the term
'Democracy' which would be of immense value in western societies as it has been attained by struggle but in India, it would be not so serious issue.

In development of civil society, Sunil Khilnani observes that there are differences in location of the sources of civil society. The liberal position sees power of civil society in the economy, in property rights and market rights may be freely exchanged. The radical position sees society independent of the economic domain and the state, where ideas are publicly exchanged. A conservative see it as residing in a set of cultural acquisition, manners of civility act. These three position of liberal, radical and conservative places civil society for better understanding of the dynamics of social movements.

Neera Chandoke places civil society as a third sphere besides state and market. The sphere of civil society is filled by voluntary groups or non-profit sector. In the essay ‘The ambiguities of Civil Society’, Chandoke raises the cause of worry on the growth and role of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) in the sphere of civil society.

_We see is the collapse of the idea that ordinary men and women are capable of appropriating the political in initiative._

_(Chandoke;1998:75)_

In this debate of state, market and civil society, market is increasing the arena of influences on state as well as civil society. Scholars like Rajni Kothari are of the view that state to be withdrawn from many areas. His emphasis is on greater role to be played civil society against over dominance of market forces.
India being multi-religious, multi-ethnic country, the question of caste and identity and movement also crop up in debate of civil society. Tracing the sources of social movement in India, Gail Omvedt put it

*With Liberalism hardly born in India, and Marxism failing in creativity, most of the social movements today in fact draws upon the ideologies that originated in 19th century in India* (Omvedt ;2003:125).

She raises the most fundamental issue, as nether liberalism nor does Marxism provide ground for the civil society movements.

In state against Democracy, Rajni Kothari raises on question of legitimacy of state in India in view of rising communalism and state authoritarian. This is challenge for civil society and social movements.

The blend of democratic authoritarian and majoritarian communalism has turned poisonous, pushing India into a corner from where even the sanctimonious hypocrisy of the state’s belated display of its coercive powers to uphold the ideology of secular nationalism offers no safe retreat (Kothari ;1998: 225)

Jalal in analysis about the authorities of Indian Sub-continent deals about how political class and compress the resistances from below is contraction between old and new.
A de-centering of the structural and ideational features of the nation-state may be at tall order for the hallow carcass that serves as political discourse in sub-continental south Asia. In the absences of any political will to reconstitute existing structures of states which are more lathe that steel, renegotiate societal relations which are collages of murderous passions and resistance which are creating newer and deeper fissions out of old ones, scholars cannot afford the luxury of disengagement. (1996:257)

Indian theorist have played major role in dealing with civil society, social movements and state. This contribution on these various issues is important in development of political science and particularly movement studies in India.
References


