DYNAMICS OF URBAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS

CASE STUDY OF VP SINGH CAMP IN DELHI, INDIA.

Tara Saharan
PhD Candidate, Department of Geography, Planning and international Development Studies, University of Amsterdam, The Netherlands.
Email: T.Saharan@uva.nl

ABSTRACT:
In the last two decades, Delhi has witnessed several evictions, demolitions and displacement of informal settlement under the guise of progress and growth. Social movements are commonly considered a key tool to counter such development; however, collective action and mobilization of large groups often face various obstacles in such heterogeneous environments. Communities rarely act as coherent social group with unified interest. The aim of the paper is to illustrate the dynamics of collective action in an informal settlement based on a case study located in the southern periphery of Delhi. In the case study, the informal settlement VP Singh Camp, qualitative interviews were conducted to get a better understanding of the critical issues of the settlement and the relevant actors who play important roles in the process of mobilization.

The paper looks into the theory of urban social movements by utilizing the trajectories of collective action of the case study. Although politics is a central issue to the various periods of mobilization or lack of it, the research illustrates that the solidarity, threat – holistic or partial, politics – at local and national levels, knowledge as power are factors that influence the tipping point for mobilization.

KEY WORDS:
Urban social movements; Collective action; Mobilization; Informal settlements; Delhi; India.
INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades, Delhi’s growth and prosperity is tarnished with evictions and demolition drives of the informal settlements in the city (Dupont, 2008; Bhan, 2009; Menon-Sen, 2006). The city hosted Common Wealth Games in 2010 and this mega event triggered development for the city but not for all.

“Since 2004, at least 200,000 people in Delhi have been forcibly evicted as a result of the Common Wealth Game” – (published in a report by Habitat International Coalition in 2011)

In addition to the Common Wealth Games, the Public Interest litigation (PIL) against the informal settlements and the media showcasing the images of development in the evicted sites by linking it to ‘good governance’ as well as the ‘the world class city’ discourse was driving such processes (Bhan, 2009). Moreover, various public speeches by the chief minister of the state echoed the idea of ‘world class city’ which was also reflected in the master plan of Delhi (Dupont, 2011). The state has been successful in pushing the poor out of the city and this has been revealed in the provisional census data of 2011, showing the decline in growth of the urban center from 52.24% in 1991-2001 to 26.69% in 2001-2011. The ‘displacement and rehabilitation of slums’ is one of the factors causing the fore-mentioned decreasing growth rate of the urban center (Bhatnagar, 2012). Mobilization through collective action as a strategy is usually adopted by informal settlements to counter and resist eviction drives. This paper presents the case of an informal settlement namely, VP Singh Camp and its journey from resistance to eviction through social mobilization in the 1990s to the present state of demobilization.

The studies on urban social mobilization in the context of developing countries have focused on one point in time. This research borrows from the studies conducted on poverty dynamics by Narayan(2009) and Krishnan (2010). Both the scholars argue against studies done at one point in time and propagate the “dynamic” approach wherein they attempt to understand movement out of poverty through life histories, focus group sessions and detailed interviewed of people. Applying the same rationale here, this study aims to look at the social mobilization not from a static angle but through three different periods of the informal settlement where due to the circumstances the residents were presented with an opportunity to mobilize and act collectively. The main goal is to understand the underlying factors, why residents of the case study mobilized in one situation and not in others.

First, this paper discusses the theoretical framework related to social movements, and how it will be adopted to the case presented. Then, it will revisit the history of the settlement to draw insights to the events that led to mobilization against the eviction in the past and explore the reasons behind the present lack of social movements in the settlement, both based on the data collected in 2009 and 2011. Finally the paper will present the factors that have marked the trajectory of collective action in

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1 This is part of the introduction of the ‘Draft Master Plan of Delhi – 2021’, available at: http://www.dda.org.in/planning/docs/001_Introduction.pdf

2 This study is part of a larger EU Research Project: Chance2sustain - Urban Chances, City Growth and the Sustainability Challenge. The project focusses on ten cities of India, Brazil, Peru and South Africa, looking at the issues of mega project, urban inequality, and environmental challenges through the lens of spatial knowledge and fiscal decentralization within the governance of the cases.
the VP Singh Camp. Solidarity, lack of knowledge and trust, absence of urgent threat, rapid shift in population, fragmentation of the settlement, local politics, unified leadership are the main empirical findings explaining the present lack of mobilization in the settlement.

SOCIAL MOVEMENT AND COLLECTIVE ACTION – THE CONCEPT:
Within the theoretical framework of urban social movements, this study aims to explore the dynamics of such processes by analyzing the issues related to collective action for mobilization in slums. The section deals with the definitions of social movements, its extent in the urban context and the dynamics of collective action.

The idea of collective action has been central to the theory of social movements, although defined in various ways. Diani regards social movements as a ‘network of interactions engaged in conflict’ (2011) and Wilkinson argues that it is a ‘collective endeavor to promote change’ (1971). Bebbington discusses the effect of heterogeneity of actors in social movement (2006) stating that the actors could have different reasons for protest, yet there has to be a significant overlap in the vision for a sustained effort. Zald and McCarthy define social movement as ‘a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure’ (1977).

In order to understand the dynamic nature of social movements, it is imperative to clarify the reasons leading to collective action. In The Logic of Collective Action, Olson focuses on the utilitarian aspect of group behavior stating that mobilization occurs when the ‘total worth’ exceeds the level of ‘total cost’ of the actors involved (1977). In this book he often supports his arguments by citing examples of large private firms or government organizations. He believes that the group will not mobilize until and unless provided with ‘selective incentives’. Further, Olson also talks about a ‘threshold level’, which is required for mobilization and once reached, any further increase is irrelevant. In argument to Olson, Zald and McCarthy propose ‘solidarity and principal’ as an alternative approach to mobilization (1977). In their theory of ‘resource mobilization’, they discuss the role of external and internal actors in the dynamics of social movements (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). The literature on social mobilization puts an enormous focus on the political processes in the movements. However, Ostrom argues that ‘contextual variables’ are vital to have a thorough understanding of the threats to collective action (Ostrom, 2000). Empirical studies can highlight such contextual differences.

Due to the scale of urban processes, the studies of urban social movements have limited status in the traditional social movement theories and deliberations (Hamel et al, 2000). The origin of urban social movements is tied to the vacuum created by capitalism and the role played by state. Castell talks about internal dynamics and the context to understand the theory of urban social movements (1983). Several empirical studies on urban social movement discuss the issues of politics and power relations in order to explain the dynamics and the context of demobilization (Finquelievich, 1981; Hipsher 1996). Urban Social movements are born overnight and also vanish at a sudden spur of the moment. This dynamism is not a limitation but the most important aspect of it (Schuurman and Naerssen, 2011). The proposed paper aims to look at the trajectory of urban social movement located in an informal settlement of Delhi and understand the underlying reasons behind its growth and decline.
DATA AND METHODS:

This section deals with sampling and data collection strategies. The data gathered for the research presented here, was a collective effort of field investigations conducted in 2009 and 2011. The first phase of the data collection in 2009, involved creating the settlement profile of VP Singh Camp. The key actors were identified residing in and as well as outside the settlement. Local leaders, municipal councilors, party workers, social workers, etc. were interviewed at this stage to get an overview of the area. Formal structured interviews in additional to open in-depth discussions was done to get detailed information about the processes of mobilization in the settlement. In 2011, qualitative interviews were conducted at the household level using purpose sampling by reasoned choice methods to understand the present challenges of the settlement. A list was drawn based on caste, place of origin, religious affiliation, gender, profession and location of the house in the settlement. An attempt was made to include all the different categories of people living within the heterogeneity of the settlement. The questionnaire was pretested in the field before being finalized. The response rate was hundred per cent as there was not a single case of refusal. However, different days were selected for interviews. For instance: weekends or other holidays were reserved for interviewing male resident working out of the settlement, whereas, on the weekdays women and also some men available in the settlement were the main focus. Not only the days, but also time of the day was critical since mornings were a busy time for residents and lack of sufficient light in public space during the night made filling-out the forms extremely difficult. The two phased study aided to create an overall image of the area along with the understanding of crucial issues from the perspective of thirty residents.

The consideration of the ethical issues was necessary for the purpose of ensuring the privacy as well as the safety of the participants. Consent and confidentiality were among the significant ethical issues that were considered in the research process. In order to secure the consent of the selected participants, the researcher relayed all relevant details of the study, including its aim and purpose. By listening to the vital details, the respondents were able to understand the importance of their role in the completion of the research. The confidentiality of the participants is ensured by not disclosing their names in the research. The respondents were also given an option to withdraw from the study if they wanted. With this, the participants were not forced to participate in the research.

There are a few notable limitations to the data. Firstly the data collected by interviewing some residents and few key actors is not a representative sample of the settlement. On posing the questions related to ‘needs’, the most common response was – ‘If you are not going to fulfill our needs then why are you asking?’ This query made the respondents passive in the discussion.

3 The case study of VP Singh Camp presented here is a result of field investigations by M.M. Shankare Gowda IN 2009 and Tara Saharan IN 2011.
4 The name of the respondents in the interviews extract presented in the paper has been changed to maintain their anonymity.
BACKGROUND:

Delhi is the second largest urban agglomeration\(^5\) of the country with a population of 16.3 million residents as per 2011 census. V.P. Singh Camp is a ‘notified slum’\(^6\) settlement, located in the southern periphery of Delhi [fig.1]. In this section, the history of the settlement and description of the relevant actors is presented to provide the foundation of the discussion. The data was collected through interviews of crucial actors of the settlement as well the residents.

HISTORY:

The settlement was founded in the seventies by migrant populations from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, both neighboring states of Delhi. The migrants primarily served in the Indian railways carrying out informal jobs of porters and track maintenance workers. In the 1980s, the settlement was known as “Graha Kalyaan Samiti” which can be literally translated into – “Resident Welfare Society”. Over the years, the population of the settlement grew. During 1989-91, with the political party ‘Janata Dal’ at power in the centre, the Delhi Development Authority (DDA) made an attempt to evict the people from its present location. In turn, the residents met the then prime minister of the country – Mr. V. P. Singh - and apprised him with their situation. He not only stalled the demolition, but also undertook improvement steps for people in the form of issuing ration cards, making provision for water and

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\(^5\) An urban agglomeration is a continuous urban spread constituting a town and its adjoining outgrowths, or two or more physically contiguous towns together with or without outgrowths of such towns. The boundary of Delhi is a contested issue so there is always a debate if Delhi is the first or the second largest urban agglomeration of the country.

\(^6\) The notified areas are those which have declared/ notified as slum areas under Section-3A of the Slum Areas (Improvement and Clearance) Act 1956. According to the act, any area can be declared as a slum if the buildings in the area are: 1. in any respect unfit for human habitation; or 2. by reason of dilapidation, over-crowding, faulty arrangements, and design of such buildings, narrowness or faulty arrangement of streets, lack of ventilation, light or sanitation facilities, or any combination of these factors, are detrimental to safety, health and morals.
electric supply to the area and so on. To mark their gratitude, the residents renamed the settlement to its current name “V. P. Singh Camp”.

In 2002, the Indian Container Depot abutting the settlement needed land to expand its activities. For the same, five hundred and twenty nine households bordering the depot were evicted and relocated to the remote location of Madanpur Khadar. So for the expansion needs of the depot, although a part of the settlement was relocated, the rest of the slum remained intact. Further, in 2006, the DDA invited bids by private real estate developers for the construction of three thousand and five hundred tenements for the re-housing of slum dwellers in five-storey apartment blocks. This was an ambitious public-private partnership, where along with the housing, the developer was required to make provisions for physical infrastructure and basic social facilities. The developer was allowed to build seven hundred and fifty high income apartments for free sale as compensation. DLF Ltd won the bid and sold its share to the India Bulls later. However, the project was stalled in 2009 as it failed to get clearance from the Ministry of Environment and Forest.

Table 1: Time-line showing the crucial events in the history of V.P. Singh Camp

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Crucial events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early 1970s</td>
<td>The settlement was formed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980s</td>
<td>Settlement grew and came to be known as: ‘Graha Kalyan Samiti’ or ‘Resident Welfare Society’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-1991</td>
<td>Delhi Development Authority tried to evict the residents. Intervention by the Prime Minister Mr. V. P. Singh, who stalled the eviction. Thereafter the settlement came to be known as V.P. Singh Camp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Expansion of Container Depot; and eviction and relocation of 529 Household to Madanpur Khadar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>Delhi Development Authorities inviting bids for a public private partnership. Joint ventures scheme to re-houses the residents in-situ in addition to the high income housing as a compensation for the developer. Bid won by DLF Ltd and later sold to India Bulls.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>The project was stalled due to lack of environmental clearance.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the table 1 presented above, the following three periods can be identified for the trajectory of urban social movements of VP Singh Camp: 1989-1991, 2002 and 2009-2011, which is the base period of investigation. These three periods are selected for analysis, as each of them presents the residents with the choice to claim their rights through the process of collective action and mobilization.

SETTLEMENT CHARACTERISTICS AND CRITICAL ISSUES:
V.P. Singh Camp is a heterogeneous settlement in social as well as economic sense. The household monthly income of the residents ranges from Indian rupees 45,000 (USD 998) to a meager amount of India rupees 3,000 (USD 66). This explains the diverse nature of housing units in the settlement with some residents living in well consolidated units and others surviving in temporary dilapidated structures. Households from six different states such as Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Rajasthan, Punjab, Bihar and West Bengal are residing here. Among the residents there are different religious groups, specifically Hindu, Muslims as well as a small minority of Christians, but also caste divisions. Overall, households with similar regional, religious and caste background tend to cluster. Due to the
precarious nature of the settlement, it was very challenging to determine the exact population. According to the voter’s list enumerated in 2009, 3992 registered voters\(^7\) were part of the settlement.

As opposed to the conventional idea of slums, there are several pockets in the settlement that enjoy a good access to basic amenities such as water, drainage and sanitation. In these areas, water is available in the common taps around the clock, covered drains exist along the narrow lanes and sanitation in the form of private toilets is available.

\[\text{Everything is okay here. Earlier there was no electricity but now there is no problem. From one tube well we have increased the number to four so there is no shortage of water. Drains were open earlier but things have improved a lot. See outside my house is covered drain. We have all basic services.} \]
\[\text{(Anand, 19 years old, Schedule caste Hindu, studying in Delhi University)} \]

However, many households face challenges of water with limited and negligible supply hours, poor level of sanitation as a result of common toilets which usually lacks water supply and open drains or merely water and liquid waste running through the natural channels.

\[\text{There is no water near our house. I am not talking of all the areas. Some areas do have water but not this place. Tube well is there but the arrangements to use it is not done in a proper way. If people are located close to the water connections they use it in a very careless way and as a result the water does not reach all the houses. In some places it is getting wasted while at the other locations people are struggling with the limited supply. We have to go very far to get the water as a result.} \]
\[\text{(Mohammad, 40 years old schedule caste Muslim, owns an electrical repairing shop residing in own temporary dwelling.)} \]

Water shortages in the common toilets have forced the residents to defecate in open areas and this creates an unhygienic environment breeding insects and foul smell. Some part of the settlement have clean public spaces, however piles of unattended garbage is visible in various other sections of the area. Access to ration or fair price food is yet another service that is available to some and denied to others.

\[\text{There is a big garbage dump near my house. People use it as a disposal site as well as open toilet. If I try to oppose it they retaliate back saying we are not littering your home. Well it is true that they are not littering my home but they have to understand that the home does not exist in isolation and the surroundings equally matter.} \]
\[\text{.... The government gives a little but that also half the time does not reach the needy. For instance if three bags of rice come at a rationed cost, the suppliers take two bags and distribute one among all of us. Just in case we try to voice our opinion against this injustice then he even stops what little we get. He says” if you people complain then I will pass on the little you get to the officials so that they can also become happy with my services”. The last time we complained the ration shop did not open for two weeks.} \]
\[\text{(Pooja, 40 years old housewife, Brahmin - high caste, residing in own semi-permanent dwelling)} \]

The residents face serious limitations in terms of health and education facilities. Majority of the residents fall victims to some sort of the illness or other. There are some quacks operating in the area

\(^7\) According to the Election commission of India, all citizens of India who are 18 years of age as on 1st January of the year for which the electoral roll is prepared are entitled to be registered as a voter in the constituency where he or she ordinarily resides for six months or longer. The figure of 3992, does not represent the total population of the settlement. It must be recognized that children below the age of 18 years and adults that are not registered in the voter list, are absent in the given figure.
with a serious lack of any registered or formal medical facilities. There is no school or child day care facility in the settlement. This discourages some of the households from sending their children for education which leads to additional commuting cost in terms of money and time. Lack of education further leads to unemployment of the youths in the settlement fostering delinquencies in the area.

RESOURCEFUL ACTORS:
Mr. V. P. Singh played a crucial role in fighting the eviction and demolition of the settlement in 1991, when he was holding the highest public post, serving as the Prime Minister of the country. He supported the residents and stalled the eviction drive of the DDA. Since then, political leaders at the local as well as national levels have strong links with the settlement. Candidates from various national parties such as BJP (Bhartiya Janata Dal), INC (Indian National Congress), and Janata Dal, etc. have political support from the area.

People here are very much divided. When there are elections, the political leaders make rounds every day and once they win, we start making rounds of their office. So they work for fifteen days and then we run around behind them for the rest of the five years. It is a simple logic- whoever has money wins the election. (Rajesh, 64 years old washer man having his own shop, belonging to schedule caste, residing in own permanent dwelling.)

The settlement has several local leaders. These leaders identify potential supports (voters) in the settlement and team up with the contesting councilors or MLAs (member of Legislative Assembly). The local leaders are resourceful actors as they have a direct access to the elected leaders of the area.

TRAJECTORY OF COLLECTIVE ACTION IN THE SETTLEMENT:
In the construction of the trajectories, the discussion will be centered around three different periods mentioned earlier.

PERIOD 1: EVICTION THREAT TO THE SETTLEMENT IN 1989-1991
In 1989-1991, when the settlement was threatened with eviction by the DDA, residents mobilized to stir an agitation against the state and retain their rights to the city. The residents felt solidarity irrespective of their socio-economic and cultural differences. The lack of legal tenure and the threat of eviction was a central and urgent issue of concern for all. V.P. Singh was a pro-poor leader and a resourceful actor who turned the movement into a success. The movement was successful as the eviction did not take place and in due course of time the residents were able to gain access to basic services such as water and drainage.

PERIOD 2: EVICTION of 529 HOUSEHOLDS IN 2002 AND RELOCATION TO MADANPUR KHADAR
In the year 2002, the adjacent Container Depot needed land for the expansion of its functions. For the same, 529 households were evicted from the VP Singh Camp. These households were relocated in Madanpur Khadar, a resettlement colony located 8 kilometers from the present location of V.P. Singh Camp.

Although, hundreds of households were evicted and relocated in this period, the residents were not successfully mobilized for any collective action. There are three main explanation to this. Firstly, lack
of solidarity was a major threat to mobilization during this period. The decision of the state to evict and relocate 529 households and leave the rest of the slum intact, made the task easy, as not every resident had an equal impact of the decision. Therefore, the need to mobilize was among few and not the entire settlement. In spite of a high level of engagement with the politicians at this stage, since the settlement was divided and many local leaders resided in other parts which remained intact, the eviction process was successfully implemented. Finally, lack of social mobilization organization contributed to the divided resistance among the affected residents.

PERIOD 3: THE PRESENT STATE OF MOBILIZATION SINCE 2009
Presently the settlement is marked by lack of mobilization. There are various obstacles that hinder social mobilization in the researched settlement at present. First, the settlement is divided into various socially isolated yet physically integrated blocks, based on caste, religion, region of origin, language, etc, and each of this community has a local leader. As a result, there are many settlement leaders with their own political affiliations. This is also beneficial for politicians who make sure that the settlement remains divided as it makes the negotiation process easy during the election to gain votes. During the election, the patrons (contesting candidate) provide money liquor, clothes and promises development to the local leaders who further convey it to the potential voters. The patrons rely on the local leaders who act as brokers to get the votes. The main concern of the political leaders is winning the elections, which can be easily negotiated through the brokers. The cause of development is lost in personal interest of the actors.

I am more of a social worker than a politician... In the last election we supported Mr. Ramesh Bhiduri of BJP as he was a good candidate... but he did not do anything for the colony such as sanitation, cleaning, nothing is working here, so now we have decided to support Mr. Sajjan Kumar from Congress, as that is the only party which has done anything good for the people.... Yes the leader of the settlement influence votes. We tell the people about the right candidate and explain the pros and cons.... We circulate among the people we know and it all works out internally. (one of the local leaders of the settlement).

This also happens because the local leaders keep shifting their political affiliations and they do not develop ideology but opportunity based relations. There is a lack of common leadership in the settlement. The residents do not trust their leaders. There are aware of the local politics and how it is used by the leaders to acquire personal gains rather than community good.

At present due to shifting alliances of the local leaders there is a lack of unified resourceful actor as well as any urgent cause of concern. The issues at hand either have long term implications for instance health and education or are differentially available such as water and drainage. The urgency for action is missing and contributes to the lack of mobilization among the actors. Also lack of a social mobilization organization in the form of an NGO is lacking there. The movement also declined because it was depended on charismatic leadership of VP Singh.

Another obstacle to mobilization is lack of knowledge. The resourceful actors such as the elected politicians and local leaders use their knowledge strategically for asserting their position and power in the settlement. The local leaders are better informed than the residents due to their political affiliations. Although the local leaders are the ‘carriers’ of information, they usually keep it to themselves and publicly act ignorant like the rest of the residents. The knowledge of the latest policies and access to the elected representatives bestows power in the hand of local leaders. The power of the
resourceful actors is maintained by limiting the knowledge within a circle of restricted actors. The lack of transparency and use of knowledge for cultivating power creates many small isolated islands, which rarely work together for community mobilization. The various different communities of the settlement with their own local leader create small pockets that are in collision rather than integration with each other. These colliding pockets and the politics of power prohibit the flow of knowledge and contribute to the present lack of mobilization at settlement level.

CONCLUSION:
The aim of this paper was to elaborate for the case of VP Singh Camp the dynamics of mobilization in urban social movements through the lens of social movement theories to better understand why people mobilize in certain situations and not in other, given the same spatial context.

From the utilitarian perspective, it can be simply said that not everyone in the settlement is convinced that the cost of mobilization is equivalent to the effort. This is due to the fact that although the settlement is a ‘designated slum’, many parts of the same have a decent level of housing and basic amenities. In addition, the social heterogeneity in terms of region of migration, caste and religious affiliation contributes to the lack of solidarity among the actors.

It can be illustrated from the case of VP Singh Camp that mere access to political leaders need not have a positive correlation to the mobilization. The informal settlement was connected to political leadership at the level of Prime Minister and members of legislative assemble (MLA), in all three periods of analysis. However, only during the initial threat of eviction to the settlement in 1991, the residents were able to collectively mobilize and resist the eviction with the aid of Mr. V.P. Singh. The role of resourceful actors is essential for reaching a goal, but those who believed in the cause and principle and not in any short-term benefits. However, such a charisma can also be a limitation. The actor centric movement will depend highly on the actor and will end with him.

The case of VP Singh Camp shows that collective action cannot be explained from a utilitarian, or resource mobilization or the political perspectives in isolation. It is a complex issue, which is connected to actors and processes that operate at internal as well as external level. From the analytical lens, it can be concluded that solidarity, knowledge, heterogeneity, threat – holistic or partial, politics at the local as well as national levels were the factors that either triggered or declined the mobilization process of the empirical case.

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