Willem Assies, Gerrit Burgwal, Ton Salman

Structures of Power, Movements of Resistance

An Introduction to the Theories of Urban Movements in Latin America

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STRUCTURES OF POWER, MOVEMENTS OF RESISTANCE

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FOREWORD

by David Slater

One of the focal points of much debate within the literature on contemporary social and political theory concerns the significance of social movements, and in particular what have come to be termed 'new social movements'. It can be argued that there are three main reasons for the continuing centrality of this theme.

1. Initially, it is important to underline the steady development of interest in agency and subjectivity. In the wake of a growing disillusionment and opposition to the apparent certitudes of class analysis, the question of the constitution of social subjects and their potential relation to collective action and political agency has become increasingly pivotal in the analysis of social change. In this analytical context, the study of movements provides a point of convergence and in some cases of crystallization for many of the theoretical and political arguments that traverse this broader territory.

2. Secondly, and in a related fashion, the controversies surrounding the potential political relevance of social movements, and especially in connection with the differential meanings of democracy, have tended to flow into and reinforce the important discussions of the state-society nexus.

3. Finally, in an era sometimes characterized by the notion of 'cynical reason', or 'the end of social criticism', and in which the precepts of neo-liberalism and possessive individualism have tended to become more hegemonic, the widespread occurrence of movements of protest, often coming to life outside the realm of established institutional practices, has engendered a sense of hope, and held open, no matter how tenuously, the possibility of another horizon. Optimism of the will has been given a new dynamic.

The studies brought together in this volume explore many of the issues that go to the heart of current debates on social movements. Despite differences of orientation and paradigmatic background there is a sense of complementarity and cross-fertilization that reflects a consistent process of exchange and cooperation. The chapter provided by Assies includes an interesting discussion of the marxian tradition, seen in relation to the evolution of ideas on movements and structures, whilst the Salman contribution offers the reader an overview of the broad panoply of approaches to the contemporary analysis of social movements. Burgwal for his part sets out a classification of the key sub-themes for any analysis of urban movements in Latin America, and this clearly-structured essay acts as an introduction and bridge to the bibliography, which will be very useful for student and practitioner alike.

In all cases the range of literature covered is impressive, and, throughout the various surveys, the argument remains tightly textured, leaving no space for vague speculation. All three authors have carried out field research in Latin America, and have been able to combine the differential experiences, including a stimulating reconnaissance of the theoretical literature produced in this part of the periphery, with a firmly-rooted knowledge of the First World traditions of social theory. In this sense, and this is perhaps the most fascinating and fruitful feature of their enterprise, they are able to cross over the customary boundaries of demarcation, carrying across from periphery to centre and back, ideas, concepts, modes of reflection and points of analytical tension that help to broaden our perspective and understanding.

Finally, the texts assembled here offer a challenge. In a period within which the previously solidified blocks of critical thought have increasingly broken up, coming to resemble archipelagoes of knowledge and interpretation, to what extent can a focus on social movements and democracy help reconstruct an alternative paradigm? No longer inside the fortress of historical materialism, but outside on an open terrain where the development of an alternative problematic does not have to succumb to the cynicism of the intellect nor to the waning of social criticism; and where new horizons have to be made rather than assumed. Certainly, if it is judged necessary to expand and eventually transform the space for democratic politics, the threatening structural imperatives of the capitalist order cannot be justifiably ignored, but nor can people be treated as the mere bearers of economically produced roles. The ghost of old paradigms will no doubt continue to haunt the terrain. However, as the analytical embodiment of new ideas and visions takes a stronger hold, there is every reason to be positive; also too there is every reason to combine intellectual commitment with an invigorating social engagement, a notable hallmark of the text that follows.

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"Mr. Judge, Eviction is Injustice" (Recife, 1988/photo: Willem Assies)

INTRODUCTION

Willem Assies, Gerrit Burgwal, Ton Salman

In 1973 Manuel Castells wrote a short book containing case studies of resistance against renovation projects in Paris, municipal politics in Montreal, ecological protest in the United States and the squatter movement in Chile, it was published under the title *Urban Struggles and Political Power*. A year later, a Spanish edition came out, this time entitled *Urban Social Movements*. This is but one indication of how, over the past 15 years or so, the notion of 'social movement' has acquired a life of its own. Whereas before that time one would only occasionally come across the term, it now began to appear on the covers of books and in the title of an increasing number of articles. 'Social Movements' soon became an object of study in its own right which it was fashionable to study. The term came to be applied to a wide range of phenomena: one has only to think of ecologists, feminists, squatters, ecclesiastical base communities, students, pacifists, punkers, ethnic movements and 'wanna-be-tribes'..... The modes of action are as varied as the types of movements. They range from petitioning state agencies, through self help, communal ways of living, mass demonstrations and invasions of urban or rural property, to the burning of delayed buses or metro trains in the Brazilian metropolises. Furthermore, the conditions under which various movements emergence are different in many aspects. What do squatters in the Netherlands and in Latin America have in common? Finally, a wide range of concepts has come to be applied in the analysis of 'social movements' and opinions, of course, differ on the very definition of 'social movement'.

In an attempt to survey the literature on urban social movements in Latin America, Gerrit Burgwal found over 500 titles of articles, books, congress papers and other research reports. This alone is enough to lose sight of the wood for the trees. That was exactly the problem Ton Salman and Willem Assies were confronted with when starting their respective research projects on urban movements in Chile and Brazil. Their attempts to find a way through the jungle of the 'social movement' literature gave rise to the first two chapters of this volume which provide the reader with guidelines to the sometimes chaotic debates and the tangle of concepts. The objective is a critical evaluation of the course which the debates on (urban) social movements have taken so far and to stimulate further discussion and, above all, research.

Castell's book fell in with the spirit of the time. The opening phrases read:

> "Suddenly the regular drone of urban traffic is interrupted by a confused agitation of footsteps, voices, screams, sounds of metal and

> breaking glass. The stream of cars comes to a halt; concentrations of pedestrians take over; the mass in movement grows, carrying banners and cardboard posters speaking of themselves. And of their city. Facing them, the eternal helmets, the order of the truncheon; steps in pace and then the charge, the violence, the repulsion" (our translation).

The spirit of '68, when the slogan *sous les pavés, c'est la plage* had expressed the feeling that a different world was within reach, was still in the air. In another way too the book reflects the spirit of the time, particularly through the original title *Luttes Urbaines et Pouvoir Politique*. It refers to the structuralist marxism which, at the time, was at the height of its influence, in part perhaps because it explained that the revolution of '68 had only failed as a result of its belief in spontaneity and a lack of articulation with the working class. In any case, the influence of structuralism in the debates on 'social movements' was pervasive. One of the issues at the time was the question of how the newly emerging conflicts related, or should be related, to the class struggle. Among feminists the debate raged over the structural articulations between patriarchy and capitalism from which it was thought possible to deduce an answer to the question of the relationship between feminism and socialism. Marxist urban sociologists engaged in robust debates about the relationship between urban movements and the class struggle.

In the latter case, some of the more influential theorists agreed on some points. Urban movements were thought of as reflecting urban contradictions. The trend-setting authors on the subject also agreed that urban social movements did not emerge spontaneously, but were the result of action by an organization upon 'its' social base. Urban movements *become* social movements only in so far as they are related to the working class movement, which was supposed to be the *real* social movement within capitalist industrial society, and to its political expression, the party. Of course opinions diverged on the choice of party, but the scheme was quite clear. Society has a structure and a superstructure, the latter consisting of ideology and politics. The party represents the objective historical interests of the working class and the majority of the population, at the political level, where history is made.

It was, as Laclau and Mouffe have observed, the proliferation of social conflicts not based on class which, among other things, made this image of society and politics and the attempts at integrating the new conflicts into a class struggle, increasingly unsatisfactory. The term 'new social movements' made its appearance as a way of referring to movements that are 'not like that'. Its appearance simultaneously heralded the eclipse of what has been called 'the paradigm of the 1970s'. We entered the 1980s in search of new ways of understanding the phenomena that would not fit the familiar schemes. 'New', therefore, refers to many things. In Europe, it may refer to movements that are not like the 'old' working class movement. In Latin America it may refer to movements that are not involved in the old schemes of populist politics. In both cases it may refer to 'new ways of doing politics', new 'places for doing politics' and the politization of new issues. 'New', simultaneously refers to new conceptualizations of social movements and the world in which they move. Such is the vast array of concepts and approaches that have emerged in the course of the debate.

One of the main features of this debate, of course, is that it is related to the much wider debates on the 'crisis of the social sciences', the 'nature' and 'meaning' of society and the question of how 'history is made', to mention just a few of the controversial issues. Such questions particularly came to the fore through the critique of the structuralism which informed much of the 'paradigm of the 1970s'. The notion that urban movements are the expression of urban contradictions left many with a feeling of unease. It was argued that structuralist theories may explain why, but not how, movements come into being and maintain themselves, questions, in short, that are related to the structure/actor controversy that nowadays pervades the social sciences.

To get away from the notion that individuals are merely the 'supports of structures', many have turned to a form of 'methodological individualism'. Some have looked to the North American tradition of collective action theories. Although, in the course of the 1970s, this tradition had come to pay more attention to the political aspects of collective action, many felt that it did not provide a satisfactory alternative to structuralism for screening out the meaningful character of action, its value orientations and the question of social change. Whereas the rational-choice approach coupled with the 'pluralist society' image, tends to apply the term social movement to any type of conflictive behaviour *within* a social system, Melucci (1980) has argued that the term *social movement* should be reserved for the types of conflictual behaviour that "transgress the norms that have been institutionalized in social roles, which go beyond the rules of the political system and/or which attack the structure of a society's class relations". While the strategic action-approach, as Touraine has observed, society is reduced to a perpetual unstructured flow of strategical interactions, the other actor-oriented alternatives to structuralism tend to emphasize the meaningful character of action and link the notion of social movement to ideas about emancipation and dis-alienation. These concerns are reflected in the emergence of concepts like 'identity', 'subjectivity' and the reconceptualizations of politics expressed in the slogan 'the personal is political', the inquiries into the 'microphysics of power' and 'the revolution in daily life'. At the same time the epic image of social change which characterized so many of the early 'social-movement' studies, gave way to different evaluations.

Whereas the 'paradigm of the 1970s' quite often strongly focussed on questions of global societal change, the 1980s have seen a shift towards the individual actor and the emancipatory character of his/her involvement in a movement. If, according to the 'old view', a social movement emerged from contradictions and the action of 'an organization' on 'its' social base, the new emphasis would often be on notions like 'autonomy' and 'spontaneity' which were also said to be strongly valued by the new social movements themselves. Moreover, rather than seeking the significance of movements in their political effects, attention has now turned to so-called socio-cultural impact. Although these shifts in focus have opened up important areas for research, we argue in the first two chapters of this volume that the case may have been overstated. The new celebration of the individual actor and his/her emancipation/disalienation has often led to an overly exclusive focus on the internal process of social movements as well as to a neglect of their interactions with the 'environment' and the changes they bring about, even if these are less spectacular than a heroic societal revolution.

Urban social movements make up one specific area of study within the broader field of social movement studies. The subject is therefore situated within the wider discussion, we have outlined above, which has also influenced the definition of the specificity of urban movements. The initial definitions of urban movements referred to 'urban contradictions', a concept which was made operational mainly through the notion of 'collective consumption', that is the goods and services needed for the reproduction of the labour force and provided, or rather not provided, by the state. Thus the definition specified the stakes involved in the urban conflicts as well as the adversary. Not surprisingly, it was pointed out after a while that the definition did not cover all urban conflicts. Although issues of collective consumption play an important role, they do not exhaust the field of urban conflictuality. In relation to Latin America, it was argued that the definition was perhaps a-critically transposed from a European context, without sufficient elaboration of the specificities of the peripheral capitalist state. Further objections have been raised against the idea that movements 'mechanically' reflect contradictions. Structures do not practice by themselves. The concept of urban contradiction as a defining characteristic of *urban* movements has been a bone of contention in such controversies. We do not feel that these differences can be resolved by adding to the list yet another definition of *urban* (social) movements, or, for example, by substituting the notion of 'urban issues' for 'urban contradictions'. There will always be borderline cases. In the first two chapters of this book various approaches to -and definitions of- urban social movements will be discussed in the context of the wider debate on social movements. In the introduction to the bibliography the theoretically informed criteria for inclusion/exclusion, which in the end involve pragmatic consideration, will be elucidated.

In a similar way as the concept of urban contradictions relates to the structure/actor-controversy, the relation of movements to the state and their political significance are a subject of debate which cannot simply be resolved through redefinition. In broad outline one might say that in the earlier studies the issue of the relationship between urban movements and the struggle for socialism often took the centre stage, whereas in more recent studies the issue of democracy occupies an increasingly prominent place. This shift went hand in hand with a rethinking of the relation between movements and the state. Both theoretical contributions in this volume touch upon problems in this area and discuss aspects of the 'democracy issue'. Although this focus partly reflects the fact that the authors' research concentrates on urban movements in the context of the 'democratic transitions' in Chile and Brazil, we feel that the importance of the issue is not restricted to such cases.

If the themes of the structure/actor problem and the relations between movements, the state and democracy occupy a prominent place in the contributions to this book, we are well aware that these do not cover all of the themes and controversies that mark current discussions of social movements. Given the present state of the art, in which debates can be both highly detailed, and extremely global, in which no consensus exists about the level of elementary and basic terms and conceptualizations, in which research reports cover all continents and vary from descriptive case studies to attempts at broad cross-cultural generalization, covering the entire field is no longer possible.

The limitations of this book, however, do not just stem from the need to restrict the discussion. They also embody our conviction that, in order to arrive at a critical and adaptable understanding of both the movements' manifestations as well as the social scientists' assessments of these manifestations, it might be appropriate to reflect on aspects that, logically as well as chronologically, 'precede' the current theoretical trends and research approaches. The texts presented thus do not go into much empirical detail, nor do they claim to finally resolve any theoretical or research dilemma or controversy. Moreover, they do not pretend to cover the whole gamut of perspectives, themes and theses that have been advanced. Our guideline in reflecting upon the present increase in studies on social movements has been to 'step back' and to reconsider from a somewhat greater distance the background and motivations behind, positions and explanations currently being articulated. In this manner, we felt, it would be possible to contribute to a critical evaluation of the course which the debates have taken and to establish a useful, theoretically informed, starting point for our own research. We hope that these contributions will stimulate further debate and research.

The essay by Willem Assies begins with a discussion of the 'marxist legacy' which has had, and still has, a great influence on the debate on social movements. Marxism not only claimed to be a theory of 'the' social movement of industrial capitalist society -the working class movement-, but also to provide a theory for this movement. The first section traces the discussion of the structure/actor theme as it developed within the marxian paradigm and its relation to the issue of 'consciousness' and 'ideology'. The second part of this section focusses on the debates relating movements, the party, state power and the state to each other. The next section turns to the problem of coping with movements that are not directly class based, urban movements in particular, by integrating them into the class-struggle paradigm. Three such attempts, which have had a pervasive influence on the debate on urban social movements in Latin America, are reviewed. The contributions reviewed have had a major influence in shaping the so-called 'paradigm of the 1970s', revolving around the notion of 'urban contradictions', their relation to the class struggle and the issue of state power. The third section features the debate on the so-called new social movements and shows how this debate intersects with attempts to develop 'post-marxist' approaches. These attempts were prompted by dissatisfaction with current efforts at integrating the newly emerging 'a-typical' movements into the familiar scheme and are related to the ongoing controversies over the structure/ actor problem and the conceptualization of social change. Some of the major interventions in these debates are reviewed and compared on a number of points, such as the conditions under which new social movements emerge, the relevance of class composition for understanding such movements and the conceptualization of politics. These three sections provide background for a review of the discussion of urban movements in Latin America which follows in the fourth section of this contribution. It starts with a discussion of some of the attempts at adapting the 'paradigm of the 1970s' to Latin American circumstances and then briefly outlines some of the contributions to the development of a cross-cultural framework, that are essential if we are to avoid an a-critical transposition of theoretical approaches to different situations. It appears that one of the features most clearly shared by 'new' movements in Europe and Latin America is the problematization of their relation to 'politics'. However, on this point too, the issue presents itself in different ways, if only because in the Latin-American circumstances the functioning of a liberal democratic system cannot be presupposed as easily as in Europe. Issues like 'autonomy' and 'non-institutionalization' have different connotations in the context of the so-called 'democratic transitions' which are really processes of reorganization involving the creation of channels of 'participation'. This leads to a brief review of some of the current debates on the 'democratic potential' of Latin American urban movements and to a plea for a more sober and balanced approach. Finally it is argued that, although the emancipatory impact of the movements and their role in societal changes may have been overestimated in the early studies, there is no reason for discarding these features as defining characteristics of social movements. If it is true that the conceptions of change have taken leave of the 'old' model of cataclysmic revolution, it remains useful and worthwhile to retain the references to emancipation and change, rather than adopting seemingly neutral, relativist definitions covering a wide range of different forms and types of 'collective action'.

The essay by Ton Salman takes a comparative perspective. It starts with the observation that an important as well as problematical, feature of attempts to account for the meaning of social movements is the idea -or the wish- that they should be the subjects of significant social change, particularly now that such movements seem to be proliferating throughout the world. This becomes the starting point for a discussion of two controversial issues that seem to dominate the terrain, after a brief outline of the legacy of some of the 'older' traditions in the study of social movements. The first issue is one which -when simplified- divides researchers who focuss on structural conditions and constraints as bases of explanation, and researchers who claim that the actual political conflicts should be our main focus of interest; some even arguing that these conflicts *constitute* the political identities and the interests at stake and that, therefore, reference to 'underlying' structural features is irrelevant for an assessment of the significance of the conflict. The argument in this section takes Laclau & Mouffe's contribution to a 'post marxist' paradigm for explaining political conflict as its guideline. It discusses their critique of 'economistic marxism' and then turns to an evaluation of their choice of discourse analysis as an alternative. It concludes with a critique of their overly radical plea for acknowledging the *contingent* aspects of political conflict and contestation and their tendency to screen out the extra-discursive and contextual features in the explanation of political mobilization.

The second issue addressed has come to the fore particularly in the debates on the 'new' social movements. Here, authors who state that the main characteristics of the movements lie in their potential for *socio-cultural* transformation are opposed by others who focus on the *political* interaction and impact. It is argued that such a dichotomization does not do justice to the continuities between the two dimensions. In order to clarify these continuities and yet not be forced into undifferentiated statements about 'obvious mutual impacts', a number of important research questions crop up. The present state of the art concerning this theme invites reflection on such questions as the learning processes which participants in movements go through, the competencies that might result from these learning processes and the consequences they might have for political outlooks and activities as well as for attitudes towards 'outside' intervention. For example, the glorification of 'autonomy' at the level of demand-making and of interaction with political institutions has hardly been examined by researchers and this has prevented a critical evaluation of the consequences of the emphasis on autonomy. Similarly, the theme of institutionalization has remained underdeveloped as a result of a rather rigid counterpositioning of institutionalization and identity. According to some authors the movements face the dilemma of either yielding to the 'weight of reality' and becoming integrated into the established dominant framework or preserving their identity at the price of being ineffective. It seems a fruitful hypothesis that at some time or other, movements are confronted with the challenge of institutionalization and to examine the ways in which movements manage to influence and transform the terms of institutionalization.

Also in this section, a plea is made to take account of the *crucial* impact which contextual features exert on the character, development, 'weight' and internal transitions that mark the movements. In the final section some considerations of conceptual differentiation, of the 'newness' of new social movements and of the focus on democracy that marks many of the present Latin American attempts to reflect upon (urban) social movements, are presented in the hope that they will be helpful for future research.

In the third chapter -a short introduction to the bibliography- a concise overview of thematical points of interest in recent publications and research reports on urban movements in Latin America is presented. These themes have served as guidelines for indexing the literature included in the bibliography. This index, and the accompanying user's guide, should help the readers locate literature in which they have a special interest. Inevitably, such a bibliography will be outdated by the time of publication. However, up to the beginning of 1989, it includes all the publications on the subject of urban social movements in Latin America that are known to us.

As explained in the introduction to the bibliography, movements clearly characterized by other than urban issues are not included in our list. For instance, labour movements and organizations, as well as movements and organizations set up on the basis of peasant interests, women's issues or of an ethnic or guerrilla character are left out, as well as movements associated with other forms mobilization in Latin America. To be sure, there are no clear-cut, once and for all criteria for exclusion or inclusion. Our choices have been informed by considerations of relevance and theoretically informed pragmatism. The focus on urban movements not only has to do with the research projects in which we are involved but also with the fact that in recent decades, this type of organization has spread to such an extent that its possible role and meaning for political and social developments in Latin America in the near future merits special study. Surely, posing the question does not mean giving a positive answer: both skeptical as well as exultant assessments have been presented, backed up by what appears to be convincing empirical data. Rather than finding this disheartening however, we find these differences stimulating and challenging. We hope to have both expressed and passed on this feeling in the present volume.

CENTRO DE DOCUMENTACION
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CHAPTER ONE

OF STRUCTURED MOVES AND MOVING STRUCTURES

An overview of theoretical perspectives on social movements

Willem Assies

The 'nature' of social movements and the theoretical understanding of such movements have been the subject of extensive debate over the past two decades. Although the guiding concern of this book is with 'urban social movements' in Latin America, it is impossible to restrict the discussion to this type of movement. Many of the issues involved interlink with and can only be understood in the context of more general concerns. The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the course of debates over these issues through a critical discussion of some of the most influential contributions. Obviously such an approach confronts one with the awkward choice of inclusion and exclusion. However, by focussing on a number of contributions it is possible to cover the most important issues debated and to provide the reader with the necessary points of reference to situate other contributions. As the debates on social movements in Latin America are part of the more general discussion we will start by focussing on the latter and only turn to the specifically Latin American problematic in the last section of this chapter.

Overlooking the theoretical battlefield one can observe a rupture taking place in the course of the 1970s. Indications of this rupture are the emergence of the term 'new social movements' as well as an increasing number of authors referring to themselves as 'post-marxist'. The term 'new social movements' relates to movements that differ from the familiar class based movements of workers or peasants. It also refers to the emergence of new issues addressed by the movements, to new modes of organization and action as well as new ways of relating to the state, state power and politics. The attempts to come to grips with such movements have contributed to the questioning of the dominant modes of social analysis of which the appearance of 'post-marxism', along with other 'post-somethings', is an aspect. Marxian inspired approaches, it is asserted, have lost their relevance for the understanding of what is going on in contemporary societies and fail to come to grips with the presently emerging forms of social protest. They may have been relevant to industrial capitalist society but that stage is past and new modes of analysis are required to understand the functioning of present day society and the social movements it gives rise to. At the same time the discussion on the relevance of marxian inspired frameworks links up with the wider debates on the status of the social sciences and the attempts at finding a way out of their 'crisis'.

Two themes take a prominent place in the following discussion. In the first place the, at times rather 'philosophical', discussion on the 'nature' of social movements and their 'sense' and 'meaning'. This links up with the questioning of the relevance of 'totalizing views' and 'meta-social grand narratives' for an understanding of society and history. Furthermore, it involves issues like the fading away of the concept of ideology and the emergence of the interest in discourse and 'regimes of signification' which do not have the connotation of 'false consciousness'. It also relates to the issue of anti-humanism and, for example, the shift from a conception of subjects as the origin of discourse and action to a conception of subjects as constituted in and through discourse. These points reflect the developments in theorizing the 'nature of the social' which can not but have implications for the theorization of social movements. The second theme relates to the concerns of 'political theory' and revolves around the relation between movements, state(-power) and democracy. This touches upon the conceptualizations of politics and 'the political' and where they are 'located' -the issue of 'political spaces'- and it will be helpful in discussing the issues raised by the transitions to more democratic forms of government in Latin America.

Marxist thinking, as we argued, has been particularly relevant to the analysis of social movements. It purported to provide a theory of -as well as *for* 'the' social movement of capitalist industrial society. The call for 'post-marxism' by various authors addressing the issue of the 'new social movements' (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985; Touraine, 1978) points to the relevance marxian thought still has in the thinking about social movements, particularly in the 'European tradition' of social analysis, even if only as something to be superceded. The issue is still far from being settled, however.

In view of this state of affairs we will start this chapter with a brief discussion of some aspects of the marxian framework, which will be helpful in situating the contributions to the debate on social movements in the following sections. In the following section we will turn our attention to the attempts at integrating movements that are not directly class based into the marxian framework. We will do so by focussing on three authors who through the 1970s had a pervasive influence in the study of urban social movements in Latin America. In the third section we will discuss the characterizations of the so-called 'new social movements' and the related development of 'post-marxist' approaches. Against the background of these discussions we will finally try to clarify our position in the debate on urban movements in Latin America.

1. THE MARXIAN 'ROOTS'

1.1. History: making it, or doing it?

Marx and Engels proposed to provide a scientific theory for the social movement of industrial capitalist society which they contrasted to the earlier 'utopian socialisms'. Socialism, Engels claimed, had become scientific with Marx's discovery of the materialist conception of history and his revelation of the secret of capitalist production. Previous socialists, he argued, had thought of socialism as the realization of Absolute Truth, Rationality and Justice, but if this were the case socialism could only be discovered accidentally since Absolute Truth is independent of time or space or human historical development. Modern socialism, by contrast, is nothing but the ideal reflection of a real conflict in the minds of the class directly suffering under it. The means to end that suffering do not have to be invented but only have to be *recognized* in the directly material facts of production. Thus the advent of socialism was embedded in a 'grand narrative' of historical development in which classes were assigned a 'historical mission'. The mission of the proletariat -the gravediggers which capitalism itself produced in the course of its development- was to do away with the class contradiction through the abolition of private property in the means of production. The socialization of the means of production, for which the conditions matured in the course of capitalist development, was the precondition for mankind to start making its own history, rather than being ruled by apparently 'objective forces'. Mankind would become master of its own destiny and would be able to fully deploy its human capacities.

Throughout the years the claims of 'scientific socialism' have been the subject of controversy revolving around the issue of the relationship between objective 'laws of history', on the one hand, and human intervention and its motivations, on the other. In the last quarter of the 19th century 'orthodox marxism' acquired strongly positivist and darwinist undertones and became increasingly dominated by a simplistic base-superstructure model coupled to an evolutionist perspective. The so-called revisionists, who argued that science could not provide the moral underpinnings for socialism and turned to neo-Kantian philosophy in their search for a moral foundation, were officially condemned by German Social Democracy which became the guardian of 'true scientific socialism' (cf. Arato, 1973/74).

'Orthodox marxism', as canonized by the late 19th century German Social Democrats, provided the matrix for Lenin's theory of class consciousness and the role of the vanguard party. His 'voluntarism' basically consisted in the idea that political intervention may accelerate historical development without, however, altering its direction. However, left to its own devices the working class would not be able to develop a socialist *political* consciousness, Lenin argued. Such consciousness requires an understanding of societal totality which cannot be developed by the working class by itself as its experience is limited to the relationship between worker and employer. It would remain at the level of trade unionism. A vanguard party, welding together bourgeois intellectuals -the carriers of Science- and theoreticians from a proletarian background, would be needed to develop a socialist consciousness and carry it into the class struggle. The implication of such a point of view is that the working class, rather than becoming the subject of history, is regarded as an object (cf. Carlo, 1973). At the time Lenin's views were severely criticized by Rosa Luxemburg, in spite of the fact that she remained attached to a rather mechanistic and deterministic understanding of the development of capitalism and the inevitability of its ultimate collapse which sits uneasily with her theorization of the 'subjective factor' and the development of socialist class consciousness (cf. Arato, 1973/74). Nevertheless, her theory of 'spontaneism' is a strong criticism of vanguardism for its ultra-centralism and bureaucratism and its failure to appreciate the spontaneous movement of the masses. From an analysis of the Russian strike movement of 1905 she concluded that a sharp distinction between economic and political struggles could not be upheld. Seemingly trivial economic issues had triggered massive political strikes, whereas political strikes had ended in rounds of strikes for economic motives. Moreover, the spontaneous element in the events had been rather at odds with the official theorizing which saw the party as the commanding instance in the possession of scientific knowledge. She concluded that political schooling took place in and through the struggle rather than being the privilege of a vanguard party and called for a reappreciation of the mass strike instead of ritually condemning it as an 'anarchist deviation' (Luxemburg, 1974).

While Luxemburg's theory of spontaneity remained difficult to reconcile with the rather positivist understanding of the 'laws of history' in her work on capitalist development, Lukács' (1988) theory of alienation added new dimensions to the theorization of the development of working class consciousness. The German debates on the difference between the sciences of nature and the sciences of culture as well as the work of Weber and Simmel on rationalization and alienation provide the background for the emergence of his theory. One of Lukács' central theses was that it is not the emphasis on economic motives that distinguishes marxism from 'bourgeois science', but rather the centrality of the category of 'totality'. Knowledge of concrete societal totality, of which man is the product as well as the maker, is the key to the self consciousness of mankind and, therefore, to the conscious intervention of man in history, he argued. In capitalist society only the working class has a vital interest in developing an understanding of societal totality. The bourgeoisie and bourgeois science withdraw from developing such an understanding since this would reveal the historicity of bourgeois society. Instead of knowing reality the false consciousness of the bourgeoisie only knows fetishized factualities which remain unrelated to the context of concrete historical reality. This illusionary relationship to reality is sustained by the commodity fetishism of capitalist society. Economic relations, for instance, are represented as relations between things rather than as relations between human beings. Thus the bourgeoisie and bourgeois science fail to see that what appears as positive fact in reality is reified subjectivity. They are condemned to contemplative reflection of 'objective laws' that seem to work themselves out without the intervention of a subject. The working class, by contrast, has a vital interest in piercing the veil of reification. In its daily existence reification and alienation reach a culminating point since the worker confronts the product of his labour as an alien force. The worker's own subjectivity, his labour power, has become an object to be bought and sold in the market and they are subjected to the dehumanizing process of capitalist rationalization. Overcoming this situation of dehumanizing alienation requires an understanding of the worker's class position in societal totality, since such an understanding is the precondition for rational intervention. It is the class that has the capacity both to understand and change society radically. Therefore, the unity of theory and praxis is only the reverse side of the worker's historical-material condition. Self-consciousness at the same time is consciousness of totality: the proletariat becomes the identical subject-object of history. (cf. Kunneman, 1986:137-145). With his account of alienation, resulting from the commodification of labour power, Lukács provided the philosophical underpinnings for a humanist marxism.[1] Resistance to reification and the attempt to recuperate negated subjectivity become the motive force for the struggle of the class that suffers most from the dehumanizing tendencies of capitalist development. In a sense Lukács provided the underpinnings for a theory of spontaneous development of political class consciousness. Ideology, understood as *false consciousness* or the failure to develop the rationally appropriate reaction that can be *imputed* to a specific objective position in the production process is the major obstacle to the development of class conscious action by the proletariat. That does not mean that the working class must become the object of party activity. In this respect Lukács adopted a position between Lenin and Luxemburg. Lukács argued that the relation between theory, class and party should be a dialectical one.[2]

Lukács subsequently adopted more orthodox positions. He had laid much of the groundwork, however, for the work of the *Frankfurt School*. The failure of the working class movement to resist the rise of nazism and fascism and the transformation of capitalism into an ever more monopolized system in which the state had come to act as a 'regulating' agent provided the background for their work. At the same time they witnessed the rise of stalinism. Reflecting on these developments and the problems they posed this group hoped to contribute to the formation of a critical consciousness which measures 'the real' against 'the potential' for human emancipation and liberation. Within a marxian framework they further pursued the theme of alienation, resulting from the capitalist social process and its consequences of fetishization and reification. Thus, for example, the production of 'mass culture' in the context of monopoly-capitalist society and its consequences for authentic and autonomous critical thought were assessed. The critique of capitalism was linked to a critical adoption of Freudian theories. Against Freud the critical theorists argued that repression and sublimation of the pleasure principle as a condition for the existence of civilized society may not be an immutable 'given'. With the expansion of production and the increasing control over nature society undermines the necessity for the perpetual postponement of gratification. Thus outlining 'the potential', the critical theorists also investigated 'the real' in their work on the formation of the authoritarian personality. The work of Weber was a third main source of inspiration for critical theory. He provided a starting point for the discussion of rationality and the dominance of instrumental rationality in the context of a society marked by fetishization and reification. Science and technique become ideology and undercut the capabilities for critical reflection. Critical theory became 'historically influential' in the student movements of the 1960's as, for example, was reflected in the slogan *'L'imagination au pouvoir'*. The popularity of the structuralist-marxist critique of this tradition of marxism parallelled the reflection on the 'experience of '68' and the 'failure of spontaneity'.

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[1] Recently authors like Evers (1985) and Kärner (1987) have taken up the concept of alienation, opposing it in a rather vague manner to concepts like 'authenticity', 'identity', 'subjectivity' and 'autonomy' which have gained increasing popularity in the discourse *on* as well as *of* contemporary social movements. Rather than relating alienation to commodification or bureaucratization they relate it to 'power'.

[2] To Luxemburg's charge of authoritarianism leninism responded that her faith in spontaneity was naive and amounted to 'economism' and 'infantile leftism'. It should be noted, however, that Luxemburg was concerned with the issue of ends and means and criticized the authoritarian aspects of Lenin's 'pedagogy', rather than simply defending a naive faith in the masses.

In the relative isolation of his prison cell Gramsci produced another critique of positivist marxism and addressed many of the issues posed by the transformations of capitalism that also occupied the critical theorists in an original way. One of his basic ideas is the rejection of sociology, the science which pretends to study social facts, that is politics and history, with the methods of the natural sciences. Politics, he argued, can not be understood by relying on positivist 'laws of nature'. The assumption of the law of statistics as an essential law operating of necessity is an error, since political action precisely tends to rouse the masses from passivity, in other words to destroy the law of large numbers. Taking political action, that is the formation of *collective wills*, as a starting point he breaks with evolutionary positivism and teleology. On various occasions he refers to Marx's saying that mankind does not set itself tasks for whose solution the material preconditions do not already exist or at least are in the process of formation. Where these conditions exist, he says, "the solution of the tasks *becomes* 'duty', 'will' *becomes* free" (Gramsci, 1986:243-44, 425-30).

Thus the tasks which mankind confronts are historically determined, but the solution to those tasks depends on ideologies, or world-views, which as long as class divided societies exist must be the expression of such contradiction. Ideologies, therefore, are not 'true' or 'false' in any absolute sense, but rather more or less adequate to historical circumstances. Bourgeois ideology, for example, propagated itself through society and became incorporated into 'common sense' -the 'non-systematic philosophy of the non-philosopher'- when the bourgeoisie was in its 'historically progressive phase'. Even the 'philosophy of praxis' is an expression of historical contradictions, albeit the most complete and conscious one since it is aware of its own historicity. Gramsci therefore characterized marxism as an 'absolute historicism or absolute humanism'.

Ideology, or world-view, thus becomes a cornerstone for Gramsci's theory of hegemony. Ideologies are engendered by social classes which have or tend to form a stratum of what he calls 'organic intellectuals'. They give the class to which they belong awareness of its own function, not only in the economic but also in the social and political fields. Such awareness first develops at a corporate level of the purely economic class, but this level is transcended when one becomes aware that these interests may be broadened to include those of other subordinate classes. This is what Gramsci described as the moment of 'catharsis': the passage from the *purely economic* (or egoistic passional) to the *ethico-political* moment. It is through this passage from the 'structural' to the 'superstructural' level that "ideologies become party" and confront other parties in the struggle for hegemony.[3] Hegemony, the unison of economic and political aims as well as intellectual and moral unity, in short the formation of a collective will, is the foundation of *historical blocs*, the active hegemony of a leading class over society as a whole.

The implication of Gramsci's theory of hegemony is that ruling classes do not necessarily rule by force alone, but also may manage to win the active consent of those over whom they rule. Such consent manifests itself 'spontaneously' in the historical periods in which a given social group is really progressive, that is really causing the whole society to move forward rather than merely attending its own economic-corporate interests. When the dominant group, however, has exhausted its function the ideological bloc tends to crumble and coercion increasingly replaces consent. The ruling class loses its hegemony and a period of *organic crisis*, which consists in a situation where 'the old is dying and the new cannot be born', announces itself.

If the work of Luxemburg, Lukács and Gramsci can be understood as a reaction against the mechanical positivism of Second International marxism, structuralist marxism, as it arose in the course of the 1960s, understood itself as a corrective to the 'humanism' and 'historicism' that had dominated marxism during the preceding forty years (cf. Althusser, 1986; Althusser & Balibar, 1975, 1978). Lukács, Luxemburg and Gramsci as well as Marcuse and Sartre are regarded as representatives of this humanist-historicist tradition. According to Althusser they failed to appreciate the scientific character of marxism by considering it a humanist philosophy centred on the problematic of consciousness. This 'leftist humanism', he argues, took the proletariat for the 'locus and missionary of human essence'. The structuralist interpretation of marxism, by contrast, is anti-historicist and anti-humanist. Its professed aim is to reinstate marxism as a science of history instead of a critical humanist philosophy.

According to Althusser an 'epistemological rupture' occurred in Marx's thinking around 1845. The young humanist Marx, who had been thinking in terms of alienation, consciousness, liberation and Man, shed his skin and the mature structuralist Marx made his appearance. In one and the same move he founded a scientific theory of history, historical materialism, and a new philosophy, dialectical materialism. New concepts, such as social formation, productive forces, relations of production, superstructure, ideology, determination in the last instance by the economy and specific determination of the other instances (levels), took the place of the old ones. Taking up these notions the structuralists worked out a general scheme for the analysis of historically concrete social formations. These are configurations, or articulations, of several abstractly defined modes of production, each with its own specific class contradiction, politics and ideology. History, then, is conceptualized as a sequence of such configurations.[4] It is, as Althusser once put it, a process without subject or end(s). The masses, rather than men, make history and the real subject of history are the relations of production. Although individuals may think of themselves as subjects, in fact they are but *supports* of structures whose movement, in the last instance, is determined by the economical infrastructure. If individuals act, this can only be through (*par et sous*) ideology.

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[3] The passage from a 'structural' to a 'superstructural' level thus corresponds to the division between 'the economic', civil society and political society. Gramsci employs various definitions of the relations between these three 'levels', sometimes implying that civil society is part of the 'structure' and sometimes implying that it is part of the 'superstructure' (cf. Bobbio, 1981; Carnoy, 1984:65-77; Gerratana, 1981). The significant point seems to be that these definitional shifts allow one to understand the historically shifting relations between these 'levels' and the transformations in political technique with the expansion of parliamentarism and the rise of politico-private bureaucracies such as parties and trade-unions (Gramsci, 1986:160, 221, 257-264).

Let us, before returning to the problem of historical change, briefly look at the theory of ideology as elaborated by Althusser in his famous essay on ideological state apparatuses (Althusser, 1976). This essay was part of the attempt at providing an answer to the question of how social formations survive and it focusses on the reproduction of the relations of production. In the first part of the essay Althusser basically discusses the role of the educational state apparatus which, together with the family, he regards as one of the most important ideological apparatuses in capitalist society as it intervenes in the reproduction of the relations of production through the transmission of know-how wrapped in the ruling ideology. In the second part of the essay Althusser outlines a general theory of ideology. Criticizing the conception of ideology as an alienated representation of reality he defines it as a "'representation' of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence". As little as it is possible to escape ones subconsciousness is it possible to escape from ideology. Ideology is transhistorical and, by itself, has no history, but particular ideologies have a history which is linked to class struggles. Secondly, ideology has a material existence since it always exists in an apparatus and its practices and rituals. Thus, a subject acts insofar as he is acted upon by a system in which (indicated in the order of real determination) "ideology exists in a material ideological apparatus, prescribing material practices governed by a material ritual, which practices exist in the material actions of a subject acting in all consciousness according to his belief". The central thesis of the argument is that ideology interpellates individuals as subjects. If the category of subject is constitutive of any ideology it is only insofar as ideology has the function (by definition) of 'constituting' concrete individuals as subjects. As an illustration Althusser uses the story of a policeman's hail -'Hey, you there'- to which the hailed individual turns around, thereby becoming a subject, i.e. subjecting himself. In the case of ideology, however, there is no temporal sequence. The existence of ideology and the interpellation of individuals as subjects is one and the same thing. Although the individual may think himself the free author of and responsible for his actions, in reality there are no subjects except by and for their subjugation. The ruling ideology is internalized by the majority of individuals who thus become *good* subjects: supports of the structure.

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[4] At a most abstract theoretical level one has combinations of elements yielding different modes of production and at a more concrete level the combinations of modes of production in historically concrete social formations. Different arrangements of a fixed number of elements of a *combinatoire* yield the different modes of production. Since the structuralists were not altogether at ease with the notion of *combinatoire*, they speak of *combinaissons* when referring to specific configurations since, they argued, the nature of the elements is determined by their *interrelationships*, rather than being an inherent 'essence' of the elements themselves.

Returning to the problem of historical change the concept of *overdetermination* is of importance. It was introduced to cope with the problem of the *synchronic* functioning of the structure and the *diachrony* of change. The notion of overdetermination was meant to escape the determined 'negation of the negation' of Hegelian dialectics. As an example Althusser used the concept to explain why a socialist revolution had occurred in Russia, the 'weakest link in the imperialist chain', rather than in the advanced capitalist countries. This was due, he argued, to an accumulation and condensation (*exaspération*) of all, at the time, possible historical contradictions in a single state. Russia, at the time, was a century behind the world of imperialism and simultaneously at its head. The resulting overdetermination of contradictions then explains why a revolution occurred there.

As Lojkine (1981:57-77) has observed in his critique of structuralist marxism the substitution of the concept of overdetermination for the Hegelian concept of internal contradiction makes it impossible to conceive of the transformation of a structure as resulting from its own -endogenous- development. In fact, the concept of overdetermination suggests that transformations should be thought of as radical *discontinuities* which can not be explained in terms of the preceding mode of production or social formation. Transformations are thought of as resulting from a-synchronicity (*décalage*) between the instances of the different modes of production of a social formation. As such they rather become transmutations of the structuralist *combinatoire*.[5] The main point of Lojkine's critique is that in this way the process of transition becomes 'indeterminate' and in fact the concept of overdetermination implies a break with the comforting 19th century 'philosophies of history' so dear to Lojkine.[6]

However, even if the structuralists went some way in theorizing political intervention, rather than attributing the course of history to a dialectic of internal contradictions, the Althusserian theory of ideology and his view of the relationship between structure and actor make it difficult to conceive of action which challenges the structure. If individuals are the supports of structures and ideology is as tightly linked to reproduction of the structure as Althusser would have it, it is hard to see how counter-hegemonic ideologies or discourses might emerge if it were not for the theoretical struggles of 'scientific marxists'. Althusser does not account for the provenance of ideologies that set up 'bad subjects'. His reference to internalization of the ruling ideology suggests that 'bad subjects' result from a failure of socialization and in this he comes close to a Parsonian framework. Moreover, if, as the Argentinian-born theorist Ernesto Laclau (1977:69) has observed, the state is defined as the factor of cohesion of a social formation, this should not be taken to mean that everything that contributes to social cohesion also is part of the state. With his conception of ideological state apparatuses Althusser virtually collapses civil society into the state, ending up with an order of omnipresent domination which tends towards a rather gloomy functionalist determinism.

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[5] Balibar (1975:178-225) elaborated a theory of political intervention which is thought of as independent from the structure to account for such transitions. This is in line with the return to the Leninist conception of the role of science and the vanguard and the Althusserian emphasis on class struggle on a theoretical level, which in some way allows the theoretician to escape from structural determination.

[6] According to Laclau and Mouffe (1985), however, Althusser did not properly finish the job since he stuck to the concept of 'determination in the last instance by the economy' which implies that there is a 'final rational stratum' which gives a tendential sense to all historical processes. Such a conception, they argue, can hardly be reconciled with the notion of overdetermination which, if taken seriously, implies that there are no laws of history, that a science of history is impossible and that the claim of anti-historicism can not be upheld. Thus, for example, the transition to socialism can not be the outcome of the implementation of a 'correct line' which can be derived from knowledge of the laws of the structure. A socialist project, Laclau and Mouffe argue, can only result from hegemonic articulation.

On the other hand, the structuralist reconceptualization of ideology has paved the way for the contemporary interest in discourse and regimes of signification and their role in the constitution of subjectivity (cf. Macdonell, 1987). The critique of humanist ontology thus remains influential and provides part of the fuel for the present controversies over the relationship between structure and actor. In the third section we will discuss the work of Laclau and Mouffe as an exponent of this trend. They pursue the suggestion that subjects are constituted by discourse but discourse is not linked to any monolithical structure. Together with the notion of 'determination in the last instance' they reject the conception of society as an 'intelligible totality' and emphasize the 'infinitude of the social' which escapes the limits of any structural system.

1.2. The state that would not wither

Although Marx only lived to write half of the volumes of *Capital* that he planned and did not leave any coherent theory of the state, it is possible to reconstruct his ideas about the relations between the working class movement and state power in broad outline.

It may be recalled, to start with, that Marx lived the period of *transition* to industrial capitalism as well as the early period of established industrial capitalism. For Hobsbawm (1978,1980) the distinction between these two periods has provided the framework for his distinction between what he calls pre-political and political movements; a distinction that for a long time played an important role in the analysis of social movements (e.g. Forman, 1971; Monteiro, 1980; Quijano, 1979; Souza-Martins, 1985). The distinction does not imply, as Hobsbawm (1980) points out, that 'before' there was no politics, but it points to a transformation of the shape of politics. First of all he mentions a change in the nature of the state with the nationalization of governmental action parallelling the nationalization of the economic process. Secondly, politics itself was transformed through changes in the forms of organization, propaganda and mobilization. Finally, the language of politics changed through secularization.

These transformations can be thought of as related to the process of differentiation between state and civil society, that is the constitution of an institutionalized 'political space'. The concept of civil society emerged in the course of the 18th century in relation to the advent of the bourgeoisie. In the capitalist mode of production, which is at the basis of bourgeois society and the bourgeois state, the extraction of surplus is not a directly political affair anymore, as it was under the previous modes of production. It occurs in a rather subtle way under the appearance of equal exchange between private partners. These are the conditions for the relative separation between the economic and the political or in a broader sense, between the private and the public, as consecrated in the emerging legal codes. In contrast to Hegel, Marx and Engels considered civil society, for which political economy would provide the anatomy, rather than the state as the decisive element in historical development. Whereas Hegel dreamt of an absorption of civil society by the state through which individual freedom and morality would find its realization, they thought in terms of a re-absorbtion of the state by civil society, the famous 'withering away of the state'.

The events of the *Paris Commune* of 1871 had an important impact on Marx's views and the later debates on the relationship between the working class movement and state power. In the *Preface* to the 1872 German edition of the *Communist Manifesto* Marx and Engels argued that it had become antiquated in some details. The *Commune*, they wrote, had proved that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery and wield it for its own purposes". The characterization of the *Commune* as the living negation of the -Bonapartist- state and Engels's later characterization of the insurrection as the first example of proletarian dictatorship contributed to making the *Commune* into a paradigmatic reference in the theorizing on state and revolution.

In the *Civil War in France* Marx outlined some of the features he deemed important in relation to the theory of the revolutionary state. The members of the *Commune*, he pointed out, had been chosen by universal suffrage in the various wards of the town and most of them were working men or acknowledged representatives of the working class. They were responsible and revocable at short terms. The *Commune*-assembly was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time. The police were stripped of their political attributes and turned into the responsible and at all times revocable agent of the *Commune*. The same thing applied to the officials of all other branches of the administration. Like the rest of the public servants, magistrates and judges were to be elected, responsible and revocable and from the members of the *Commune* downward, public service had to be done at workmen's wages. The standing army had been suppressed and substituted by the armed people. The *Commune* was to serve as a model for the rest of France. The old centralized government would have to give way to the self-government of the producers. The rural *communes* of every district were to administer their common affairs by an assembly of delegates in the central town and these district assemblies, in turn, were to send deputies to a National Delegation in

Paris., each delegate being at any time revocable and bound by a *mandat impératif*. The Communal constitution, Marx wrote, would have restored to the social body all the forces hitherto absorbed by the parasite state feeding upon and clogging the free movement of society (Marx and Engels, 1970:248-309). In short, the *Commune* provided a model for the reabsorption of the state by society.

For the notion of the 'smashing of the old state machinery' in connection with the defence of federalism and local self-government Marx's writings on the *Commune* are often considered to be at odds with the mainline of his thought according to which a phase of socialism, with a highly centralized state, would be followed by a communist phase and the withering away of the state. It is not altogether clear how the direct democracy model outlined in the *Civil War in France* should be reconciled with Marx's persistent advocacy of the formation of political parties. His arguments in this respect were aimed against the anarchists, Bakunin in particular, who argued that the formation of parties would only lead to division, authoritarianism and a reproduction of the bourgeois conception of politics. Such politics can not be the vehicle of social revolution and liberation, they argued. It only could lead to state communism and the dictatorship of a minority. They therefore advocated an immediate 'smashing of the state' to replace it by a federation of directly democratic local organizations of producers rather similar to the one outlined in the *Civil War in France*. The revolutionary movement must itself be a microcosm of the new society, was their argument (Bruhat, 1975; Clark, 1979/80; Kriegel, 1975; Meshkat, 1971).[7]

The *Commune*-model, as Marx had discussed it, provided the starting point for Lenin's discussion of *soviet*-democracy in his *State and Revolution*. In the context of the strategy of dual power a *soviet*-state would be set up in confrontation with the Provisional Government led by Kerenski. The *Bolsheviki* attitude to *soviet*-democracy was rather ambiguous, however. Although in *State and Revolution* the role of the party was hardly touched upon in a very short passage Lenin flatly states that proletarian dictatorship can only be fully realized through the taking of power by the party which will educate and lead the masses.[8] As far as the *Bolsheviki* considered the idea of worker's control they understood it as an "all embracing, omnipresent, extremely precise and extremely scrupulous *accounting* of the production and consumption of goods" rather than in terms of democratic decision making or self-management. Lenin was enough of an utopian to take the hierarchical structure of the postal services as a model for the new society. By 1921 any ideas about direct democracy were officially condemned as 'leftist deviations' at the Tenth Party Congress, which also adopted the fateful motion abolishing factional rights. A *secret* clause gave the Central Committee unlimited disciplinary rights (Brinton, 1970; Kolontai, 1983).

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[7] It should be noted that so-called *collectivistes* or anti-authoritarian communists, influenced by Bakunin, played an influential role in the *Commune*-insurrection. Rather than being 'a-political', as generations of marxians have argued, anarchists conceived of politics in an anti-jacobin fashion. In recent years anarchist ideas have regained influence among part of the new social movements in their emphasis on spontaneity, self-help and self-management, anti-authoritarianism and the rejection of party-politics (cf. Corten & Onstenk, 1981; Fals Borda, 1988; Gohn, 1988).

[8] Lenin distinguished between what he called 'democratic dictatorship', corresponding to a 'phase of bourgeois revolution' in which parties representing other classes than the working class would be allowed, and 'proletarian dictatorship' as the reign supreme of the party representing the interests (historical mission) of the working class.

As early as 1918 Rosa Luxemburg trenchantly criticized this course of events in her essay on *The Russian Revolution* in which she took the *Bolsheviki* to task for considering democratic institutions burdensome and for dissolving the Constituent Assembly of 1917. The remedy, she argued, is worse than the illness. For the domination by the bourgeoisie political education of the masses may not be essential, but for the dictatorship of the proletariat it is and therefore democracy is indispensable. With their conception of dictatorship Lenin and Trotsky presuppose that they have a ready made recipe for the socialist transformation and thus they fall victim to a bourgeois conception of dictatorship by a minority. Socialist democracy, Luxemburg argued, is not a Christmas present to be handed out to the faithful after reaching the Promised Land where material conditions have been made fit for it by a handful of socialist dictators. Proletarian dictatorship is a way of exercising democracy, not its abolition (Luxemburg, 1974:163-193). With these assertions Luxemburg remained much closer to the radical democracy model outlined in the *Civil War in France*, than Lenin.

In the work of Gramsci the reflection on dictatorship and revolutionary strategy took a new turn. The elaboration of his theory of hegemony was part of an attempt to cope with the transformations in political technique in Western Europe after 1848, that is the expansion of parliamentary democracy and the growth of politico-private bureaucracies such as parties and trade-unions, which Althusser would later characterize as ideological state apparatuses. Nowadays Gramsci is often quoted for saying that a social group must already be hegemonic before winning governmental power and that this is indeed one of the conditions for winning such power (Gramsci, 1986:57). For Gramsci, however, this was not an absolute truth valid in all circumstances, but rather an idea that applied to those cases where civil society had become properly constituted. In Russia, *the East*, state power had been seized by the *Bolsheviki* and only afterwards the struggle for hegemony had started. In that case "the State was everything, civil society was primordial and gelatinous". In those conditions a frontal attack, a *war of movement*, had been possible. In *the West*, however, "there was a proper relation between State and civil society, and when the State trembled a sturdy structure of civil society was at once revealed". In such a situation victory through frontal attack could no longer be expected; it would have to be prepared by a patient development of hegemony in civil society. The massive structures of modern democracies, both as state organizations and as complexes of organizations in civil society constitute as it were the trenches and permanent fortifications of the front in a *war of position*. The element of movement, which before used to be 'the whole' of war has become 'partial'. In short, whereas the vanguard strategy still might have been successful in *the East* it had become obsolete in *the West* (Gramsci, 1986:229-243; cf. Carnoy, 1984:80-85; Jessop, 1984:142-153). These views later came to play a role in the debates among Euro-Communists on the reform of their parties and party strategies.

In recent years it sometimes has been suggested that of late 'the Left' has become converted to 'democratic values'. The foregoing discussion shows that the assertion is somewhat off target, unless 'the Left' is reduced to the most stubborn vanguardists. It is true, however, that there has been a reappreciation of representative systems and what used to be called 'bourgeois democracy', which has parallelled the democratization of the West European Communist Parties and the emergence of Euro-Communism. One of the arguments against representative systems is that they are a form of alienation resulting from the separation between decision making and execution. Such a separation threatens autonomy and authenticity and precludes the full deployment of human capacities through active participation in the affairs of the community. Participation in directly democratic councils would be the alternative which would supercede the artificial and contradictory division between state and civil society. This relates to the argument that the full deployment of democracy is impossible in class divided societies which give rise to the emergence of the state as something 'over' and 'against' society. The class contradiction and the related forms of domination and concentration of power preclude unconstrained rational discussion and democracy becomes an illusion since fundamental issues remain outside its scope.

One form of the rethinking of the democracy issue can be traced in the work of Poulantzas. Initially he subscribed to the thesis that the state is the locus of organization of the power bloc and that the distinction between state and civil society is merely an ideological device aimed at defusing class conflict. Therefore, the existing state should be 'smashed' through a strategy of dual power to be replaced by a proletarian state which subsequently would wither away. Whereas the production process defines classes, he argued, the juridical-political superstructure interpellates workers as well as capitalists as individual subjects. In this way the state tends to diffuse class conflict by isolating people as individuals and then reunifying them in the construct of the nation state, which appears as the incarnation of a national-popular will. Parliamentary politics, he argued, has little effect on the relationship between legislative and executive. To believe so is an illusion, a 'parliamentary deformation' (Poulantzas, 1980a:128-144).

A rethinking of these views can be perceived in Poulantzas's (1974) study of fascism and the exceptional state. In this study he worked out a more specific analysis of the capitalist *state* and the different types of *regime* characterizing the 'exceptional forms' of the capitalist state. More broadly, it was an attempt to come to grips with the transformations of the relationship between the economy and the polity in the context of the transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism and the forms by which capitalist states manage such transformations. The 'exceptional forms' of the capitalist state are related to such transformations. Under such exceptional forms the relationship between the public and the private is modified. The relative autonomy of the ideological apparatuses, which under 'normal' conditions are left to private initiative, is limited or suspended altogether. The juridical system is modified in that the distinction between public and private, which in a sense limits the power of the state, becomes arbitrary. The electoral system is suspended and parliamentary democracy declines to be replaced with other forms of legitimation such as plebiscites. Through the analysis of the exceptional forms of the capitalist state Poulantzas came to the conclusion that the 'ideological devices' of the bourgeois state actually are stakes in the class struggle. Universal suffrage, for instance, "also has been a conquest of the working class and the popular masses" (Poulantzas, 1974:368). With the reappreciation of the state/civil society distinction and universal suffrage and the reassessment of the relationship between state and economy under monopoly capitalism, the bases were led for a reconceptualization of the capitalist state and a discarding of the dual power strategy. Poulantzas increasingly came to see the state as a *site* of class struggle rather than simply the site of organization of the power bloc. Rather than replacing the bourgeois state with a proletarian one which subsequently will wither, he comes to think in terms of a radically transformed representative democracy involving a perfection of political liberties under socialism. The state will not wither altogether but it can be radically transformed (cf. Poulantzas, 1983). From a leninist view of democracy Poulantzas gradually moved to one which is closer to Luxemburg.

The debates on the relationship between socialism and democracy were fueled by a series of articles by Norberto Bobbio (1978a, 1978b, 1978c) in which he questioned the institutional alternatives to representative democracy and defended it as a *formal* procedure for collective decision making, whatever the societal context. Directly democratic councils, inspired by the models of the *Paris Commune* or the *soviets*, are no feasible alternative to representative systems, he asserted. Extra-institutional action and forms of direct democracy may be important correctives to a pluralist representative system, but they can not substitute it. The real problems, Bobbio argued, are those of large dimensions, the bureaucratization of state apparatuses, the increasingly technical nature of decisions and the tendency toward massification of civil society. Moreover, he argued that if there are reasons for preferring the democratic method over the autocratic method, these reasons hold true even, and *above all*, for a society in transition to socialism. The issue may have been less relevant in situations of absence of a tradition of democratic government, but it can not be dodged in situations where such a tradition exists. It is a question of ends and means and one may ask if whenever violent or autocratic means are employed to further a transition, something of the initial violence will not remain in the system of government.

Bobbio's assertions were followed by a debate in which the relationship between form and content of democracy was discussed. Would it be possible to include 'private' matters, like economic decision making, into the public domain through the formal procedures of representative democracy? The commitment of the right to 'democratic values' seems to end where one touches upon what is regarded as the ultimate foundation of democracy: the free market economy. The case of Chile was one widely cited example. In this debate it was generally recognized that forms of direct democracy can not be a substitute for representative democracy although they are important correctives and an institutional guarantee against statism. Rather than substitutes they are important complements. At the same time the dogma that a 'heroic' dual power strategy is the only road to socialism was revised. Class and popular struggles have been important factors in the establishment and consolidation of representative democracy. It is more than merely a smoke screen set up by the bourgeoisie to contain class conflict. In an earlier period the state may have been simply an instrument of the bourgeoisie, but it has increasingly become some bourgeois-dominated state which, moreover, has become deeply enmeshed in production as well in the reproduction of the material conditions of production. State apparatuses have becomes *sites* of struggle and the strategy of 'smashing the state' has become obsolete (cf. Carnoy, 1984:153-171; Jessop, 1984:177-180).

1.3. Concluding Observations

In this section we have argued that marxian theorizing has been and has remained a most important framework of reference in the study of and the debate on social movements. Therefore, we have outlined some of the developments in marxian theorizing as a means of situating the issues to be addressed in the following sections. We have focussed the attention on two areas of interest. In the first place we reviewed the debate on the role of the working class and class consciousness in historical development and in the second place we discussed the relationship between the working class movement, state power and democracy.

As to the first point, it may be related to the current structure/actor controversy. The work of Lukács and, subsequently, the Frankfurt School, on the one hand, and that of Gramsci, on the other, may be regarded as two of the major responses to the mechanical positivism of Second International marxism. These responses were grounded in the elaboration of a marxist-humanist anthropology drawing its principal inspiration from the work of the 'young Marx'.[9] The relationship between subject and object was one of the main themes addressed by Lukács and the Frankfurters in their theories of alienation. Alienation is defined as domination of the subject by alien forces which impede the full deployment of its human capacities. Emancipation is the liberation from the grip of those alien forces, be they the 'forces of nature' or forces that arise from the organization of society.[10] In capitalist industrial society it is the working class that has a

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[9] It should be noted, however, that even the supposedly 'mature' Marx of the *Formen* (Marx, 1984) related the development of private property to a process of human individuation and emancipation which can only proceed further through the supersession of the limits set by private property and the concomitant class division of society. The Frankfurters held that the early views are presupposed and further elaborated in Marx's later work, whereas Althusser would assert that there was a rupture between the 'young' and the 'mature' Marx.

[10] The *Frankfurters* amply discussed the role of social organization in shaping the relationship to nature, drawing on Freud and on Weber's theory of instrumental rationality and thus questioning the understanding of emancipation

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vital interest as well as the capacity of breaking through the alienating reification which makes men appear to be moved by 'objective laws'. Men, as Lukács put it, can become the 'subject-object' of history. In later years the idea that a complete identity of subject and object could be achieved was questioned, but the idea that the gap could -and therefore should- be substantially reduced remained. As we pointed out, such a humanism can underpin a belief in spontaneous resistance, capable of transcending the structure. As such it contrasts with the leninist view -rooted in a rather positivist understanding of the 'laws of history'- that the working class struggles, left to themselves, can only reflect the structure but not supercede it.

Gramsci's contribution was also grounded in a humanist philosophy. His theory of hegemony clearly contrasts with earlier leninist formulations. In these formulations hegemony was understood as a simple addition of the 'historical interests' of a number of classes, which could be derived from an understanding of the 'laws of history'. Gramsci's theorization of political intervention, the role of 'free will' in the meeting of 'historical tasks' and the understanding of hegemony as the 'capacity to make the whole society move forward' clearly contrasts with Lenin's more positivistic understanding. Most provocative, Gramsci defined marxism as an 'absolute historicism and absolute humanism'. It is the historical expression of a social contradiction and it will pass away with the overcoming of that contradiction.

Humanism and historicism became the main points of attack for the structuralist marxists in their attempt to reinstate marxism as a science. History, as Althusser put it, is 'a process without subject or ends' and subjects are the supports or 'bearers' of structures. So-called human subjectivity is shaped by the structure through ideology and humanism itself is an ideology shaped by precise historical circumstances. This radical anti-humanism has come in for a lot of criticism. The turn to manifestly -though frequently undertheorized- 'actor oriented' approaches, ranging from rational choice theories to revamped alienation-theories, by the end of the 1970s can be understood as a reaction to structuralism. A case in point is Castells's (1983:298) renunciation of structuralist marxism which at the same time indicates how the structure/actor controversy intersects with the critique of the leninism which was part and parcel of Althusserian theory. Thus Castells argues that the role attributed to 'the party' as a solution to the structure/actor dilemma had become unacceptable to him and that "self conscious and self-organized social movements" are the real thing. However, the fact that he became disgusted with the self- righteous authoritarian practices of 'scientifically' oriented parties is one thing. It does not solve the structure/actor dilemma and neither does a simple invocation of Weber and Freud as new sources of inspiration besides Marx.

The question of whether something like 'human subjects' can 'transcend' structures that shape them or how they might escape the synchronic reproduction of structures to *make* history, rather than attributing change -diachrony- to

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and 'progress' as simple domination over nature. Other rational relations to nature are possible, they argued.

some sort of unintended 'transmutation', has become one of the major issues in the social sciences. The recent elaboration of 'theories of practice' (cf. Ortner, 1984) and Giddens's influential formulation of a 'structuration theory' are attempts to cope with the problem, which also is reflected in Touraine's (1973) concern with the 'self-production of society' to which we will return later. In his 'structuration theory' Giddens (1986) has introduced the notion of 'duality of structures', arguing that structures not only are constraining but also enabling. In a somewhat similar vein Therborn (1980) argues that ideology not only subjects individuals but also qualifies them for action and Stuurman (1985), referring to Giddens, asserts that the reproduction/transformation of structures always is subject to struggle. However, Giddens's attempt to 'retrieve human agency' from the grips of structural determinations has not been generally accepted as altogether convincing since it is tightly coupled to an individualist and voluntarist subjectivism which tends to marginalize the role of objective structure. The role of structure becomes secondary to that of allegedly 'knowledgeable' human agents who actually are conceived of as constituting structures. In the final analysis Giddens's structuration theory is founded on a notion of a 'sovereign subject'. It does not adequately respond to the view that human agency is a 'produced reality' (cf. Clegg, 1989:138-147; Livesay, 1989; Smart, 1982).

The latter point of view underlies the theorizing of hegemony by Laclau and Mouffe (1985) who pursue the anti-humanist path which Althusser brought into focus, coupling it to a discourse theoretical perspective. Subjects, they maintain, can not be thought of as the origin of social relations -not even in the limited sense of being endowed with powers that render an experience possible- as all 'experience' depends on precise discursive conditions of possibility. Rather than speaking of subjects they speak of 'subject positions' constituted by discursive structures. We will later argue that their position ends up in a 'discourse reductionism' which fails to take account of extra-discursive aspects. Their often justified critique of the notion of ideologies as rigidly tied to specific classes gives rise to an equally problematic construction in which ideologies 'float' as disembodied discourses and which conceives of the social as pure contingency and indeterminacy.

As Foucault (1966) has argued the problem of structure and actor, objectivity and subjectivity, of which we have discussed various appearances, is *constitutive* of the human sciences as they have emerged by the end of the 18th century. Initially he related the emergence of these sciences, which take the human subject for their object, basically to a change of epistemological configuration. Subsequently he increasingly took extra-discursive aspects, such as the practical and theoretical problems posed by the social transformations under way at the time, into consideration. Thus he shows the emergence of the concept of man, the concomitant humanism, as well as the human sciences and their constitutive problem of taking the human subject for their object, to be related to the emergence of the 'disciplinary society'. The conclusion from these considerations on the epistemological and historical conditions of possibility of the social sciences is that what is regarded as one of the central problems of the social sciences, the structure/actor issue, can not be resolved without dissolving sociology as a science (cf. Smart, 1982).

A second issue we have addressed in this section was the debate on the relation between democracy and the workers' movement. The recently voiced suggestions that of late 'the Left' has discovered 'democratic values' were shown to be overdrawn. The problem has been the subject of debate throughout the history of the workers' movement. The idea that direct democracy can totally substitute forms of representative democracy has been rethought, however. That does not mean that critique of 'actually existing democracy' has become irrelevant or that the functioning of democracy can simply be regarded as unproblematic in the context of class divided societies. As Bobbio (1978c) has pointed out, a consistent and common characteristic of both actually existing capitalist and socialist states is the democratic inability to control economic power. In both cases the big decisions of economic policy are made autocratically. The renewed debate on the relationship between socialism and forms of institutional democracy emerged at a moment when the proliferation of 'new social movements' pointed to the legitimation problems of the capitalist state and the 'crisis of the party system'. The debates reflect the attempts to formulate a socialist alternative in the face of the neo-conservative attempts to impose a restrictive reformulation of politics and the scope of democracy. Such issues have certainly not become less relevant with the recent developments in the Eastern bloc countries and neither can they be dismissed in the context of the 'democratic transitions' in Latin America. Rather than something achieved, democracy and its possible forms remain a challenge.

In this section we have come across various issues that will be taken up in the subsequent discussion, particularly in the section on 'new social movements'. In the first place we touched upon the conditions of emergence of the workers' movement, that is capitalist industrial society, a point we will return to in the discussion of the conditions of emergence of the 'new social movements'. A second and related point is the issue of the centrality of the workers' movement. In the next section we will discuss the attempts to integrate movements which are not based on class into the schemes that attribute a central role to the working class with the argument that its interests can be universalised and referring to its structural position and/or potential consciousness. The discussion will be focussed on 'urban movements', but its implications are not restricted to this type of movement. In the third section we will discuss alternative views as they emerged in the context of the debate on 'new social movements' and in the fourth section Latin American perspectives on the issue will be discussed. Finally, we have touched upon the problematic of the 'space of politics' when we traced the emergence of the state/civil society division and discussed the proposals for superseding this historical configuration.[11] The point is related to the democracy issue in the sense that direct democracy was regarded as a form of overcoming the state/society contradiction, which in turn would require the constitution of a classless community. In the third section some ideas about a reconceptualization of politics and its spaces will be discussed and in the fourth section the attention will be turned to the issue of democratization in the Latin American context.

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[11] As was pointed out Gramsci, the Frankfurters as well as the structuralist marxists sought to theorize the modifications of the relation between state and civil society in the course of capitalist development, particularly those connected with the rise of monopoly capitalism.

2. URBAN MOVEMENTS AND THE 'OLD' PARADIGM

One of the important notions in the 'orthodox' approach to movements which are not directly based on class is the distinction between so-called *primary* and *secondary* contradictions. Secondary contradictions thought of as *deriving* from the primary contradiction, that is private property and the class contradiction. Engels's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* provides an illustration of the argument. In this work he elaborated the view that private property is at the root of the patriarchal family and the state. The development of private property marked the passage from primitive communism to class divided society. It gave rise to a new form of inheritance with the overthrow of 'mother right' as well as to the development of the state to hold class antagonisms in check. Private property is at the root of the problems. Once it would be abolished the state could wither and family structure would not depend on economic considerations anymore. A change in the structure, brought about by the political intervention of a working class party, would cause the whole superstructure to change. Thus went the original theory of the masterswitch, or what Laclau and Mouffe (1985) call the 'privileged point of rupture'. It has provided the theoretical underpinnings for the notion of a 'hierarchy of struggles', that is the subordination of 'secondary' struggles to the class struggle which, for example, was criticized from a feminist point of view by Corten and Onstenk (1981).

Althusser provided some of the means of going beyond this essentialist understanding of societal totality. Society, he argues, is a complex structured whole unified by a dominant contradiction (*un tout complexe structuré à dominante*). Secondary contradictions, then, are not simply phenomenal manifestations of a principal contradiction in a relation of phenomena to essence. In fact, the principal contradiction can not exist without the secondary contradictions or 'before' or 'after' them. They are the conditions of existence one for the other in a dialectical relationship which he tried to capture in the notion of 'overdetermination' (Althusser, 1986:211). To stick to the example of the relation between socialism and feminism, it would now be argued that capitalism and patriarchy do not have a common root but that the patriarchal family is articulated to and overdetermined by capitalism for being functional to the reproduction of labour power. Thus, although other contradictions may have a existence of their own, the struggle against capitalism remains the principal struggle, since the economic is determinant 'in the last instance'.

The critique of this 'last redoubt of essentialism' is one of the main features of the 'post marxism' as elaborated by Laclau and Mouffe (1985). In their view there is no structurally indicated 'principal struggle'. Contingent political practices of hegemonic articulation define what is 'principal'. Thus, Mouffe (1984) argues that a necessary structural or functional link between capitalism and patriarchy has never been demonstrated and therefore there is no necessary articulation between feminist and anti-capitalist struggle. Such an articulation, Mouffe (1984) argues, must be created through hegemonic articulation.

In this section we will focus on the theorizing about 'urban movements' which remains within the marxian framework and which often attempts to tease out the structural relations between urban struggles and the class struggle in a way similar to the attempts at establishing relations between, for example, the women's struggle and the class struggle, through the notion of 'secondary contradictions'. We will start by discussing Castells's -structural marxist inspired- approach to urban movements and the role of secondary contradictions, then turn to Lojkine's critique of Castells and finally to Borja's contribution to the debate. These three authors have had a pervasive influence in the study of urban movements in Latin America as it emerged in the 1970s.

2.1. Structuralist Marxism and 'the urban question'

Castells's influential work on *The Urban Question* was "born out of astonishment". Astonishment about the importance taken by 'urban problems' at a time-the early 1970s- "when the waves of anti-imperialist struggle are sweeping across the world, when movements of revolt are bursting out at the very heart of advanced capitalism, when the revival of working-class action is creating a new political situation in Europe". The astounding prominence of urban-environmental issues, Castells argued, results from the influence of the 'urban ideology' which expresses certain consequences of the existing social contradictions in terms of an imbalance between technology and the environment. The aim of Castells's book is to demystify this 'urban ideology'. To meet this challenge, he argues, a theoretical analysis is required which supersedes the ideological discourse and avoids the twin dangers of a right-wing (but apparently left-wing) deviation which recognizes the new problems but gives them theoretical and political priority over economic determination and the class struggle and a left-wing deviation which denies the emergence of new forms of social contradiction and which exhausts itself in intellectual acrobatics to reduce the increasing diversity of the forms of the class opposition to a direct opposition between capital and labour (Castells, 1977:1-2). In order to avoid these dangers Castells turns to a, as he would later admit, rather formalist interpretation of structuralist marxism which he will abandon in the course of the 1970s (cf. Lowe, 1986).

After a critique of existing approaches in urban sociology, notably the Chicago School, whose 'urban culture' theory rests on the opposition of the notions of 'rural community' and 'urban associativism', Castells proceeds with the theoretical construction of an object of analysis: the urban structure or urban system. Delimitations of 'the urban' in ideological terms, as in the urban culture approach, or in politico-juridical terms of political frontiers, are rejected. It must be theorized at the level of the economic instance. More specifically, Castells argues, it corresponds to part of the economic process, namely the *reproduction* of labour power. The urban unit is to the process of reproduction what the company is to the process of production: a specific unit articulated with other units that form the process as a whole. In spatial terms the process of production specifies the *regional* space, whereas the process of reproduction specifies the *urban* space. The urban system, then, is defined as the specific articulation of the instances of a social structure within a (spatial) unit of the reproduction of labour power. Thus the economic, the politico-juridical and the ideological instances specify at least five fundamental elements of the urban structure (production, consumption, exchange, administration, symbolic), which constitute it in their relations and only in their relations.

It should be noted that Castells concentrated his analysis on the *new* problems that gave rise to the prominence of the 'urban question' and the 'urban ideology' in the *advanced* capitalist countries. This prominence is bound up with the increased significance of 'collective consumption', that is the organization of the collective means of reproduction of labour power. Those are the means of consumption which, for specific historical reasons, are essentially dependent for their production, distribution and administration on the intervention of the state (Castells, 1977:234-242, 431, 439-440).[12]

Urban structure, as a theoretically constructed object of analysis, paves the way for the analysis of concrete situations but can not account for them since they are made up of systems of practices which, although defined by structural positions, have relatively autonomous secondary effects capable of defining the situation beyond their structural charge. These practices structure themselves around the practices that condense and summarize the system as a whole, that is political practices. Political practices, more or less directly, have class relations as their object and the state as their objective. For the dominant class they are defined, above all as interventions through the politico-juridical apparatus and for the dominated classes, by contrast, as *political* class struggle. These definitions are the foundation for Castells's distinction between urban *planning* and urban *social movement*.

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[12] Elsewhere Castells (1974; c.f. 1977:451) specified that the connection between a series of urban issues is provided by the logic of present capitalist development: accelerated concentration of capital, development of economico-financial trusts and increased state-intervention. The development of state monopoly capitalism and its articulations on a world level lead to a concentration of the population in metropolitan regions and the development of collective unities organizing the daily existence of the labour force. Although in present day capitalism the regulation of daily life is of special importance to the continuity of the productive process the logic of efficiency cannot work itself out until the ultimate consequences since its development is determined by the relation of forces in the class struggle. It, therefore, gives rise to two contradictions: 1. whereas the importance of collective consumption increases as a result of economic necessity as well as the development of the class struggle, capitalist investment policies privileges the private consumption sector; 2. whereas, on the one hand, ways of life are a private concern, on the other hand, collectivization of their management becomes increasingly important. These contradictions give rise to an increased presence of the state in the management of urban contradictions and, therefore, to a direct politization of the urban problematic.

Urban planning is defined as the intervention of the political in the specific articulation of the different instances of a social formation within a collective unit of reproduction of labour power with the aim of assuring its extended reproduction, of regulating the non-antagonistic contradictions and of repressing the antagonistic contradictions, thus assuring the interests of the dominant social class in the whole of the social formation and the reorganization of the urban system, in such a way as to assure the structural reproduction of the dominant mode of production. An urban social movement, by contrast, is defined as a system of practices resulting from the articulation of a conjuncture of the system of urban agents and of other social practices in such a way that its development tends objectively towards the structural transformation of the urban system or towards a substantial modification of the power relations in the class struggle, that is to say, in the last resort, in the state power. Social movements, then, have the aim of producing a qualitatively new effect on the social structure either at the level of *structures* through a change in the structural law of the dominant instance, or at the level of *practices* through a modification of the power relations, running counter to institutionalized social domination. In other words, the most characteristic index of *change* is a substantial modification of the system of authority (in the politico-legal apparatus) or in the organization of counter domination (reinforcement of class organizations). Whereas planning is concerned with regulating contradictions, social movements are the source of true innovation and change (Castells, 1977:260-275, 432).[13]

In spite of their apparent rigour these definitions are flawed as a result of a difficulty in dealing with the relationship between structure and practice/conjuncture. Instead of conceiving of both planning and social movements as practices for which structural positions specify the horizon, Castells attempts to relate the concept of planning to *the political*, that is to an instance of the structure, whereas the concept of social movement is related to *politics*, that is to practices and conjuncture. For example, social movements with an urban base are described as a "confrontation with the political instance" (Castells, 1977:268) instead of a confrontation *at* the political level (instance), as locus of political struggle, and having the structure for its object. The inconsistency at this point is born out when Castells affirms that in a concrete analysis the distinction between urban planning and social movement has no great meaning, "for planning is also a form of class political practice, and social or confrontational movements directly affect the content and process of any urbanistic operation" (Castells, 1977:276). Structures, by themselves, do not practice.

Social Movements, Castells goes on, are not 'spontaneous' but are born from the encounter of a certain structural combination, containing several contradictions, with a certain type of organization. There will be a social movement if the practice and discourse of the organization link the contradictions supported by the agents without loosening them in a fragmented way (reformist ideology) and without merging them in a single globalizing opposition (revolutionarist utopia). The requirement for *urban social* movements is a correspondence between fundamental structural contradictions in the urban system and a 'correct line', that is a political practice whose structural horizon corresponds to the objectives of the organization, themselves dependent on the class interests represented by the organization in a given *conjuncture* (Castells, 1977:273).

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[13] Taking into account the *effect* of practices, which should be thought of in relation to the structuralist notion of *efficace*, Castells distinguishes, for example, between: regulation (reproduction of the urban system); reform (modification of an element of the system); maintenance of order (reproduction, by means of the urban system, of another structural instance); urban social movement (transformation of the structural law of the urban system); social movement with an urban base (confrontation with the political instance) and demagogic movement (no effect, except the practice itself).

Urban contradictions are characterized by two fundamental features: their '*pluri-class*' nature and their *secondary* character. The cleavages they effect do not correspond to the structural opposition between the two fundamental classes, but distribute the classes and fractions in a relation whose opposing terms vary widely according to the conjuncture. Therefore, 'urban politics' is an essential element in the formation of class *alliances*, in particular in relation to the petty bourgeoisie. Their secondary nature implies that their articulation with a process aimed at the conquest of state power traverses an ensemble of mediations. This articulation may become conjuncturally crucial in the struggle for state power (Castells, 1977:376-378, 432-433). One might say that in that case an urban contradiction has become conjuncturally overdetermined. The outcome of these considerations is that the effectiveness of urban movements upon class relations is determined by the way in which the urban issues are linked to other structural issues. Urban movements become social movements insofar as they become one component of some political movement challenging the social order, e.g. the workers' struggle (Castells, 1977:377).

Castells applied his theoretical framework in a number of case studies where he focusses on the relationship between urban contradictions and the struggle for political power (Castells, 1977:324-378; c.f. Castells, 1974). An analysis of the resistance against the 'reconquest' of the Paris city centre, through the building of luxury apartments and business quarters, leads him to conclude that *mobilizations* restricted to the specifically urban problematic have little chance of producing structural effects. In the case of the neighborhood associations in Montreal a link was established with a political movement, but only through the direct incorporation of demands into the political program. Therefore, the movement remained at the level of what Castells -echoing Lenin- called *collective consumption trade-unionism.* It remained restricted to the presentation of demands concerning the distribution of collective goods instead of relating them to class struggle aimed at changing the relations in the sphere of production and incorporating the demands into a strategy aimed at state power. It was the *pobladores* movement in Chile which provided the clearest example of the emergence of an *urban social movement*. In this case the urban question became overdetermined as a result of the political process starting with the christian-democratic reform policies of the 1960s. The main political tendencies -Christian-Democrats, Popular Unity and the revolutionary left- became involved in the occupations[14] of urban land. In this context various links between class struggle, urban struggle and political struggle were established.

The analysis of these cases leads Castells to the conclusion that the interaction of three basic elements determines the political significance of the movements. The interaction between the objective structural content of each claim, the social base and the political line practiced by the intervening organization provide the key to an understanding of the secret of urban social movements.

2.2. Cities and state monopoly capitalism

A main objective of Lojkine's book on *Marxism, the State and the Urban Question* (Lojkine, 1981) is to show the inadequacy of structuralist marxism in general and in its approach to the urban question. As we noted already, Lojkine makes a plea for the rather mechanical Hegelian dialectics of determined negation to avoid the indeterminacy he detects in structuralist marxism. Simultaneously, Lojkine criticizes the characterization of individuals as 'supports of structures'. However, he does not present any acceptable alternative and in the end he -'methodologically'- treats individuals as 'personifications of economic categories' (Lojkine, 1981:173). Moreover, his understanding of human development boils down to something like the 'development of the human productive forces', that is an adaptation of human capacities to the requirements of the development of the productive forces. His conception of technology recalls Lenin's enthusiasm for the Taylor system and one only has to read Gramsci's account of Fordism, which in a sense can be regarded as a precursor of Foucault's work on discipline and power, to be wary of such ideas.

Lojkine's alternative approach to the urban question is embedded in the theory of State Monopoly Capitalism which, at the time, was the official theory of the French PCF.[15] One of his main theses is that the concept of a power bloc, which Poulantzas uses in his analyses of the state, has become irrelevant. The original opposition of owners of the means of production -that is a still undifferentiated class of capitalists- and direct producers, Lojkine argues, has been *replaced* by a new opposition, this time between the dominant fraction of capital -monopoly capital- and the totality of non-monopolist 'layers'. The neutralization of the mechanism of equalization of profit rates, resulting from monopolization, means that nowadays a relation of exploitation exists between monopoly capital and non-monopoly capital. Moreover, the state has become subordinated to the interests of monopoly capital. Although this rather is a matter of convergent logics than of a fusion between the state and monopoly capital and although it does not lead to a homogenization of the state, the consequence is that the notion of a power bloc, constituted by different fractions of capital under the hegemony of one fraction, has become irrelevant. The political conclusion, in line with the views of the PCF, is that there is a convergence of the struggles of the proletariat and non-salaried 'intermediate' layers against the domination by monopoly capital. Therefore, a strategy of anti-monopolist nationalization, bringing to power the 'democratic forces' should be followed. A new, anti-monopolist, social regulation would then become possible. The realization of such a strategy depends on the development of the consciousness of the political actors of their *objective* situation which, according to Lojkine, is determined by the process of polarization between monopolies and proletarians. The objective destiny of the non-monopolist 'layers' is proletarianization.

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[14] In Brazil the term invasion is widely used. In other Latin-American countries this term, which also is widely used by liberal authors, is often rejected for its connotations of illegality and its implicit legitimation of private property. Using the term *toma* (occupation) implies that those involved rightfully *take* a share of the urban space.

[15] For reviews of the theorizations of the capitalist state see: Carnoy (1984) Jessop (1984) and Laclau (1981).

Turning to the problematic of capitalist urbanization Lojkine rejects Castells's conceptualization of the urban as the domain of reproduction of the labour force. It should be considered as a key element in the relations of production, Lojkine argues. It is related to the socialization of the general conditions of capitalist production. Whereas Marx had been thinking of the means of communication and transport (the means of material circulation), Lojkine extends the concept of general conditions to include, in the first place, the means of collective consumption and, secondly, the spatial concentration of means of production and reproduction.

With regard to the means of collective consumption the notion of the contradiction between the development of the *human* productive forces and the logic of capital accumulation provides the framework for Lojkine's analysis. The development of the productive forces in modern industry, he argues, requires the substitution of 'integral individuals', capable of directing productive processes, for the 'partial individuals', victims of a fragmentation of productive functions.[16] The opposition between manual and intellectual labour is being superseded within the capitalist production process itself, which at the same time sets the limits for a full realization of this tendency. While education, health services and scientific research are becoming increasingly necessary general conditions, from the point of view of capitalist rentability they remain improductive expenses like those of circulation.

How then to understand the links between modes of socialization and circulation and spatial concentration, that is the urban phenomenon? Lojkine turns to Marx's concept of cooperation. For Marx the concept referred to the collaboration of workers in the productive unit, but Lojkine proposes to expand it to include spatial agglomeration as an instrument of the development of social production. However, in contrast to the capitalist enterprise, at this level the process of cooperation and agglomeration, though contributing to the development of productivity, is 'anarchistic' as a result of capitalist competition. In the present stage of capitalism this process gives rise to the segregation between urban centres, where the most advanced intellectual labour and the centres of command are concentrated, and the periphery as the locus of executive activities and impoverished reproduction of the labour force. Besides that, the new spatial mobility of monopoly capital and the autonomization and specialization of economic functions result in the breaking up of the regional industrial tissue and further contribute to the tendencies towards urban segregation. Therefore, Lojkine argues, the urban is not marginal to the direct confrontation between capital and labour, as Castells would have it, but it is a *decisive locus of class struggle*. It resumes the principal contradiction between the needs of development of live labour, its intellectual development in particular, and the logic of accumulation.

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[16] This view sharply contrasts with Braverman's (1974) thesis on labour and monopoly capital and the degradation of work in the twentieth century.

Lojkine then takes issue with Castells's definition of urban planning and policies. According to Castells urban interventions did not add anything new to the 'spontaneous' tendencies of the urban system. Lojkine counters by arguing that such interventions are more than just an 'ideological supplement' to 'spontaneous tendencies'. They effectively further the interests of the monopolies and respond to the segregative logic. Lojkine cites some cases to show along what lines such segregation takes place and concludes that these cases show that no real concessions are made to the non-monopolist fractions of capital, nor, for that matter, to the working class. Rather than regulating contradictions, as the structuralist marxists would have it, urban policies only aggravate them. Thus, urban land policies in France worked out to the detriment of small proprietors and benefited the large owners. Similarly, the 'liberties' of the local communities, where the middle classes might have a certain influence are increasingly hollowed out as a result of their subordination to the central state which responds to the interests of monopoly capital. The laws regulating the functioning of 'hypermarkets' likewise did not check the concentration of capital in the commercial sector, but furthered it.

Finally, Lojkine turns to the issue of social movements. He starts by disagreeing with Touraine's distinction between social movement and political or revolutionary action. This postulates an absence of differentiation of political power according to the nature of the dominant class, Lojkine argues. Referring to Lenin's views on the *soviets* he affirms that the difference between a socialist state and a capitalist state consists in the mode of participation of the masses in political power. The objective of a socialist state is the reconciliation of civil society and the state, Lojkine asserts without at any point questioning the leninist recipe for achieving such a reconciliation. Social movements, as the expression of class struggle, need a political party capable of representing the interests of the dominated classes independently of the political parties subordinated to the dominant class. The movements of 1848, 1871 and may 1968 could not overthrow the existing order as a result of the failure of articulation between mass movement and political organization. By contrast, the victorious movement of 1917, Lojkine concludes from a rather starry eyed analysis of the events, resulted from the political activity of an independent class organization (Lojkine, 1981:292-299). These considerations lead Lojkine to define a social movement as resulting from the combination of two social processes. The first defines the intensity and the extension (the social field) of the movement through the combination of a social basis and an organization. It is the social force resulting from the action of an organization upon a given social basis. The second dimension concerns the political challenge represented by the movement. This results from the combination of the ideologies and political practices of the 'social basis' and the practices of the organization which 'puts it into movement'. Since a dominated class never can spontaneously withdraw from domination a combination of the action of an independent class organization and the 'experience' of the dominated class is needed to provide opportunity for freeing itself from ideological submission.

Turning to the question of *urban* social movements Lojkine rejects two limitations imposed by Castells's conceptualization. In the first place the separation between the 'economic', that is the reproduction of the means of production, and the 'social', that is collective consumption. If beforehand 'the urban' is confined to the latter it becomes impossible to think of an urban movement as challenging the global reproduction of a social formation. If they are confined to the phenomenal level of relations of consumption and distribution, that is 'social stratification', the relationship to class antagonism can not be thought of, according to Lojkine. Secondly, he argues, Castells conceived of the state as an instrument of control and social integration and, therefore, a social movement can only be thought of as exterior to state power in its capacity of emerging 'outside' the political scene and the party organizations. "But what is a non-'institutionalized' conflict?", Lojkine asks rhetorically. The consequence, according to Lojkine, is that the examples of urban struggles given by Castells are characterized by political isolation and atomization. He identifies 'political' or 'revolutionary' struggles with splinter-groups and not with "the labour movement in its totality and reality" (Lojkine, 1981:302).

Against the view that urban contradictions are secondary ones that cut across class lines Lojkine argues that the present context of monopolist urbanization turns the urban into a decisive locus of class struggle. If in the pre-monopolist period urban struggles were isolated and marginal presently a new type of movement arises in articulation with the revolutionary anti-monopolist movement (Lojkine, 1981:334). Although the labour movement only slowly becomes conscious of the ideological character of the separation between the struggle in the sphere of production and in the sphere of reproduction there are symptoms of new links being established, as in the integration of the *qualitative* demand for education in the worker's struggle *inside* the factory. Other examples of an integration of urban movements into the totality of demands of the labour movement are the struggles against de-industrialization and the proliferation of offices, the questioning of the segregation-process and the related struggles against collective transport policies. In short, the relation between struggles revolving around urban contradictions and struggles inside the factory is structurally given, rather than established through articulation. If this is not understood, Lojkine argues, it is a consequence of bourgeois ideology.

2.3. Structure and movement

In keeping with the spirit of the time the issue of structures and practices provides the point of reference for the main theoretical essay included in Borja's *Urban Social Movements*. The idealist rift between structure and practices, he argues, blocs a dialectical analysis. Borja conceives of *structures* as contradictory and ever changing realities. The urban structure is the specific form of social organization of a territory as a unity that secures the concentration of productive activities and of collective means of consumption, that is the mechanisms and institutions securing the general conditions of production in a territorial unity. Its function is to assure the realization and the increase of surplus value and the reproduction of the social hierarchy. Urban *conflicts* are generated by and refer to the urban structure. They are the expression of and response to structural contradictions by a collectivity (Borja, 1975:41-42). Objective contradictions, generated by the dominant logic, give rise to social conflicts which appear as the immediate agents of change. The urban structure does not adapt itself spontaneously to disfunctions or problems, nor are transformations of the urban structure the outcome of the intervention of a single agent resolving a problem. Changes, including those in the interest of the dominant classes, always result from the social conflicts revolving around the urban contradictions.

The principal contradictions affecting the development of urban movements are, firstly, those generated by the application of the criteria of profitability in the provision of urban equipment which leads to a deficient supply. In the second place, anarchic competition gives rise to a tendency of concentration impeding an equilibrated spread of equipments and an optimalization of the use of technological and social resources. It leads to diseconomies of agglomeration as well as the underdevelopment of large areas and the abandoning of existing equipment. Thirdly, private property in land is in contradiction with its collective use and impedes an effective policy of urban planning. Finally, the role of the state is particularly contradictory. Simultaneously, it has to assure the reproduction of the means of production on the long term, to serve the accumulation process and the way land is used in this process on the short term and it has to assure the reproduction of the labour force without disposing of sufficient means to face the task. Under these conditions urban policies become increasingly aggressive, particularly if we take into account that the development of state monopoly capitalism has been parallelled by the rise of a broad democratic movement conquering important social and political rights. The result is that the state and the local administrations tend to loose their efficacy as ideological apparatuses, being incapable of assuring or even simulating citizen participation.

Against this background Borja distinguishes three important types of conflict. In the fist place conflicts arise between the dominant urban agents, particularly the state, and the population as users of the city. These conflicts principally revolve around collective equipments and housing. They give rise to what has become known as 'urban movements' of the popular classes. These conflicts can involve actors from different social groups and the distinction between *social* *base* and *territorial base* should therefore be born in mind.[17] Secondly, there are conflicts between the state and private capitalists over the reproduction of means of production like, for example, infrastructures, the costs of reproduction of the labour force, the use of urban land and over the realization of urban policies. A new contradiction results, since with the increase in state intervention the role of technicians becomes more important. Their ideology of 'rationality and neutrality' and the actual impossibility of real urban planning under capitalist conditions can produce a radicalization of these professionals as a result of which they may come to contribute to a legitimization and broadening of the actions of urban movements (c.f. Borja, 1975:115-116). Finally, Borja points to conflicts related to intercapitalist competition, which even may lead to alliances with popular movements, for example in the case of the population and real estate owners turning against a polluting industry. Conflicts also can arise between monopoly capital and small capital, or between sectors based on parasitic rents and the directly productive ones.

If urban conflicts are generated by and refer to the urban structure, which in turn is a contradictory reality modified through the conflicts, this does not mean that the relationship between structure and conflict is a direct one. It is mediated. If the structure expresses a correlation of forces, its modification is mediated by the political *conjuncture*. Moreover, the incidence of urban conflicts on the relations of force between classes and, consequently, on the urban structure, depends on the type of conflict and the social base involved. Thirdly, conflicts pass through different phases in which the opportunities for articulation with other movements and the relationship with the state and other institutions may be different. Finally, the impact of a movement is mediated by the internal organization of the movement as well as the reaction of the state apparatuses. This may, in turn, contribute to modifications of the political conjuncture. Of all these mediations the first, the political conjuncture, is the most important. Borja points to the diverse impact of land occupations in different Latin-American countries as an example. The other important factor is the dynamism of urban development. The conjunctural interplay of *urban* and *political* effects, the latter being decisive, determines the impact on the urban structure. By itself an urban movement will not have the effect of modifying the developmental logic of the urban structure, since this depends on a modification of the relation of forces between social classes on a global level and that can not be effected by a sectorial movement. Although within the existing structure urban movements may attain some quantitative results, to the extent that their management and realization remain subordinated to the dominant logic they reinforce rather than modify the urban structure. Needs themselves are shaped by the dominant logic of the urban structure and the movements not only express but also are part of the contradictory development. Borja reproaches those who think of the urban movements as the motor of the revolutionary process and as bearers of a model for the socialist city that they forget the weight of dominant ideology and the secondary character of urban contradictions.

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[17] In the first essay in the collection Borja worked out a distinction between marginal neighborhoods, popular neighborhoods, interclass neighborhoods and residential neighborhoods of the dominant classes. The forms of popular mobilization are then related to the social composition of the territorial unit leading to the conclusion that it is the popular neighborhoods, inhabited by workers and other types of wage earners, which are the basis for the typical urban claims movements (Borja, 1975:12-27).

Taking into account the character of demand, particularly the level of globality, and the correlation of social forces, from the point of view of the type of confrontation (defensive or offensive) as well the capacity to exert influence, Borja suggests a distinction between three types of urban movements of the popular classes.

Revendicatory Movements are based on one or more specific contradictions. They are movements of resistance to capital, but their impact on the urban structure is minimal. These movements may have an effect as they resolve their own problem, oppose urban policies or concrete activities by administrative agencies or private agents, or by obtaining their demand, but thereby the urban structure is not modified.

Democratic Movements base themselves on a program articulating a series of demands concerning consumption and urban management as well as the productive system. They correspond to a period of popular offensive and they may result in relative modifications of the urban structure, remaining within the confines of the dominant logic. They may advance in the direction of a democratic urban policy in the areas of housing, urban reform and the democratization of local institutions. In his study of the Spanish case Borja rejects the view that participation inevitably means integration arguing that the latter does not derive from the concrete character of demands nor from negotiation, but from the demobilization and disorganization of those interested (Borja, 1975:121).

In a *Situation of Dual Power*, finally, the political objective is overdeterminant. This corresponds to a period of social crisis in which the popular classes are capable of exercising power over other sectors of society and where the dominant classes lose their grip on the state. In such conjunctures, as in 1917 Russia or in Chile from the end of 1972 to september 1973, these movements of the popular classes practically transform urban structures and new forms of administration, such as communal democracy or popular justice, arise. However, Borja argues, these territorial base organizations can not be an alternative for the bourgeois state (including those state apparatuses which are under the control of popular political organizations) and they are not a substitute for the working class and military fronts, which are primary. They must be subordinate to the unified struggle for proletarian hegemony and the creation of a maximal possible alliance.

2.4. Concluding observations

By the end of the 1960s an upsurge of protests revolving around urban issues could be observed in the central capitalist countries. This does not mean that such issues were completely absent before that time, but that they definitely became more prominent and that their character had changed. A central notion in the contributions reviewed in this section is that of *urban contradictions*, among which those involving collective consumption are particularly important. The upsurge of protests revolving around these issues can be related to the transformations that occurred in the central capitalist countries, principally during the post-war period. While the role of large 'monopolistic' enterprises had increased substantially, the state now came to play an ever more important role in the regulation of the economy as well as in the reproduction of the labour force. State interventionism in what had been regarded as the private spheres of production and consumption indicated a much clearer interrelationship between the political and the economic and a politization of issues of which the new type of protest movements were an expression. As we saw the significance of these protests was assessed quite differently by Castells and Lojkine. Castells originally (Castells, 1977) argued that the upsurge of urban protests reflected the predominance of an 'urban ideology' which diverted attention from the underlying mechanism that gives rise to the urban contradictions and consequently from the class struggle which alone is capable of addressing the fundamental contradiction. He would subsequently modify this view (cf. Lowe, 1986), but in his most recent work (Castells, 1983) he return to a reformulated notion of 'urban ideology'. Lojkine, by contrast, makes a point of turning the urban into a decisive locus of class struggle but, as we will argue, remains rather ambiguous on this point. On this point Borja sides with Castells in regarding urban issues as secondary.

The different assessments of the significance of urban movements is linked to different views on the transformation of the class structure of the advanced capitalist societies. Against the structuralist-marxist approach Lojkine holds that the original contradiction between capital and labour has been *replaced* by the contradiction between monopoly capital and the rest of the population. Whereas for Castells the *pluriclassism* of urban movements results from the secondary character of urban contradictions which cut across class distinctions, for Lojkine internal differentiation among the non-monopolist sectors is a 'secondary' matter of stratification and not of class contradiction. Nevertheless, Lojkine's position remains rather ambiguous. While throughout his book he rejects the idea of class differentiation among the non-monopolist sectors and argues that the urban has become a decisive locus of struggle, in the end he points out how urban issues are taken up by the working class movement which has the factory as its principal locus of struggle.

In different ways Castells and Lojkine attempt to cope with the fact that the social structure of the central capitalist countries has become increasingly complex rather than increasingly polarized as a result of the rise of new occupational groups -the so-called new middle class- as well as of the cleavages resulting from redistributive policies of the state. The effects of the capital logic have become simultaneously more generalized, less class specific and more fragmented. At the same time they do not wish to abandon the idea of the centrality of the working class and 'its party' in bringing about fundamental revolutionary change. The problem of class differentiation and its significance remains an intriguing one.[18] With the introduction of notions such as 'pluriclassist movements' and 'democratic forces' Castells and Lojkine suggest forms of unity that most often can hardly be observed in urban movements. For instance, at a most general level one might in some cases speak of 'pluriclassist movements', but the components of such movements often tend to be rather homogeneous in class composition. Lojkine's views on the class structure, like his views on the role of the state in 'regulation', are overly simple: on the one hand you have the 'democratic forces' and on the other State Monopoly Capital. The rest is either ideology or secondary or both. Castells and Borja pay more attention to class differentiation and the role of political articulation and hegemonic practices.

Besides the conditions of emergence of urban movements and the role of class we should briefly pay attention to the issue of the 'space of politics'. It is clear that all three authors regard the political as a level of the social, rather than a 'dimension' as the theorists on the 'new social movements' tend to do. We already discussed Castells's definition of social movements as those that 'confront the political instance' instead of, for example, confronting the 'political apparatuses of integration and repression aiming at the maintenance of order'. The underlying idea of this ill-formulated definition is the strategy of 'dual power'. The point was taken up by Lojkine with his rhetorical question "what is non-'institutionalized' conflict?". Lojkine, however, is most contradictory since he attempts to reconcile the PCF practice of participation in 'bourgeois' political institutions with a leninist rhetoric of dual power. Borja provides the clearest discussion of the role urban movements might play in a situation of dual power with specific reference to the situation in Chile in 1972 and 1973. He points to the limitations of territorial and sectoral organizations in such a context and asserts that, as such, they can not be the basis for an alternative political organization of society since their points of view are partial whereas a unified policy is needed. With these assertions Borja takes some distance from Castells and others who, according to Borja (1975:78), tended to regard 'urban commands' as an alternative of socialist power without paying sufficient attention to the need for a broader hegemonic policy. Castells (1977:360-375), on the other hand, pays much more attention to the transformation of life styles in the Chilean *campamentos* as a 'glimpse of a future transformation of social relations'. His preoccupations with the transformation of lifestyles and with direct democracy show a conceptualization of 'political spaces' which is not limited to the conventional 'political level'.

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[18] Both Castells and Borja argue that there is a correlation between the social base of a movement and the type of action. Urban movements with a working class base are likely to be more radical and Castells -discussing Chile- adds a distinction between those parts of the working class that have an experience of labour stability and those who have had the experience of instability. The former, which he describes as a 'labour aristocracy', would rather tend toward reformism than political radicalism. In the Latin American conditions the notion of 'pluriclassism', as we will see, has often been linked to notions like 'incomplete proletarianization' which in turn was used as an explanation for the specific features of Latin American social movements and politics, populism in particular. These are some of the features of what would become known as the 'paradigm of the 1970s' as it arose in Latin America and to which we will return later.

We started this section with a discussion of the distinction between 'principal' and 'secondary' struggles and we saw through our discussion how this distinction was related to the role attributed to the working class as the pivot of societal transformation. Both Castells's discussion of 'pluriclassism' and Lojkine's views on the 'non-monopolist forces' cast doubts on the centrality of the working class in bringing about change. The negative side effects of the dominant economic logic have become less class specific (cf. Offe, 1985). However, although the effects may have become more generalized, the social structure has simultaneously become more diversified and a unity of the affected has become less obvious. Thus there still may be a generalizable interest in a democratic socialist alternative, but the subject for such a societal project has become increasingly fragmented. These issues take a prominent role in the theorizing on the 'new social movements' and the nature of social change to which we will turn in the next section.

A final remark is in order here. The relation between patriarchy and capitalism, which we used as an illustration of the thinking about 'primary' and 'secondary' questions seems to be of a different kind, compared to the relationship between capitalism and urban, or ecological issues, for example. The latter are more clearly tied up with the predatory logic of capitalism than patriarchy and therefore a resolution of such problems is more directly related to a modification of the logic of the economy, which is not to deny that they also involve important 'cultural' aspects.

3. IS THERE LIFE ON MARX?

Gramsci and the Critical Theorists already discussed the transformations of capitalism in their work on the development of monopoly capitalism, Fordism, mass production and consumption. It was after the Second World War, however, that a new 'regime of accumulation' took more definite shape, sustained on the one hand by rapid technological change and, on the other, by the mass production of consumer goods. The market for such goods expanded through the increase of wages, more or less in proportion to productivity. These developments were accompanied by the adoption of Keynesian and Welfare State policies. The state came to play an increasingly important role in 'regulating' the economy. The transformations of the productive process and the growth of state apparatuses were also accompanied by changes in the composition of the wage earning population such as the differentiation between blue collar and white collar workers and the rise of the 'new middle class'.

By the 1960s the working class seemed to have been effectively encapsulated and coopted by 'the system'. That, at least, was the view expressed in, for example, Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man* or the songs about 'plastic people'. In contrast to what some thought these developments neither brought an 'end of ideology', nor a society without conflict. In the course of the 1960s a series of protest movements attracted attention. At the time they often were interpreted as the stirrings of 'marginal groups' less affected by the ideological domination reigning at the core and which eventually might serve as catalysts in a mobilization of the working class, which still would have to play a central role.In subsequent years the discussions evolved toward a theorizing about what came to be known as the *new social movements*, like the student movement, the women's movement, regionalist movements, communal life forms, the peace movement, squatting, the anti-nuclear movement, the gay movement, etc.

The structuralist intervention at the end of the 1960s was influential in discrediting the humanist marxist perspectives. It opened the way to new conceptualizations of ideology and its workings. It also contributed to the debate on the capitalist state (cf. Carnoy, 1984; Jessop, 1984) which revolved around the critique of the theory of state monopoly capitalism. One of the main points was that the theory conceived of the state in a rather instrumental way, regarding it as the 'progressive instrument' for the socialization of the productive forces which only had to be 'freed' from the grip of the monopolies to serve the interests of the 'democratic forces' in a gradual transition to socialism. This legitimized the policies of parties strongly preoccupied with haggling over state budgets and the quest for a share in governmental power. The appeal of Althusserianism partly consisted, on the one hand, in the fact that it allowed a critique of the practices of the PCF, which had taken a rather 'responsible' stand in relation to the 1968 protest movements and, on the other hand, a critique of the 'spontaneism' of these movements and the lack of articulation with the working class (cf. Paramio, 1989). Althusser remained a loyal to 'the party', which -in the last instance- was the anchor for his 'dialectical materialist' philosophy.

Various others followed his example, though they might disagree about the choice of party among the plethora of maoists, trotskyists and other vanguardist groups. The adherence to Althusserianism and some of its rather orthodox marxist-leninist tenets often shows in the later *loss of faith* -and the disgust with the religious self-righteousness of vanguards- when the turn to 'post marxism' is taken (e.g. Castells, 1983). The marxism that is rejected quite often is easily recognizable as that of the Lenin-Althusser tradition, well-known for its lack of sympathy and understanding for the often less authoritarian 'humanist, spontaneist left-wing deviations'. The current debate about the 'individual subject' is the outcome of the challenge to humanism by Althusser and other structuralists.

In the foregoing we have followed some of the discussions that took place within the framework of the marxian paradigm over the social movement of industrial capitalist society -the worker's movement-, and we have seen how attempts were made to integrate movements which are not directly based on class into the scheme. We saw how the notion of 'primary' and 'secondary' struggles was worked out in the case of urban movements, but similar arguments have been made about the women's movement, the peace movement, ecological movements, etc.

Such attempts at integrating the newly emerging movements in the old worker-union-party scheme became increasingly awkward, however. As Laclau and Mouffe have argued, the proliferation of 'a-typical' conflicts posed some difficult questions for marxist theory. In their view the questions are too difficult to solve within the paradigm and therefore they call for a 'post marxism'. Their proposal is only one of the alternatives, however. In this section we will review some of those 'perspectives' by discussing some influential contributions to the debate on the new social movements. Situating these contributions within the broader thematical perspectives of which they can be regarded as 'representative' will be helpful to gain an insight in the differences as well as the complementarities and overlaps between 'perspectives'.

3.1. Perspectives on contemporary social movements

The work of the German political theorist Claus Offe is clearly related to the concerns of contemporary *Critical Theory*, of which Habermas is the best-known representative. Rather than 'post marxist' these authors can be characterized as neo-marxist. A characteristic feature of the work of these and related authors (e.g. Eder, 1982, 1985) is, in the first place that they tend to characterize contemporary western societies in terms of late capitalism or advanced capitalism. In the second place the theme of the 'legitimation problems' of the capitalist state takes a prominent place in their work. The state has come to play an important role in 'regulating' the economy, but this also means that the crisis tendencies stemming from capitalist commodity production are transferred onto the administrative system resulting in a rationality crisis and legitimation problems. Finally, these authors share a concern with the issue of rationality which is a longstanding preoccupation among the critical theorists.

This latter point requires some elaboration since it directly relates to the assessment of the contemporary movements and the question of their 'novelty'. In contrast to many of the other authors discussed in this section, who often reject so-called 'grand narratives', Habermas defends an evolutionary perspective for the understanding of history. A central element in his thought is that social evolution takes place in two separate but interrelated dimensions of *praxis*, namely the forces of production and the development of normative structures of interaction. In both the dimensions of labour and communicative interaction cumulative processes are involved which allow a direction to be perceived. There is a *telos* of mutual understanding and learning built into linguistic communication and this is the basis for Habermas's views on the potential for communicative rationality (Habermas, 1981a; Honneth *et al*, 1981).

This potential is not realized, however. Rationality is narrowed to instrumental rationality, the instrumentalization of reason. This links up with Habermas's thinking about the relationship between what he calls 'system' and 'lifeworld'. Systems of action, such as the state and society which are steered by the media of administrative power and exchange value, respectively, increasingly have become disconnected from a communicatively structured life world which contains private and public spheres. A feature of the advanced capitalist societies is that economic and administrative imperatives are encroaching upon territory that the life-world no longer can relinquish. For instance the public sphere, as a sphere of open debate, has been thoroughly remolded as a result of its invasion by commercial interests and 'shapers of public opinion' while at the same time political issues have increasingly become depoliticized by treating them as technical problems. Nowadays the private sphere is threatened by similar tendencies of imposition of instrumental rationality and the ensuing reification. Hence the battle lines between 'system' and 'life-world' have acquired new relevance of which the new social movements are an expression.

One of the objections raised against the 'life-world' concept is that it would legitimize the institutionalized separation between family and 'system' and neglect the problematic aspects, such as power relations, of the 'life-world'. Habermas's main point, however, seems to be that such aspects can be thematized and modified without relying on systemic intervention.

This extremely sketchy outline at least will help us to understand Habermas's (1981b) assessment of the contemporary social movements. The new conflicts deviate from the welfare state pattern of institutionalized conflict over problems of distribution and arise in areas of cultural reproduction, social integration and socialization. They are concerned with life styles and the unifying theme is the critique of capitalist growth, according to Habermas. To assess the new movements he distinguishes between an 'emancipatory potential' and a 'potential for resistance and retreat'. Habermas asserts that nowadays the feminist movement is the only movement that follows the Enlightenment tradition of bourgeois-socialist liberation movements. The struggle against patriarchal oppression and for the realization of a promise that is deeply rooted in the acknowledged *universalist* foundations of morality and legality lends feminism the impetus of an *offensive movement*, he argues. The other movements, by contrast, are more *defensive* in character. They resist the encroachment of formal organized systems of action upon the communicatively structured life world, but they do not seek to conquer new territory and are highly *particularistic*. Although one should distinguish between the defensive movements of the old middle class and the youth and alternative movements which try out new forms of cooperation and community, Habermas argues that both are irrational and he rejects neo-conservatism as well as post-modernism, which he regards as ideological expressions of the resistance movements. They are not progressive. Similar concerns with the issues of rationality and progressiveness can be found in the work of Eder (1982, 1985) and Offe (1985, 1988). Eder, for instance, agrees with Habermas's assessment, but also points to the possibilities of a development toward more rational, radically democratic, action. Eder attempts, as we shall see, to establish a bridge between Habermas's and Touraine's ideas about a qualitative change of society.

A second influential perspective on the newly emerging movements has been elaborated by Alain Touraine (1973, 1978) and Alberto Melucci (1980, 1985) has been working along somewhat similar lines. Rather than situating the new movements in the context of late capitalism Touraine argues that they are the first manifestations of a new unified social movement, reflecting the emergence of a post-industrial or programmed society. The concept of 'post industrial society' is derived from Bell (1973). For our purposes it is useful to recapitulate the main features of Bell's post-industrial society. In the economic sector it is characterized by the change from a goods-producing to a service economy. The occupational distribution changes in the sense that a professional and technical class becomes pre-eminent. What Bell calls the 'axial principle' of the new society is the centrality of theoretical knowledge as the source of innovation and policy formulation. The 'future orientation' is one of control of technology and technological assessment. Decision making, finally, is characterized by the creation of a new 'intellectual technology' (Bell, 1973:14).

Touraine (1978, 1985) situates his 'sociology of action' by contrasting it with Parsons's functionalism, Althusser's structuralist marxism and the theories of rational choice. In contrast to the marxian image where each class has an ideology of its own, in Touraine's model the classes share a cultural orientation but, in contrast to functionalism, society is divided in classes struggling over the appropriation/alienation of this cultural model. Touraine's model contrast with the neo-rationalist strategic choice models in that it refuses the simple strategic-instrumental rationality conception. Actors are not moved by 'bare' self-interest but their actions are shaped by the cultural orientation.

From the structuralist marxists Touraine adopts the view of history as a succession of discontinuous societal types or *systems of historical action*. A system of historical action is the cultural and social manner of shaping the capacity of human societies to produce their conditions of existence, in other words the self-producing capacity of societies. It consists of a mode of knowledge, which is the capacity of society for creating knowledge of itself; a mode of investment, that is the manner of investing part of their product in the transformation of production; and a cultural model which provides society with an image of its own productivity. Touraine presents us with three *discontinuous* types of *modern* society (commercial, industrial and post-industrial), which, despite disclaimers, are ordered in a rather evolutionist manner according to an increasing reflexivity of cultural models and social actors. Rejecting evolutionism, he argues that societies do not change as a result of internal developments. The level of historicity, that is the capacity for self-production of society, can not explain the passage from one level of historicity to another. This means that he does not share the concern with progress and rationality of the critical theorists, who tend to take a middle ground between radical discontinuity and continuity (Honneth *et al*, 1981). For Touraine social movements are the expression of the structural conflict in a societal type which they can not 'transcend'. They are related to synchronic reproduction of the system and not to historical change. His rejection of evolutionary perspectives and all other 'meta-narratives' from which normative orientations might be derived, is ambiguous, however, and Cohen (1982, 1985), Eder (1982) and Arnason (1986) have discussed possibilities for convergence with the perspective elaborated by Habermas.

Thus Eder (1982) argues that Touraine's historicist account can not effectively deal with historical time. His arguments against an evolutionary interpretation stand in the way of acknowledging the evolutionary logic of social development that his approach implies. On the one hand Touraine argues that the types of modern society he distinguishes -commercial, industrial and post industrial societies- are characterized by increasing levels of reflexivity. Subsequently, organizational processes, political institutions and cultural orientations have become open to challenge. However, Touraine's conception of these societal types as discontinuous, renders it impossible to take into account the role of increasing reflexivity in historical development. Eder then argues that if modernity is characterized by its having all of its composing elements (organizational, institutional and cultural arrangements) open to challenge, then their historical meaning can be established in terms of the outcome of collective discourse. Consequently, he argues, changes in systems of historical action are regulated by changes in the universe of discourse and, following Habermas, he adds that these changing universes of discourse form a logical sequence which, in turn, is related in a complex way to the relation of man to nature. The argument thus is for a reconciliation between Touraine's anti-humanist structuralist heritage (Touraine, 1978:174) and a dialectics of Enlightenment. It provides a link to discourse theory from a rationalist perspective.

A third perspective which we will discuss in this section is that elaborated by Laclau and Mouffe (1985). Political theorist Laclau has been living apart together with structuralist marxism for a long time, but this relationship now seems to have definitely come to an end. The development leading to the rupture can easily be traced in his work (Laclau, 1977, 1981). The position elaborated together with Chantal Mouffe starts from the assertion that the concept of hegemony is incompatible with the categories of marxist theory. From this point on they construct a theory of the discursive constitution of 'the social' as a symbolic order. Their interest in discourse and discursive formations has its roots in Gramsci's and Althusser's theories of hegemony and ideology and links up with the recently increasing interest in language games. It also links up with the reconceptualizations of the 'constitution of society' and the concomitant rethinking of the concept of power and its role in the constitution of society, although the notion of power, which became increasingly prominent in Foucault's work, is conspicuously absent in Laclau and Mouffe's book. In contrast to the concept of power as a force which stems a prime mover or sovereign subject, power increasingly has come to be regarded as inherent in the 'social field'. It does not stem from an actor, but springs from the divisions and tensions that run through the social field. Identity and subjectivity are 'effects' of such divisions and tensions (cf. Clegg, 1989; Giddens, 1986).

The central thesis advanced by Laclau and Mouffe (1985) is that the emergence of the concept of hegemony in marxian theorizing in the early 20th century reflects an inherent dualism, between a logic of necessity and a logic of contingency, within the marxian paradigm. Hegemony was meant to fill the void between these two logics. However, they go on, hegemony can not be thought of as something complementary to the basic categories of marxist theory. It introduces a logic of the social which is *incompatible* with those categories and the notion of historical necessity. The theorist who came closest to the concept of hegemony as Laclau and Mouffe understand it was Gramsci, who thought of it in terms of intellectual and moral leadership. Thus it becomes a key concept in understanding the very unity existing in a social formation. Gramsci conceived of hegemony as constituting a collective will, which, through ideology, becomes the organic cement unifying a historical bloc. Nonetheless, Laclau and Mouffe argue, not even Gramsci fully overcame the dualism of classical marxism, since he retained the idea that there must always be a *single* unifying principle in every historical formation and that this can only be a 'fundamental class'. Laclau and Mouffe reject the idea that the economic level would be the final rational stratum of historical development since this would imply that hegemonic articulations can only be conceived of as a contingent complement to necessity (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985:76). Hegemony can not be conceived of as a rationalist coincidence of interests among preconstituted agents as in the base-superstructure model. It is the very process of constitution of the identity of agents.

Thus Laclau and Mouffe have paved the way for their post-marxist turn to discourse-theory. To develop their point they turn to the concept of overdetermination, which they intend to radicalize in order to understand the specific logic of social articulations. Aside from Althusser's notion of overdetermination and his theory of interpellation, Foucault's theory of discursive formations is an important source of inspiration. The main points in their argument are, first, that hegemony is incompatible with historical necessity. Second, that overdetermination is incompatible with determination in the last instance. From these points it is deduced that 'the social' constitutes itself as a *symbolic order* and, therefore, can be analyzed with the help of the concepts of discourse theory. This means that, for example, *metaphor* and *metonym* must be understood as *constitutive* of social relations. Thus, a moment of ambiguity, a non-transparency of social 'identities', is introduced. Discursive formations are ensembles of differential positions -regularity in dispersion- but no discursive formation can constitute itself as a sutured or closed totality. This opens the space for articulatory practices. *Articulation* is defined as any practice establishing a relation between *elements* whereby they become *moments* in a discourse. This means that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. Identity is relational and, therefore, never can be totally achieved. A *discourse* is a structured totality resulting from articulatory practices. *Elements* are differences which are not discursively articulated, whereas *moments* are differential positions insofar as they are articulated within a discourse. The transformation of elements into moments never can be complete, however. There always will be a 'surplus of meaning'.

Transposing these notions to social analysis Laclau and Mouffe introduce a distinction between 'society' and 'the social' and they argue that 'society' can not exist since a completely self-defined totality is impossible. The social results from the interplay between a *logic of difference*, aimed at the establishment of a closed order of differences, and a *logic of equivalence* which results from the impossibility of achieving a closed order. What has been called the 'society effect' results from articulation between dispersed elements, from a desire for a centre, but a fixed *system of differences* or totally acquired social identities can never be achieved since identity is *relational* and therefore can never be fully constituted or completely transparent. Only partial fixations, *nodal points*, can be established. They result from articulatory practices and they always are *subverted*. *Antagonism* is the relation wherein the limits of objectivity, the constitution of a closed system of differences or identities, are shown. It results from the impossibility of achieving a closed order and, simultaneously, opens the field for articulatory practices.

The central message of the account is that social or political identities, or what Laclau and Mouffe call *subject positions*, are discursively constituted. As to the category of 'subject', they argue that it should be understood in the sense of 'subject positions' within discursive structures. Subjects should not be thought of as the origin of social relations -not even in the limited sense of being endowed with powers that render an experience possible- as all 'experience' depends on precise discursive conditions of possibility (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985: 115). In short, individuals are something like bundles of discursively constituted subject positions. Subject positions are discursively constituted and do not derive their meaning, for example, from the relations of production. There is no logical connection whatsoever between positions in the relations of production and the mentality of the producers, Laclau and Mouffe assert. Socialist subject positions are discursively constructed. Politics is not concerned with the representation of interests. Political practice constructs the interests it represents. Working class and socialism are not incompatible, but there are no 'historical interests' and the working class is not the 'privileged subject' of socialism (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985:84, 120).

One difficulty with the position taken by Laclau and Mouffe is that it becomes quite difficult to see what they mean by 'progressive subject positions'. Not only is the 'rational substratum' of determination in the last instance, or the development of the productive forces, abandoned but there also is no trace of something like a learning process inherent in the logic of communicative interaction. The issue can be illustrated with their view on humanism. They point out that there is nothing like an 'essence of man'. However, acknowledging the historicity of the concept of 'Man' will enable us "to struggle more efficiently, and without illusions, in defence of humanist values" (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985:117). This position of secularized humanism may have the advantage of recognizing cultural pluralism and breaking with any Eurocentrist perspective, but it also throws up the problem that the choice of values has become contingent and there are no criteria for criticizing such choices. Would it not 'violate the plurality of language games' as Lyotard (1979) would say (cf. Geras, 1987; Laclau & Mouffe, 1987)? The values that prevail are those resulting from the contingencies of hegemonic articulation and that may well have something to do with the distribution of power and extra-discursive resources, a point thematized in Habermas's opposition between a potential 'ideal speech situation' and a reality of 'distorted communication'. Or is a 'critique without philosophy', derived from 'large narratives' rather than a meta-narrative possible (cf. Fraser & Nicholson, 1988; Lechner, 1986)?

Another problem derives from the reference to 'historical conditions'. If there is nothing outside discourse (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985:107), would this not, strictly speaking, imply that there are no 'historical conditions' but only the present discourse? This applies to Laclau and Mouffe's account of the discursive constitution of 'the social' and the role of hegemony. In the course of their book it becomes clear that the prominent role they attribute to hegemony is linked to precise historical conditions, but their approach has rendered them incapable of theorizing these historical 'conditions of emergence'. In his book on *The Post-Modern Condition* Lyotard (1979), referring to the work of Bell and Touraine, has related the demise of 'grand narratives' and the post-modern plurality of language games to the change in the status of knowledge in the post-industrial society and its new forms of technology and information. Similarly, Touraine has argued that it is only with the advent of the post-industrial society that cultural orientations have become open to challenge. The idea, in short, is that the development of commodity production coupled with information technology has led to a 'triumph of signifying culture' which then *reverses the direction of determinism* (cf. Featherstone, 1988). Society has reached the highest level of historicity, that is the capacity for self-production. Thus Lyotard has attempted to underpin his view of a plurality of language games and Touraine his assertion that the new social movements, whose stake is the social control of the main cultural patterns, become the main actors of society. Laclau and Mouffe seem to think along similar lines with their stress on the role of discourse and hegemony in the constitution of 'the social'. However, their radical assertion that there is nothing outside discourse makes it impossible to theorize how this reversion of the direction of determinism and the consequent primacy of discursive and hegemonic practices have come about. They refer to 'advanced capitalism', commodification and bureaucratization but as Geras (1987:74) has put it, "these concepts belong to another theory".

We now have outlined the 'perspectives' in which the contributions of the authors to be discussed in the following part of this section can be situated. It should be noted, however, that feminist theorizing also has an important influence in the discussions on the new social movements. In this case we can not speak of a clearly defined 'paradigm'. The influence occurs in the thematizing of a number of issues, such as autonomy, identity, subjectivity and power (Corten & Onstenk, 1981; Fraser & Nicholson, 1988; Soper, 1989; Vargas, 1989; 1990).

In the following part of this section we will examine the views from the 'perspectives' discussed above on a number of issues, such as the conditions of emergence of the new social movements, the views on the significance of class analysis and the conceptualizations of the 'space of politics'. After that we shall turn our attention to Castells's latest contribution to the theorizing of urban movements, which draws heavily on the work of Touraine.

3.2. Conditions of emergence

We already saw that contemporary 'western' society has been characterized in two ways. Offe, as well as Laclau and Mouffe, speak of advanced- or late capitalism. Others, like Touraine, speak of post-industrial society. In the first view the emergence of the new social movements is related to the transformations of capitalism and the capitalist state in the post-war period. The new protests reflect the generalization of the adverse effects of the *capital logic* and those of the *administrative logic* of the capitalist state, of money and power as Habermas would say, on ever broader sectors of the population. Offe (1985), for example, integrates the theme in his broader theoretical work on the legitimation problems of the state in late capitalism. In particular he refers to the 'crisis of governability' of the Keynesian Welfare State, resulting from the impossibility of reconciling capitalism with mass democracy; the requirements of sustained accumulation with those of legitimation. The problems express themselves in a fiscal crisis of the state and a crisis of the party and trade-union system which sustained the Welfare State compromise. At the same time there is an upsurge of extra-institutional action: the new social movements (Offe, 1988; c.f. Carnoy, 1984:131-140; Cohen, 1982; Jessop, 1984:106-112).

Offe characterizes the new movements as a rational response to the effects of modernization in the advanced capitalist societies. These effects can be resumed in three terms. *Broadening* means that the negative side effects of the established modes of economic and political rationality are no longer concentrated and class specific, but tend to affect virtually every member of society in a broad variety of ways. *Deepening* indicates a qualitative change in the methods and effects of domination and social control, making its effect more comprehensive and inescapable in a penetration of spheres of life that have so far remained outside the realm of rational and explicit social control. *Irreversibility*, finally, points to a loss of any self-corrective or self-limiting capacity by the established economic and political institutions. They are caught in a vicious circle that can only be broken from outside the established political institutions. Hence the legitimation for the extra-institutional modes of action of the new social movements.

Touraine, on the other hand, argues that the emergence of the new movements indicates a transition to a qualitatively new type of society, the post-industrial or *programmed society*. Whereas in industrial society, be it in a capitalist or a socialist context[19], the class contradiction is between workers and managers, in the programmed society a new class conflict arises, this time between technocrats and what Touraine calls the 'self management' movement. The conflict does not only involve new classes, but also evolves on another *level* than the conflicts of industrial society. In industrial society conflicts revolved around issues of distribution on an institutional or political level. The social movements of the post-industrial society, by contrast, address cultural issues on the level of historicity. Whereas in industrial society 'meta-narratives', like that of 'progress', were not open to challenge, nowadays they are and therefore society has attained the highest capacity for self-production and this is what the new social movements are involved in.

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[19] In Touraine's view capitalism and socialism are *modes of development*. Industrialism and post-industrialism, by contrast, are *modes of production*. The latter define the class composition of societies.

As we saw it is this idea of qualitative change, of a 'reversal of determination', that inspired much of the interest in language and language games (e.g. Lyotard, 1979). On the other hand this interest was stimulated by the structuralist-marxist reconceptualization of ideology and the subsequent turn to discourse and its role in the constitution of the subject. The ideas about late capitalism and the 'information society' seem to come together in the work of Laclau and Mouffe, but they sit together uneasily. In a way similar to Offe Laclau and Mouffe (1985; Mouffe, 1988), relate the emergence of the new movements to the phenomena of *commodification* and *bureaucratization* related to the emergence of Fordist techniques of production and the Keynesian Welfare state, respectively. Thirdly, they mention the ambiguous role of the *mass media*. On the one hand they contribute to cultural massification, but they also contribute to the spread of a 'democratic consumer culture' and the discursive conditions for challenging relations of subordination and inequality.

Although commodification and bureaucratization are mentioned Laclau and Mouffe (1985:153) focus on the "discursive conditions for the emergence of collective action, directed towards struggling against inequalities and challenging relations of subordination". To do so they differentiate between relations of *subordination* in which an agent is subjected to the decisions of another, relations of *oppression* where a relation of subordination has transformed itself into a site of antagonism and relations of *domination*, which are those relations of subordination which are considered as illegitimate from the perspective, or in the judgement, of a social agent external to them, and which, consequently may or may not coincide with the relations of oppression actually existing in a determinate social formation. The argument then, is that a struggle against subordination can not be the result of the situation of subordination itself. Subordination merely establishes *differential positions* between social agents and these are not antagonistic. Only if such a system of differences is subverted, will the subordinated subject positions become sites of antagonism. This happens when the discourse of subordination is interrupted by a discourse exterior to it. That is to say when through the logic of *equivalence*, or 'demonstration effect' the effects of some discourses are displaced towards other locusses of difference/subordination.

Giving their story an historical and more down to earth twist Laclau and Mouffe then introduce the 'democratic revolution', which made an end to the medieval conception of society as a hierarchic system of fixed differential positions. Through equivalence effects the questioning of political inequality was transposed to economic inequality and inequality between sexes. Therefore, socialist and feminist demands should be seen as moments internal to the democratic revolution. Likewise, the new social movements exhibit an aspect of continuity of the democratic revolution in the permanence of the egalitarian imaginary. What is new about them is that they are responses to the recent forms of subordination (bureaucratization, commodification, massification) in the context of the transformation of social relations characteristic of the new

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hegemonic formation of the post-war period. This formation is incapable of establishing itself as a stable system of differences since its internal dynamism constantly subverts social identities. Together with the democratic revolution it generates a proliferation of conflictualities which provides the field for hegemonic articulation.

As we have pointed out, the problem with Laclau and Mouffe is that the relationship between the dynamics of discursive formations and the dynamics of advanced capitalism remains undertheorized. Is the constant subversion of identities inherent to the dynamic of discursive formations -the play of difference and equivalence- and therefore to 'the social' (symbolic orders) in *general*, or is it related to a specific social order? In other words is post-modernism a 'condition' or is it just another pathology of late capitalism (Jameson, 1989)?

3.3. Class and movement

In the 'old' paradigm we had the 'historical mission' of the proletariat which would be the subject for societal change for being the most exploited and/or alienated class. We saw how the notion of 'pluriclassism' was introduced. It started a life on its own to such a point that some consider 'pluriclassism' as a defining characteristic of 'social movements'.

Offe (1985, 1989) takes a different view. He argues that one should not take it for granted when the new movements nowadays assert that they are pluriclassist, a notion that by now has become part of the 'common sense' of the movements. He considers the *new middle class* to be at the core of the movements. The other two segments of the social structure from which the movements draw support are elements of the *old middle class* and the groups *peripheral* to, or outside, the labour market (unemployed, students, housewives, retired persons, etc.). In short, the groups which provide the basis for the new movements are just about anything except the two 'principal' classes of capitalist society. The centrality of the new middle class derives from their relatively easy cognitive access to the risks and perverse effects of further technical, economic, military and political modernization. Their critique, Offe argues, is not 'anti-modernizing' or 'post-modern' but it is a rational response based on a selective radicalization of modern values like autonomy and identity. The other two groups, by contrast, may tend toward 'irrational' responses. This possibility results from their positions in relation to the process of social production. The old middle class may be simply anti-modernizing, whereas among the peripheral groups other 'irrationalisms', like mysticism or post-modern nihilism may be observed.

Touraine's view is related to his ideas about post-industrialism. One of his aims is "to discover the social movement which in the emerging programmed society will take the place of the working class movement of industrial society and of the movement for civil liberties of the commercial society that preceded it" (Touraine, 1978:38). The old class distinctions of industrial society become less relevant, like the left-overs of old modes of production in the structuralist scheme (c.f. Cohen, 1982:32) and the new movements express the conflict between the emerging two fundamental classes of the programmed society.

If society is capable of intervening upon itself, that is of a *non-coincidence* of society with itself, it necessarily must be divided, Touraine argues. The notion of a community taking charge of its own transformation is utopian. Society is not an actor, but a system of actors: accumulation and investment are conducted by a particular category capable of extracting resources from the workers and of managing the accumulated resources: a class which mobilizes resources at the service of the cultural model. This class is the social expression of the cultural model but also exerts a constraint on society as a whole. Hence an insuperable division of society into a dominant/leading class and a dominated/challenging class. *Social movements* are the organized collective conduct of a class actor struggling against its class adversary for the social direction of historicity, the class-specific interpretation of the cultural model, in a concrete collectivity. In every type of society or system of historical action, there are two social movements (Touraine, 1973:146; 1978:104).

Systems of historical action are situated on what Touraine calls the *synchronic* axis. He distinguishes two modes of sociological analysis. *Synchronic* analysis is concerned with the study of social *structure*, class relations and social movements, that is with civil society in Touraine's terms. The distinction is related to Touraine's distinction between *modes of production* (industrial/post-industrial) and *modes of development* (capitalism/socialism). *Diachronic* analysis -the sociology of development- focusses on the historical transitions from one societal type to another: *change*. In this case the role of the state is taken into account. Although the two modes of analysis, corresponding to structure and genesis, order and change, are complementary, primacy should be accorded to the synchronic dimension, Touraine argues.

Social movements, or classes, are not the subjects of history. Touraine situates them on the synchronic axis of systemic reproduction.[20] The transition from one type of society to another can not be explained by the functioning of a society, he argues, in line with the argument the structuralist marxists presented for the need of political intervention from the 'outside' (Althusser & Balibar, 1975:178-225). It supposes the existence of an agent of historical transformation and a logic of action that do not pertain to society. For Touraine this agent of history is the state, as the manager of a territorial collectivity in the context of the dynamics of inter-societal contacts and conflicts.[21] Thus the state appears as the agent of history on the *diachronic* axis.

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[20] Touraine distinguishes between struggles at the level of organization, the level of institutions and the level of historicity, on the one hand, and between offensive and defensive struggles on the other. This yields six types of struggle, all situated on the *synchronic* axis. *Offensive* struggles at the three levels are: revendications, institutional or political pressure and *social movements*, respectively. *Defensive* struggles are: crisis conducts, blockage conducts and revolutionary action.

[21] Touraine's views on the state are somewhat similar to those of Skocpol (1984) and Moore (1977).

A consequence of the somewhat artificial separation between politics and movements is that relatively pure social movements can only be found in the democracies of central capitalism. All other countries are busily adapting to the latest system of historical action through the action of the state. In these cases the social movements are transformed into historical movements. He defines *historical struggles* as social conflicts in a situation of change or, more precisely, the modification of social movements resulting from a mode of state intervention. In the final analysis this comes down to the questionable view that the state is the ultimate incarnation of historical reason. Touraine has rejected the intentionality and adaptive capacity that functionalism and systems theories attributed to society, arguing that in this way society is reduced to a normative order or to mere strategies, but they somehow reappear in the explanation of the behaviour of the state as representative of concrete societies in the external arena. The attempts at conceptualizing the relationships between the state and the class composition of societies result in rather unsatisfactory formalist plays of transformation, similar to the structuralist *combinatoires*. The root of the problems seems to lie in Touraine's application of his synchrony/diachrony and civil society/state dichotomies which result, as was pointed out, in an unsatisfactory conceptualization of the relationship between social movements, political action and change. His systems of historical action only allow for change as resulting from 'outside intervention'. Thus the success of his project of saving 'the actor' from 'structural determinism' is questionable. They are situated on the synchronic axis of systemic reproduction, whereas change comes from elsewhere.

A further issue is how these ideas relate to Touraine's 'end of history'-thesis, that is the thesis that the programmed society is the ultimate system of historical action. Once this level of historicity is attained only the class struggle, or the struggle between social movements, situated on the synchronic axis, continues. We are entering the "age of social movements, which also is the age of counter-culture", Touraine (1978:149) asserts. Would this not imply the possibility of a dispersion of cultural orientations or language games and consequently a plurality of social movements, rather than just two?

Laclau and Mouffe (1985:169) criticize Touraine for expecting the unification of the new social movements in a mechanical way. From their discourse-theoretical perspective unification can only result from hegemonic articulation. In this sense they work out the idea that there has been a qualitative change in social dynamics. *Nowadays*, the idea that structurally given class positions are relevant for the shaping of the identity of actors or for determining the significance or the meaning/sense of a conflict must radically be discarded. Against 'economism' and 'class reductionism', they argue that political practice itself constitutes the interests it represents. Interests and subject positions are discursively constituted and derive their meaning or sense from hegemonic articulation (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985:85-88, 120). The decisive role of hegemonic practices, however, is a recent phenomenon. We saw that Laclau and Mouffe argue that the concept of hegemony was developed in the early 20th when it became increasingly apparent that the predicted process of economic and political class polarization was not born out.[22] The decisive role of hegemony is related to precise, but undertheorized, historical conditions of emergence which Laclau and Mouffe sketch by tracing what they see as the transformation of politics over the past 200 years. In 1789, they assert, the division of the social into two antagonistic camps still presented itself in the form of clear and empirically *given* lines of demarcation, *prior* to all hegemonic construction (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985:151). It was with the growing complexity and institutionalization of capitalist society that the constitution of a popular pole grew increasingly difficult. Subsequently, class polarization underwent the same fate. Partly because of their very success, democratic struggles in the advanced capitalist societies tend less and less to be unified as popular struggles. Thus, in contrast to the relatively fixed hierarchical system of differences of medieval society the reproduction of the different social areas under capitalism increasingly takes place in permanently changing conditions which constantly require the construction of new systems of differences. This dynamic and its destabilizing effect on social identities generates a plurality of political spaces which democratic discourse turns into sites of antagonism.

Democratic antagonisms, are not progressive by themselves, Laclau and Mouffe (1985:86, 168) argue. The dispersed democratic struggles are the raw material for popular struggles, that is specific conjunctures resulting from a multiplication of equivalence effects among democratic struggles. Democratic struggles are polysemic and can be articulated to very different discourses. It is through such articulations, the integration into a chain of equivalences, that they acquire their character (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985:137, 170).

Thus, for example, the 'new right' attempts to articulate anti-bureaucratic struggles to its programme of dismantling the Welfare State and its defence of hierarchical and anti-egalitarian social relations. To counter this offensive, Laclau and Mouffe argue, a set of proposals for the positive organization of the social is needed. The left should not renounce liberal democratic ideology but radicalize it. An alternative project, however, can not be founded on the logic of democracy. The logic of democracy only is one of elimination of relations of subordination and inequalities. Together with the instability of the post-war hegemonic formation this only leads to a sort of democratic anomia.[23] A set of proposals for the positive organization of the social is needed and this can only be obtained through hegemonic articulation. The discourse of radical democracy is no longer the discourse of the universal, Laclau and Mouffe argue (1985:191): "the epistemological niche from which 'universal' classes and subjects spoke has been eradicated, and it has been replaced by a polyphony of voices, each of which constructs its own irreducible discursive identity". None of them can claim 'privileged access' to 'the Truth'. Laclau and Mouffe, refer to the proposals they deem necessary as "the totalization of negativity" of a certain social order or as "a multiplication of equivalence effects". In short, the left needs a sort of 'utopia' which consists of an addition, or rather a fusion, of anti-capitalism, anti-sexism, anti-racism, etc.

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[22] The concept of hegemony, they *then* argue, points to a logic of *the* social which is incompatible with marxist categories, namely the logic of a symbolic order, which justifies their turn to discourse theory.

[23] "The more unstable the social relations, the less successful will be any system of differences and the more the points of antagonism will proliferate. This proliferation will make more difficult the construction of any centrality and consequently, the establishment of unified chains of equivalence. (This is, approximately, the situation described by Gramsci under the term of 'organic crisis'" (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:131). Others (e.g. Lyotard, 1979) have called this the post-modern *condition*. Laclau and Mouffe, however, argue that an organic crisis also is a crisis of social identities, to be resolved through the constitution of what Gramsci called a *historical bloc* and what Laclau and Mouffe (1985:136) call a hegemonic formation.

A problem with Laclau's work is not only that he tends to conflate politics with ideology (Jessop, 1984:195-202)[24], but also that he tends to speak of politics in terms borrowed from psychiatry. In his earlier work (Laclau, 1977, cf. Laclau & Mouffe, 1985:136) he argued for a 'populism of the left', resulting from a 'condensation' of hitherto 'displaced' conflicts around one class. This makes it difficult to understand what he means by hegemonic practices and leads to a neglect of the institutional features of politics (cf. Mouzelis, 1978). It remains unclear why such a totalization, the constitution of a 'collective subject of history', is desirable and what its structure should be. A party? And then, what kind of party? If there is no 'privileged space of politics' from where to intervene upon 'privileged points of rupture', why constitute such a collective will anyway? Moreover, it is not clear why a 'totalization of negativity' should be socialism.

Another problem with Laclau and Mouffe is that they tend to screen out any reference to the systemic or structured character of subordination or to extra-discursive features and thus their approach becomes 'discourse reductionist'. Discourse tends to be treated as autonomous and constitutive of reality. However, for example, the simple 'availability of discourse' does not explain why collective mobilizations take place at certain moments and along what lines they take place. Laclau and Mouffe too easily assume that subordination and oppression have become as unstructered as the 'post-modern experience' of endless flow and 'decentered subjectivity' suggests. They are right in emphasizing that this does not yield ready made subjects of history, but the construction of such subjects -social movements- is not totally arbitrary. Analyzing the structural features of processes like commodification and bureaucratization, may be helpful in gaining insights into the tensions they produce as well as into the features that further or block cognitive access to the structured character of such tensions. Only in that way can a 'totalization of negativity' acquire a positive content and can collective action be effective. It presupposes systemic features which can be intervened upon. That is not the same thing as embracing a philosophy of history or thinking that there is a pre-constituted 'privileged subject' for socialism -workers are not 'inherently' socialist, nor are women born with a feminist consciousness- or a 'privileged point of rupture' in the sense that a change in the relations of production would set up a chain of effects extinguishing all forms of subordination. To grasp the structured dynamics of a social formation, like bureaucratization and commodification for instance, one must go beyond the formal model of discursive formations (c.f. Belden Fields, 1988; Clegg, 1989:180; Fraser & Nicholson, 1988; Lechner, 1986; Jessop, 1984:195-202; Paramio, 1987).

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[24] As Jessop has observed, Laclau and Mouffe fail to distinguish between 'political hegemony' and 'organic ideology' and tend to ignore that Gramsci viewed state-power as 'hegemony armoured with coercion' and also noted how hegemonic capacities depend on the flow of material concessions. Laclau and Mouffe have posed their problem in terms of necessity and determination against contingency and indetermination and rather rashly declare everything to be discursively constituted. Conditioning, rather than determining, factors enter their discourse in a descriptive way, but their theory does not take account of extra-discursive referents or the context of discourses. They tend to ignore the conditions for production and reception of discourse and their argument tend to become discourse-reductionist or 'textionalist'. In this way it becomes difficult to distinguish between 'arbitrary' and 'organic' ideologies (c.f. Jessop, 1984:195-202).

3.4. The space of politics

What is political practice and where do you do it? In the old scheme, as we saw, politics is conceived of as a level of the superstructure. It is the place, as Gramsci put it, where corporate economic class interests are superseded through hegemonic practices and where "ideologies become 'party'". We also saw how Gramsci and Althusser expanded the concept of the state with introduction of the 'ideological state apparatuses'. The idea was criticized for virtually collapsing civil society with the state, but at the same time the notion of the political as a 'level' was abandoned to be substituted for the conceptualization of the political as a *dimension* of all social practices. This fell in quite well with the idea that 'the personal is political'. It opened new perspectives on the role of power in society, but it also tended to divert the attention from the issue of political institutions as discussed in the first section. We shall first examine Touraine's views on politics. He remains closest to the conception of politics as a 'level'. From his critical-theoretical perspective Offe examines the possibilities for a redefinition of 'politics' through the recuperation and expansion of a public sphere, resulting from the activity of the new social movements. Laclau and Mouffe are representative of the reconceptualization of politics as a dimension of all social practice.

In his views on the relations between social movements and political action Touraine sticks most closely to the conception of politics as a 'level' or 'system'. However, rather than regarding the political expression as the highest level of expression of a social movement, Touraine argues that social movements are at the same time the reason of being and the opposite of political action. Political action is aimed at the management of society. It therefore implies a denial of conflict which is the defining characteristic of social movements. The difference is one between management and contestation (Touraine, 1973:421-428). Moreover, he argues that in the informational or post-industrial society conflicts develop in the cultural field rather than on the organizational or institutional level as was the case in the preceding societal types of *modernity*: commercial society and industrial society.

Touraine indicates an increased capacity for self-government of civil society but, at the same time, asserts that in the programmed society, in *contrast* to the preceding societal types, the leading class tries to establish its dominance through a strengthening of the state. Nevertheless, Touraine maintains that the leading class is resisted by the *social movement* of programmed society, whereas the state is combated by democratic *political movements*. In his theoretical framework the relation between the two types of struggle can only be thought of in terms of alliances. He asserts that at the moment the social movements reject such alliances with the political democratic forces and he draws a parallel between this 'leftism' and the 'pure class line' of the communist parties which once drove the middle classes into the arms of fascism (Touraine, 1978:162).

Touraine's view on the relationship between movements and politics is rather problematic. His way of posing the problem, as Cohen (1982, 1985; c.f. Reis, 1988) has argued, forces a choice between 'strategy or identity' which Touraine resolves by excluding the aspect of strategic interaction from the concept of social movement and relating the concept of social movement to the synchronic reproduction of systems of historical action. Such one-sidedness makes it difficult to see how movements may be *actively* involved in hegemonic projects and social change. In the final analysis social movements only can effect a change of elites in his scheme (Touraine, 1985:755). The reification of dichotomies like state/civil society, politics/culture and diachrony/synchrony makes it difficult to conceptualize the institutional effects of social movements.

An example of the dilemma resulting from the opposition between strategy and identity, is Evers's (1985) neo-Lukácsian revival of the master-slave paradigm in the slogan "the more power, the less identity and the more alienation". In this way a-political counter-culturalism is turned into a virtue. Evers then can not escape from presenting the problem as one of choosing between being ineffectual or being drawn into 'the system'. He thinks that the "question of a 'new party' has eventually to be faced" but he also thinks that alienation from the movement is almost inevitable. Commenting upon these ideas from a feminist perspective Vargas (1989) remarks that they can generate 'a paralyzing attitude' of 'self-marginalization'. She opposes a 'creative autonomy' -capable of pressuring and negotiating from the specific position of the movement- and a 'defensive autonomy'. The latter expresses -often for understandable reasons- a certain fear of confrontation with the public and a tendency to negate differences between points of view. That may signify an authoritarian tendency toward homogenization and egalitarianism since differentiation is regarded as menacing. She pleads for what Offe (1988:244-265) would call an 'self-rationalization of the movement' (Vargas, 1989:135-149; 1990).

Offe adresses the issue of political space from the perspective of the Critical Theorist's concern with a public sphere. He argues that the aim of the new movements is that of (re-)creating an *intermediate sphere* between the 'private' and state sanctioned politics. Offe argues that the late capitalist state has run into problems of etatism, political regulation and a proliferation of bureaucratism, which can be resumed as 'the crisis of crisis management'. The political projects to resolve the so-called 'crisis of governability' diverge, however. The neo-conservative project aims at a restrictive definition of politics. It seeks to *restore* a non-political sphere of civil society through a 'reprivatization' of conflicts in order to safeguard a more restricted -and *therefore* more solid-sphere of state authority and no longer 'overloaded' political institutions. The politics of the new social movements, by contrast, seeks to politicize the institutions of civil society so as to *reconstitute* a civil society that no longer is dependent on ever more regulation, control and intervention. It must be politicized through practices that belong to an *intermediate sphere* between 'private' pursuits and concerns, on one side, and institutional, state sanctioned politics, on the other. The new movements present a challenge to the 'old paradigm' of institutional politics.

With the 'old paradigm' Offe refers to the constellation that emerged in Western Europe in the postwar years on the basis of a liberal-democratic welfare-state consensus. The premise was that of a positive sum society in which capitalism, as the engine of growth, would be complemented by organized labour as a distribution and social-security machine. The constitutional design of representative democracy, mediated through party competition was suited to limit the amount of conflicts that were transferred from the sphere of civil society into the arena of public policy. Specialized, comprehensive and highly institutionalized interest organizations and political parties became the dominant collective actors in the institutionalized mechanisms of social and political conflict resolution. The new movements challenge this scheme through the politization of themes that can not easily be categorized in terms of the distinction between 'private' and 'public' of liberal political theory. Their space of action is one of non-institutional politics.

Turning to the distinctive features of the new movements Offe argues that if the *issues* addressed by the new movements appear diverse and incoherent, they have a common root in certain *values* of which autonomy and identity are the most prominent. Besides issues and values a third element of the new paradigm is the *mode of action*. As concerns the 'internal aspect' it emphasizes informality, spontaneity and a low degree of horizontal and vertical differentiation, in contrast to the formalized organization of large scale representative associations. The 'external aspect' or protest tactics are intended to mobilize public attention by (mostly) legal though unconventional means, often taking the form of ad hoc single issue veto-alliances which emphasize the principled and nonnegotiable nature of concerns. Finally, the *actors* do not rely for their self identification on the established political codes (left/right; liberal/conservative) nor on the partly corresponding socio-economic codes (such as working class/middle class; poor/wealthy; rural/urban population etc.).

We have already seen that, in spite of the claims to pluriclassism of the movements themselves, Offe argues that they have a definite social base. A breakthrough of the new political paradigm will depend on the coherence of the groups supporting it and their relations to the supports of the old paradigm. The first possibility is that of an alliance between traditional liberal-conservative forces and the old middle class segment supporting the new movements. A second possibility is that of an alliance between the traditional Left and the traditional

Right in a sort of 'great coalition' of the corporatist type to exclude the 'peripheral' groups. In both cases the old political paradigm would remain intact. In the second case this would be accompanied by a relatively high level of violent extra-institutional conflict. Only in the case of an alliance between the traditional Left and the new middle class core of the new movements a transformation of the political paradigm, that is a redefinition of what politics is about and what its legitimate collective actors and forms of action should be, may be expected, according to Offe. The outcome partly depends on the process of self-rationalization of the new movements and the German Green Party, aimed at increasing their strategic political capacity, without losing their identity through a process of 'social-democratization' (Offe, 1988).

Laclau and Mouffe start from the argument that modernity and capitalism have resulted in a proliferation of political spaces. Taking up some of the ideas of Laclau's earlier work (Laclau, 1977) they argue that the social, or what we might call the 'society effect', is the outcome of two complementary logics. A *logic of difference* is one of expansion and increasing complexity. It reflects the effort at constructing society as an objective and closed system of differences, or 'identities'. At the same time, however, a *logic of equivalence* is at work, which is one of simplification. The two logics are reciprocally subversive and neither one ever manages to constitute a fully sutured space, that is 'society'. Differences may become locusses of antagonism. The meaning of an antagonism, however, 'overflows' the space where the antagonism is constituted. Hence, the possibility of articulation, through hegemonic practices, into a 'chain of equivalence' with reference to the other pole. Thus, Laclau and Mouffe argue, the two logics have different consequences for the structuring of political spaces and therefore they introduce a distinction between two types of struggles. *Democratic struggles* imply delimited antagonisms and a plurality of political spaces. *Popular struggles*, by contrast, are those where certain discourses *tendentially* construct the division of a single political space into two opposed fields. Democratic struggle is the fundamental concept, whereas popular struggles are specific conjunctures resulting from a multiplication of equivalence effects among democratic struggles. These are the struggles that tend to constitute a 'people' and in this case there is a tendency towards coincidence between society and the political space in the face of an 'external' referent before whom all are equal. Laclau and Mouffe mention the example of Third World countries where imperialist exploitation and the predominance of brutal and centralized forms of domination tend from the beginning to endow the popular struggle with a centre, with a clearly defined enemy. This was also the case in 1789 when popular and democratic struggles were one and the same thing in the face of the *ancien regime*.

However, as we saw, since then the twin effects of capitalist development and the democratic revolution have substantially changed the situation. The *hegemonic form of politics*, which requires the presence of antagonistic forces and an instability of the frontiers which separate them, becomes dominant at the beginning of modern times. Laclau and Mouffe argue that a new political imaginary is therefore required since the 'Jacobin political imaginary', which hinges a confluence of struggles into a unified political space conceived as a 'level' of the social, can not be upheld anymore. It should be replaced by a 'radically democratic' one.

The question of the relationship between socialism and democracy plays a central role throughout their book. The whole operation of theorizing the social as a symbolic or discursive order turns out to provide the *foundation* for their option for radical democracy. The option for democracy is founded in the *essential openness* of discursive formations. A socialist hegemonic project must avoid the two extremes represented by the totalitarian myth of the Ideal City and the positivist pragmatism of reformists without a project. The moment of tension, of openness, which gives the social its essentially incomplete and precarious character, is what a radically democratic project should set out to institutionalize (Laclau & Mouffe, 1985:190).

In a more down to earth situation we face the problem that the proliferation of spaces has resulted from the imposition of the post-war hegemonic system of differences. Hegemonic practices which rely on effects of equivalence, by contrast, aim at the recreation of a space of confluence, if not they make no sense. On the one hand one feels that Laclau and Mouffe have a certain nostalgia for 'the people' which should be reconstituted through hegemonic practices and become the subject for a socialist project, that is the transformation of democratic struggles into a popular struggle, but on the other hand Laclau (1985) argues with reference to Latin America that "Popular mobilizations are no longer based on a model of total society or on the crystallization in terms of equivalence of a single conflict which divides the totality of the social in two camps, but on a plurality of concrete demands leading to a proliferation of political spaces. This is the dimension which, it seems to me, is the most important for us to clarify in our discussion: to what extent do the new mobilizations break with a totalizing imaginary, or, on the contrary, to what extent do they remain imprisoned within it?". How does such an assertion relate to the idea that hegemonic articulation through 'equivalence effects' among 'democratic struggles' is meant to overcome the imprisonment in the 'disciplinary spaces' created by the logic of difference of the established hegemonic formation.

Even if one thinks that power and politics pervade the social and that the jacobin imaginary and practices should be overcome, it does not bring one much further to know that politics is everywhere and nowhere. Laclau and Mouffe present us with the reverse side of Althusserian 'pan-politicism'. Whereas in the latter case civil society disappeared into the state, this time the state becomes invisible. It remains worthwhile to think about alternative institutionalized spaces of confluence and how they are subject to hegemonic practices, rather than about the 'institutionalization of the impossibility of society'.

It is difficult to see how a 'moment of tension' could be institutionalized. Laclau and Mouffe remain ambiguous on this point. On the one hand their arguments suggest that the political space is defined by hegemonic articulation itself. On the other hand they argue that a reformed and consolidated liberal state is the best way of institutionalizing the 'moment of tension and openness'.

Direct democracy is only applicable to reduced social spaces. It should be noted that a liberal state, however reformed, hinges on a confluence of struggles into a unified political space.

Furthermore, in their argument about democracy Laclau and Mouffe (1987:105) turn to arguments about 'a proliferation of public spaces of argumentation and decision whereby social agents are increasingly capable of self-management' which resemble Habermas, but which may be difficult to reconcile with their own theory of the subject. Are these bundles of subject positions capable of intersubjectivity and communicative rationality?

3.5. A post-Marxist view on urban movements

If in the early 1970s Castells approached the urban question "following the classics of historical materialism from Lenin to Mao, by way of Gramsci" (Castells, 1977:244) in later years he would gradually abandon the structuralist marxist framework and in *The City and the Grassroots* the paradigm is criticized for being "deprived of social actors and worked out by contradictions" (Castells, 1983:320; cf. Lowe,1986). Although marxist theory might not have room for social movements other than the historically predicted class struggle, social movements persist. Moreover, the role of the party, which was supposed to be that of establishing the connection between structure and practices, has not been a discriminatory variable; the crucial phenomena have been self-conscious, self organized social movements.

For his new approach to urban movements Castells is strongly influenced by the work of Touraine who, however, he does not want to be held responsible for his own reading of history, cities and society. Rightly so, since in spite of often using the same terms, the terms have different meanings. For Castells, for example, socialism and capitalism refer to 'modes of production', whereas industrialism and informationalism refer to 'modes of development'. Touraine uses the concepts in an exactly opposite sense. The consequences of such a reversion of terms for an analysis in terms of class are nowhere spelled out by Castells.

The organizing principle for Castells's new approach is that history and society are formed by an articulation of *experience*, *production* and *power*. Experience is basically structured around sexual and gender relations, production is organized in class relations and power is founded upon the state.[25] Overlooking the field of contemporary struggles Castells discerns the emergence of historical actors that, by happy coincidence, challenge the dominant relations in these three areas. Capitalism is challenged by those who call for a dominance of use value over exchange value. The call for autonomy and self government challenges Statism. As to the dimension of experience Castells affirms that the new social movements challenge the subordination of experience to relations of production and power and aim at establishing the pre-eminence of human experience over state power and capitalist profit. In this context the feminist movement is characterized as a leading exponent of one of the major socio-cultural changes of our times. Finally, one should take into account that the new emerging states demand a redefinition of power at a world level. It is against this background that the contemporary urban movements should be understood (Castells, 1983:305-311).

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[25] These three basic notions are related to the work of Freud, Marx and Weber.

To specify the context in which contemporary urban movements arise and struggle for the definition of *urban meaning* Castells discusses the meaning of the city that was imposed by the dominant interests of the capitalist mode of production during its industrial mode of development and the spatial project of the new dominant class which is related to the rise of the informational mode of development. The earlier phase was characterized by metropolitanization, spatial location according to the interests of capital, commodification of the city and mobility of the population and of resources. The new tendency is towards de-localization of production and consumption implying a disconnection between people and spatial form and, therefore, between peoples' lives and urban meaning. The new urban meaning imposed by the dominant class actually is an 'absence of meaning based on experience'. It tends towards a spatial and cultural separation of people from their product and from their history. The city becomes a space of collective alienation and individual violence, transformed by undifferentiated feedbacks into a flow that never stops and never starts. Life is transformed into abstraction, cities into shadows (Castells, 1983:311-314)

This project is resisted, however, by popular classes and (or) social movements. The analysis of a range of urban protests has led Castells to the conclusion that they tend to focus on the issues of production, power and experience. On this basis he distinguishes three types of urban protest, each with a specific goal. *Collective consumption trade unionism* aims at obtaining a city organized around its use value, as against the notion of urban living and services as commodities, ruled by the logic of exchange value. Issues addressed by this type of movement are the appropriation of land rent, speculation and the shaping of the infrastructure according to the needs of capitalist production. In this case the adversary is the bourgeoisie. *Community* refers to the movements searching for cultural identity or aimed at the maintenance or creation of autonomous local cultures, ethnically based or historically originated. These movements defend communication between people, autonomously defined social meaning and face-to-face interaction against mass culture, standardization of meaning and urban isolation. The adversary is the technocracy. *Citizen movements* are those aimed at increasing power for local government, neighborhood decentralization and urban self-management. The issues addressed are centralism, bureaucratization and authoritarianism and the adversary is the state (Castells, 1983:318-322).

The important point, then, is to determine how such movements achieve a maximum impact on the change of urban meaning, in other words how do they become *urban social movements*? Urban social movements are now defined as conscious collective practices originating in urban issues, able to produce qualitative changes in the urban system, local culture and political institutions in contradiction to the dominant social interests institutionalized as such at the societal level (Castells, 1983:278). From his analysis of the Citizen Movement in

Madrid in the 1970s Castells derives a structural formula for urban social movements which may be applied across different cultures of the capitalist-informational mode of production and in our epoch. This formula for maximal impact consists of four basic elements:

1. To accomplish the transformation of urban meaning in the full extent of its political and cultural implications, an urban movement must articulate in its praxis the three goals of collective consumption demands, community culture, and political self-management;
2. It must be conscious of its role as an urban social movement;
3. It must be connected to society through a series of organizational operators, three in particular: the media, the professionals, and the political parties;
4. While urban social movements must be connected to the political system to at least partially achieve its goals, they must be organizationally and ideologically autonomous of any political party. The reason is that social transformation and political struggle, negotiation, and management, although intimately connected and interdependent, do not operate at the same level of the social structure.

An additional rule is that the first condition must command all the others if an urban *social* movement is to develop. If the four mentioned conditions are not met a *movement may produce urban reform* in the case it has no autonomous consciousness or closely follows a partisan leadership. It may lean towards urban *utopia* if politics does not enter at all. When a party structure links up to particular demands without relating them to a more general level, the movement becomes urban *corporatism* and when neighborhoods are purely a political arena for partisan organizations, movements are nothing but urban *shadows* (Castells, 1983:284, 322). As Lowe (1986:190) has observed Castells's new view on the relationship between movements leads to the ambiguous conclusion that although these movements can innovate social change, they themselves can not carry it through to a transformation of society because this depends on adaptations at the political level. The point is related to the strategy/identity dilemma we already came across when discussing Touraine's contribution.

Castells then turns to an assessment of the role of urban social movements in historical change. He speculates on the possibility of the emergence of post-historic, classless societies whose collective task, within a communal relationship, will be to appropriate and explore nature, both towards the outside (matter) and towards the inside (our own inner experience). Such a society may be the outcome of the new struggles of which Castells discusses the urban aspect in *The City and the Grassroots*. In contrast to Touraine, Castells asserts that such a perspective is not altogether utopian. The informational mode of development provides the conditions for its realization. That, however, can only be achieved through a 'terrible battle' since multinational corporations and empire-states will be ready to do anything to stop the process. At the moment, however, Castells asserts, the new movements may reflect the fundamental themes and debates of contemporary history but they are not at the core of the new processes of historical change. Rather in line with his earlier astonishment about the importance of 'the urban question' (c.f. 3.1.) Castells affirms that it is precisely because the alternative projects of change in the dimensions of production, culture and power have come to a stalemate that urban movements have been able to appear and play a major social role. Cities are the expression of the social processes that form our experience and, therefore, people tend to consider cities, space and urban functions as the mainspring of their feelings. This is the basis of the urban ideology that assigns the causality of social effects to the structure of spatial forms. The less people identify the source of their economic exploitation, cultural alienation and political oppression, while still feeling the effects, the more they will react against the material forms that introduce these experiences into their lives: the wild city.

Urban movements, Castells argues, gain importance in the absence of effective channels for social change. Faced with an overpowered labour movement, an omnipresent one-way communication system indifferent to cultural identities, an all-powerful centralized state loosely governed by unreliable political parties and faced with an economic crisis, cultural uncertainty and the threat of nuclear war, people withdraw. Instead of creating an international working class movement to control the multinationals, a strong, democratic parliament, reinforced by participatory democracy, to control the centralized state and a multiple interactive communication system to express, rather than suppress the cultural diversity of society these movements aim at local targets. Unable to control the world they shrink it to the size of their community. Taking up the distinction between *proactive* and *reactive* forms of action, as used by the Tilly's (Tilly, Tilly & Tilly, 1975:50-51), Castells characterizes the contemporary urban movements as *reactive utopias*. He is not altogether pessimistic, however, and asserts that within the local utopias the urban movements have constructed in order never to surrender to barbarism, they nurture the embryos of tomorrow's social movements (Castells, 1983:326-331).

3.6. Concluding remarks

Examining the contributions on the new social movements an aspect of continuity with the 'older' approaches can be observed, namely the tripartite division of the social. The old distinction between the economy, politics and ideology somehow returns in the distinctions between money, administrative power and life-world (Habermas); organization, institutions and culture (Touraine); commodification, bureaucratization and mass media (Laclau and Mouffe) or production, power and experience (Castells). The emphasis, however, has shifted toward the last term. On the one hand, this shift is related to the dissatisfaction with 'determination in the last instance' and the conceptualization of individuals as 'supports of structures'. In various ways attention has been drawn to the mediations between 'contradictions' and the constitution of subjectivity and in the case of Laclau and Mouffe the constitution of subjectivity is wholly located in discursive practices. Although such aspects are present in their argument the relevance of pre-discursive or extra-discursive aspects -the situatedness of individuals- remains undertheorized. On the other hand, the shift seems to be related to what is felt to be a transition to a new type of society with a dynamic different from that of industrial capitalism. In the case of Touraine the emphasis on the cultural is related to the emergence of a post-industrial society in which information comes to play a crucial role, in contrast to the preceding societal types where the organizational and institutional 'levels' were dominant and which, therefore, remained at lower levels of historicity. In the case of Laclau and Mouffe the emphasis on the discursive is related to an increasing importance of hegemonic practices in the constitution of the social, although their account of this increased importance of hegemonic and discursive practices remains ambiguous.[26] Thus the turn to post-marxism relies on two arguments -inherent inadequacy and inadequacy in the context of an allegedly new social dynamics- which most often are not clearly distinguished, although they should be. Only then can a real assessment of the relevance or irrelevance of such categories take place. At this point the dissatisfaction with marxian categories seems to have resulted in a rather radical turn to discourse or culture, leading to either an undertheorization of the relevance of extra-discursive factors in the shaping of the social and social identities (Laclau and Mouffe) or the assertion that class formation now takes place at a new, 'higher', level (Touraine).

A further problem with the perspectives elaborated by Touraine and by Laclau and Mouffe is that it becomes difficult to understand the relationship between social movements, politics and political institutions. In the case of Touraine we end up with the strategy/identity issue and the problem that whereas social movements are regarded as a source of change they can not carry it through to a transformation of society since this depends on adaptations at the political level. In the case of Laclau and Mouffe hegemony in a social formation becomes indistinguishable from organic ideology. In their account the state becomes invisible and although they refer to the problem of bureaucratization they provide little insight in possible remedies and how these might be realized, apart from their remark about a reformed and consolidated liberal state. In both cases the problems with theorizing the relationship between movements and institutionalized politics is related to what we might call an 'overdynamization' of the cultural or the discursive. In this respect the debate on democracy, as was reviewed in the first section, and Offe's discussion of political paradigms seem to be important orienting points for further thinking.

The problem of institutional politics has become particularly relevant in the Latin American context, where the absence of a thorough theorization of the issue is felt most acutely in the context of the 'democratic transitions'. The issue has still become more relevant in view of the current events in 'the East' and from Offe's account it becomes clear that not all is that well in the 'actually existing democracies' either. When the issue of the 'transition' arose in Brazil Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1981:9) wrote that he felt like a theoretical orphan. The liberal-democracy perspective, in which parties filter the demands of private citizens, he argued, is rather inadequate if we look at the proliferation of grass-root movements defying this model. The marxist dual-power model is not very satisfactory either. Finally, the 'pan-politicist' or 'movementist' orientation will not do since it screens out all questions regarding the state and in its absolute glorification of basis democracy and for the ingenuous belief that 'common sense' is the same thing as 'good sense'. In a similar vein Barros (1986) has described the dilemmas of the left in the face of the democracy challenge. The old opposition of 'formal' and 'real' democracy is untenable. However, the exclusive focus on the establishment of democratic institutions is not satisfactory either. Both focusses, he argues, dissociate democracy and socialism and then he turns to the third focus which might promise a convergence of advances in popular organization and the recovery of rights of citizenship or what he calls the 'radical democratic alternative'. In his evaluation of this third perspective, in which autonomy and self-constitution emerge as key values, Barros signals that its contribution to the analysis of democracy *qua* formal democracy has been limited. Thus we are left with the contours of a normative conception of democracy, but no attempt is made to ground the possibilities for its realization.

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[26] Has the 'logic of the social' *always* been incompatible with the categories of marxist theory, or is this a recent phenomenon? If the latter is the case, as Laclau and Mouffe seem to suggest without sufficiently theorizing the point, then what are the conditions for the obsolescence of those categories?

4. LATIN AMERICA: BEYOND MARGINALITY AND POPULISM?

When in the 1960s the term 'marginality' was coined in Christian Democratic circles in Chile it was meant to refer to those who somehow remained 'marginal' to the process of 'modernization'. Marginality was becoming visible in the rapid growth of shanty towns around the major cities. According to the early theory the inhabitants failed to adapt themselves to the modern way of life. Apathy, anomy and feeble participation in social, economic and political processes were thought to be the main characteristics of the slum dwellers. In particular, marginality to the political process was disturbing to the contemporary observers of that time. As far as participation went, they thought, the marginals could easily be manipulated and therefore they might be recruited for 'totalitarian' adventures. In the Cold War context of the time 'totalitarianism' was, of course, just another word for communism. The situation, according to these theorists, could be remedied in particular through education which was regarded as the main factor in upward social mobility.

In reaction to this elitist view and in the context of the development of marxism-inspired varieties of dependency theory, the concept of marginality received a new content. Rather than attributing it to a lack of adaptation of rural/urban migrants, the causes of the phenomena described as marginality were sought in the exclusionary character of dependent capitalism. As a result of the application of labour saving technologies, it was argued, dependent capitalism was unable to provide sufficient employment in the productive sector. In later versions of this approach more emphasis would be given to the functionality of the marginals, or the informal sector, for capitalist accumulation. Marginality was not simply a result of exclusion, but rather of overexploitation of the labour force. The informal sector, it was argued, is functional in cheapening the reproduction of the labour force. This argument, in turn, could be linked to the theory of articulation of modes of production, resulting in studies of the subsumption of petty commodity producers to capitalist enterprises and of the links between 'formal' and 'informal' employment. Through these reformulations a distance was taken from the initial views on political marginality, as well as from the marxist theory of the *lumpenproletariat*. Some even came to see the 'excluded' as the revolutionary subject *par excellence*; a sort of mirror-image of the early version of the marginality approach with its fear of 'totalitarianism' (cf. Roberts, 1978:136-177).

In the early 1970s the events in Chile drew the attention to the role of squatter-organizations in the political process. By that time the writings of Castells, Lojkine and Borja started to be read providing a new theoretical framework and coining the term *urban social movements*. Analyses would now be cast in terms of urban contradictions, problems of collective consumption and reproduction of the labour force and the relation to the state and state power. Meanwhile many of the Latin American countries had come to be ruled by a new type of military dictatorship, however, and urban protest became less visible under the repressive climate. The Peruvian military government, which attempted to coopt the squatter population was an exception in this respect.

The rise of the new dictatorships belied the predictions of the modernization theorists who foresaw that economic growth would provide the basis for a more democratic form of politics, the population assimilating western values and increasingly participating in modern institutions. The Brazilian regime, installed in 1964, became the model for theories of 'dependent associated development' and the role therein of the 'bureaucratic authoritarian state'. In the initial formulations of these theories the rise of authoritarianism and the increasing exclusion of a major part of the population from political participation was seen as related to the exhaustion of the post-war model of import-substituting industrialization. The shift toward the production of durable consumer goods and the internationalization of the Latin American economies now required, it was argued, an 'exclusionary' model after the earlier 'inclusionary' model of expansion of the internal market for basic consumer goods and the related populist politics. Authoritarianism was required to break down the defense mechanisms of the population and to increase the concentration of income so as to create an internal market for the products in this phase of industrialization, low wages for the majority of the population at the same time being instrumental to the new forms of integration in the international circuits of capital.

In subsequent discussions a more differentiated view was developed. The 'bureaucratic-authoritarianism'-model rested on a simple stage model of oligarchic-populist-bureaucratic authoritarian rule, linked directly to export-led development, import-substituting industrialization and internationalization of capital. Cardoso and Faletto's earlier work on dependency, which takes into account the particular class structure of the different countries and their particular insertion into the capitalist world economy, provided the groundwork for a more differentiated approach to the relations between regime types and economic development. Instead of the somewhat functionalist understanding of the relation between 'stages' of dependent development and regime types the internal class structure of the different countries would be given more weight (Cardoso, 1973; Cardoso & Faletto, 1976; Carnoy, 1984: 172-207; Collier, 1979; O'Brien & Cammack, 1985; O'Donnell, 1973).

In the course of the 1970s this model of development entered into crisis. If the effects of the first petroleum-crisis could be attenuated by an inflow of petro-dollars at low interest rates, the second crisis and the financial policies adopted by the United States to manage its trade deficit triggered the debt crisis and the consequent 'adjustment'-programmes with their nefarious effects on the living conditions of the Latin American population. By the end of the 1970s and early 1980s the military started to retreat, unable to manage the cracks in the power blocs that had supported them initially, and the pressure of those groups that had been excluded from those power blocs and the protests of those parts of the population whose participation in whatever power bloc had been out of the question in any case.

4.1. New movements and new issues

It was in this context that urban movements became increasingly visible again. Simultaneously the number of urban movement studies, initially strongly influenced by the work of Castells, started to grow rapidly. In these studies the distinctive features of the movements arising in the aftermath of military rule were strongly emphasized. They were regarded as new in the sense of being independent from political intervention, be it by populist politicians, as had been the case with so many of the movements of the 1950s and 1960s, or by self-proclaimed revolutionary vanguards. The autonomy of the movements with respect to the political system was regarded as a distinctive feature, justifying their characterization as 'new social movements'.

Urban movements were perhaps the most prominent and most widespread, but they were not the only 'new social movements' in Latin America. Mainwaring and Viola (1984; cf. Mainwaring, 1987)) have listed a series of movements which they regard as new in the Latin American context, being: the ecclesiastical base communities of the Catholic church, the women's movement, ecological associations, human rights' organizations, and neighborhood associations. For this listing they take inclination towards affective concerns, expressive relations, group orientation and horizontal organization as criteria of novelty. 'Old' movements are characterized, by contrast, by an inclination towards material concerns, instrumental relations, orientation towards the state and vertical organization. They also indicate that the base communities and the neighborhood associations are the most popular. The neighborhood associations, Mainwaring and Viola argue, mostly are furthest from the ideal type of the new social movements. Since concern with post-materialistic values and non-state orientedness are criteria for discriminating between 'old' and 'new' movements the neighborhood associations score low in this respect. Nevertheless, these movements can be regarded as new in that they present a challenge to the political culture of elitism, populism and corporatism. According to Mainwaring and Viola, who focus their attention on Brazil and Argentina, the values and emergence of these new movements can to some extent be explained by four conditions: the adverse political consequences of the military regimes under which they emerged, the crisis of the traditional left, the questioning of the populist style politics which preceded the military regimes and the development of new social movements in the North, especially Europe and the United States.

Slater (1985), after reviewing various listings of Latin American 'new social movements', provides a further insight in the novelty of these movements by specifying the differences and similarities between the new movements of the centre and those of the periphery. Tendencies like commodification, bureaucratization and massification have taken different forms in the peripheral capitalist countries. Fordism and Keynesianism are not particularly relevant in this context, but on the other hand the excessive centralization of decision making power, the state's incapacity to provide adequate services and the eroding legitimacy of the state, coupled to a skepticism towards the established political parties may provide alternative factors in the explanation of the shape taken by new social movements in Latin America. The first two points make out the specificity of the Latin American movements, whereas the recourse to extra-institutional action and the concern with basis-democracy and independence from the -established-political parties would be the aspect that various new movements have in common.

If we look at the debate on the new urban movements in Latin America we see that their relation to the state and the political system is a central issue indeed. In the early studies the self-proclaimed autonomy of the movements in relation to the state was often acclaimed and hardly received critical attention. The processes of 'democratic transition' prompted a reconsideration of the issue, however (cf. Cardoso, 1983). In the period leading up to the so-called 'transitions' popular movements manifested themselves in a variety of ways. The transitions themselves, however, proved to be long drawn-out processes of negotiated transfers of power to a civilian power bloc, which tended to feel rather at ease with some military presence in the background since this permitted the civilians in power to warn against 'extremist experiments'. The anti-military unity crumbled rapidly in such situations, which proved how little influence the 'base'-movements actually had on the political process.

This prompted further thinking about and research into the actual relations between the movements and political institutions. The relation to the state turned out to be more complicated than the opposition between social movement and institutional system suggested. The anti-statist discourse of the movements had too easily been taken at face value and too easily been fitted into a theoretical framework which rested on an opposition between social movement and institutional system. In part this model was inspired by Castells's (1977) definition of urban social movements. Secondly, it was inspired by the wish to distinguish the new movements from the manipulated movements of the populist period (e.g. Moisés, 1982). Finally, the stress on the extra-institutional character and the autonomy of the new movements got a new impetus from part of the literature on 'new social movements' which emphasized their counter-cultural character, their role in questioning domination at a micro-level and which opposed strategy and identity (e.g. Evers, 1985; Kärner, 1987).

The emphasis on autonomy and extra-institutionality, which derived from these various sources, became increasingly problematic in the course of the democratic transitions. Not only had the assumption of a radical antithesis between the movements and the state diverted attention from the fact that the movements also were engaged in negotiations with the state, it also made it difficult to think about practical issues, such as how to advance the process of democratization (cf. Cardoso, 1983; Espinoza, 1984; Silva & Ribeiro, 1985). Thus the issue of if and how the movements can play a role in reshaping the political and institutional system rather than remaining 'marginal' to it, without losing their identity, has come to play a prominent role in the current debate. As Ruth Cardoso (1983) has pointed out, social scientists have played a role in establishing the centrality of the concept of autonomy and they should also play a role in reformulating the concept. They contribute to the self-understanding and self-rationalization (Offe, 1988) of the movements. It is not uncommon that a president of a neighborhood association in Latin America nowadays thinks of himself as 'president of a social movement' even if he actually engaged in awfully clientelist and hardly emancipatory political schemes. That only to remind ourselves that intellectuals do not 'float freely', even if they are not 'anchored in the party'. They never can plead innocence.

Apart from the issue of the relationship between movements, the institutional system and democracy a second feature of the current debates and studies of urban movements should be signalled. By the end of the 1970s, when the number of studies of Latin American urban movements started to increase rapidly, one can observe an increasing dissatisfaction with the then rather dominant structuralist marxist paradigm. It was related to the aversion to regarding individuals as 'supports of structures' and the growing awareness that 'urban contradictions' by themselves do not explain the emergence of collective action. An increasing number of studies now focussed on processes of mobilization and the constitution of 'collective identities', whereas the concern with macro-analysis visibly decreased. In the proliferation of case studies the structuralist paradigm was not replaced by anything equally dominant. The tendency rather was toward conceptual eclecticism. In the more recent studies one finds references to the work of Touraine (e.g. Reyes, 1986), Offe (e.g. Jacobi, 1989), and related authors as well as some references to resource mobilization and 'collective action theories' (e.g. Boschi & Valladares, 1983; Boschi, 1987), whereas the debate on post-structuralism and post-modernism is raging.

Thus, if we consider the debate on urban movements in Latin America we can see that after the studies which were strongly inspired by (structuralist) marxism, attention shifted to 'culture' and the constitution of identity. Subsequently it shifted increasingly towards the issue of the relationship between movements and the institutional system.

4.1.1. The paradigm of the 1970s

As was pointed out, the writings of Castells, Lojkine and Borja had an important impact in recasting the discussion of the urban question in Latin America which until then had been approached within the framework of marginality-theory and the relations of *production*. Collective consumption and the relations of *reproduction* now became the central concepts in the analysis of what rather indiscriminately came to be called 'urban social movements'. In the course of time one can observe the emergence of what later has been called 'the paradigm of the 1970s'. It consisted of a blend of Castells, Lojkine and Borja with the theory of late dependent industrialization, or peripheral capitalism, starting with a phase of import substitution and the theory of populism as an accompanying phenomenon of this type of industrialization. The next phase was that of bureaucratic authoritarianism, repressing the populist movements 'run wild'. When, after a period of savage repression, urban movements became visible again they were regarded as definitely different from those of the populist period. This time they were autonomous and presented a potential challenge to the capitalist state, it was argued. We will briefly examine two contributions that stressed the radical potential of urban movements and nurtured the expectations about the movements that arose in the aftermath of bureaucratic authoritarianism.

One example of the use of the notion of collective consumption in the specific historical context of Brazilian capitalism is provided by the pioneering work of Moisés (1982) on the development of the *Sociedades de Amigos de Bairro* (neighborhood associations) in São Paulo between 1945 and 1970. He sets the development of these associations against the background of the Brazilian process of post-war industrialization and the accompanying populist policies. The basic line of argument is that in the circumstances of accumulation on a 'poor basis' the new demands for urban infrastructure, public transport, education and sociocultural facilities, concomitant to the rapid metropolization of the period, were neglected. The state was concerned with improving the conditions of production, above all investing in the infrastructure for industrialization. Collective consumption lagged way behind. At the same time the electoral importance of the urban masses was increasing. In the context of the recomposition of the power bloc in this period, politicians would occasionally appeal to the masses to strengthen their position.oThis had ambiguous effects. Some of the demands of the masses were incorporated and legitimized and the ideology that the state was there 'for all' was propagated, legitimizing the state as a target for demand making. At the same time, however, the state was incapable of meeting these demands and this contributed to a delegitimation of public power and a questioning of its representativity. In the case of the São Paulo *Sociedades* the relation with the state therefore tended to become one of antagonism and confrontation.

This account provides the basis for comparison with the 'classical' model of capitalist development meant to question those analyses which, pointing to their heterogeneous class composition, disqualify the Brazilian urban movements for not meeting the standards of the 'classical' model of social movements. Latin American reality has its own dynamics, Moisés argues, drawing inspiration from

Wefforts' (1986) study of populism.[27] The Brazilian urban movements should be understood as a specific product of the so-called 'situation of dependency'. He sees two important differences from the 'classical' model. The first is that a situation of 'dependent' capitalism does not give rise to the development of a working class characterized by homogeneity deriving from their situation on the labour market. Instead it gives rise to the development of 'popular classes' whose characteristic is heterogeneity. Secondly, instead of the development of unity deriving from solidarity at the enterprise level, in Latin America solidarity develops on the basis of certain rights which were won in the context of populist politics. Rather than a working class identity a popular identity is developed. The popular sectors find their unity on a directly political level in confrontation with the state. The *Sociedades* developed particularly at moments when a crisis of hegemony provided the political space for movements at the basis. Although they have been called into being by populist politicians attempting to strengthen their position for a recomposition of the power bloc, the neighborhood associations had a dynamic of their own and were not simply dependent on the state. Basically, therefore, they are an expression of the wish for democratic participation of the popular classes. The *Sociedades* had started to play an increasingly independent role in the early 1960s, but this role was reduced to insignificance in the context of the policies of repression and cooptation following the 1964 *coup*.[28]

The issue of the relationship between neighborhood organizations and class politics was a central one in the discussion on urban movements in the 1970s. The theme also was discussed in a rather influential article by Evers, Müller-Plantenberg and Spessart (1979) where they asked themselves if struggles in the reproduction sphere could give rise to the development of a revolutionary political consciousness. Like Moisés their aim is to question the 'orthodox' view which disqualifies neighborhood associations pointing to their heterogeneous class composition and arguing that such organizations can only effect minor changes in the sphere of distribution. They would not be able to develop a revolutionary class consciousness, that is to elaborate an alternative societal project or be a subject of societal transformation. Against this view the authors argue that on a theoretical level there is a close interrelationship between production and reproduction and that social interests can not be simply related to one or the other. On an empirical level, they argue, one can observe that in the Latin

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[28] One might say that this analysis shows how populist politics relied on a multiplication of political spaces -clientelism- in the context of a reconstitution of the power bloc. When an 'overflow of meaning' tended to break through the parameters of the system, transforming handouts into rights, as was the case in Brazil in the early 1960s, this created the situation that ultimately led to the 1964 intervention. The turn to authoritarianism was not simply the 'reflection' of a transition to a next predetermined 'phase' of industrialization, but was intimately related to *specific* development in the different countries, as was extensively shown in the discussions on bureaucratic authoritarianism (c.f. Collier, 1979; O'Brien & Cammack, 1985).

American conjuncture of the time the struggle for the conditions of production and the struggle on the level of reproduction actually fuse.

The importance of struggles in the sphere of reproduction, the authors argue, is related to the phase of 'associated industrialization' which followed the phase of import substitution. It is accompanied by a drastic decline in the standards of living and the rise of authoritarian regimes. The most visible aspect is the massive impoverishment in the slums, inhabited by a wide range of groups whose income is insufficient to provide for 'decent' housing. Turning to the issue of the relationship between production and reproduction the authors point to the overexploitation of the labour force against the background of the presence of an immense reserve army of labour and argue that the struggle in the sphere of reproduction is an extension of the trade union struggle -also closely related to reproduction- with other means. These forms of struggle become necessary in a situation where trade unions are repressed and where work situations do not provide a basis for organization for the majority of the population. The struggle in the reproduction sphere usually takes shape in a neighborhood organization since it is in their living situation that people become most easily aware of their problems and because living together in a neighborhood provides the conditions for organization. The heterogeneity of class positions can be overcome through the shared experience of struggle. This can be a basis for recognition of the cause of their common problems. A shared objective interest exists since the ultimate cause of impoverishment are the class relations in society. The non-possessing masses have a strategic interest in societal transformation. It must be recognized that the situation of emergency in which they often live requires direct solutions and that this may give rise to a counterposition of individual and common interests. Individualism, however, can easily turn into its opposite when problems become extreme or when there is an opportunity for collective action.

How then to evaluate the 'external' activities of neighborhood associations? The 'orthodox' view is that capitalism creates the conditions for organization in the sphere of production, whereas the sphere of reproduction is one of individualization. This however, it is argued, is only partly true. Urban segregation, for example, takes place in the sphere of reproduction but it can be a cause of resistance. Neighborhood associations often develop as a result of a temporary exacerbation of a problem, such as the organization of water supply, the occupation of a terrain or the defense of existing housing conditions. Organization also may develop in the face of state intervention or as a result of the activities of a political party. Although in the last analysis the demands confront capital as a relation of social domination, they are aimed at the state since it is the state that takes care of the aspect of collective consumption and, moreover, through wage regulation, of individual consumption. Consciousness of this all embracing role of the state in the conditions of reproduction only develops slowly, however. The organizations learn that the effectiveness of contacts through clientelist systems is small and that decisions ultimately are political. Through experience they learn that the state must be the aim of their demands, but this also may give rise to a 'state illusion'. In view of their situation and of the restrictions on democracy 'extra-institutional' action often is the only recourse open to neighborhood organizations. The reaction of the state may either be repression or an attempt at integration. The latter, however, is bound to result in disillusionment and thus the organizations learn not to count on the state. Thus, whereas the potential for resistance increases, it also increasingly is met with repression justified by the ideology of 'national security'.

Finally, turning to the 'internal' functioning of the associations, the authors observe that part of the associations may have developed from autonomous initiatives, but that in many cases the situation of the 1950s and 1960s, when organization was promoted from above through clientelist systems, has served as a practice ground for later development. The actual participation of neighborhood inhabitants is influenced by many factors, such as the phases of development of the neighborhood, the nature of the problems, processes of differentiation within the neighborhood, the attitude of the state and the leadership of the organization.

An important feature is that women often play a crucial role in the neighborhood mobilizations. Their position in the reproduction process and the fact that they spend most of their time in the neighborhood provide the experience and the conditions to make them a mainstay for local associationalism. In spite of their crucial role they tend, however, to be underrepresented at the leadership level.

The conclusion is, then, that the struggle of neighborhood associations may provide insights into social reality and can give rise to revolutionary political consciousness, although a petty bourgeois consciousness may also be the outcome. In any case the traditional distinction between struggle in the sphere of production and struggle in the sphere of reproduction can not be upheld. The struggles of the inhabitants of neighborhoods are not external to the class struggle.

In these two examples one can observe how a critique and an adaption of the 'classical model' to the Latin American circumstances was operated in the late 1970s. In the absence of a 'genuine' working class, struggles in the sphere of consumption and reproduction were revaluated. In this way neighborhood associations could be substituted for the organizations of the 'classical' working class. The specific development of capitalism in Latin America does not result in the constitution of a homogeneous working class and tends to dislocate struggles toward the reproductive sphere. In this sense, the struggles of the urban population can only be 'pluriclassist'. The meaning of the notion of 'pluriclassism', therefore, is often quite different from its European connotations and some have linked it to notions like 'incomplete proletarianization'. Rather than a capitalist class, the state becomes the target of the actions of neighborhood associations. Moisés argues that this means that the identity of the actors "constituted on a political level", rather than deriving from the relations of production. Since the relations with the capitalist state are bound to become antagonistic there are chances for an anti-capitalist political consciousness to develop. Both Moisés and Evers, Müller-Plantenberg and Spessart point to the ambiguous outcomes of the period of populist mobilization. It also served as a practice ground for more autonomous action. Thus, through the notions of 'collective consumption' and 'pluriclassism' the Latin American urban movements were integrated into the scheme of revolutionary social change to provide a local variant for a 'privileged point of rupture' and a 'privileged subject', substitutes for a 'genuine' working class. As we saw in our discussion of Laclau and Mouffe such notions have been thoroughly scrutinized in recent years. Rather than assuming that there is a predestined subject for social change the awareness that such a subject must be constructed through political practice out of dispersed elements has gained terrain. Nevertheless, the specificities of the industrialization and urbanization process are important historical and macro-structural features which help to understand why urban movements could come to play such a prominent role in Latin America. They show that 'the social' is not pure contingency.

4.1.2. Populism and autonomy

The contributions by Moisés and Evers, Müller-Plantenberg and Spessart point to the potential of the movements for autonomous action. On this point they contrast with the studies that stress the vulnerability of the movements to populist manipulation. Whereas the studies just reviewed tend to regard populism as a *phase* in the history of Latin American countries and point to the ambiguity and possible exhaustion of populist tactics in preventing more autonomous action, others rather tend to regard populism as a *structural* feature. The issue of populism plays a central role in Castells (1983) assessment of urban movements in Latin America which, as we pointed out, is strongly influenced by the work of Touraine.[29] Rather than pointing to the possibilities for autonomous action, Castells draws the attention to the vulnerability of the urban movements in relation to the political system.

Castells's (1983) analysis of urban movements in Latin America starts from the observation that contrary to the expectations of those who believed in the

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[29] Touraine, as we saw, distinguishes social movements from historical struggles. The latter result from the modification of social movements resulting from a mode of state intervention in the context of a mode of development, that is the transition from one mode of production (industrial and informational modes, in Touraine's terminology) to another. He distinguishes three modes of development: the liberal, the contractual and the voluntarist. The first corresponds to the situation of the central capitalist countries where the transition from one mode of production to another was performed without much interference of the state. The last corresponds to the socialist countries where the role of the state was decisive. The contractual mode of development is situated in between the two and corresponds to situations in which national-populist states struggle against a situation of dependency. In such situations social movement can not constitute themselves as genuine social movements since they inevitable become tied up with a mode of state intervention and therefore with politics and consequently lose their identity (Touraine, 1973:489-512; 1988:240-258). This scheme, which can be extended and rendered more complex through a game of transmutation (Touraine, 1976:9-47, 232-250; 1978:133-177; 1988) provides the basic framework for Castells's (1983) recent comparative study of urban movements, although the unacknowledged terminological 'slippage' between Castells and Touraine should be noted.

'myth of marginality' and the fears of the world's establishment, social organization seems to be stronger than social deviance in these communities and that political conformism seems to outweigh the tendencies towards popular upheaval. His hypothesis is that these trends can be explained by the same crucial social phenomenon: the local self-organization of squatter settlements and its particular connection to the state and the political system at large in the shape of *urban populism.*

The nation-states of the developing countries, Castells argues, are caught between the political pressures from the traditional oligarchies and the new international economic powers at a time when the popular masses increasingly forward political claims at broader participation. Many states try to adapt by using the leverage of a subordinated popular mobilization to overcome the resistance of the traditional groups and to renegotiate the current patterns of economic dependence within the world capitalist system. In this context the 'myth of marginality', persists since it is functional for the political strategy of the state in dependent societies (cf. Perlman, 1979:248-250). In contrast to what the myth would make us believe, urban marginality and the occupational marginality of 'informal' employment, do not coincide. Occupational marginality is not the source of urban marginality. The latter concept refers to the inability of the market economy, or of state policies, to provide adequate shelter and urban services to an increasing proportion of city dwellers, including the majority of the regularly employed salaried workers, as well as all the people making their living in the so-called 'informal sector'. The world of marginality is in fact socially constructed by the state in a process of social integration and political mobilization in exchange for goods and services which only it can provide. Thus, the relation between the state and the people is organized around the institutional distribution of urban services coupled with the institutional mechanisms of political control.

The urban population and its movements become dependent on the political system as a result of their vulnerability. This thesis is illustrated with case studies from Peru, Chile and Mexico. Applying the 'structural formula' for urban social movements shows that the major weakness of the Latin American urban mobilizations is their subordination to the state or a political party. The squatters, the state and the informal economy, intimately linked to the 'formal' sector, are all parts of the same dependent system. The dependent city results from the residents' lack of social control over urban development because of their forced submission to the good will of the state or powerful political agents and to the changing flows of foreign capital. The dependent city, as Castells puts it, is a city without citizens (Castells, 1983:175-212).

This assessment of the role of urban movements in Latin America draws heavily on the work of Janice Perlman (1979) who argued that the urban poor are neither 'marginal' nor present a radical challenge to the dominant system. Their precarious position makes them vulnerable to clientelist politics and populist manipulation. This keeps them from playing an autonomous role in the political arena. "They can in no sense be regarded as the agents of their own destinies", Perlman (1979:261) wrote. This view of things contains a critique of the more optimistic views about the potential of urban movements that were expressed in the studies which regarded the 'marginals' as either a social basis for 'totalitarian adventures' or a revolutionary subject *par excellence*. Perlman, however, collected her data in the 1960s. Do her conclusions still apply in the 1970s when urban movements reemerged after the period of authoritarianism that followed the breakdown of the populist tactics of manipulation and containment of the urban population? The studies on the 'new urban movements', of which the work of Moisés (1982) and Evers, Müller-Plantenberg and Spessart (1979) may be regarded as precursors, suggested that populism might rather be a *phase* than a *structural* feature and that one of the movements that emerged in the late 1970s consisted exactly in their autonomy and resistance to political manipulation.

4.2.1. Democratization and the 'common sense' of the 1970s

In the context of the processes of 'democratic transition' the issue of autonomy and the relationship to institutional politics became a central one. Autonomy had become a 'common sense' notion. Its meaning partly derived from Castells's (1977) opposition between social movement and institutional action, which is embedded in a dual power perspective. But it also derived meaning from the strategy/identity dilemma which had come into focus with the 'culturalist' studies that followed the eclipse of the structuralist-marxist paradigm. The 'common sense' notion of autonomy became increasingly problematic, however. The relation to institutions pushed itself on the agenda in the course of the 'democratic transitions'. Not only did the focus on autonomy deflect attention away from some of the actual relations between movements and the institutional system, it also was not very helpful in thinking about the practical issue of how to change a political paradigm. In the final analysis democratization has to do with the institutionalization of new channels of institutionalized 'participation' and the reform of existing ones.

Some of the pertinent questions in this respect were posed by Ruth Cardoso (1983; 1987; c.f. Cruz, 1987; Jacobi, 1987; Silva & Ribeiro, 1985; Telles, 1987) in her reviews of the research on Brazilian and Latin American urban movements. Most analysts, she argues, have stressed the novelty of the urban movements that arose in the latter phases of Brazilian authoritarianism, as compared to those of the populist period. The characteristic of autonomy was highly valued and emphasized in most studies. But, she argues, in this way the anti-governmental character of popular manifestations was often taken for a radical opposition to the capitalist state rather than a struggle for a change of political regime. Moreover, a spontaneous character was attributed to the movements to emphasize their autonomy from the 'ideological apparatuses of the state', such as the existing parties and trade unions. Thus neighborhood associations tended to be regarded as the more authentic representatives of the popular masses. The state was assumed to be the authoritarian enemy and the target of the mobilizations of civil society but, in contrast to the European studies, little attention was paid to the actual functioning of the state. It was neglected that the process of centralizing authoritarianism was accompanied by a process of administrative reform and a certain amelioration of public services and that modern administrators and efficient planners dialogue with their target populations. The state is not simply the adversary of the movements, but it also is their interlocutor. Hence the relationship between movements and state tends to be much more ambiguous than the one-sided emphasis on 'autonomy' suggests. Such considerations led her to question some of the assumptions characterizing the studies of the late 1970s.

The first assumption is that the new urban movements direct themselves against the authoritarian state and oblige it to democratize. Although many studies end by reaffirming the transformative potential of the movements, the actual case studies fail to show the effectiveness of the movements on this point. It may be true that some mobilizations obtain responses from public organisms. This shows an increased flexibility in responding to mobilizations. The actual relation with the state is much more ambiguous than simple confrontation. The impact on the overall activities of the state remains very limited, however, and the control over those activities totally escapes the radius of action of the movements. Secondly, if it is true that the movements obliged society and the state to recognize the presence of the oppressed and their capacity for autonomous action, one must also observe that for the state it seems easier to recognize the leadership of a neighborhood than the popular parties which challenge the functioning of the state as a whole. This leads Cardoso to question the notion that the movements are more authentic or representative than the parties, for example. The ideology of autonomy and authentic representation of the interests of 'the community' frequently has its corollary in isolation and fragmentation of the struggles. At the same time the state not only functions as a unifier of struggles. Demand making and negotiation with state agencies often has competitive aspects leading to the segregation and separation of struggles. Finally, Cardoso questions the thesis that the movements, being new political actors, have an effect of renovation on the existing parties and trade-unions. On this point too she observes actual ambiguity in the relations between movements and parties. Mostly their interaction is of little advantage to the movements and the effects on party structures remains limited. At the same time, however, the skepticism towards political parties and 'politics', and the emphasis on autonomy, community and authenticity has impeded the movements to generalize their experience and limited their effectiveness in the reshaping of politics.

In his article on urban movements in Brazil Mainwaring (1987) elaborates on the question of why the original expectations of many analysts about the transformative capacity of these movements have not been born out. In the second half of the 1970s urban popular movements burgeoned, but in the course of time it became apparent that their impact remained small. Mainwaring argues that, firstly, rather than a unity of diverse movements the tendency has been toward an extraordinary fragmentation, with few effective linkages between these movements and political institutions. Unity of social movements, except for specific demands and short-term situations, is the exception rather than the rule.

Secondly, the process of formation of a political identity is more complex than most analysts of social movements in Brazil (and many leading European theoreticians) had suggested. He refers specifically to some of the notions of the '1970s paradigm' , such as the notion of 'urban contradictions' and argues that the reading of the relationship between these contradictions and social movements has been excessively economistic, ignoring the mediating factors that should be taken into account. Developing a political identity that leads to participation in social movements is the exception rather than the rule. Only a small minority of the people is involved in such movements. Finally, the democratization process, rather than enhancing their unity, has exacerbated the competition among movements. The state became more concerned with those movements and devised populist or clientelist strategies for coopting them. Mainwaring stresses that in a sense this redefinition of the political strategy of the regime represented a victory for the urban movements, but it was not the kind of victory the most optimistic analysts had hoped for. In addition, the sphere of partisan politics became more important in the course of redemocratization, often exacerbating tensions and conflicts within the movements. In spite of these problems the movements have, however, also contributed to redefining the political arena in some important ways. There is an increased sensitivity to popular demands which suggest a partial erosion of the elitism of Brazilian politics. At the same time, Mainwaring observes, the very existence of these traditions tends to limit the capacity of the movements to change them since they play a major role in the shaping of political identities and attitudes towards politics. Nevertheless, the movements have helped the popular classes conquer a sense of identity and citizenship. This may help in strengthening civil society and challenge the elitist and statist traditions, thus contributing to a reshaping of 'political culture'. The changes have not been dramatic, but they are there (Mainwaring, 1987; cf. Mainwaring & Viola: 1984).[30]

Both Cardoso (1983) and Mainwaring and Viola thus point out that the construction of effective linkages to political institutions, especially parties, would be of crucial importance if social movements are to become a more salient political factor. Vigevani (1989) argues that the movements have remained prepolitical and concords with Cardoso that the urban movements have been unable to generalize their experience or to elaborate something like a project. It is the absence of a project, coupled to an anti-political discourse that gave a permanent character to the sectoralization and the localism of their actions. It also contributed to a crisis of the movements in São Paulo when they came to face a totally unresponsive municipal administration between 1986 and 1988. Although the new movements may be the carriers of a new conception of citizenship, Vigevani argues, in the absence of a project it runs the risk of remaining a constricted kind of citizenship which easily drifts toward corporatism, particularism or utopianism.

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[30] A curious feature of their contribution is that Mainwaring and Viola (1984) adopt the criteria of non-state orientedness and post-materialistic values as discriminating between 'old' and 'new' movements, since at the same time they attempt to evaluate the contribution of these movements to the process of democratic transition, that is a change of political regime. Their definition of novelty seems to be a rather unreflected adoption of a view most clearly expressed by Evers (1985) which, as we saw, is rather problematic in its aversion to institutionalization (the strategy/identity issue) as well as the conceptualization of 'material' demands as something that can not go together with sociocultural change or, more specifically, the development of a 'democratic culture'.

The segmentation and absence of a totalizing horizon can not simply be attributed to a willful and spontaneous turn toward new and punctual orientations of action, as some of the 'new social movements'-theorists have suggested. Calderón and Jelin (1987:82) point to the brutal transnationalization of the Latin American economies and the concomitant changes in the social structure, the effects of a period of repression and the discredit of the old populist and classist parties as contributing to this segmentation. Others, have pointed to the dispersion imposed by the state, resulting in the exhaustion of urban protests within the different state apparatuses, or to the effects of the economic crisis. Only by articulating a more 'totalizing' conception can such problems be overcome. It is in this context that the ideological aspects of the 'common sense' notion of autonomy have come under scrutiny. For students of urban movements it became problematical since it deflected attention from the actual relations between movements and the state. For the movements themselves the gap between their autonomist discourse and their -unacknowledged- relations with the political system also became problematic. The discourse of autonomy may serve to strengthen a movement at an initial stage, but it also may become counterproductive when it results in self-marginalization. This point became all the more relevant in the context of the 'democratic transitions' which prompted a reorientation of the movements involving a rethinking of the disjunctions between 'participation' and 'autonomy', 'system' and 'movement'. Hence the search for something like 'creative autonomy'.

4.2.2. A practice-ground for democracy?

Whereas the expectations about the role of urban movements in reshaping the political arena have been sobered to give way for more realistic assessments, some analysts (e.g. Evers, 1985; Kärner, 1987) have argued that the real significance of the movements lies in the potential for socio-cultural change, rather than political transformation. Evers (1985), for instance, argues that the centrality of the concept of power in the study of social movements has been limiting our understanding of the significance of the contemporary movements. For Evers the concepts of identity and alienation come to play a central role. This significance lies in their quest for an autonomous identity and an attempt at reappropriating civil society from the state. The important thing is autonomy from the tutelage with regard to social movements that characterizes traditional Latin American politics. Such tutelage ranges from conservative paternalism to populist manipulation and left wing instrumentalism. Evers argues that a movement's increased potential for political power can carry with it a decrease in its long-term socio-cultural potential. More power almost invariably means less identity, more alienation. Thus the movements are faced with the dilemma of yielding to the weight of reality and becoming an established opposition within the framework of dominant society or to try and uphold an identity of their own, at the price of remaining weak, inefficient and plagued by contradictions. In reality, their only chance of existence lies in a precarious combination of both alternatives (Evers, 1985).

Notions like 'identity', 'autonomy', 'authenticity', 'spontaneity' and 'community' have become important ingredients in the discourse of Latin American neighborhood movements as well as in theoretical approaches. It was on the basis of such discourse that many observers at an early stage came to believe in the new movements as a still uncontaminated force. Such views have come under increasing scrutiny, however. The notion of 'community', strongly promoted by the Catholic church and its base communities as well as by urban planners, tends to obscure the fact that 'community' or 'collective identity' actually is a construct, which does not eliminate the heterogeneity of the participants in terms of status, class, political preferences or ethical choices (Cardoso, 1987:85). Actually, such differences may tend to be obscured and delegitimized for the sake of 'community'. Rather than challenging relations of subordination at a local level such relations tend to be made invisible. As Durham (1984) has observed the movements often present a 'double face'. In public they present an image of unity, equality and consensus, which also pervades their meetings. At the same time, however, the divergences crop up in the slander, personal accusations and the conscious and unconscious manipulations known to any observer familiar with those movements. This also points to the problems of the democratic experience within these movements. The direct democracy model is practiced in small groups that often are incapable of developing mechanisms for recognizing or negotiating divergent positions. This results in interminable and inconclusive discussions, covert mechanisms of decision making and back-stage politics and frequent splits. Thus, whereas such movements do provide a space to 'speak out' and practice certain forms of democracy it can not be assumed that they are 'uncontaminated' or do not present authoritarian practices.

It is probably the feminist movement that most clearly has recognized these problems and the evasion of the issue of power, perhaps because a number of 'myths' also played such a prominent role in the emergence and consolidation of the movement. At the VI Latin American and Carribean Feminist Encounter a series of myths was discussed, namely: that feminists do not want power; that they do politics in a different way; that all women are equal; that women have a natural unity because of being women; that feminism is the politics of women by women; that the small group is the movement; that women's spaces are in themselves guarantee of a positive process; that because a woman feels it, anything is valid; that the personal is automatically political and that consensus is democracy (cf. Vargas, 1989:144). If one substitutes the word 'poor' for 'women' one can easily see that similar myths also quite often inform the discourse of urban movements and can also be encountered in the studies of these movements (cf. Boran, 1989:85). The feminists who discussed these myths concluded, among other things, that power is needed to change society; that they aspire to do politics in 'another way' but that in practice their politics are often backward, arbitrary, victimized and manipulative, reproducing traditional behaviour patterns; that consensus is not the same thing as unanimity and can be a very authoritarian practice since it may conceal differences and because it gives veto power to one person.

These problems discussed by the women's movement are in many ways similar to those discussed by Cardoso (1983), Durham (1984) and Vigevani (1989) and others in relation to urban movements. This has helped to overcome the ingenuous glorification of the movements, characteristic of an uncritical 'basism', which in some cases also characterizes studies of the movements. Such features, however, are no immutable givens. The self-critical assessment of the feminist movement shows how movements are capable of confronting their reality with their ideals. They are capable of self rationalization and this is how they may advance, albeit sometimes stumbling, toward new social practices (cf. Krishke, 1987; Scherer-Warren, 1987).

4.2.3. Autonomy and the outsider

Another aspect of the valuation of autonomy, authenticity and spontaneity and self-organization is that the role of 'external agents' has been obscured. Clientelism is denounced, to be sure, but the role of external agents more sympathetic to the movements is minimized in the discourse of the movements themselves as well as in many studies of the movements (cf. Cardoso, 1983; Durham, 1984; Jacobi, 1987; 1988). Nevertheless the clergy, left wing parties, students, social workers, non-governmental organizations and lawyers, architects, teachers and doctors in many cases play a crucial role, the latter often through their professional organizations. Their activities are referred to in many studies, but the emphasis is on the spontaneous self-organization of the popular masses. At best such groups appear as 'resources' that have been mobilized and in some instances reference is made to their 'pedagogical' activities.

More systematic account should be taken of the activities of such 'supports'. Often they play an important role in turning discontent into collective action and they are crucial in providing the basic infrastructure for continued activity. Moreover, their role in strengthening the position of organizations in negotiation processes should not be underestimated. The role of these agents, in particular the clergy and NGOs, is one of giving advice on organizational, technical and juridical matters, introducing themes for discussion and reflection on modes of internal functioning of the organizations as well as on the effects of their operation on the political structure. In short, what have been called 'pedagogical' contributions. NGOs and the church also often provide some of the basic infrastructure and finance for the operation of associations and they play a role in establishing contacts with other organizations and the integration in wider articulations. One might even suggest that the 'autonomy' from party politics and politicians in many cases depends on the contributions of such organizations. Professional organizations, such as those of lawyers, architects and social

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workers also play a crucial role in giving technical advice and helping associations in the course of negotiations.

On the other hand we should draw the attention to the role of the executive technobureaucracy. In many cases their role is much more ambiguous than that of simple executors of policies which have been developed at higher levels of the hierarchy. Borja (1975:115-116) already drew attention to this type of technicians whose role becomes increasingly prominent with the increase of state interventionism in the context of contemporary capitalism. Their ideology of 'rationality and neutrality', he argues, runs up against the actual impossibility of real urban planning under capitalist conditions and this may produce a radicalization of these professionals. Eventually they may come to contribute to the legitimation and the broadening of the actions of urban movements. In a similar way other groups of professionals, such as social assistants (Sposati, 1988), clergy or teachers, may contribute to the mobilization of the population.

This implies that such groups can not simply be thought of as 'resources' but that their relation to the movements rather is a negotiated one in which both parties pursue common as well as proper goals. 'Outsiders' play an important role in the shaping and criticizing of the 'common sense' of the movements and the way 'non-material goals' are perceived. Particularly in the case of the church one can observe the differences, ranging from assistentialism, through a-political communalism to a more political stance. The latter nowadays is under increasing pressure from the more conservative parts of the hierarchy which results in a closing down of part of the support structure of the church. This, in turn, may lead to the emergence of foreign financed alternative structures. To a certain extent such differences can also be observed in the case of non-governmental organizations (c.f. García, 1987). Most of them have a left-wing orientation, but one can not assume that such is always the case. One should not forget that neighborhood associations are a stake in struggles for hegemony and that some 'support'-groups are interested in promoting a certain type of 'a-politicism'. Nevertheless, the politicization of neighborhood associations is an ongoing process. Rather than bemoaning it and pointing to the problems it often gives rise to, attention should also be paid to the positive aspects in the sense that politicization is a way of overcoming localism and segmentation.

4.3. New definitions?

'Post-materialistic' value orientations and non-state orientedness are, as we saw, sometimes regarded as the distinctive features of new social movements and this criteria also has been applied to Latin American movements. It draws attention to the fact that there is more in the world than money and administrative power. But it should not obscure the fact that we live in a world which is structured to an important degree by exchange value and state power which elude democratic control. Disqualifying movements that are engaged in material issues as somewhat anachronistic is a mistake. Distributive justice, as opposed to the injustices generated by a system based on exchange value, remains one of the major challenges and it is certainly not contrary to socio-cultural change or democratic culture. Such an assessment takes a Welfare State arrangement for granted, instead of recognizing its precarious character, and it is based on a restrictive understanding of culture which may contribute to an irrational-*Weltfremd*- counterculturalism. Similarly, state orientedness implies a challenge to the present functioning of the capitalist state. Framing the issue in terms of a strategy/identity dilemma results in dodging the question of developing alternative institutional arrangements. That may be no problem as long as 'cultural' issues are involved[31], but it is if one starts thinking about alternative democratic arrangements of production and distribution. Even in post-industrial societies people do not live by symbolic goods alone. Moreover, in Latin America the relations between civil society and the state are marked by periods of authoritarian rule. In the context of the 'democratic transitions' the question is not simply one of 'reappropriating civil society from the state' but partly of institutionalizing civil society and citizenship itself. During the periods of authoritarianism the boundaries of 'the private' have been violated and the 'public sphere', as a sphere of free exchange of opinions, has been invaded by brutal power so that the free exchange of opinions was confined to the 'private sphere'. And even the boundaries of 'the private' were not respected. Democratization involves a redefinition and institutionalization of such 'boundaries' and enforcing their respect. It also means giving content to citizenship, not only in the form of the right to participate in elections but also in the form of decent living conditions.

Democracy is the preferable means to these ends and, as we saw, the commitment to democracy is one aspect of the current prominence of the issue of institutions and institutionalization. In Latin America the issue is addressed in specific ways. One of the arguments against the 'paradigm of the 1970s' has been that, with its oppositions of social movement and institutional system, autonomy and cooptation, it screened out the notion of political *process* (Silva & Ribeiro, 1985). The old opposition suggests that institutionalization is the negation of movement or that at the moment a movement starts negotiations or starts creating a new order, the movement is finished. Espinoza (1984) proposes the notion of conquest[32] as a way out of the deadlocks of conceptualizing movements in terms of dual power -the movement in the margin of and against the state- or as 'microexperiences' -the movement reduced to a multiplicity of isolated disputes. These questions must be understood against the backdrop of the commitment to democracy and the realities of the actual 'transitions through transaction'. The institutional spaces being opened constitute far from 'ideal speech situations' and in a recent study Jacobi (1989) employs the notion of 'structural selectivity', that is the way in which the state 'filters' demands according to compatibility with the accumulation process, to discuss the interaction between urban movements and state apparatuses in São Paulo.

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[31] Though, as Soper (1989:97) comments "such sentimentalism for the 'Symbolic' will not recommend itself to those women who have yearned for a bit more 'systemic' encroachment into their cherishing preserve in the form of proper public child care, not to mention wages for housework".

[32] Rather than the 'process' inspired by more 'pluralist' collective action theories.

These issues derive their relevance from the experiments in local democratization and the new ways of the state in dealing with urban issues through 'dialogue' rather than repression. Establishing local councils, in which neighborhood associations are invited to participate, surely is an advance over individualizing clientelist ways of dealing with problems. In some way it contributes to turning favours into rights. But what exactly are the competences of such councils? The line between window dressing and an 'instrumentalization' of the movements, and real decision making power often is a thin one. The 'democratic transitions' are not achieved, but have only started. They confront the urban movements with new problems. Although among many students of the movements one can observe a certain deception about the actual influence of the movements on the political process, it also should be noted that the number of neighborhood associations often increases rapidly in the course of 'democratic transitions'. The outcomes of these processes of reorientation and quantitative growth remain to be seen.

Small wonder that in the course of the debates the question if the Latin American neighborhood movements constitute a *social movement* sometimes has emerged. John Friedmann (1984) has answered the question affirmatively. He argues that Touraine -and that also applies to many aspects of Castells's (1983; cf. Lowe, 1986:177, 193) evaluation - is wrong in regarding the popular sector as simply 'dependent', "having a purely passive voice in politics and as comprising a virtual 'underclass'" (Friedmann, 1984:502). The corollaries of this perception, he argues, are that the underclass can not become a historically relevant actor; it can not speak for itself; others must speak for it. Its actions are limited to concrete demands for external assistance. It can easily be co-opted and colonized by the state. Social change can not come from below. It either must come from a powerful state (and the classes which support it) or from a 'vanguard that speaks on behalf of those without a voice. In the end, further study of the underclass is useless, because nothing of significance can be expected from that quarter.

Friedmann sees things in a different way. He defines a social movement as "a self-mobilized segment of civil society (or collective actor) engaged in a social and political praxis that leads, when informed by an emancipated (*sic*) interest and when successful, to individual and collective self-empowerment, new social identities, and the self-production of life". After a discussion of the issue Friedmann (1984:508) concludes that "despite some inherent weaknesses of organization, *barrio* mobilization appears to satisfy virtually all of the formal criteria we have identified for social movements".

Others have taken a different approach to the issue and have argued for a redefinition of social movements, to bring the concept closer to 'reality'.[33] An example of this tendency toward 'redefining social movements' is provided by Nascimento (1987), who proposes to define them as "social practices that constitute social subjects with reference to urban contradictions". In this way he wants to reject the 'finalism' of Castells's definition in which the transformative character of social movements played a central role. Such a definition, he argues, has the inconvenience that it is not confirmed by observations and studies in Brazil and one can even observe the emergence of social movements of a conservative character in the Brazilian metropolises, particularly in relation to the problem of urban violence. Moreover, he argues that the criterium of a popular social basis should be discarded, since it impedes the study of 'social movements of the dominant classes'. Finally, he rejects the definitions that take formal or organizational characteristics, such as spontaneity/organization, formal/informal, classist/pluriclassist, bureaucratic/democratic, as criteria. In short, he wants a broad and neutral definition that covers just about anything that moves with reference to broadly defined urban contradictions and which does not relate such movements to social change (Nascimento, 1987).

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[33] Reflecting upon the discussion on definition and the 'transformative potential' of urban movements Gohn (1988:332) has expressed her surprise about the self-critical -one would nearly say repentant- attitude that many Brazilian

In a similar vein Schuurman has argued that definitions in which the structural change or reform of the society plays a central role, alienate themselves from the daily practice of existing urban territorial organizations in the Third World. The criterium of societal transformation reflects a leftist/radical political philosophy, he argues, whereby "at the same time the number of urban social movements answering to the description is decreasing". As an alternative he proposes "a social organization with a territorial based identity, which strives for emancipation by way of collective action".[34] Such a definition broadens the potential field of what may be called social movements and discards the criterium of 'reversal of the power structure' of the "wishful" definitions (Schuurman, 1989).

Do we really win anything by such redefinitions? Should the criterium of transformative capacity be discarded because at a precise historical moment in Brazil organizations aiming at such a transformation seem to be absent? Are survival strategies the same thing as social movements and has the emancipatory character of survival strategies been underestimated, as Schuurman (1989: 22) suggests? Is the question if such movements will lead to a transformation in the power structure a speculative and not very burning one if at the same time emancipation is defined as 'liberation from hierarchical dependency relations' and if it is acknowledged that societal reform is in many instances the only way to

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authors have taken lately. In trying to understand the fact that the movements have not lived up to the expectations one of the arguments has been that this is because the theoretical approach of the 1970s was tinged with utopianism. Gohn goes on to argue that it was the movements that did not advance sufficiently to effect substantial transformations, not simply because analysts have been utopianist or ingenuous, but because the movements did not succeed in making anything out of the crisis of hegemony of the late 1970s.

[34] One inconvenience of this definition is that it does not contain any reference to 'the urban' and might as well apply to an ethnic movement far from any city.

insure true emancipation (Schuurman & Van Naerssen, 1989:3)? Are the urban poor a 'marginalized and forgotten group'?

Broadening the concept of *social* movement in the ways proposed seems to be a form of conceptual inflation. There may be other forms of collective action, but social movements are those that have to do something with emancipation and change of institutionalized norms, roles and rules (cf. Melucci, 1980). As we saw, Touraine (1978) and Castells (1977, 1983) have suggested other differentiations between social movements and other forms of collective mobilization. It seems useful to retain such differentiations, rather than to screen out aspects like emancipation and progressive change in a seemingly neutral, non-committed, definition. This implies that not just any mobilization around urban issues can be characterized as an urban *social* movement. Rather than characterizing any mobilization as a social movement it should be argued in each case why something might be characterized as a social movement, part of a social movement or as a potential social movement.

On the other hand, the idea that each 'societal type' is characterized by a single social movement seems to be untenable. It requires some imagination to bring women's movements and regional movements under the same denominator of anti-technocratic movements, for instance. Such an approach suggests that each society is characterized by a single dominant structuring principle from which all forms of domination, exploitation and subjection derive. Denying the possibility of such reductionism does not imply denying the possibility that a specific type of movement may play a particularly prominent role due to the specific structuring of a society and the tensions it generates. The particularly prominent role of the working class movement in the industrializing Western European societies was not only related to work-place organization, but rather to the particular imbrication between work-place organization and the living situation characteristic of the industrialization process. It is this imbrication that may provide important insights into the strength of the European working class movement of the late 19th and early 20th century. It may also provide an insight into the development of social struggles in the ABC area in São Paulo, for instance (cf. Kowarick, 1985, Vink, 1985).

The Latin American urban movements may not be 'the' subject for societal change in the sense of providing a substitute for a 'disciplined forward marching proletariat taking charge of the whole of society'. However, their role can hardly be overlooked and they have not just been invented by leftists in search of a new subject to carry the 'red lantern of social change'. The increase in numbers of urban associations over the past twenty years can easily be documented and it hardly comes as a surprise that urban issues have provided one of the main bases for contestation in the context of the transformation process that Latin American societies have undergone during this period. These associations may be vulnerable, but it goes much too far to characterize them as simply 'dependent' and subjected to 'external manipulation'. In this respect there certainly is a difference between the associations of the 1950s and the more recent ones. The latter are able to entertain a more diversified network of articulations which enables them to play a more autonomous role.

As we saw, the assessment of such associations has ranged from optimism to pessimism, often depending on the particular case and conjuncture studied. Looking at the often contradictory and ambiguous amalgam of practices that goes by the name of 'urban movements', they seem to be more than just 'survival strategies'. They surely are motivated by survival, but they can not be reduced to just that. They also play a critical role that supercedes survival. Rather than being a marginalized and forgotten group the urban poor have, through collective action, been capable of making themselves heard. Turning favours into rights they contribute to giving content to the notion of citizenship. It is not the notion of 'change', as such, which is problematic but rather, as we saw in our review of the ongoing debate, the relationship between the notions of 'change' and 'autonomy'. In these debates the old antithesis between reform and revolution, as expressed in the thesis that 'reform only serves to strengthen the system' and its implication that 'change' can only be accomplished 'outside and against the system' has come under scrutiny. Such views have, historically, been disastrous and such a juxtaposition of 'reform' and 'revolution' is unnecessary. Thus, the image of change may be said to have changed. The idea of a big switch which can be pulled by a conscious vanguard, resulting overnight in a new society, has been abandoned. There may be 'overdetermined' moments and points of rupture, but the authoritarian obsession with the 'moment of taking power' has faded. Societal change simply is more complex than that but, as Galileo said: "Eppur si muove".

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BETWEEN ORTHODOXY AND EUPHORIA

Research Strategies on Social Movements: A comparative Perspective

Ton Salman

> *Sowie Divergenzen, Konflikte neue Vorstellungen entstehen ließen, so entstand jede Handlung aus dem Zusammenprall von Antagonismen. Die Einsicht und Artikulation dieser Vorgänge, machte das Zusammenleben, die gegenseitige Würdigung möglich.*[*]
>
> Peter Weiss: *Die Ästhetik des Widerstands*

I. INTRODUCTION

Research on new social movements is becoming a tradition in itself, an autonomous branch of the social sciences which draws its unity more from its theme than from its disciplinatory boundaries. In Europe and in the Americas as well as in Asia (less so in Africa) publications with the term 'social movement' in their title have proliferated.

This increase in research conducted on the performance of social movements reflects an increase in the relationship of movements to social and political conflicts. This phenomenon has moved several social scientists to speculate on the worldwide character of this apparently *new* form of 'doing politics' on the basis of small-scale social groupings, and some of them have gone so far as to announce a wholesale and universal crisis of the old political systems and their institutions as a whole. They see themselves bearing witness to a cumulative, irresistible growth of 'organizational power' from below, promising substantial change in the political processes of tomorrow. (Sheth 1983, Kothari 1984, Evers 1985, Touraine 1981, 1985) Others, operating at the same level of generalization, have expressed their doubts or even skepticism as to this proclaimed transformation of existing political institutions and structures. These authors have also questioned the transformational potential of these (new) social movements (Rojas 1984, Belden Fields 1988).

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[*] Just like divergencies and conflicts gave rise to new representations, every action originated in antagonisms. Insight into these events made coexistence and mutual appreciation possible.

However, reflecting on the concrete analyses, the varying scope and the bulk of case studies on these new social movements, it seems rather premature to conceptualize them as a homogeneous, universal phenomenon, increasing in numbers and dissemination. Reflecting on the many differences, it seems much more appropriate to try and account for the variety, and contextual specifity of 'the' movements, and take these as a starting point, rather than to simply postulate such synthetic theoretical conceptualizations. The movements show no unity; they differ enormously in their forms and priorities, patterns of dissemination and mobilization, background and manifestations.

The following essay attempts to steer a course between Skylla and Charibdis. It focusses on some general theoretical themes concerning social movements and tries to account for the 'newness' of contemporary social movements; a 'newness' that is more often proclaimed then adequately explained. At the same time it tries to elaborate on these items by referring to literature that stems from, or is inspired by, Latin American experiences. Therefore it does not touch upon *all* of the questions that mark the discussion of (new) social movements. Stipulating the particularity of the form and content of social movements according to the contexts in which they operate, it makes a plea for a 'time-biding agnosticism' (Cunningham 1987: 21) as far as the question of the universality of the (new) social movements is concerned.

Nevertheless, it seeks to sketch out and to put forward useful positions and suggestions, as far as possible, with respect to important controversies within the debates on (new) social movements. Thus *situating* itself in Latin America, this chapter tries to present arguments and considerations that *go beyond* its regional limits. To illustrate the contrasts and differences already alluded to, I will first explore some of the analyses of European movements. I will then move on to a (preliminary) description of the specific forms which the movements currently take in Latin America. Here, I shall concentrate on conceptualizations of the *new* social movements. Anticipating my arguments further below, however, I will also try to show that the dichotomization between 'new' and 'old' social movements has to be taken 'cum grano salis'.

Eder (1985) emphasizes that the bearers of the new social movements are indeed new social categories. He points out that the enormous increase of sectors such as those of professionals, government officials, service sector-workers, social workers, teachers and the like has given birth to a 'natural' social basis for the type of orientations and personal as well as social aspirations that are articulated by these new social movements. They are marked by a strong *moral* component, and emphasize personal authenticity and integrity. Thus they valorize anti-bureaucratic ideals. In addition the members of the movements live in material conditions that facilitate their relative neglect of material, economic and redistributive demands.

Offe (1985) also draws attention to this shift in orientation: instead of the 'old', redistributive demands, referring to orientations towards (economic) growth, to feelings about redistributive equity and to material security, nowadays other, new political poles of interest prevail, most of them expressing discontent with existing relations between the public and private spheres. Characteristic of these new movements, in Offe's view, are their interest in 'life world-themes' (such as health, body, sexual identity, neighborhood, city, cultural and ethnic identity), several new values (such as autonomy, identity, institutional independence, 'de-disciplination'), and several new forms of action and organization (such as informal internal structures, discontinuity, egalitarian participation, de-differentiation of roles and tasks, expressivity).

Melucci (1985) argues that what distinguishes new social movements is their desire to extend the borders of, to paraphrase Offe, traditional institutionalized politics. Their demands go beyond what could be achieved politically and touch upon the level of 'public space': the intermediate level between the social and the political. Hence, they have a meta-political organizational *form*, and this form matters just as much as the goal. Not only the concrete demand, not only the concession they manage to win, but also the 'production of man' is the adage of the new social movements.

These new features motivate the *new* form the movements take; indeed, political parties would prove quite inadequate in providing organizational facilities that support these new themes and values. Obviously, there was a need for a *new* organizational form in Europe. However, the explanations that are being offered to account for this 'newness' also refer to specific conditions, conditions that apply to Europe, and *not* necessarily to other regions. Thus for instance, the specific European perceptions of the 'arms race', European economical developments since the Second World War (the Welfare State, Fordism....), and specific political opportunities and obstacles, these are just a few elements out of a complex multitude that has played a crucial constitutive role in the emergence of the *European* social movements.

Bearing in mind these conditions, and the movements' typologies that are connected to them, one cannot but come to the conclusion that in Latin America 'it doesn't fit'. And indeed, I would not be the first to state that 'obviously, new social movements are a European (or Western) phenomenon'. For, first of all, the demands the movements in Latin America are making are to a great extent *material ones*. They include items such as work, services, the (im)balance between prices and wages, housing and poverty (Kowarick 1988, Henry 1985, and many others). Falabella, when expressing the need for a differentiated analysis of "the main factors under which the emergence of social movements has taken place in Latin America" (1983: 1) most emphatically includes *economic* factors. These factors, and the corresponding demands the movements express, differ considerably from the 'postmaterialist' impulses that marked the European movements. In Offe's terms we would have to conclude that, to a considerable extent, the Latin American movements stick to old political issues.

In de second place, the presence of the movements in the public sphere[1], something most crucial in the European context, does not have its exact counterpart in Latin America. Although some movements (like the feminist) most vividly present themselves on this public scale, many local (urban as well as rural) organizations concentrate their efforts on concrete solutions to concrete, 'nearby' problems. The term 'movement' in these cases seems to apply to the *number* and the *dissemination* of these organizations rather than to their unification in a thematically homogenized, meta-local entity.

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[1] Which is not the same thing as the professionalised, institutionalized forms which political interest representation Europe inherited. The goal of the social movements is exactly the opposite: conquering a public space of their *own*,

Here however, one could object that the difference with Europe is only a gradual one. In effect, many participants in Latin American local organizations are aware of their dissemination and their potential political and/or electoral importance, as well as of their innovative values. Hence, they go beyond local fragmentation. Besides that, not *all* organizations are marked by these local boundaries; youth-, women- and other organizations often present themselves most emphatically as *national* movements. Still, many of the organizational efforts in Latin America bear a local hallmark; and the coordinating and umbrella organizations often prove feeble and discontinuous. Although this discontinuity partially also applies to the local organizations, their continuous renewal justifies referring to it as a 'solid' phenomenon: "The phenomenon prolongs itself more because of the replacement of specific movements than because of its firmness or tenacity" (Pérez 1987: 144).

Finally, the European middle-class social origins of the founders of the movements generally proves a-typical in Latin America. Despite the presence of heterogeneity, it is still undeniable that the socio-economically lower strata form the great majority of the social movements in Latin America. For example Huamán points out that "the crisis in work, the crisis in income, and for that matter in all basic needs from the very vital one of food to health, housing, water, etc. which prove impossible to satisfy..." are the main reason for the initiatives "...to look for concrete and creative forms to solve them" (1986: 26). Elsewhere it is stated that "it appears that effectively the problem of survival of ample sectors of the Latin American people is the field in which this type of movements generate" (Comisiones del 4° Seminario Internacional CEHAP/PEVAL, in: Mesa/Vélez (compiladores) 1988: 269).[2] Of course, here again similarities between European and Latin American movements can be observed. The turning away from traditional institutional politics, and the orientation towards values that incorporate cultural components, for example, apply to both regions. Still, the differences are considerable. And as a result of all these differences

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challenging the monopoly held by the institutions in representing political and social identities.

[2] Something which of course does not exclude the crucial and sometimes decisive role of the 'middle-class', either as 'profesionales', 'ideologos' and 'educadores' who often prove to be of great importance. Moreover we should not exclude, for example, feminist or ecological movements that have developed within Latin American countries. In spite of this parallel with Europe, and in spite also of Offe's quite thorough explanation of 'material conditions' as a central explanatory feature clarifying the *non*-material orientations of the European movements, in general it still seems true that the *material* issues are more important in Latin America than in Europe.

between the movements in Latin America and in Europe, it is quite striking that in Latin America the term 'new social movements' is so often used. Looking somewhat closer we see that what *distinguishes* the old from the new social movements in the Latin American context differs considerably from the European line of argument. As an illustration, the preoccupation with finding an alternative social basis underlying the emergence of the movements could be indicated. The suggestions here differ considerably from the European focus. Obviously, in Latin America as in Europe, the movements do not simply represent *class* interests. Often it is suggested that in Latin America social, cultural or economic *exclusion*, or a collectively perceived deficit in state services motivates the emergence of the social movements. In addition, the reproductional antagonisms[3] are sometimes presented as the 'new' motive. European parallels for this type of explanation would be hard to find. And although European highlighting of themes such as autonomy, post-materialist values, small-scale cultural self-defence, etc. are not absent in the Latin American discussions (cf. Evers 1985) we can still maintain our argument that the 'newness' in Latin America is not exactly the same thing as it is in Europe.

Thus for the moment, we are faced with an open ended question concerning the worldwide emergence of new social movements and to answer it, we need more research on concrete movements in concrete circumstances. For now, all we can say is that there exist both commonality and considerable differences. It is my thesis that the way the relation between them is conceived depends on the social transformation projects and projections which both the participants and the scholars of social movements observe and indeed advocate. In other words, anticipating my further argument, the eagerness to determine the transformational impact of the movements often shapes the controversies and gives rise to overgeneralizing claims and prognostications, as well as to overgeneralized skepticism. Where the aversion to the 'old' political structures is strongest, there too the claim about the movements 'universality' and 'revolutionary newness' will be more energetic. However, neither aversion nor overstrained hope should dictate our conclusions.

Obviously the interest which social scientists show in the so called new social movements reflects, to a great extent, the "multiplication of (these) new social groupings"[4], both in Western and in Third World societies. But it is likely that there is another reason for this interest as well: social scientists who are committed to social change, and interested and/or engaged in the social conflicts of our twentieth century societies, traditionally often used to refer to the proletariat as the bearer of the desired social revolutions. After all, the most elaborated theory of social contradictions and of social change emerging out of these contradiction was, for many decades, undisputedly marxism. But marxism is in crisis, as many theorists claim.[5] We do not necessarily have to accept this thesis uncritically, but we can nevertheless agree that at least *one* theoretical *pièce de résistance* of marxism is crumbling. With every day that passes, it is more unlikely that the proletariat, as a homogeneous, self-conscious class forced by history will bring about social revolution.[6] Indeed, social relations and structures can still rightfully be labelled as 'capitalist' - but a lot of things have changed since Marx' nineteenth century analyses and observations. Maybe several types of 'capitalism' should be distinguished, and perhaps other *determining* social structures and dimensions ought to play at least a complementary role in critical social analysis. In any case, the idea of a society consisting of two 'pure', dialectically opposed classes, one of them being the subject of social revolution, does not find much support anymore.

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[3] The incapacity of the state to provide conditions in which the working class, both materially and ideologically, can reproduce itself.

[4] Evers 1985: 43.

The search for a 'new' subject of social change was therefore one of the elements that contributed to the eager interest social scientists showed in the so called 'new social movements'. Or, to be more precise, the movements embody *other* forms of achieving change and therefore provoked other forms of conceptualizing social change. This element haunts the research field to this very day. This political component made the study of these social movements a controversial one. 'New social movements' is on the one hand a hallowed term, that offered hope for the observation of and contribution to social transformation processes; on the other hand it gives rise to a double problem. Some researchers reject the term as such, claiming that it is only a verbal differentiation, an ideal construct that conceals instead of reveals the socio-economic determination of social transformation processes.[7] (See Lungo 1987 and 1988, and Geras 1987, for quite sophisticated variants of this position; see also Belden Fields 1988). These researchers keep to the idea, albeit in a modified form, of a fundamental, socio-economically determined, class struggle.

Researchers who do identify with the potential for social change of the new social movements tend to worry about the task of conceptualizing explicitly and concisely what the new social movements are, and what they mean. They see themselves confronted with a great variety of 'untamed', and unstructured activities, a rich spectrum of resistance-forms against subordination and domination, a many-coloured collage of groups and organizations, that seem to resist any classificatory effort. So for these researchers too, the new social movements generate more problems than solutions.

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[5] Here, we already have to make a distinction: the 'crisis of marxism', insofar as we can speak of such a thing in the first place, does not present itself in the same way in Europe and North America as it does in Latin America. The questions marxism is confronted with also reflect the particular circumstances and developments of these different societies.

[6] André Gorz made a book title out of this observation: *Adieu au proletariat....*

[7] Some authors also reject the term as well as the relevance of the phenomenon because it opens the way for the state to 'divide and rule'. Instead, they make a plea for unity around the working class. See Rojas 1984: 4.

That -among other elements- is why the euphoria that sometimes characterized the debates on the new social movements, giving them a gloss of ingenuous optimism, has partially disappeared. Both research and theorizing have become more 'down to earth'. Nevertheless, it is still a controversial question whether or not, and to what degree, social movements are the bearers of social change or will prove to be relevant political actors. To elaborate on this controversy, I will distinguish two central issues or themes, around which the arguments concerning the political meaning of the social movements can be organized. However, first of all, we have to make a brief historical journey. In (2,) I will sketch out some of the traditional scientific efforts to explain social movements. This short detour has a modest aim: I will only pay attention to traditions that are still important in the current debates on social movements. Then, in (3) I will introduce the two themes which will guide my presentation. Dwelling on these might throw light on the sometimes strained attempts to determine -preferably through a consistent theoretical model- the social and political identity and 'weight' of the social movements. First I focus on the question of the 'why' of social movements. The broad spectrum of suggestions with respect to this question can be explored by distinguishing two extreme positions: authors who claim that the structural foundations 'under' the emergence of the movements ought to be the main research focus and, on the other hand, authors who claim that the action perspective is more adequate and that the *constitution* of political interests and positions should be our main research object. Both positions claim that their approach is the most promising in reflecting on the possible social and political meaning and effects of the movements. I will argue that both extremes are one-sided. and that focussing on the *mediations* should guide our research.

The same applies to the second theme which refers more or less to the 'how' of the social movements. Here, authors who state that the main characteristics of the movements lie in their potential for *socio-cultural* transformation oppose authors who focus on the *political* interaction. Both defend their approach as the most fruitful one in trying to clarify the movements' impact. I will argue that the disconnecting trend which is visible in these debates is not fruitful. Again, clarifying the mediations should be our main investigatory challenge. In (4) I will go deeper into the first item and in (5) into the second one. In (6) I present some of my own ideas about research strategies on (new) social movements as well as some tentative ideas about social movements and democracy.

2. 'OLD' THEORIES ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Reflection and research on social movements and their role in social change did not emerge when the 'new' social movements multiplied and brought their 'newness' to the fore. For several decades now, there has been an extensive tradition of social movements research.

In the tradition of 'collective action research', which has largely been based in the United States, there were attempts to explain the determinants and consequences of collective, purposeful social action that is aimed at change. Micro-level analysis predominated (McAdam/McCarthy/Zald 1988), so that 'global change' and 'progress' were often neglected. In the European tradition, relatively more emphasis has been given to values and norms that influence organization as well as to structural conditions 'underneath' social mobilization. Hence, in the more restricted sense, this tradition has been denominated 'social movements research'. The two traditions, however, are closely related. Under the influence of the emergence of the so called new social movements emphases may have changed but the tradition remained.

Within the field of social movement and collective action theory, four perspectives of persistent referential importance can be distinguished: (a) marxist perspectives, (b) psychological and social-psychological perspectives, (c) individual-utilitarian perspectives, and (d) resource mobilization perspectives. Not all of these are equally important or widely disseminated, nor are they all mutually exclusive. They are 'aggregates' of theoretical assumptions which, in practice, are worked out in various ways. This division into four positions should therefore not be taken as exclusive or exhaustive. It has a mainly 'directive' aim. I shall discuss these four positions to the degree necessary for their characteristics and problematic elements to be clearly stated.

2.1. Marxist approaches

One of the most visible characteristics of the marxist approach, rooted mainly in the European tradition, is its diversity. This diversity is often explained by pointing to the fact that Marx did not leave us an elaborated theory on political processes and political action. Or, to put it differently: we have a critical political economy of capital but we do not have a political economy of labour or of (subjective) *social* production on which we could base a theory of political action[8]. This is probably the main reason why we are confronted with such a variety of Marxist-inspired thought about politics[9].

Nevertheless there are some important similarities in Marxist approaches to political action. Political protest and actions are always related to 'objective', material social relations, e.g. first to the class structure of the (capitalist) society. This class structure goes back to the relations of (ownership of) the means of production. Marxists traditionally understand political processes primarily as a *representation* of this dichotomous class structure. Often politics is thought of as reflecting the fundamental contradiction between labour and capital.[10]

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[8] See Negt/Kluge 1981, *Geschichte und Eigensinn*, and of course: Georg Lukács's *Geschichte und Klassenbewußtsein*. For an attempt to find a political 'emancipation'-project in Marx' writings see Buci-Glucksman 1982 and Sayer & Corrigan 1987.

[9] See also Assies' contribution in this volume.

Another element of consensus within this approach is the conviction that there exists a logic of socio historical development. This logic is not necessarily thought of as being automatic, overriding human intervention, but, in the 'last instance', it does indeed constrain and limit the frontiers of 'rational' political intervention.[11] [12] The background for choosing 'the right time' for undertaking action derives from the evolutionist philosophy of history already mentioned.

The problems one can identify in marxist approaches refer to the characteristics mentioned. They imply a restricted terminological and theoretical framework. Only at the cost of the consistency of this framework are marxists able to account for contradictions *other* than class as relevant, or even equally fundamental and important bases for political conflict. Moreover, they are inclined to overestimate the internal homogeneity of the respective classes.

This is illustrated by the way they deal with consciousness of political identity. Where the collective consciousness does *not* correspond to the- scientifically identifiable!- objective interests, one is inclined to denote this consciousness as 'false' or ideological. Where it *does* correspond, it is often taken as something whose magnitude can be established. This reveals a quite instrumental view. It reduces consciousness to an 'echo' of labour processes and relations. Consciousness is stripped of all its processual marks. Elements such as socialization, educational processes, social interaction, self-consciousness, the unconscious, collective and individual identity on the basis of gender, sexual preference, ethnicity and so forth, have remained outside the mainstream of marxist analysis and reflection[13].

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[10] While keeping in mind that we are operating historically, it is nevertheless worth noting that, for the sake of the argument, we are dealing here with 'marxism' in its traditional, classical and simplified form. Currently very these representational relations are rarely thought of in mechanical terms. More often they are explained in terms of complex, mediated relationships, and the degree of freedom which this mediation leaves to the actors varies from one author to another. Luxemburg and Gramsci especially, and others as well, have dedicated much work to the issue of the degree of political autonomy. However -anticipating the more extended section dedicated to these authors further on(c.f. 4.1)- Laclau and Mouffe make it one of their central arguments that marxism in its central structures is strongly affected by these problems of 'representation'; problems that have been put on the agenda by several marxist authors but have never been satisfactorily resolved due to the importance the 'Leninist current' always maintained in marxist theorizing.

[11] See for example Laclau 1985, in Slater (ed) 1985, for a clear elaboration and critique of these assumptions. See also: Laclau/Mouffe 1985.

[12] Again, this characterization does not do any justice to the developments *within* Marxist theory-building. For example Gramsci, who emphasized the role of the state as a political factor, and who directed a great deal of reflective attention to ideology and political as well as cultural hegemony, is left out of this typification.

Another hiatus concerns the 'transformation' from consciousness to action. Quite often this transformation is simplified and taken to be a derivation of some sort. Tilly and Skocpol, among others, have convincingly criticised this idea[14]. In this respect, it has also been pointed out that political processes ought to be conceptualized much more as *interactive* processes: for example one has to look carefully at dominant and challenging ideologies, at (counter)mobilization, at political intermediary institutions, at the responses of the power holders, and so on. In this respect too, the marxist tradition has not, so far, sufficiently valued the relative autonomy of *political* processes.

Thus, the marxist tradition of research on social movements did perhaps provide a theory of structural (class) conflict (albeit restricted to *economic* structures), but it has failed to provide a concrete theory of the direction and development of conflict.[15]

2.2. Psychological and social-psychological approaches

These approaches[16] concentrate mainly on psychological rather than structural causes of conflict and protests such as 'dissatisfaction', 'frustration', 'anger'. The origins of social movements thus tend to be explained in the same terms as individual behaviour. An important variant is the theory that takes 'relative deprivation' to be the central explanatory element; frustration of *expectation* in this option proves to be a much more important element than poverty or repression as such (Gurr 1970). However, it rests upon rather problematical assumptions. The basic explanatory category is the 'masses'; a conglomerate of 'emotion-laden individuals'. Therefore the explanations almost always come very close to a rather undifferentiated irrationalism. 'The masses' or 'fickle crowd' are usually conceptualized in a rather negative way; it is a 'mob', considered as 'aggressive', 'eruptive', 'manipulated and directed by a demagogue'. Ideas like these were most sharply criticized by, among others, Oberschall (1973), Tilly and Tilly (1981) and, referring to the so called 'marginal urban poor', Portes (1972). These critics pointed out that collective, or even 'massive' action has almost always been highly appropriate for the purpose and thus 'rational'. Moreover it was stressed that, insofar as these thinkers took a rather 'individualist' stand, they overlooked the *social* constitution of such an entity as a 'aggrieved individual', and also overlooked that a 'the masses' is a rather inadequate circumscription for such a complex phenomenon as a group, a community, a purposeful collective.

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[13] For some attempts to correct and amplify this rather instrumental conceptualization of consciousness while remaining more or less within the marxist framework, see for example Negt & Kluge 1981, Sêve 1975, Therborn 1980, Lefébvre 1975, Marcuse 1966, 1975, Fromm, and many others.

[14] See Skocpol 1979, Tilly & Tilly 1981, Tilly 1984. See also: Oberschall 1973, Kriesberg 1973.

[15] At the risk of repeating ourselves once again, this conclusion does not, of course, take into account all current efforts to overcome these problems in a creative way.

[16] See for example Gurr 1970: *Why Men rebel* (Princeton University Press, New York). Other, rather randomly chosen representatives are Tallman 1976, Smelser 1962, (his influential *Theory of collective behaviour*, New York) and Theweleit 1977. Another typical representative is John Gunn (1976); his analysis, which illustrates the sometimes rather questionable political biases of the approach, concentrates on the possibilities of *controlling* social violence and takes individually rooted properties as its explanatory basis: "...human society is largely being ruled by two separate, sometimes conflicting, sometimes cooperating forces, namely aggression and altruism". (Gunn 1976: 181).

Moreover, in analyses of this (social)psychological type, hardly any critical attention was paid to the structural and political component of the conflict; as if operating in a vacuum, these researchers restricted themselves to analyses of the 'transition' *from anger to action*. It is worth mentioning that, within this tradition, authors spoke of 'behaviour' instead of 'action'. Thus from the outset, all conscious-intentional motives for collective action were cut out of the analysis.

2.3. Individualistic-utilitarian approaches

This approach, which could perhaps qualify as the 'purest' example of 'collective action theory', claims to present a 'logic of collective action' based on a 'rational actor model'. Here the North American tradition, which was less oriented towards structural change and more to a 'pragmatic change' model, provides its purest exponents. Very often this type of analysis presents an explicit critique of the (social)psychological approaches. Its main appeal is its coherence and simplicity.[17]

The unit on which this type of analysis is focussed is the individual, aiming at maximizing his or her own good. This individual acts *rationally*, that is to say: he or she calculates and weighs risks and chances. Structural conditions and constraints are, therefore, reduced to information-variables, and the same goes for strategic considerations and anticipations as well as for ideological contents. All these factors are considered to be components of the permanent assessment of (foreseen) costs and (foreseen) benefits, within the individual. "The central behavioral assumption of this theory is that out of the behavioral alternatives they observe, individuals will choose the one which promises them the highest subjective benefit" (Geeraerts 1988: 235). A good illustration for this line of argumentation is provided by Popkin[18]. In his critique of the tradition of the 'moral economists' he emphasises the self-interest of peasants as the necessary basis for explaining their reactions to changing circumstances. The individual 'responding to new opportunities' (Popkin 1979: 33) ought to be our starting point in trying to account for economic transitions as well as for the success or failure of the mobilization efforts of political organizations.

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[17] See Geeraerts 1988, and the contributions of Opp and Heath to the conference 'Changing Involvements, Theories on Value Change and New Social Movements', Utrecht, october 3th 1988.

The most questionable feature of this type of analysis is that it reduces normative and 'traditional' elements of collective (and individual) action to, at best, a specific type of strategic consideration, or even leaves this type of component completely out of account. The theory is therefore sometimes accused of transforming the ('ideal') businessman's action pattern into the general social, all embracing action pattern.

Looking a little closer one also observes that this type of theorizing is unable to integrate the role of 'third parties' into its framework. Especially when these external agents legitimize or delegitimize actions and goals, and in this manner influence the conflict without directly intervening in it, the theory shows its drawbacks. Moreover, concepts based on nothing more than utilitarian assumptions cannot account for structural inequalities, nor for the history of conflicts and for the *meaning* collective action has for the ones involved.[19]

2.4. Political process approach: the resource mobilization perspective

This theory, the most elaborated, convincing and influential branch of the broader so called 'political process theory', aims at the development of a model of strategic *inter*action. To a certain degree, it could be considered as the interactionalist variant of approach (c). It is also the tradition which tends to embody a convergence of the European and North American traditions. The best known representatives are Tilly, Aya, McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald. Other researchers such as Oberschall are close to this type of analysis. They criticize both 'objectivistic' theories such as marxism, accused of *reducing* (the motives for) collective protest to nothing more than factual inequalities and exploitation, as well as social-psychological approaches for their fixation on the irrationality of collective action. They also criticize individualistic-utilitarian approaches for focussing too much on the individual, instead of on organizational interaction. Instead, they postulate a distinctive logic for strategic interaction, a crucial aspect being the ability to mobilize certain resources. The 'trial of strength' between the 'establishment' and the protesting collective (the 'members' and the 'challengers', in Tilly's terminology) is structured and determined by the resources each of them succeeds in inserting. Moreover, it is assumed that each of the

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[18] S. Popkin: *The rational peasant- The political economy of rural society in Vietnam*, London 1979.

[19] See Van Gunsteren 1988 which presents, at an introductory level, both an interview with, and an introduction to this Norwegian sociologist.

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individual as well as collective actors weigh their chances and risks, taking into account the anticipated reaction of the opponent. This is what Tilly calls the 'opportunity/threat scale'.

Although this approach tries to take account of the fact that *global* social changes and structures play a large part in mobilization, it concentrates on the processes of mobilization and organization and maintains that these could well be analyzed in terms of available 'repertoires': the possible forms of action and pressure under given political structures and patterns.

This theory tries not to fall into the trap of individualistically calculated maximalism. Nevertheless it remains rather close to those that show utilitarian biases. Implicitly, it also creates a gap between normal, daily action and behaviour, and the strategic and 'astute' action in political confrontations. Furthermore, there are several other problems. It proves rather difficult to *compare* the weight of different resources: often, they are of such a different nature (e.g. money, knowledge and police forces versus commitment, social legitimacy and numbers), that they cannot be weighed comparatively. Moreover, the terminological apparatus does not allow for taking into account the non-discursive, for example dispositional, components of group constitution. The result of this is a pronounced tendency to ignore processes of group constitution; it is as if the group did not begin to exist until there is an explicit conflict. Not only is this approach unable to account for the pre-conflict *potentialities*, or 'conflictualities' of social relations, it also reduces the interaction between rivals to a strategically manageable 'political conflict' as such. Hence this approach, as well as the others, incorporates some serious difficulties. However, out of the theoretical approaches mentioned so far, the resource mobilization approach is the one whose influence is still enormous. We will therefore touch upon it again further on.

3. CONTROVERSIES IN THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

3.1. Introduction

In any attempt to describe and define social movements, there is always a 'bias'. I try to keep mine as visible as possible, by presenting some provisional delimitations at the outset.

I take social movements, new as well as old, to be movements which, on the basis of shared experiences, shared interests and shared demands, and in conflict relations with other groups and/or dominant social structures, collectively endeavour to resolve their problems, emancipating their own social position and/or try to change social relations and structures. This description contains three important claims:

1. It is not decisive whether the social movements operate primarily at the level of internal problem solving, that of 'autonomous constitution of identity', or at the more general social level. Although it is useful and important to distinguish these levels analytically, there is no justification for presenting

them as two separated domains. It is far more fruitful to explore the continuities between the individual, group and social processes.

2. The socio-economic and socio-cultural *position* of the actors should be taken into account in any conceptualization of social movements. Although I admit that there is no direct, no automatic and no logical-causal relation between the two, I nevertheless take it as a premise that the identity of the actors does *not* come into existence at the level of mobilization or 'articulation'. I assume that shared experiences and shared interests play an important role in the constitution of social and political organizations.
3. There exists no endogenous internal logic in the development of social movements, nor can they be analyzed by postulating the existence of an exhaustive list of the different 'types', as suggested for example by attempts to contrast the ideological ones and the concrete/pragmatic ones, or the political and the socio-cultural ones. The form and shape a movement will take does not depend only on its own character given by birth. It develops because of and in interaction with the surrounding society. Hence, a social movement can *become* (and in part always *is*) an exclusively political one and the other way round. This is also true of their ideological as opposed to their concrete-pragmatic nature. There can be no fixed typology and in spite of the great importance of the theoretical elaboration in relation to the 'newness' of contemporary movements, this indefiniteness is also an aspect of the novelty of the phenomenon.

These claims will be elucidated more extensively further on.

As already said, to orient ourselves within the extensive debates on social movements, it seems fruitful to distinguish two central controversies. This proposal is not, of course, the only possible or the only adequate approach. But I believe it has a heuristic value in organizing my exposition on the important controversies in the debates on the movements.

3.2. The first controversy: structure versus actor emphasis

First, we can distinguish the discussion that refers to the relations and connections, and to the ensuing claims concerning research emphasis, between the (socio-economic) structural positioning and stratification of social subjects, and their (possible) political performance; or, directly expressed: the discussion about the 'why' of the movements. The two positions in this debate can be stated as the more *structural* and the more *interactionalist* (or actor) oriented approach (See also Garretón 1984, 1985). The first one focusses on the analysis of social inequalities, such as discrimination, repression and exploitation (Bader/Benschop 1988). It also pays attention to the ideologies, frustration, grievance, consciousness and possibilities of organization which result more or less directly from these structural features. It holds that in order to explain collective action and social movements, it is first of all necessary to map out these structural conditions, causes and influences. And, perhaps more important, this type of analysis is also necessary in the valorization of the movements' transformational potential. Qualitate qua, this approach is not particulary appropriate for describing and analyzing of the development of manifest political conflicts.

The second position (both positions being presented in a somewhat 'purified' way) emphasises that it is this *course* of actual political conflict which most of all deserves the researcher's attention. Here, authors analyze the actuality of *conflict*, pay attention to (counter)mobilization, to relative power relations and how they vary, to the role of leadership, to matters of alliances and to conflict (de)escalation. Clearly, this interactionalist approach leads to a political emphasis. 'Politics' in this tradition entails strategy and calculated action.

The debate between the two positions concentrates on the relations and influences between these more structural (socio-economic in the first place) and these more interactional political terrains. Several rather dichotomous as well as several intermediary positions can be distinguished. Some claim that there exists a *direct* connection between the two and that the structural conditions determine the (possible) realization of conflict. Political action is to be understood as the *emanation* of structural causes. Classical marxism for example defended the position that all that was needed to act and to overthrow the existing structures of exploitation was an adequate consciousness on the part of the proletariat about the *structural* features of capitalist exploitation. Hardly any attention was paid to the complicated political process of organization, mobilization and 'doing politics'. Others prefer to assume that there exists an *indirect*, non-causal connection and therefore focus on the mediating processes. As will be argued below, I consider this approach the most realistic. At the other end of the scale we find authors who claim that there is no dependence whatsoever. The political dimension[20] is said of itself to deserve the researchers priority attention. This dimension, the argument goes, should be analyzed in terms of political identities that are, however, *contingent*: they come into being when they are articulated in some political discourse[21]. This articulation is 'open', it is in no way determined by some 'objective' condition.

Looking somewhat closer at recent developments concerning the question of the relation between the (structural) *basis* of conflict and the (manifest) course of conflict, we observe that theses about *socio-economic* bases being the pre-eminent structural cause have been amended - and sometimes, in a radical way. It was suggested for example that collective consumption needs, poor material conditions as such, territorial unity, or some degree or type of social homogeneity (like 'women', 'youth') could perhaps be interpreted as the structural features, responsible for forms of collective action, and that 'class' was no longer (or never was...) the only available alternative explanation. Others, as suggested above, are still not satisfied with these explanations, and choose to give up this structural approach to 'making sense' of collective political initiative altogether. They assume that it is not the (objective) *cause*, but much more the mobilization, the political articulation, the organizational potentialities themselves that constitute the explanatory domain: it is ideological and political 'interpellation' and 'organization' that constitute collectivity and unity. Laclau and Mouffe are among the most prominent participants in the debates on this question. In section 4, I shall take their position as a *Leitmotif* in an attempt to further clarify these complex debates. First, however, I will introduce the other central theme of debate.

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[20] Laclau and Mouffe, the most outspoken representatives of this position, emphasize that there is no such thing as a 'political level' - such an expression would suggest that something which stems from another level is represented at the political level. Instead of this they prefer 'political dimension'; something that penetrates all societal processes, and is not determined by any 'pre-political' conditions. For further elaboration, see below.

[21] The concept 'articulation' as Laclau and Mouffe use it will be elaborated below. Sometimes in this text the concept is also used in its more general, theoretically 'loose' sense.

3.3. The controversy about sociocultural versus political interpretations

The second debate which has heuristic value within the field of social movement studies, refers to the type of action, motives and results - in short: the 'how'- that characterize these movements. Two domains within which the aims of social movements can be located are distinguished: do social movements operate mainly within the socio-cultural, or within the political domain? In this debate, the issue is whether the movements do and should try to produce changes, and pursue their struggles, within the socio-cultural or within the political spheres[22]. The emergence of the *new* social movements particulary motivated and renewed this controversy.

Although there is undoubtedly some interconnection between this discussion and the previous one, we must deal with another issue here. The difference here is not the structure/action dichotomy but the conceptualization of social processes and changes. The positions within this debate vary from the thesis that it is primarily the explicitly conflictual, manifestly political level on which changes are achieved and fought over (and that the socio-cultural is no more than the background, neutral as far as the conflict is concerned), to the other extreme, the thesis that real, profound changes in society take place within the terrain of (daily) socio-cultural, interrelational reality. Any (explicit) *political* change is considered to be something like the 'spin-off' of the -much more fundamental- changing practices of 'normality', the *micro* social processes.

The current discussions, taking the *new* social movements as their focus, in this respect accentuate the 'identity/polity' dichotomy. Representatives of the first position emphasize the central importance of the processes of constitution and production of collective identity, and the potential resistance that is connected with it. They consider this to be the most prominent feature of the

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[22] The distinction proposed here is a very *simplifying* one. It ignores the enormous complexity of this 'socio-cultural dimension', and leaves the aspect of structural versus interactional emphasis, which also intervenes in this field, out of consideration.

(new) social movements[23] and put the strategic conceptualization of politics into question: why should politics not also include 'daily life', as has for example been demonstrated most emphatically by the feminist movement? Others, however, maintain that, in spite of 'new' elements being present in the new social movements that seem not to be explicitly political in orientation, the *political* weight of these movements still ought to be the central point of evaluation. They focus on elements such as compromise, alliance, mobilization, conflict (de)escalation and so forth, and in the last instance refer to the influence the movement has at the level of (state)power.[24] Here of course, politics is restricted to manipulative performances and negotiation. Hence, in this debate also, the conceptualization of 'politics' is a central item.

The most elaborated and sophisticated branch within this 'strategic-political paradigm' is beyond doubt the so called resource mobilization approach, a tradition I have briefly discussed above. This approach tries to explain social movements by focussing on the resources these organizations manage to invest in favour of their case. In the last instance, and partly due to the utilitarian roots of this approach, explanations are given that refer to the ability to mobilize, calculate, anticipate, to 'do clever politics'. This approach most strongly rejects all sorts of irrationalist explanations.

Vink (1988) criticizes this exclusion of elements that have to do with group constituency resulting from this 'anti-irrationalist bias'. The meaning, the 'essence' of (new) social movements in this resource-emphasizing approach before and after seems to be found exclusively in their political weight. For Vink (1988: 4), even if it is recognized that there are 'new forms of politics', even if it is acknowledged that political institutions (parties) are not the exclusive political domain, even if one tries to analyze 'from below', even if it is admitted that political conflicts are 'plural', this approach still reduces all social conflicts to 'the quest for power'.

It is at this point that the identity-oriented paradigm brings forth a critical assessment of this resource mobilization theory (Cohen 1985: 633 *ff*). Referring especially to the *new* social movements this approach stresses that the real locus of change in these movements lies *underneath* the political conflict. It is not the political result that counts but the changes within the social and cultural processes. Domination relations within society are, above all, reproduced, and have their foundation, in the 'daily ideology'; the imposed 'normality' of social relations, being hierarchical, patriarchal, and competitive. The real *raison d'etre* of the new social movements is their 'daily subversion of cultural dominance'

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[23] This accentuation of the 'identity'-issue, in the context of the more general social-cultural emphasis discussed above, is strongly correlated with the discussions on the *new* social movements. In this sense the turn to 'identity' can be regarded as a return to an older line of theorizing.

[24] See Vink 1988 and Cohen 1985 for a more detailed presentation of the conflict between these two approaches, referring explicitly to the *new* social movement debates.

(Vink 1988: 5). They try to win fragments of authentic identity within the daily reproduced alienation[25].

The Achilles' heel of this approach however is the problem accounting for the *conflictivity* of these daily processes. Although they admit that these processes are not neutral (they emphasize their insubordinating nature), they try to avoid any strategic assault on the things that have to be 'conquered'; in their view, this would mean a -willy-nilly- reproduction and reinforcement of 'the enemy': the power centeredness of institutionalized politics.

Thus the resource mobilization approach seems to reduce too many of the complex social processes to strategic interaction. The other, the identity oriented approach, however tends to pay too little attention to the strategic nature of social conflicts. Whereas in the first approach the society often appears as a 'poor', non cultural, non social organism, the last one tends towards a 'culturalist' bias. In section 5 I shall try to elaborate further on these opposite though symmetrical limitations.

Analogous to this dichotomization on the strategy-identity-scale there are controversies along the 'alliance-autonomy-scale'. Researchers (and participants) sometimes oppose very strongly any connection with other (especially the 'old') political organizations. They fear subordination under, or the cooptation by, these representations of the 'old, corrupting, rivalist' society. They defend a 'purist' stand: only when the movement remains autonomous will it be able to fulfill its goals, to be a 'true laboratory of the new society'. Instead of becoming involved in the old 'power games', the new social movements ought to be the embodiments and models of the societies they strive for at their own, microphysical level.

Other participants and researchers criticize this solitary option; they take this purism to run parallel with 'enclavism', an ineffective self-barricading which leads to even greater vulnerability vis à vis counter strategies of social domination and manipulation. Instead of this striving for autonomy, they make a plea for optimal political defense; any alliance that strengthens the movements, and moves it closer to achieving its goals, ought to be considered seriously. Labour organizations and progressive political parties are especially thought of as 'natural' allies.[26]

With this I have succinctly mapped out the terrains on which the main controversies on (new) social movements take place. In the first place I discussed the debates on the *relation* between the (structural) position of the actors and their political performance. Here I identified a revived and modified debate about the (class?) basis of the participants in (new) social movements, about the 'why' of the social movements.

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[25] It could be argued that this line of thought is related to the heritage of Lukács. It recalls his emphasis on reification, to be overcome by the proletariat's *own* acquisition of consciousness.

[26] Castells provides a very interesting illustration of this dilemma. Whereas in his earlier work (e.g. 1974) he stressed the need to work closely with the labour organizations (after all they were the organizations that expressed the fundamental social contradiction between labour and capital, of which the urban contradictions and conflicts were only an extension), in his latter work (e.g. 1983) he argues much more in favour of autonomy and self-government for the urban movements.

Secondly I described the controversies that refer to the (preferred and/or observed) transformation-potential of the movements, that can mainly be localized either at the socio-cultural level, or at the explicitly political (strategic) level. Here the issue at stake is the 'how' of the movements. Both controversies, as I attempted to illustrate, are to a great extend inspired by questions concerning the 'weight' and the potential for change contained within the movements.

4. THE STRUCTURE-OR-ACTION (AND CONTINGENCY) DISSONANCE

It has already been pointed out in the introduction that Marx did not leave behind a solid and profound theoretical construction on *politics*. His analysis was primarily aimed at explaining and revealing the unjustified and contradictory economic structures and 'laws of motion'. At this level of *production*, as Marx had it, we not only find the causes but also the *necessities* behind the political performance of social actors. The crucial transition to political action, in Marx' view, was connected with a transition in consciousness from 'class in itself' to 'class for itself'. Marx aimed at the self-conscious, enlightened class of *all* proletarians to perform the -already historically inevitable- revolution.

Because of this, and in spite of its many varieties, marxism always remained closely connected with an economic explanation matrix for political events, trends and predictions. However, it would do injustice to the whole of the marxist tradition to state that all its theorists kept falling into mechanical-causal explanation schemes over and over again. Lenin, Luxemburg and Lukács present just a few examples of the efforts to account for the relatively autonomous role of organization, mobilization, consciousness and leadership. Gramsci emphasized the important role of ideology, hegemony, and the nature of the state.[27] Nevertheless, the *class* identity and the *class* interests remained the basis for political unification in the thinking and writing of these marxist-inclined authors.

It was also, among other processes, an increasing awareness of *other* important political struggles which, in the course of time, provoked marxist-inspired theorists to drop this economic matrix, in its role of explanatory basis 'in the last instance'. They began to see the need to explain social organization and political struggle that did *not* seem to go back to capital-labour contradictions as a challenge. They no longer tried to neglect or to trivialize the gay movements, the ecological movement, the peace movement, the regional and local protest organizations. They dropped the assumption that a movement only 'counts' when, in a totalizing mode, it aims at the social revolution, or when it becomes an ally of the labour movement. They accepted that movements which do *not* aim at dominance or hegemony can sometimes still be important.

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[27] See Gramsci 1975, 1980.

The most pronounced and radical representatives of this 'beyond marxism approach' are Laclau and Mouffe. They break radically with the most fundamental marxist assumptions. Their thesis is that there is *no* 'basis' whatsoever for political struggle, or indeed for political identities. Political dissent does not *represent* identities and interests, it *produces* them.

4.1. Economistic marxism: Laclau and Mouffe's critique

Laclau and Mouffe observe a crisis in marxism[28]. This crisis, they explain, is not only caused by the 'reluctance' of the historical facts to fit the historical-materialist models; it has an internal theoretical basis as well. In other words it is not just that, for example, national liberation struggles or the issues which (new) social movements put forward, do not fit the marxist theoretical frameworks (since those struggles do not seem to express items that refer to class interests), nor is the fact that the 'really existing socialism' does not live up to the high standards of the revolutionary utopia. The decisive problem is that the category of *class* as such became problematic. It has, so they argue at the beginning, both an economic (objective) and a political (subjective) content, and the two cannot be brought together. This phenomenon has been observed by others as well, and can be interpreted in different ways. Martínez for example, in contrast to Laclau and Mouffe, asserts that there is a big difference between a category and an actor, but he does not draw the conclusion that the connection between the two ought therefore to be done away with: "Social action never is the work of 'categories', but of much more complex historical subjects who combine, in a specific way for each one of them, clusters of diverse attributes". Still, he maintains, adopting the distinction between 'categories' and 'actors', that "...social classes are objective facts". (Martínez, in Martínez/León 1987: 13-14)

Laclau and Mouffe's argument is much more radical. The distinction between 'class in itself' and 'class for itself' expresses an insoluble ambiguity within the marxist tradition. Economic interests, say Laclau and Mouffe, are *not* neutral or objective. They can never account for political aspirations. However in the marxist tradition, this is exactly what forms the basic assumption. Laclau and Mouffe reject it: there is no such 'bridge' between the (socio-economic) *structure* and the *contingency* of the formation of political identity, as they conceptualize it. It is within the domain of this contingency of political identities and struggle that the interpretation of one's 'real' interests is constituted, not the other way round. Their starting point is the rejection of the essentially economic framework which presides over marxist explanations of political events. Nevertheless, they maintain that marxism must be taken as the point of critical reference if we are to have a fruitful strategy to develop an alternative theory. (Laclau & Mouffe 1985: 3-4)

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[28] This discussion of Laclau and Mouffe does not deal exhaustively with all aspects of their work. It does not pretend to do justice to the whole of the argument they present, especially that published in 1985.

Of course, as already indicated, there have been in the past nuances and modifications of this marxist 'scientific materialist' starting-point. Still, the historically determined, and thus inevitable, development of the economy, of production-forces and of production-relations remained, in the last instance, the 'codex' used to explain the forms social conflicts would take. Ultimately, history is taken as an endogenous process: its unity is guaranteed by the logic of economic development and the class relations that develop in their wake. Autonomous development of the economy is interpreted as the, 'not-yet politicized', *foundation*, on top of which political conflicts, as a reflection of the first, will develop. And the argument goes even further: the political is essentially *only* that which goes back to these economic contradictions. The political conflicts that do not fit or correspond are either seen as epiphenomenal or just a modified, historically specific *form* of this economic "ultimate ontological foundation". (Laclau/Mouffe 1985: 69.) Laclau and Mouffe challenge this essentialist kernel within marxism. They argue against the 'neutralistic' consequence that follows from it as if economic and technological progress was something pre-political![29]

They point back to Marx own writings as the source of this -obviously false-objectivistic conceptualization. Reflecting for a moment on this assertion, it seems necessary however to draw attention to Marx' ambivalence on this matter. Laclau and Mouffe disregard this ambivalence. On the one hand, it is true that Marx asserted that labour in capitalist societies was indeed reduced to nothing more than one (albeit a special one) commodity among many. Hence, in the logic of capital accumulation labour could be fit seamlessly as one of the necessary components. Capitalist production is omnipotent: it controls and regulates everything, *including* the labour-process. It subverts the (subjective) potential as it subverts labour.

On the other hand, however, Marx also emphasized the non-subordination of labour under the logic of accumulation. He declared the specificity ('Besonderheit') and *materiality* of labour irreducible. In his view this meant that the concreteness and specificity of labour could never be completely dissolved[30]. This is the foundation of Marx' alienation thesis, and it makes it possible to free economic developments from their deterministic bonds: as long as concrete specificity, and hence *subjectivity* remains present within the labour process, the

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[29] In this manner, they go on with what structuralist marxism had already started, which is to deconstruct the marxist philosophy of history. The 'final instance' argument that was maintained by structuralist marxism to account for historical development is now also thrown overboard by Laclau and Mouffe.

[30] Marx for example stated that although"...capital in itself and for itself is indifferent towards the specificity (*Besonderheit*) of any sphere of production, (still) the labour capacity in every sphere of production maintains its specific stature, like capacities for spinning, shoemaking, forging, etc.,....thus for every sphere of production a labour capacity is required which develops in a specific direction, a 'specified' (*besondertes*) labour capacity..." (Marx 1969: 39) It is this special, particular labour-practice, that accounts for the ambiguity and tension associated with every labour subsumption, including the 'real' one.

political cannot be removed from the course of history. It is with this aspect of Marx' analysis that Lukács linked up.

However, Laclau and Mouffe have focussed on, and criticised, only one dimension of Marx' writings. Their argument is that labour also has to produce *itself*, and is therefore something present in *social* processes. This is their foundation for asserting that the labour component within capitalism remains indissolvably of a political nature. But they completely neglect the fact that Marx makes the same point. This could be interpreted as an illustration of their sometimes rather one-sided account of marxism: they tend to bend it in a particular direction in order to strengthen their critique.

Elaborating their argument about the political component *within* all social 'layers', including capitalist productive development, Laclau and Mouffe subsequently try to do away with another element of the traditional marxist conceptualization of the 'essence' (the historical task) of the working class: the unity and uniformity of this class cannot be interpreted as a result of immanent economic developments. Marx' thesis on the 'Verelendung' is wrong: it presupposes a homogeneous, undisturbed logic of the development of capitalism, which conflicts with Laclau and Mouffe's option. The struggle for political identity, they claim, interferes with every social sphere, and does not *result* from *any* (economic or other) *basis*.[31]

In an attempt to systematize Laclau and Mouffe's critiques of marxism, we may distinguish three aspects.

-First, the global thesis that the development of the productive forces and, in their wake, production relations, determines the form of social conflicts take, as well as their outcome, is disputed.

-Secondly and more specifically, we can discern the thesis that *all* social conflicts go back to *class* conflicts, as these are the foundation of (capitalist) society, as a consequence of which only a political organization that has a *class* basis will be able to achieve 'worthwhile' social changes. Laclau and Mouffe oppose this thesis as well.

-Third, there is the assumption that in principle the social *position* of subjects in production relations provides sufficient foundation for them to become aware of their 'historical task and duty'. *Unless* there are 'bourgeois counter forces', or *unless* the circumstances are historically 'unripe', the transition from social *position* to adequate *consciousness* to political *action* is assumed.

Although it would be a caricature to argue that many variants of marxist theory have held these views until now, Laclau and Mouffe's argument is that they did not break radically enough with them.

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[31] That is why they also criticise Braverman's analysis of the 'logic of deskilling'. Braverman claims that labour skills are lost as a result of automation processes and new ways of organizing labour. That's what makes it harder for laborers to develop counter-strategies and to protest: they are formed *in* the labour process as *un*skilled. But Braverman also tends to acknowledge just one 'engine' for these processes and developments: the internal logic of capital accumulation, and the consequences of this for the level of organization of labour processes. Laclau and Mouffe argue that these processes should be analyzed as *political* contestation instead of as 'logically resulting distractions'.

From this line of argument, Laclau and Mouffe draw the conclusion that neither class nor evolution (of one sort or another), nor any natural or necessary transition towards socialism can be taken for granted. Their argument is, that political positions, including those of social movements, cannot be explained by, nor are subordinated to, this reputed 'foundational class struggle'. There can be no guarantee that the forms of struggle, the content of struggle and the organization of the struggle of the proletariat will be 'progressive'. It depends.

4.2. The discourse analysis option

To understand the alternative theoretical option offered by Laclau and Mouffe, we first have to introduce four concepts. They are, so to speak, the pillars on which their theoretical propositions rest. In their work we encounter the terms 'discourse', 'hegemony', 'articulation' and 'antagonism'. 'Articulation' stands for bringing together and making separate elements of 'political material' converge. The word 'material' is deliberately chosen. The identity of this material is not 'given'; it receives its profile *in* the articulation. Laclau and Mouffe describe it as follows: "We will call articulation any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulating practice. The structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice, we will call discourse". (Laclau/Mouffe 1985: 105)

Political forces and identities, so it follows from this description, are no '*essentialia*': they do not depend on 'objective' interests which are being *represented* at a political level; rather, political identities are constituted as such within a certain context, a certain coherent whole. It is this context which is denominated 'discourse'. The crucial element of this claim is that there is no connection between similarities, unities, or dichotomies in the 'basic' *experience* of social subjects and in the motive for a particular political identity or position. There is no subjective 'kernel'. Rather, the subject assumes its identity within and because of competing discourses. All essentialist explanation of political action is by-passed: there exists no such thing as a frustrated subjective 'essence' which gives rise to (political) protest; there is no 'natural aspiration for freedom' or anything like it; in short there is no natural , a-historical, a-contextual or evolutionary basis for any sort of political resistance. However, this does not mean that this 'articulation' itself becomes the explanatory, transcendental level; there is no such "plane of constitution prior to, or outside, the dispersion of the articulated elements". (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 109) There exists no such thing as an objective social reality, no basic structure that could be identified outside the discourses. The social is *open*, it comes into being because of struggles between competing discourses, each of them 'telling the story about (a part of) reality'.

According to Laclau and Mouffe, this does not mean that there can be no continuity at all: new 'stories' do not come into being every day. More likely, there are dominant 'fixations', "nodal points", or ideologically influential arrangements. Here the term 'hegemony' comes into play: it refers to discursive connections that have a certain gravity and stability within a political field. Thus, stable connections between political 'moments' are produced. The counter-strategy is therefore to strive to connect them *differently*, thus challenging the dominant hegemony. However, nothing 'given' supports these new hegemonic endeavors. Once a discourse has established and rooted certain meanings and practices, it becomes more difficult to develop a 'counter-discourse' that would 'unsettle' and re-articulate these meanings.

Still, the 'ultimate victory', or the objectively superior position of knowledge will never be reached; there is no objective condition to back such a triumph; the social is, and will always remain, *open*. This means that a hegemonic bloc can only be the result of permanent and active intervention, it *never* comes out of 'circumstances'. Consequently, the oppositions that are at stake do not have an objective foundation. The identity of the conflicting positions and discourses is only constituted because of and within the conflict relation. This is what Laclau and Mouffe call antagonism. It means: "...political practice constructs the interests it represents". (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 120)

This thesis, however, is not unproblematical. First, there is the problem of relativism. Laclau and Mouffe do not of course advocate political relativism nor a kind of bare and amorphous political rivalry. Their point of departure is a plea for a radical, non-exclusionary, pluriform democracy. Self-evidently, they will not give this idea a pre-social status[32]. The idea of democracy, they argue, is a result of the Enlightenment and the liberal revolution. This means that it is a *historical*, and not a *necessity* event, that "the logic of equivalence was transformed into the fundamental instrument of production of the social". (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 155). And it is only because of this reference to equality and democratic rights, that subordination can be indicted as oppression.[33]

The idea of a radical, pluriform democracy, as a basic directive notion, results from Laclau and Mouffe's plea that we should acknowledge the plurality of political positions and political oppressions being contested. But democracy and equality, they argue, can never be legitimized because they are morally just, or immanently connected to human self enhancement. Therefore Laclau and Mouffe cannot present any substantial evaluation of political aims and aspiration such as democracy. The *meaning* of democracy is not fixed, nor inherently positive. It gets its potential and its possible recruiting drive because of and within articulations. The social however tends to get 'over-dynamised' here; since discourses include the substance and justice of all political goals, something like a 'shedding of norms' seems to affect them. A 'relation of subordination', in itself, is....nothing! It cannot even be identified as such. It only comes into existence when it is articulated in some political discourse. Only the 'happy circumstance' that democracy as a counter-articulation is available allows for subordination to be challenged, and to be thematized as a 'relation of oppression' (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 153). However, this step is a contingent one: it cannot be founded normatively, and it is only *one* out of a series of possible antagonisms. Even the idea of democracy as a standard is therefore fortuitous. Nothing argues for democracy - and nothing against it. This makes the stature of the democracy-project ambiguous. Either it falls within theoretical discourse analysis, in which case it is contingent, or it stands above it, which would give it a meta-articulation value. This last option is explicitly rejected by Laclau and Mouffe: "Our thesis is that it is only from the moment when the democratic discourse becomes available to articulate the different forms of resistance to subordination that the conditions will exist to make possible the struggle against different types of inequality" (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 154). However, again in this sentence the 'foundation-element that we are looking for is hidden: *inequality* too is a notion that can only be thought of in its articulated form. The struggle for democracy again proves to be possible only because, 'by chance', history produced something like the idea of equality.[34] At this point we can observe a certain ambiguity in the argument Laclau and Mouffe present. This is most notably present in the 4th chapter of their book. Here they present their ideas on the possibilities for a political project of the left. And here, they seem to shrink from their own discourse-theoretical radicalism. They put great effort in presenting something like a unity, a coherence, even a direction, within and among the pluriformity of current political issues. They propose the striving for democratic pluriformity as the uniting element of leftist political efforts. This however means that the social is not completely 'open' after all: there exist indeed all sorts of not-yet-democratic *structures*....So, for instance, they make a plea for connecting anti-racist and womens' struggles; *both* movements "oppose the system of the status quo...which represses homosexuals.....and discriminates women and blacks..."(Laclau 1986: 89). So, indeed the social incorporates a 'system'. Of course, we ought to distinguish here between an 'objective', pre-political system, and a 'hegemonic' system. Clearly, Laclau refers to this last type of system. Nevertheless, the 'openness' of the social has to be interpreted as limited. The interpellation of the subjects by a discourse is not that arbitrary after all; obviously shared experiences do play a role. This would suggest that the material basis for discursive interpellations is not as contingent as it seems to be in the radical discursive option - and also, it looks as if Laclau and Mouffe, be it reluctantly, *need* this type of 'foundation' if they do not want to loose the ground under politics altogether. This ambiguity partly explains the different tone between the 3rd and the 4th chapter: the chapter on the theory of discourse, and the chapter on politics.

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[32] That would be irreconcilable with their argument that *all* political positions result from articulations. Political positions never precede these articulations.

[33] Subordination for Laclau and Mouffe, is the relation of being subjected to the decision-power of someone else. Oppression in their terminology, is a subordination relation that has become antagonistic. See also Assies' contribution to this volume.

This problem is connected with the degree of 'pureness' which the discourse-theoretical option incorporates. Laclau and Mouffe assume that the articulation within a certain discourse indeed means the constitution of meaning. Even the determination of something as a "natural phenomenon...depends upon the structuring of a discourse field" (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 108). In spite of the suggestion that follows from this assertion, Laclau and Mouffe do not ignore or underestimate 'materiality'. Rather, they claim that discourses should not be conceptualized as speech but as *material* (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 108). The material however is not what restricts discourses, but rather discourses materialize in practices, in how we perceive material circumstances. The material is not something to be accounted for in the discourse, it is the other way around: the discourse absorbs the material. It is not the material conditions but the discursive 'balance of power' which limits and conditions our perceptions of reality and 'real' needs. Hence, material conditions cannot account for any stability of discursive dominance; discursive possibilities are not restricted nor facilitated by 'objective' opportunities. The essence of things is nothing fixed (Ramdas 1988: 96). Attaching meaning to things is 'open': "(T)he contingent subverts the necessary" (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 128). No restriction for any discursive option is accepted in Laclau and Mouffe's radical discourse analysis.

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[34] As a consequence, something like 'objective plausibility' does seem to exist in political mobilization, prior to the actual mobilization.

No doubt, taking such a radical anti-deterministic stand has worthwhile advantages. By 'deconstructing' all material, economic, 'objective' or 'neutral' foundations of political conflicts, Laclau and Mouffe theoretically make room for the analysis of political conflicts and processes in their own right. They explicitly acknowledge the *plural* in political struggles, and they go beyond the sometimes very forced attempts to submit the struggles of women, gays and ecologists to totalizing, 'objective' oppositions of interests.[35]

However, they pay a price for this: the subjective as the motivating and meaningful instance within social and political conflicts vanishes from sight. The subject no longer stands for unity, it is a dispersed entity. Laclau and Mouffe therefore use the term 'subject-positions'; thereby doing away with all immanent continuity and unity within the subject. Shared experiences, as the foundation of solidarity, disappears from their idiom. The same goes for the notion of 'alienation': they accept no such thing as a 'human essence', no 'authentic' identity, no immanent human right or dignity. Any argument referring to 'inherent injustice' or 'inhumanity' is excluded from their analyses, except when, as noted above, politics are at stake.

Moreover, they can only vaguely account for non-rivalistic *social* processes; dialogue, communication, group identity, group cohesion are notions that can only be thought of as elements of discourse. And discourses, as we have seen, always involve conflict. Laclau and Mouffe thus seem to be left with a *restricted* social logic: the logic that is caught up in the quest for hegemony. All social logic seems to have been converted into political logic. Internal group processes, the internal constitution of group identity, political learning processes, the complex reactions to processes of subordination (partly protest, partly internalization and adaption!), everything is being conceptualized as discursive conflict. In short: the *history* of groups and society is reduced to their actual discursive attachments. Does that not imply an impoverishment of 'the social'? Does that not mean that the actual -multilayered and complex- *causes* of conflicts become invisible? Would it not reduce the social to never ending contestation without any 'real' motive? Would that not make social struggles groundless, eternal....about nothing?

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[35] Of course such a position provokes the criticism of 'fragmentation'. Belden Fields states: "The kind of theorizing done by pluralists in the political science discipline has been a scientific discourse that reinforces compartmentalized thinking and delegitimizes systemic, political economy approaches by labeling them unscientific 'ideologies'. It would be sad and ironic if the same tendency were to arise from the ranks of neo-Marxists today when the strategic stakes in the anti-imperialistic struggle are at a more acute level". (Belden Fields 1988: 155)

4.3. Laclau and Mouffe on new social movements

The plea which Laclau and Mouffe make for a non-fixed and non-'positive' conceptualization of the social reflects their wish and conviction that the social is *changeable*. Observing apparently stable social relations, positions, identities, alliances, ideologies, institutions, sedimented patterns, we need not despair: all these petrified articulations are dis-articulatable when confronted with other, opposing articulations (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 113). They are not determined by the historical course. Independently of reputed historical 'facts' and determinations it is always possible to challenge what exists. Nothing is certain, the social is negative, open. And although Laclau and Mouffe are well aware of the strength of existing hegemonies, which account for historical continuity, they reject the notion that any domination might be temporally or permanently unassailable.

Still, the question remains as to what a competing articulation can be based on? What is it that gives content to the challenging articulation, when it is not the thing which was *already* the interest behind the protest *before* the counter-articulation? The argument Laclau and Mouffe present here exposes their theoretical problems. They call 'elements' the things that are not yet articulated, and 'moments' the things that are (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 106/107). In articulating practices, the transition from 'elements' to 'moments' is realized. The identity of 'elements' is of course undetermined; identifying them would mean that something pre-discursive ('objective') would exist. Still, they cannot be 'nothing': that would make them unsuited for any transformation whatsoever into articulated (political) moments. So, at the level of elements, Laclau and Mouffe hold that there are "complex forms of different positions among objects". However, this would mean that there do exist identities beyond articulation- even if one should argue that what is at stake here are *relational* and not *substantial* identities. For one cannot proclaim the existence of relations without the related components having some sort of 'nature'. Distinguishing between the 'entity' and the 'existence' of an object, as Laclau and Mouffe suggest (1987), does not help to solve this problem. If the relation between the two is arbitrary, then 'entity' is still without content, an imagery constructed 'post hoc'. If the relation is not arbitrary, than some sort of *identity* on the level of the 'elements' can no longer be denied.

However, Laclau and Mouffe are obliged to get rid of this pre-articulative 'level'; it would undermine their argument down to its very roots. Therefore, they maintain, those "positions among objects....can only be conceived as discursive articulation" (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 107). Hence, at the level of elements the identity of the things is again denied. But then again, what *is* it that is being articulated, transformed into 'moments'? Can one save the 'elements' by stating that "the status of the elements is that of 'floating signifiers'"? But that formulation is rather enigmatic. Is it a 'meaning' element which, in different patterns of articulation, can be evaluated and interpreted differently? Or is it, in the strictest sense of the word, 'floating', i.e. *nothing*? Or do I present the dilemma inadequately by suggesting this 'tertium non datur'? The authors seem to be looking for the solution in this direction when they explain that the transition from 'elements' to 'moments' is "never complete". (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 113) That opens the ways for research on the very complex and multi-layered terrain of 'translations' from 'real' experiences and needs to their political manifestation. Laclau and Mouffe however seem to have excluded this question before it was even posed; their eagerness to get out of the 'marxist impasse' led them to do away with the problem altogether.

This has influenced their attempt to make their alternative analysis relevant to 'new' political phenomena such as (new) social movements. Their analytical distinctions may well allow them to explain that social movements cannot be conceived of as reflecting objective interests and socio-economic determinations. But when it becomes necessary to explain what *does* motivate their performance, Laclau and Mouffe have little to offer as long as we remain at the level of discourse analysis (On the level of their political analysis things might be different). Stating that there is a plurality of -alternative- discourses which accounts for the variety of political conflicts the social movements put forward is not the same as explaining where these alternative discourses 'stem from'. Consequently, the proclaimed difference between 'old' and 'new' social movements cannot be accounted for either. All that Laclau and Mouffe have to offer is a *negative* explanation: new social movements do *not* express objective social oppositions. But what *do* they express then?

Slater (1985, 1988: 5-6) argues that the 'newness' of new social movements can be identified, with the help of Laclau and Mouffe's suggestions, as the 'breaking out' of traditional, representative political schemes. But that does not compensate for the negative character of this explanatory matrix. And it does not account for the content of the 'newness'. As stated above, in their political analysis Laclau and Mouffe in an inspiring way do try to account for the content of the 'newness' of the new social movements. Elaborating on this line of argument, Slater rightfully explores the strength of Laclau and Mouffe's theoretical innovations (Slater 1988). However, Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory in fact claims that the unity of socio-economical *position* and political performance (expressed in the labour movement) which was assumed in the past, was already illusory in former days. In the past as well as now this 'logic' has been delusive: "Workers struggles....obviously cannot be explained by an endogenous logic of capitalism, since their very dynamism cannot be subsumed under the 'commodity' form of labour power" (Laclau and Mouffe 1985: 80). Previously I dealt with their criticism of Marx and Braverman, which was very much in line with this position.

In other words, there has always been an autonomous dimension of politics, apart from economic logic and regularities, and beyond the representation of economic oppositions.[36] The form taken by the class-struggle potentially *always* breaks out of "boundaries traditionally drawn by conceptions of the political" (Slater 1988: 6). Hence, the fact that the class-struggle frequently has been presented as a struggle between different interests does not express the 'objective' basis of that struggle, but the inadequateness and restrictedness of the theoretical conceptualizations of that struggle!

As a result, taking the discourse-analysis approach at its word, we must think of resistance and critical practices as a mere local, contingent and particularistic endeavour. Some who have argued this reject any conceptualization of political struggle as a 'structured project'[37]. Nevertheless, the impression remains that Laclau and Mouffe do *not* support such an idea. This becomes clear in their circumscriptions of trends in modern capitalistic societies. Here, they speak about 'imperialist exploitation', about 'an extensive system of accumulation', and Mouffe (1984, 1988) distinguishes three crucial trends from which she tries to elucidate the origins of the new social movements: commodification, bureaucratization, cultural massification. The multiplication of the new social movements in that case proves to be not that 'contingent' after all.... However, Geras is right in his remark that "these concepts belong to another theory" (Geras 1987: 74).[38] Laclau and Mouffe refer to these development as being phenomena *about* which articulation-disputes take place, instead of conceptualizing these developments themselves as being 'open', undetermined, 'floating signifiers', 'easily dis-articulatable'. Out of this pre-discourse analysis 'bias', they draw the 'correct' conclusion: there is indeed a structural link between different contemporary social movements. There is a *structurally* different relation between, for example, the women's movement, the gay movement and the anti-apartheid movement and, on the contrary, the anti-apartheid movement and the labour movement, or the labour movement and the 'establishment'. Hence, there must be *other* than pure articulative relations between different types of movements. There must be commonalities, likenesses, overlaps, probabilities, structures. Not *everything* can be articulated equally easily....

Laclau himself dealt with the question of how their theoretical approach could be used to explain what new social movements are about (Laclau 1985). Paraphrasing his argument very briefly, he emphasizes, as explained above, that the identity of political agents cannot be accounted for by referring to their 'negatively privileged' position. Furthermore it can no longer be argued that history demonstrates something like an unilinear pattern of struggle, no one 'has history on his side'. This is as much so for the proletarian revolution as for any other political project. Finally the idea of political *representation* of 'real' contrapositions ought to disappear; the political *creates* the positions instead of reflecting them. These marxist assumptions have, un till now impeded an adequate understanding of social movements and (collective) political actors. They have prevented us from realizing that political issues *emerge* within political processes, and that these political processes can give birth to a broad range of positions and identities. That is what accounts for the pluriformity of the contemporary movements - they *produce* the broad range of contested subordinations, which thereby become challenged oppressions.

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[36] We have already noted this. Laclau and Mouffe state that the political is a *dimension* in itself, not a *level* of economic interests that has been transformed.

[37] See the interview with Laclau, in *Krisis* 25, december 1986: Niels Helsloot *et al*, especially questions 2 and 3.

[38] At the same time however, Geras' critique is extremely unbalanced. Reading it, one cannot avoid the impression that he is defending the 'real' and authentic marxist heritage against heretical and 'new-fangled' ideas.

However, as I have already argued, so far we only have a negative explanation, one which tells us how social movements *cannot* be accounted for. As to the question of *how* they originate, all we get are references to political plurality: "...it is indeed the diffusion of collective and participatory values and practices through an ever-widening range of sites of social struggle that gives us one (....) of the constitutive elements of the novelty of the new social movements" (Slater 1985: 6).

As a consequence, an evaluation of the items and issues which the (new) social movements put forward is not much facilitated by the alternative framework presented by Laclau and Mouffe. Their approach makes it possible to account for, by way of example, the subject-positions of the *barrio*-inhabitant being articulated with an anti-bureaucratic, an anti-corruption, even an explicitly anti-capitalist discourse, but also with discourses like those of conservative protestant sects or orthodox marxism-leninism, However, it cannot account for the *why* of these possible interpellations, nor for the probability that some discourses will stand above others, nor for the limits to articulations.

To go one step further and to try to give some *content* instead of only *variety* to the new social movements, it looks as if we have to abandon discourse analysis (as Geras has remarked) and try to explain the roots of social conflicts. This is exactly what Mouffe, thereby exposing the ambiguity of their theory, did in her discussion of 'trends in modern capitalism'. And that is also what is expressed is their formulation of a 'sex-gender system' (1985). Though instead of trying to elaborate the complex interplay between these structures and long-term processes on the one hand, and the emergence of political aspirations on the other hand, Laclau and Mouffe do their utmost best to avoid referring to *anything* that might suggest 'social structure' or 'essence' which could be seen as a 'cause'. Sometimes these attempts seem rather forced, for example their endeavour to support womens' struggles while at the same time denying the existence of a 'pre-discursive' system of womens' subordination: "It is.....possible to criticize the idea of an original antagonism between man and woman, constitutive of the sexual division, without denying that in the various forms of construction of 'femininity', there is a common element which has strong overdetermining effects in terms of the sexual division" (Laclau and Mouffe 1985:

118). But are not 'common elements' and 'overdetermination' terms that suggest that the social is not that open or amorphous after all? Something apparently *structures*, influences, forms peoples' experiences, which places limits upon the range of possible interpellations and articulations. Without admitting it, Laclau and Mouffe seem to be holding on to an 'objective' refuge in the middle of the crowded highway of articulatory interventions.

'Post-marxism', as Laclau and Mouffe have sometimes characterized their theoretical project, seems to be the victim of the law of the pendulum. Their attempt to overcome the simplistic or reductionist nature of the marxist account of the origins of political issues fell into the excess: they can no longer account for political stakes at all, unless they integrate the analysis and interpretation of social processes in their theoretical construction.

What the (new) social movements tell us is that 'mechanical' derivations of political identities and contents will no longer do. However, instead of reducing to the excess the role of 'conditioning factors' altogether, we ought to investigate much more seriously and thoroughly the fact that "between concrete conditions of existence and social struggles there are many mediations" (Kowarick 1988: 16). Obviously these mediations include processes that could not be denominated 'strategic' components. They are of a very complex, multi-conditional and interactive nature.

5. NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: A MAINLY SOCIOCULTURAL OR POLITICAL STRUGGLE?

In the *Introduction* I pointed out that the (new) social movements, among other questions, have drawn the attention of the social sciences also because of their possible role as (new) subjects of social change. With the proletariat increasingly reluctant to play the decisive role it had been assigned, the idea of a homogeneous, self-conscious and revolutionary working class as the actor of change crumbled and the search for a replacement began in earnest. With this 'conveyance of the red lantern', as it is sometimes exaggeratingly denominated, also conceptualizations of social change, as such, also altered. It is no longer taken for granted that societies go through fundamental modifications, when the positions of power are taken by other (class)representatives. Social change is no longer exclusively identified with politico-institutional shifts of power, nor is it necessarily confined to global, 'total' insurrection. Some authors now make a plea for exactly the opposite: it is not so much large scale social upsets which make a difference but the small-scale, private efforts towards emancipation by small groups and organizations. The scientists' maxim should be the acknowledgement of the value and importance of the individual projects and conflicts, not a distant view from above.[39]

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[39] Schuurman (1989) emphasises that focussing on the contribution of (urban) social movements to societal change is 'rather far fetched' if we look at their daily practices (12). However he seems to be doing away altogether with

The places 'where politics take place' have been extended. The traditional forms of politics have been debated and broadened to include not just the clever moves of the politicians, but also action by the movements in areas such as building collective identity.

Thus, both the conceptualization of, and the relation between state and civil society is at stake in the study of social movements. Consequently traditional marxist conceptualizations concerning these themes are subjected to critical examination. In addition 'new left' theses about the complete massification and commodification of society (e.g. the Frankfurt School) have been reconsidered. Above all, however, there is a debate about how the practices of the movements should be interpreted, once one has gone beyond traditional ideas about 'upheavals' of 'frustrated masses' and the 'overthrow of the power holders'. Are the social movements mainly new *political* actors who operate *strategically*, just as the 'old' political actors used to do? Or are they much more *social* or even socio-cultural phenomena, embodiments of conflicts over *identity* and culture? This controversy incorporates many subthemes which are directly related to this central question: for example it refers to matters such as who is the main adversary. In studies of (new) social movements, many suggestions have been made to identify this opponent as a fundamental element in identifying the nature of the movements. Are these opponents cultural or economic system guardians? Or do the state or local authorities qualify? Or are the issues of the struggles to be found at a more abstract level: institutionalized and petrified 'false' identities, instrumentalist social relations or/and internalized authoritarianism? Do the movements stress *material* demands, and therefore refer mainly to institutional re-regulation? Or are they above all marked by cultural transformation motives, e.g. changes in daily relations and patterns?

5.1. The identity oriented paradigm

I will first direct attention to the so called identity oriented paradigm. Elizabeth Jelin (1985: 17 *ff*) states that one of the crucial elements of the movements is the production of their own social relations. These social relations should therefore be placed at the centre of research activities. Quoting Melucci (1982: 7), she affirms: "The movements are no residual phenomenon of development, or manifestations of the discontent of marginal categories. They are not just the product of crisis or the ultimate effects of a dying society. On the contrary, they are the sign of the one in birth" (Jelin 1985: 19/20). She develops this conceptualization of new social movements further by stating that "maybe it is time to begin viewing the social movements from another perspective: it is not only about new forms of doing politics, but about new forms of social relations and organization: what is being transformed or raised is, more than a political, a social renewal" (idem 17). She is convinced that we are dealing here with processes that have an eminent *political* meaning, although this might not always

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the question of potential for social transformation.

be manifest at a politico-institutional level. "What is visioned is a new way of relating the political and the social, the public and the private world, in which the daily social practice is included in, and interacts directly with, the ideological and the politico-institutional". (idem: 18)

This relation between the social and the political is also what Evers (1985) focusses on. However, his contributions also points the central problem of this approach: the conception of the political. To begin with, Evers does not define his notion of the political very strictly (see Vink 1988: 5). At times, he emphasizes the power dimension and claims that the importance of the new social movements lies exactly in their rejection of this power centeredness. "It is my impression that the 'new' element within the new social movements consists precisely in creating bits of social practice in which power is not central..." (Evers 1985: 48). Here, Evers seems to imply that politics are *located* somewhere. On the other hand, Evers also maintains a utopian conception of the political; one in which the meaning of the new social movements in its full richness comes to the surface: "this small-scale counter-culture" is not something *outside* the political, on the contrary: "by reclaiming politics as a constant element within social life and not separated from it, this socio-cultural potential of the new social movements may turn out to be not less, but more political than action directly oriented towards existing power structures" (Evers 1985: 51). Here, the political 'is everywhere', it has no locus, but refers to an omnipresent dimension. However, the spearhead of the new social movements in Evers' view lies in their regaining of *identity*. "At the very fundamental level, this means a reassertion of one's own human dignity, *vis-à-vis* the everyday experience of misery, oppression, and cultural devastation" (idem: 56). It is this coming together of identity, social life and politics that forms the very kernel of this identity oriented approach (Cohen 1985: 690).

The broad social and cultural dimensions of society, in their view, do not just form the background for conflict, they are just as much the issues at stake as explicitly political dissent. Thus the strategic approach, both in the movements' actions as well as in the scientific reflection upon this action, proves to be too narrow and too impoverishing. On this basis the strategic paradigms are criticized: "(O)ne cannot apply neo-utilitarian, rational actor models to collective actors whose conflictual interaction is not restricted to political exchanges, negotiations, and/or strategic calculations between adversaries. This means that the logic of collective action entails something other than strategic or instrumental rationality" (Cohen 1985: 691).

The protagonists of this approach emphasize that not only the explicit conflict, but also the non-discursive, identity producing, and social relations components of social conflictuality should be taken into account. The conviction on which this plea is based is, at first sight, a rather paradoxical one: on the one hand, it is maintained that focussing on 'the political' provides too narrow a model for integrating these indirect conflictual issues into the analyses; there is more between heaven and earth than just strategy or action repertory[40]. It is also maintained that these socio-cultural dimensions are not only an extension of the political, or complementary to it. They are autonomous dimensions. At the same time and contrary to this, it is emphasized that these dimensions are political in essence, that they form the daily ideology and power relations which reflect social inequalities. Thus the social is, at its core, *political*, while at the same time the political approach proves inadequate in bringing to the fore the political layers of this -incorrectly denominated- 'pre-political'. Here, the ambivalent conception of 'the political' becomes clear: on the one hand, it has a *strict* meaning, referring to (strategically motivated) activities, tactics, etc, which are aimed at (some form of) gaining or maintaining power. Alternately, it also has a broad meaning, sometimes with a utopian overtone. Then, it refers to the influence of politics on the level of social and cultural practices and on psychological and interrelational dimensions, and it is dealt with as the sphere within which the new social movements 'fight': these movements act and think in a way which assigns great importance to mutual respect and participation, thereby 'in actu' challenging the intrusion of power in human relations.

However, 'politics' and 'conflict' become very vague with this approach. They tend to be overruled by a 'culturalist' treatment of the activities and motivations of the new social movements, in which the conflictual element tends to be disregarded.

This is very clear in Evers' work. He rightly emphasizes that social movements *should also* be studied in their "creating bits of social practice in which power is not central" (Evers 1985: 48). These practices should not be reduced to their power result, to their political effect. Instead of this, Evers wants to interpret them as "germs of a different social life less afflicted by the plagues of present day capitalism, in its peripheral version. Why should the experience of cooperation be illegitimate in a society marked by a ferocious competition for survival? Why should personal relations on a more egalitarian and less utilitarian base be considered immature in a capitalist environment that tends to convert all social life into market relations?" (Evers 1985: 50).

Although one cannot but sympathise with these laments, they are nevertheless problematic because of the inherent attempt to force the political out of all sorts of life-spheres. Here, obviously, the narrow definition of the political is at stake. Evers seems to want to rescue the 'real' life world from the claws of 'voracious' politics, and indeed he uses the verb 'to rescue' to stress his point (idem: 58). However, as noted above, he is ambivalent on this matter: he is well aware that "power relations penetrate every aspect of social life" (idem: 48). Thus, he does not seem to aim for the creation of a power-free enclave in which the idyll of egalitarian social relations would come into full bloom. Rather, he stresses the opposite reality: that "every power relation is penetrated by social life" (idem: 48). But social life being mutilated, what is at stake is the regaining of fragments of *identity* by means of establishing alternative social practices.

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[40] These last two categories are typical for a *political* focus in movement-analyses, as are: power-balance, articulation, risk-opportunity-balance, etc.

Identity therefore becomes one of the crucial parameters for analyzing the new social movements. At the same time, this identity should not be hypothesized. Power does not stop at the threshold of identity. Evers seems to be aware of this but nevertheless, at times, he seems to fall back into dichotomous terms, referring for example to an 'identity of its own" (idem: 55), and to terms like "recover" (idem: 57). He also states that "any domination is a theft of identity". Here the attempt to keep 'dirty' politics out of the movements' utopia becomes clear. But Evers not only dichotomizes, he also agrees that we are dealing with a quest for "fragments of identity....thus tacitly accepting the status quo on....other fronts...;for this reason there will be numerous contradictions inside as well as among these movements" (Evers 1985: 57).

This however does yet clarify the *conflictive* element in the quest for identity. Of course, the attempted identity is thought of as an entity of resistance in the midst of "political structures...(that) ....are a reproduction of the hierarchy within a capitalist factory" (idem, 61). Assuming that "culture, society, a meaningful human existence itself are being dissolved and reduced to market relations" (idem: 62), Evers is in search of loci where "the non market elements within social relations...are being reappraised" (idem: 64). Still, we do not yet have an exact image of what constitutes the conflict, the experience of 'being done an injustice', that motivates people in "creating spaces for the experience of more collective social relations, of a less market oriented consciousness, of less alienated expressions of culture and of different basic values and assumptions, these movements represent(ing) a constant injection of an alien element within the social body of peripheral capitalism" (idem: 51). Major questions remain: why -and how- does this take the form of a conflict, if it is not political in the sense of involving striving for power? How -and when- does the conflictual form of it come into existence? And how do these practices, as practices of resistance, have an impact at the level of what is thought of as 'mutilated and mutilating power politics'? Would it not be more plausible to assume that the new identities must and will develop, *intertwined* with power relations and *within* the given structures of 'instrumentalist' political parties? Should, therefore, *inter*action with the surrounding society not be incorporated in conceptualizations about the identity the movements aim at?

5.2. Identity: the forsaking of politics?

Many of the researchers associated with the identity oriented paradigm shun attempts to explain the political impact of the socio-cultural struggle of the new social movements. This is easy to understand: their task is to demonstrate that the social practices of these movements have the effect of repelling power and rivalry-centered politics. Their contributions therefore often include vivid tirades against the superior power of the political institutions, said to be one of the main causes of social problems[41]. Their explanations of the new social movements therefore often refer to the "discontent with the all too obvious incapacity of the existing institutions to successfully tackle the contemporary crisis in the human condition" and to the "disillusionment with modern politics" (Sheth 1983:2). Their contributions are not marked by glowing defenses of the change potential and resilience of the traditional political institutions - to put it mildly. "The party-system, the organized democratic processes and the regular bureaucracy are in a state of atrophy" (Kothari 1984: 550). They no longer have confidence in the possibilities for participation of this type of collective decision making: "participation gets translated into clientage, small crumbs are thrown off the national 'cake' during (or just before) an election, and promises of more to come are made. Increasingly, the poor and the helpless get trapped into this closed pyramid of participation. With this, participation -like development- becomes a legitimation of centralized government, dismantling of intermediate structures, a regime of law and order, and repression" (Kothari 1984: 543).

Grassroots initiatives and base-organizations are the alternative to this corrupt heritage; they not only stand beside the traditional institutions, they also challenge them by giving shape to alternative practices within their own organizational reach. Some authors emphasize that this is a practice which is aimed at offering an alternative to (rivalist) politics as such. Others place more stress on the attempt to find another form of 'doing politics'. Sheth, for example, speculates on the question of whether "...(these) grass-roots movements will have consequences...(such as the)...creation of a new politics" (Sheth 1983: 17). It is his conviction that *intellectuals*, being better and more extensively informed people, could contribute to the more global influence of these movements: "given the input of knowledge and information, what at present looks like a vague conception of a new transformative politics may acquire a clearer definition and concrete programmatic content. In brief, a macro vision is the prime need of these groups and movements, and this can be satisfied only by a growing partnership between activists and intellectuals in the process of social transformation" (Sheth 1983: 23).

Although this option could easily be questioned because it ignores the problem of 'experto-cracy' (something the movements *are also* fighting), and because it neglects the problem of the link between micro-organization and macro-influence, still it is illustrative of one of the crucial dilemmas that mark this approach: the need and desire to change politics is undeniable - but so is the impulse to turn away from it.

Authors who sympathise with this last tendency and make vivid pleas for the rich and vital potentialities of the movements, especially at the socio-cultural level, thus often tend to neglect the *conflict* and prove unable to explain the impact -if any- of the movements at the political level. Melucci illustrates this most vividly: he emphasizes that the movements ought to be interpreted as social and cultural *processes*, dedicated to the 'production of the participating man'. However, referring to *political* impact, he does not take things much further when he states that "(t)hey make society hear their message and translate these messages into political decision making, while the movements maintain their autonomy" (Melucci 1985: 815). Here, the metaphor tends to replace the analysis. For *how* can a society 'listen'? Shouldn't we give much more importance to *interest* when trying to explain how and why people take in some information and block out other? Society is no forum, it is a complex of inequalities and conflicts. That is to say it is permeated with *politics*.

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[41] This is a point also made by Offe. He refers to a "structural incapacity of existing economic and political institutions to perceive and to deal effectively with the global threats, risks and deprivation they cause" (1985: 847).

Kärner is equally vague on this point, even acknowledging in an offhand manner that the old, rigidly organized political institutions are inevitable to achieve political *results*. His position is that the movements "cannot substitute for political movements with fixed programmatic declarations, and with a probably inevitable strong organizational structure" (Kärner 1983: 32). This looks like stripping the movements of their political character altogether, as the terrain is already occupied......

Uribe makes a similar point. She states that state and civil society are indeed, and ought to be, complementary. However, one cannot escape the feeling that taking *politics* away from the movements as least partially motivated by the problems of explaining and giving theoretical account of the political results the movements might achieve. For this reason, she (and other authors) tend to disconnect the movements' activities from the political conflicts and political decision making. Explaining the movements as a mainly identity-directed phenomenon therefore tends to lead to a model in which a 'peaceful coexistence' between state and civil society is -tacitly- defended. There exists a "fundamental complementary difference that connects them; (an acknowledging) of the others' existence, precisely in its 'otherness', as a condition for the existence and reproduction of both parts in their own terms and rationalities" (Uribe 1987: 55). Here the impasse becomes obvious: while rightly extending the field on which the movements ought to be understood and interpreted to the socio-cultural, and emphasizing the critical stand of the movements towards traditional, 'alienating' politics, at the same time it proves extremely difficult to elaborate the -still most crucial- political dimension of the movements. In this manner civil society is stripped of its political and conflictual, as well as permanently *institutionalizing*, nature, in an attempt to construct a niche for a 'concrete utopia'.

Some authors who sympathise with the approach have invested a lot of effort in the attempt to resolve this problem. However, they differ a great deal in their elaborations. Rodrigo Baño, for example, is one of the researchers who tries to find solutions by distinguishing several levels on which the political (subordinating) systems function. He connects the movements' activities to the daily and community level of the overall political structures which they are challenging: "The *barrio* movement constitutes itself as a concrete totality, resisting the individualizing and abstract state character. But the constitution of this concrete totality and the general communitarian aspirations take shape without referring to the specific labour-capital relations that are in the centre of the systems' definition" (Baño 1984: 59). Although not at all ignoring the specificity and the importance of the movements, Baño ends up being rather pessimistic about the movements' contribution to social and political transformation. Referring to Chile, he is convinced that as soon as political processes are legal again, "this transformation will signify a displacement of the social movements...which will be substituted by the political parties" (Baño 1984: 57). This way, Baño tends to *avoid* rather than to tackle the problem of political effect. Acknowledging the special importance of the movements *on their own account*, he nevertheless keeps this importance disconnected from the 'real' political effects and transformations - except from the somewhat gratuitous remark that of course their influence will indirectly go beyond their concrete existence.

Cohen (1982), in this respect, tries to go further. She identifies as a central theme something which is usually taken to be at the antipode of social movements: institutionalization. Civil society, she stresses, is not the anti-institutional (would-be anti-state) terrain of the 'free' social. What we therefore need to do is to analyze "the institutionalization of civil society, which constitutes the normative continuity of modernity and is the terrain of social struggles" (Cohen 1982: 35). In a way she brings politics closer to the social movements, instead of looking for explanations of how the movements can be brought to politics. Civil society ought to be interpreted as political to its very core, and in its institutions. This is where the movements intervene: not incidentally but by striving for institutionalization. This is how they penetrate the 'dirty' and rivalist normality they fight against. Continuity and institutionalization thus prove to be not all that alien to the movements, and there is no need to disqualify them as the 'enemies' terrain'. This way an opening is made to think more concretely about how the movements become political. Their impact is not just fluid or mobile but sedimented in social institutions.

Still, Cohen's option has some drawbacks as well. She barely takes into account the fact that the movements' most vehement criticism is aimed at reified, abstract and petrified forms of institutionalization. She does not differentiate between types of institutions: official state institutions however ought to be distinguished from less rigidly maintained continuities in organizations and practices that take an oppositional stand. It is right to take these resistance practices out of their institutional vacuum and to think of *institutionalized* dissent: "a specific relation to institutionalized norms by the members of a society, entailing reflexivity and the possibility of changing one's criteria within the horizon of possibility of given institutionalizations" (Cohen 1982: 36/37). It seems wrong, however, to take the institutionalized form as a homogeneous entity. The movements' institutionalizations ought to be analyzed, *acknowledging* their specific viewpoints and practices. Moreover the gap between local/private and national/general is not bridged simply by drawing attention to patterns of institutional development. However, we might have here a crucial corrective to the dominant anti-institutional focus.

The need and importance for further reflection on this theme is well illustrated by another, older, text of Tilman Evers, in which the political impasse of the culturalist focus becomes clearly visible. In this text Evers deals with the problem of the tense relation which exists between, on the one hand, a new "subject in the making" (Evers 1984: 146) and, on the other hand, "the chances of new social movements to impose relevant and stable transformations upon existing social processes within the framework of traditional political confrontation" (idem: 143). He is not too optimistic about their chances in this last respect and is very worried about the danger "to get trapped in the parameters of the present society" (idem: 148). However, by expressing these fears, he also tends to separate the potentialities of the movements from social and institutional reality altogether. By defining these potentialities as mainly socio-cultural (and oppositional in *all* respects) the picture becomes somewhat unclear. It is as if the innovating potentialities of the movements can only be realized if they remain disconnected from, and 'ahead of' social reality. The potential is situated outside the social relations against which they develop. This type of renewal and critique thus also seems to imply isolation. The political challenge is shunned because it means getting involved in corruptive, power-centered politics. Thus the renewal 'runs ahead' of society instead of intervening in it. Here the potential inertness of the identity oriented approach becomes clearly visible. The shortcomings of this position become even more striking when we observe the practices of the movements: they have almost daily confrontations with and interact with the 'old' political bodies. They do not confine themselves to the creation of new, idealistic social forms at all...they have a conflict to deal with! They cannot and should not run from politics: "Together with the specific and the new the movements claim....the dialectics of what they originally tried to escape...is also present" (Pérez 1987: 146). This also means that movements are, in the end, confronted with *society* and not just with their group interests. To present this transition as a 'loss of identity' means equating social participation with 'loss of authenticity'. But an authentic identity would, in such a case, mean advocating a disintegrated society, and it is questionable whether such a society could be democratic.

Before dealing further with this question of the connection between the 'old' and the 'new' political components and potentialities of the social movements, I will first briefly discuss a competing approach: the political process analysis.

5.3. The political process paradigm

Although this approach can be considered as competing with the one just discussed, it did not come into existence as a critical response to it. Nevertheless, its claim is that it is precisely the *political* dimension that deserves attention when studying (*new*) social movements. The approach, however, is not homogeneous. Probably the most elaborated version is the resource mobilization theory, a theory mentioned earlier. In this tradition, attention is centered on the power-configuration, and the changes therein, as a result of collective action. Much less attention is directed to the sociocultural and group-constitution processes (Cohen 1985: 684 *ff*). The basic assumption of the theory is that frustration or discontent can never account for social action and protest. There is often reason to be discontented, but collective protest is more the exception than the rule. Therefore we have to concentrate on *resources*, on the 'opportunity-threat' relation which the discontented group is confronted with, to be able to understand its decision to take, or not to take, initiative. Obviously, the presupposition is a *rational* subject, a subject able to calculate, to weigh the risks and chances of its action. The more individualistic variants of this approach are closely connected to the tradition of 'rational actor analysis'[42]. The more sophisticated and *social* variants are much closer to an analysis of the 'choreography' of political conflict.

Charles Tilly is of the opinion that the analysis of repertories is especially important to explain collective action. We need to understand which are the means of action available to those involved to be able to understand their decisions. "The term social movements applies....to a sustained *interaction* between a specific set of authorities and various spokespersons for a given challenge to those authorities" (Tilly 1984: 305). He stresses that no 'essentialistic' stand should be taken: it is the interaction itself, constituted by available action media, which accounts for social conflict: "all that is necessary is a logic of the situation which limits the options, entails some likely costs and consequences for each option, and provides us with enough information to begin the reconstruction of the decision rules the participants followed" (Tilly 1984: 308).

Obviously this type of theorist is strongly committed to presenting a simple, plain and 'elegant' model to explain social movements. Aya still seems to find Tilly's formulation too complicated: "To explain why people do what they do, you make a simple model of their choice situations, including their intentions, capabilities and opportunities to act" (Aya 1984: 325).

This type of analysis of course can be most readily applied to the 'politics of conflict'. Neither the analysis of structural causes, nor changes in inter-group socio-psychological or interrelational elements enjoy a strong position in their explanations. However, subtle differences do exist. Oberschall, for example, connects 'resources' more explicitly to social position and distributive structures than do Tilly and Aya. Nevertheless, his main focus of interest remains the management of available resources. Thereby he focusses on the mobilization of "material resources - job, income savings - ...(and)....non-material resources.... authority, moral commitment, trust, friendship, skills" (Oberschall 1973: 28). This gives the impression that he digs deeper than mobilization- and conflict-analysis. Still, in the end, he reduces his broad range of imaginable resources again to the course-of-conflict dimension: "Mobilization refers to the processes by which a discontented group assembles and invests resources for the pursuit of group goals...When one party to the conflict succeeds in obtaining some hitherto unallocated resources, these resources are no longer available to the opposition" (Oberschall 1973: 28). This however is rather hard to understand as far as resources such as 'trust' and 'skills' are concerned. Here the calculating subject once again suppresses the significance of group analysis. This is also shown in his explanation of the reasons -"by and large selfish"- people do get involved in collective action, even if there is a good chance for them to benefit from the results if they do *not* participate: "Since most people do derive tangible benefits from group membership, they will weigh very carefully the advantages of losing group membership and being exposed to group sanctions" (Oberschall 1973: 175).

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[42] See for example Geeraerts 1988. He is heavily influenced by Olson, an economist who takes 'profit-maximization' to be the codex of all human behaviour. See also paragraph 2.

The line of argument illustrates that this approach does indeed focus on *political* analysis, e.g. on the processes that are marked by a strong *strategic* overtone. This can be shown by pointing to the typology of possible conflict outcomes, as presented for example by Kriesberg: "Four types of outcomes can be distinguished: withdrawal, imposition by one side, compromise, and conversion" (Kriesberg 1973: 206). This typology puts the political character and negotiation-centeredness at the core of the model. Socio-cultural dissent and changes in collective identity do not surface: they are sometimes only in part discursive and often non-negotiable. This is neglected in Kriesberg's suggestion: "Conflict outcomes are often preceded by explicit negotiations. The negotiations are explicit insofar as the parties communicate symbolically with each other in seeking an agreement about an outcome which will be mutually accepted" (idem: 209).

Thus the themes which the identity-oriented approach values and esteems so strongly, such as the cultural and socio-psychological elements of the conflict, changes in commitment, self-identification and attitude, remain out of view.

This type of analysis seems to be mainly suited to contribute to explanations of the 'course of conflict'. However, it tends to ignore the important non-discursive and socio-cultural dimensions of social conflict and social movements. These dimensions both condition and intervene in movements' emergence and direction to a decisive degree.

To conclude, it looks as if the analysis of social movements should be as multilayered as the phenomenon itself. It ought to make use of various types of internally interrelated explanation to give a more or less full account of the how and why of these movements. It seems plausible to distinguish three levels of analysis: the analysis at the level of structural explanation ('objective causes'), the analysis at the level of 'course of conflict' (interactive conflict and mobilization of resources) and, maybe the most complicated and underdeveloped terrain, the analysis of the *intermediate* level which asks how 'conditions' are transformed into competence, identities, experiences, attitudes that facilitate and/or hinder collective action. In the next section I will elaborate this somewhat further.

6. NOTES ON A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

6.1. Some suggestions for conceptual orientation and differentiation

Reconsidering the argument thus far, we are forced to conclude that a coherent theory of social movements, combining both depth and breadth, is beyond reach.

Not only does the range of manifestations of movements present a bewildering variety, especially when we take into account the contexts in which they emerge, but the various approaches also confront us with near incompatibilities. Not only do the assumptions and emphases differ but also the basic terms and conceptualizations of the object as such.

However, as I pointed out, some important encounters and points of intersection can be distilled out of this variety: some themes occupy a larger space in the field then others. Moreover the question of the *impact* of the social movements on social transformations of various kinds seems to be the guiding concern, the main intriguing element about them, the theme which can illustrate both the connections and the disconnections. We have considered two discussion themes: one which is concerned with emphasizing the (structural) background of the emergence of the movements versus emphasizing the actual performance and (interest-*creating*) actions; secondly, the debate about the socio-cultural versus the political nature and potential of the movements. On both issues we came to the conclusion that none of the extreme positions does justice to the high degree of complexity and specificity of each movement. Obviously we need a theoretical approach which neither *neglects* a priori aspects such as background and causes, collective identity building, mobilization and leadership roles and interaction with other social forces, nor simply *multiplies* them: indeed, movements are marked by *special* features and factors which may give rise to a-proportional- greater importance of certain aspects. Thus, we need to look for a model in which both mechanical derivations of political action from 'objective circumstances' as well as a complete 'vacuum' for political articulation practices are avoided. Concentrating on social movements, this would mean a theory that enables us to make sense of the existence of these movements without falling into any form of either 'class reductionism' or 'discourse reductionism'. [43] We would also have to avoid any a priori exclusion of both the socio-cultural and the explicitly political nature of the movements. Instead, we need to explain the how and why of the *specific* composition movements take in *specific* situations. More concretely, we have to concentrate on the continuities between the daily practices in all their multiplicity and the more explicit political conflicts that are both influenced by, and themselves modify this daily normality. This leads us to the following considerations: there exists no rupture between the daily performance of a group and its -possible- political protest. The rationality that 'feeds' both types of action is not completely different. It is the merit of the so called 'new social movement approach' to have drawn attention to these continuities.

There is no principle difference between the values and orientations that are internalized in daily performances and the ones that dictate political action; both are a mixture of socio-cultural and strategic components. However politics is aimed at change. Daily life on the contrary incorporates (partial) confirmation of what exists. Still, when change is at stake the daily dispositions are not exchanged for political ones. Rather, the transformation of dispositions itself is put on the agenda.

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[43] Becker 1985.

There exists no direct causal relation between structures of inequality and collective political resistance. Processes such as the creation of self confidence, mobilization, conscientization and articulation mediate and modify the entry 'in politics' in a decisive way. However, these processes do not *create* the instances of conflict, they mediate the *potential*.

However, it might be true that the new social movements approach shows its weakness here. In its focus on the non-institutional and non-power-orientation of the movements, which implies a critique of the *instrumentalist political* focus, it easily falls into the extreme of 'culturalism' and over-valuation of the 'autonomous practices of creating new social relations'. The drawback of this emphasis can be elucidated in two ways. First, it could easily be demonstrated that this approach omits the explanatory terms for dealing with the *conflictual* content of the movements' aspirations. Although, in global terms, it is of course admitted that the movements oppose domination, the arena of the confrontation remains absent. As I argued in preceding sections, these interactions and confrontations are not given much attention except in their role of drawing a cleavage between the 'concrete utopia' from the 'corrupt, alienating society'.

Secondly, when directing our attention to the movements themselves, we observe their -sometimes- striking inability to 'be in touch' with politics. Instead, the 'anti-politics discourse' often dominates. To be sure, this does not *necessarily* mean that total isolation and impotence rules. However it could be argued that an over-estimation of this discourse occasionally leads to cynicism and indifference towards representational forms of democracy which, in turn, produces complete political abstinence.

The 'moral' is both clear and trivial: any theoretical and research attempt 'to make sense' of social movements should neither focus on nor exclude, any possible dimension of explanation and emphasis.

Ideally, and with no more than global programmatic pretentions, the following model might bring the elementary dimensions of any social movement to the fore. To understand social movements, we need a theory that operates at three levels:

A. The theory ought to be able to make statements about social structures and global changes. This 'objectivity' however should not be analyzed as a level 'above' or 'below' daily practices; rather, it is in these daily practices that it is constituted permanently. The structure is not 'obeyed', it is constituted permanently. [44] The theoretical options at this level express an idea about potential conflicts, they do not make 'objectively true' statements: "In discussing the underlying bases of social conflicts we will be considering theoretical constructs. The bases lie in the mind of the student of social conflict, not necessarily in the mind or heart of the persons observed" (Kriesberg 1973: 24). Thus 'objective injustice' is an abstraction; we always have to take into account the subjective, cognitive as well as emotional, interpreted content of this 'injustice'.[45]

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[44] See Bourdieu 1972: 203 *ff*.

B. This refers to the second level of the theory: it has to account for the *identity* of the group. It should provide explanations of the 'story' of the constitution of the group (i.e. it ought to pay attention to the history of groups and their perceptions of that history; this way theses about the 'flow of articulations' could be corrected), how feelings of discontent and injustice, how collectively felt congeniality, how the feeling of shared interests, how the 'subjective' foundation 'under' political and organizational initiatives come into existence. Of course, these explanations ought to be connected to the theory about the 'objective basis' referred to above.[46]

   This level of the theory should do justice to both the discursive[47] and the non-discursive aspects of group constitution. It ought to elaborate elements such as patterns of perception and thought, taste, matrices of interpretation, life styles, cultural features, habits,[48] segregation mechanisms[49], socialization, social integration, fear, uncertainty, wishes, as well as elements such as the constitution of interests and acknowledgement of interests, reflection on social position, elaboration of information, problematization of social relations, the acquisition of a terminology that is able to delegitimize the existing, consciousness about contradictions in demands, etc.[50]

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[45] Kriesi remarks: "The structure of interests beneath a latent political potential is...not 'objectively' given; it is a product of 'theoretical reflection on needs' " (Kriesi 1985: 29). Thus he refers to *hypotheses*. Their value can be evaluated, when those involved begin to experience their situation in a way that corresponds to the theorists' suggestion. This process, however, is not just one of *acknowledging* but also one of modifying and elaborating.

Bourdieu, though staying with class as a category, makes a similar point: " 'Class on paper' has the *theoretical* existence that is that of theories: insofar as it is the product of an explanatory classification, entirely similar to those of zoologists or botanists, it makes it possible to *explain* and predict the practices and properties of the things classified - including their group-forming practices. It is not really a class, an *actual* class, in the sense of a group, a group mobilized for struggle; at most, it might be called a *probable class*, inasmuch as it is a set of agents that will present fewer hindrances to efforts at mobilization than any other set of agents". (Bourdieu 1985: 725).

[46] Here the importance of Bourdieu' s work could hardly be overestimated.

[47] See Kriesberg 1973, Wilson 1973, Bourdieu 1986, Canclini 1984, Foss/Larkin 1985.

[48] Bourdieu stresses that it is not 'consciousness' which is the crucial element in understanding political articulation. He states that much more attention should be paid to aspects "below the level of explicit representation and verbal expression. More like a class unconsciousness than a 'class consciousness' in the Marxist sense, the sense of the position occupied in social space....is the practical mastery of the social structure as a whole that reveals itself through the sense of the position occupied within that structure. The categories of perception of the social world are as regards their most essential features, the product of the internalisation, the incorporation, of the objective structures of social space" (Bourdieu 1985: 728).

[49] Anthony Cohen 1985: he emphasizes that it is not inter-cultural but intra-cultural processes that play a decisive role in defining oneself, and in determining the separation and distinction from 'the other'. Thus this cultural self-definition is in part 'conflictive'.

C. Finally the theory ought to be able to give an -interactionalist- interpretation of the birth, dynamics and course of conflict. This is where 'political conflict theories' prove their value. Attention should be given to organizational structures, mobilization patterns, the acquisition and insertion of resources[51] and the development of participant commitment.[52] The *active* interventions of 'the context' should also be taken into account. How opponents and third parties exercise influence on organization building, the self definition, the list of demands (if any) and the forms of action should all be examined. Also the political conjunctural features, the media, the shared concepts of the opponents should be clarified, and all this should be related to the assessments which those involved make of their chances and risks. Finally, the results at the institutional level as well as on the matter of distribution arrangements ought to be considered.[53]

These three theoretical levels of course are intimately interconnected. However, they refer to different aspects of the complex whole involving the causes, birth and course of social movements that have different 'rhythms' and a different duration. Also, there are no direct and causal relations between processes which affect the different aspects. No unilinear model will therefore be available to connect and build continuities between the dimensions we distinguished. Both the option of a necessary transition from one level to the other as well as the option of a complete contingency are, in my view, untenable. Any attempt to assess the possible impact, the 'working through', the political 'weight', the 'democratic contribution' of the movements, should be able to provide explanations at each of these three levels.

6.2. New social movements

Sofar I have repeatedly argued against pretentious theoretical generalizations. Instead of biting off too much, I have made a case for approaches that try to elaborate the specific, multi-layered causes, conditions and performances of separate movements and, where this term is more appropriate, organizations. Consequently, *new* social movements do not just reflect a universal 'newness'. They also reflect specific social and circumstantial conditions, contradictions and opportunities. Moreover, they reflect the influence of a 'new' approach which, more than in the past, emphasizes themes such as autonomy and egalitarian internal relations which in turn influences the movements' self understanding.

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[50] See Foss/Larkin 1985, especially chapter 5.

[51] See Kriesi 1985, Oberschall 1973, Kriesberg 1973, Tilly 1984, Zald/McCarthy 1979, McAdam/Zald/McCarthy 1988.

[52] Kriesberg 1973, Cornelius 1973.

[53] Foss/Larkin 1985, Piven/Cloward 1977: the 'post conflict analysis'.

Nevertheless, it seems overdrawn to deny all content and significance to theoretical, synthetic suggestions about common features characterizing many of the contemporary social movements.

More than other past and contemporary social movements, the new social movements give expression to the continuities that exist between daily life and political performance, Their 'being a group' and 'being an organization' not only refers to their making demands, challenging, mounting a political protest, but also to dimensions and layers that are generally considered private and pre-political. Although this might not always be found explicitly and purposefully in their program, they express their concerns in such a way as to exclude technocratic, cosmetic or ad hoc solutions. Even when their demands are concrete, their dynamics are more embracing. New social movements, sometimes more implicitly than on purpose, generate skills and competencies, which are valued as a worthwhile element of their practices. It is not only concrete *results* that count but also learning processes beyond the events. Hence, the continuities between pre-conflict social structures and practices, and the manner in which the purposeful organization to find solutions and/or to fight subordination emerges, are more visible in the *new* social movements than they used to be in the 'traditional' ones.

These features account for the interest being shown in the socio-cultural dimensions -and transformation potentials- of the new social movements. However, new social movements do not remain 'pre-political'. Their political content may take different forms. One of the striking aspects of this is often their rejection of traditional political skills: formalism, career orientation, abstraction, astuteness. However, they do *not* represent a total and categorical aversion to all forms of institutionalization, nor do they embody complete organizational anarchism and 'dynamism'. In the end, they cannot *afford* to take such an anti-politics stand....

Thus, summarizing my previous argument, *new* social movements do not embody contingent political articulations. They are social answers to new social conflicts. These differ from purely economic conflicts as they encompass aspects as bureaucratization, 'experto-cratization', commercialization, cultural uniformization and individualization, the deepening of integration mechanisms of the private life spheres into socially standardized patterns, state legitimacy crises caused for example by its inability to provide basic supplies or to guarantee ecological or subsistence security, increasing destructuring of 'natural' gender, class and status relations, and so forth.

Hence, while agreeing with the argument that purely *structural* (economic) causes cannot account for the 'politicization' the new social movements gave rise to, we should not exclude structural causes and conditions altogether: new social movements are not contingent with respect to global social contexts. However, as I argued, the other extreme is also misleading; as if their organizational form is a logical outcome of the structural determination. On the contrary, the organizational and interaction dynamics form an aspect of substantial importance.

The *newness* of the new social movements refers to all three of the dimensions discussed in the preceding section. At level A, it seems plausible that the movements respond to *new* forms of exploitation, repression and discrimination. At level C, they express new forms of protest. And, maybe most substantially, at level B, the level at which group and identities are constituted, they document new ways of connecting *social* and *political* dimensions.

Such vague characterizations might not *decisively* define what is at the heart of the 'newness', and might not make clear-cut distinctions with respect to traditional social movements. This, however, matches reality: new social movements do not distinguish themselves from traditional ones in a clear cut, categorical way. They mark tendencies and gradual transformations, referring to changes (in their similarities as well as in their differences) in the societies in which they emerge and act.

6.3. Social movements in Latin America: the urban basis and focus on democracy

In previous sections, I tried tentatively to account for the content of the 'newness' of the movements, as this is a crucial feature of current debates. Now, with the help of these previous elaborations, I will try to shed some light on the interpretation of the contemporary movements in Latin America.

At a preliminary level, two things ought to be taken into account. First, *urban* social movements, with good reason, are the ones that have been most extensively studied in recent decades. This reflects the multiplication and increasing importance of organizations that are rooted in, and often explicitly refer to, the urban context in Latin America. This urban context, and the urban conflicts associated with it, has currently acquired great importance in Latin American social, political and economic evolution. Still, we should not forget that rural conflicts (e.g. land reform) also persist, and that other movements and organizations, like those pushing the interests of women, youth or the unemployed, have been attracting much more attention. In some ways these latter movements might be purer exponents of new social movements than the urban ones. Still, the urban movements too are marked by such features as grassroots democracy and non-institutional forms of action. Their multiplication in recent decades has been impressive.[54]

The second striking aspect of the debates in Latin America on the social movements is their connection to the problem of democracy. In Latin America, it has become neither self-evident nor an article of faith that democracy can provide a secure basis for social transformation. On the contrary, democracy often seems to have meant a 'risk' to those occupying privileged positions, that change would indeed occur. Thus, in Latin American history, democracy has often been a restricted, manipulated, legitimizing arrangement, allowing and facilitating the continuation of privileges for the few. However, even this restricted democracy also proved 'risky' at times: it would make it possible for the repressed, the exploited, the discriminated, to gain access to decision making. Often, this is the point at which democracy was stopped, sometimes prorogued when it developed into a challenge for the economic and political elites. This continuously threatening 'theft of democracy' from those who are entitled to expect most from it because of their numbers has decisively influenced the current discussion on (new) social movements in relation to democracy. However, no consensus exists. The field of debate could more adequately be described as 'between fear and hope'.

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[54] As explained in the Introduction, this is what motivated us to limit ourselves to urban social movements in our illustrations as well as in the bibliography.

Generalizing, one could suggest that the movements, having emerged on many occasions in situations of authoritarian rule (of a military kind or not), seem to open the way for two opposite scenarios. On the one hand, because of their experiences, they symbolize a profound and substantial democratization project that might contribute to making the democratic system less vulnerable, breaking with the weakness and discontinuity of democratic rule in Latin America thusfar, on the basis of more profound, more intensive and 'substantial' political participation. On the other hand, to the degree that they contribute to a democracy that chooses to dismantle the reigning inequalities and injustices, fear is expressed that they may also contribute an intensification of the permanent threat to future democratic systems. As some politicians have put it: the movements should not 'provoke' the right-wing and military forces, if they want democracy to be stable...

To understand this type of speculation and doubt, I will try to further elaborate the options being debated with respect to the prospects of democracy in Latin America as related to the performance of the social movements.[55] To be able to present these debates in an 'organized' way I propose the following distinctions: (1) Authors (who seem to be) of the opinion that, in the long run, the new social movements will prove to be -and already anticipate becoming- the *replacement* (or, more modestly, disqualification) of centralized, state dependent, formal parliamentary democracy; (2) authors whose primary concern is the problem of the *relation* between social movements and groupings and traditional state institutions, including political parties; and (3) authors who deliberately neglect the 'sociocultural features of the movements because they are convinced that they are not at all decisive in the field of social struggles and change, and who therefore confine themselves to assessing of the movements on a *political scale*.

This triad -just to remind ourselves- is not constituted by really existing 'groups'. Great internal differences exist. The only point in making these distinctions is to systematize the argument. I also limit myself to the contributions of urban movements, though not rigidly so.

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[55] It is useful to remind ourselves that the academic debates on the connections between democratization and social movements do not, of course, have a precise counterpart in the movements' actions and self-understanding. However, explicitly or not, the movements often do present ideas and 'models' for democratic procedures. This is what the academic community is hoping for and where it attempts to join in.

(1) Many reasons seem to justify a very critical, indeed skeptical stand towards the democratic tradition which Latin America has inherited. If democracy has indeed the pretention to give shape to concrete commitments and participation of the population in collective concerns, then Latin America seems to provide us with an example of how it ought not to work. Many researchers therefore take a negative stand towards this tradition; they are very critical of formal, party centered, institutionalized democratic arrangements. These arrangements have been easily abused by the wealthy and powerholders, as well as easy to abrogate when their interests were occasionally threatened by 'real' democracy. 'Grass roots-democracy' is advocated as an alternative. They have confidence in small-scale, egalitarian social relations as a model for real, substantial democratic forms. This orientation sometimes gives rise to a strong rejection of formal and parliamentary democracy altogether, and stimulates their involvement with the social movements. One could perhaps say that the autonomy focus reflects the frustration derived from a history of populism.

However, some of the researchers who share this orientation have an eye for its weaknesses. For example they point to the missing concept of the institutionalized exercise of power, and emphasize that power penetrates the grass-roots organizations as well. There is no idyll to defend, and the less rosy aspects of rank and file democracy should not be covered up by the cloak of charity.

Consequently, as they themselves admit, this approach lacks an elaborated concept of the state and of the impact of the social institutions in force. It tends rather to criticize state action so radically, as to neglect the influence of the state and to dismiss its necessity and merits. As a consequence, it cannot account for the why of military intervention, nor contribute to a counter-strategy against further military adventures. Thus, when it comes to translating their options into politico-institutional realities, it often presents little of substance. The autonomy of the movements, in this view, is often presented as something of decisive value. However, as a consequence, it often proves difficult to elaborate how and when the 'how-it-works' of the movements intervenes in the 'how-it-works' of the state. Often, the analysis breaks off with sympathetic statements such as the one which advocates a "non-instrumental relation between leadership and rank and file" (Evers 1981: 1391). Again and again, the protagonists of this perspective stress the importance of innovation within sociocultural dimensions, "of a relational, symbolical and normative order, and with an ethical and aesthetic range" (Uribe 1987: 49), and claim that these new organizational forms "could be understood in general as a process of democratization or redefinition of democracy" (idem: 53). In its critical impulse, of course, there is nothing wrong with such a claim. However, the movements do not want to be simply critical in *content*, they want their ideas to have an *effect* as well. Therefore their rupture with the politics they reject cannot be absolute. So, although it might be very true that the movements present us with "a model of society of which the angular stone is subjectivity, the elimination of alienation, and self-realization, beginning in the daily life" (Kärner 1983: 31), this should not be interpreted in such a way as if this daily, subjective innovation is not penetrated by and has to penetrate in strategy, power, discipline. The problem is to account for the *how* of the interventions and interactions, while attempting to avoid the trap of 'self protection vis à vis the conflict' (Huamán 1986: 28).

(2) The challenge, thus, is the following: if it is inadequate and unrealistic to focus *only* on the sociocultural 'battlefield' of the social movements and on their 'autonomy', then how can we 'make sense' of their political meaning if we still wish to preserve the importance of this sociocultural critique and renewal? How can we assure that their option will *contribute* to a new, substantial democratic form, instead of only *representing* it?

To do so, we have to acknowledge that sociocultural renewal and political confrontations are intertwined. This makes it necessary to develop a concept of the functioning of state apparatuses in relation to the movements' activities. One crucial element of this conceptualization of the state has to be its decentralization: instead of opposing the movements and the state in a dichotomous manner we have to see the state as a complex, internally differentiated interactional system. This is how we can account for the impact of *social* and *cultural* innovations *within* state functions: these are also constituted by social and cultural processes, and not only by strategic-functional parameters. It also makes it possible to attach the idea of a democratic culture to concrete institutional arrangements.

Federico Arnillas attempts to give more concrete content to these processes by investigating how the (urban) movements in Lima managed to penetrate the municipal institutions. He claims that the relations between the movements and the local state can no longer be conceptualized as antagonistic; the movements have been able to push their interests so far as to ensure them a prominent place on the municipal political agendas: "The direct demands (of the popular sectors) appear explicitly in the political debate, and give rise to political promises[56], if not actions which, incidentally, strive to meet these needs. Indirectly, this supposes a considerable presence of the popular sector in the political space" (Arnillas 1986: 34).[57] Still, Arnillas stresses, this does not mean that the popular movements (in the end) are reduced to political pressure groups; they maintain their autonomy at important levels such as their collective unification and solidarity. To give an adequate explanation of such configurations, Arnillas states that we need a "perception of a popular subject which is much more complex, and which cannot be comprehended in terms of class-categories. Notions like generation, gender, cultural identity, etc, begin to be regarded as indispensable for understanding them" (idem: 38). However, as far as the complex transitions from these levels of (collective) subject-constitution to political competencies and results are concerned, Arnillas offers very little.

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[56] Although the term 'to make offers' might suggest so, Arnillas does not refer to the reconstitution of clientelistic relations here.

[57] We have to remain aware that Arnillas refers to the Peruvian situation. Movements traditionally are tightly connected to parties there, and left parties hold strong positions in (local) government.

Ballón (1986) also attempts to dissolve the contrast between the functioning of the state on the one hand and social life and identity on the other. He wants to elaborate "the possibility of creating and accumulating power, not referring to the state as the privileged space but referring to the level of micro-social relations" (Ballón 1986: 13). And he adds: "The general (political) and the specific (social)...are...intrinsically connected dimensions" (idem). Ballón makes a plea for a much more connected comprehension of social and political processes as a necessary precondition for explaining how organizational activities that are not confined to political pressure motives still *work* at a political level. However, Ballón also fails to bring things much further than this programmatic option: "the relational universe and the interaction of the movements with the state, with other social movements, with political parties and with other institutions of the system, requires an explanation that starts out with the recognition of the specificities of the time, rhythm and contents of every movement as of the relations within them" (idem: 18).

(3) Finally we can distinguish a group of researchers which is not at all impressed by the sociocultural 'renewal and newness' of the social movements. In the end, according to their standpoint, it all boils down to power relations. They concentrate on the strategic capacities which the movements embody. In their analyses, terms such as influence, rivalry, power, alliance, planning, tactics, programmes, leadership, resources, etc, predominate. Of course, this does not mean that they do not consider critically the weaknesses of traditional democratic systems. Still, they concentrate on the politico-institutional features of the movements, and often recommend alliances between the movements and the (progressive) political parties and trade unions to increase their power. Their stand towards the sociocultural dimensions of the movements is often skeptical; it causes depoliticization, and "dispersion,...instability, irregularity" (Borja 1984: 4). The only respect in which the movements really count is that of being "political agents, directly or through the political parties" (idem). As a consequence, this approach confines its assessment of the movements often to their strategic success or failure and, more specifically, to their ability to combine and unite their urban demands with 'basic' social contradictions: the principal role is still played by labour and capital.

Obviously, this last approach contributes little to a thorough and adaptable reflection on the importance the movements might have for both the nature and the stability of democratic rule in Latin America. Moreover the first approach, based on the notion of standard bearer and advocate of a *renewed* democracy, showed an inability to account for the concretization of the movements' democratic practices on a more global scale.

The source of hope seems to lie in the most complicated and, at first sight, disheartening scenario, the one which rises to the challenge of clarifying *how* the social movements can relate to politics and democracy. The answer to this question will certainly be multifaceted. Influences at the level of -democratic-culture, public debate, the confrontations of social identities with political spaces and representations, as well as at the level of explicit negotiations, the exercise of pressure and intervention in parties, qualify -among others- as possible aspects. As this variety suggests, a democracy which lives up to its pretention will not be a static system, inherently, is will also be a *project*. One of the main goals of democratic projects in Latin America, besides fighting excessive social inequality and injustice, will consist in creating a democratic culture, in which coercive intervention in *social* debates, disputes, quarrels, and even unrest and disorder, is considered intolerable and illegitimate. The 'normalization' of participation and institutional guarantees for this participation are aspects of a democratic culture which proclaim the illegitimacy of military intervention. The primacy of the right to non-violent chaos above coercive order cannot be proclaimed and maintained by politics alone. In the movements, citizens learn, embody, affirm and defend their right and ability to make their own politics.

Still, we do not know yet precisely *how*. This is the challenge for both the movements and those who ponder on their moves.

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MOVILIZACION
TE DISTRITAL DEL VASO DE
SAN MARTIN DE PORRES
DEFENSA DE LA VIDA

Mobilization for the 'Glass of Milk'-Program (Lima/photo: Gerrit Burgwal)

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE ON URBAN MOVEMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA[1]

Gerrit Burgwal

The idea of compiling this bibliography arose in the course of our discussions on urban movements in Latin America. A majority of recent studies focus on one particular movement and, at best, provide an overview of the literature concerning one particular country. Although the wish and the need to compare these findings with experiences in other Latin American countries is expressed, many attempts to find comparable studies from other countries come to grief upon the wide scattering of uncatalogued articles, papers and so-called *mimeos*. This bibliography is meant as a time-saving device for students of urban movements as well as an encouragement to comparative studies of the phenomenon.

To begin with, over five hundred titles are listed in alphabetical order of author's names. Then an index is provided according to country as well as to the six main themes figuring in recent debates, discussed below. Furthermore, a list of journals with special issues on the theme was drawn up as well as an inventory of periodicals in which articles have appeared, with references to the research centers behind these publications. Although the bibliographical register is certainly not exhaustive and new titles will have appeared by the time of publication, we are confident that it covers most - and at least the most important - publications that have appeared until the beginning of 1989.

From the outset it should be clear that only 'theoretical-empirical', including case-studies, have been included. Purely theoretical works were left out. Such studies are amply discussed in the two preceding chapters and references can be found in the respective bibliographies. The listing includes studies of urban movements in the broad sense of the term. As argued elsewhere in this volume, we find it useful to distinguish 'social movements' within the broadly defined field of collective action because it enables us to retain a critical dimension in studying such collective action. However, this criterium has not been applied in the organization of this bibliography which covers a broad spectrum of types of movements as well as of theoretical approaches.

Listing the types of movements that have been excluded probably provides the clearest insight into what can be found in the bibliography. Studies of what are manifestly labour movements, peasant movements, guerrilla movements, ethnic movements, ecological movements or national liberation struggles have not been included. Of course there are overlaps and clear-cut distinctions are sometimes hard to make. For instance, studies of the *comedores populares* (communal kitchens) have been included in our listing, although quite often they link up explicitly with studies of women's movements. On the other hand, many anthropological studies which focus on issues like kinship relations and *compadrazgo* in popular neighborhoods are not mentioned although they are of obvious relevance to the understanding of 'local level politics'.

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[1] I wish to express my thanks to the co-editors Willem Assies and Ton Salman who helped write parts of this chapter.

Moreover, it should be noted that in the early 1970s the term 'urban social movements' was not yet in vogue but that many studies of popular neighborhood organizations appeared which shared the concerns of what are nowadays called 'urban social movement' studies. Specific interest in 'urban social movements' is a relatively recent phenomenon. One of the reasons for the emergence of the subject is certainly the rapid spread of this type of movement in Latin America over the past two decades (cf. Friedmann 1989c, Schuurman 1989). On the other hand, it has also been argued that in the 1960s no specific attention was devoted to 'urban social movements', not because they did not exist, but rather because they were deemed less important by prevailing social theories (cf. Alvarado 1982, Machado & Ziccardi 1982). On the one hand, functionalist inspired studies took the problem of social integration in 'modernizing societies' as a starting point. This gave rise to the early theories of 'marginality'. It was argued, for example, that out of the then reigning 'chaos', "Latin American man emerges disintegrated, as an irresponsible being, as a purely passive subject of the action of authority and 'higher powers'" (Vekemans & Giusti 1969-70). Oscar Lewis, at the time, developed the idea of a 'culture of poverty'. These views of the 'marginals' as disorganized, isolated, parochial, parasitic, either apathetic or prone to political extremism have effectively been dealt with in Perlman's (1976) critique of the *Myth of Marginality*. Marxists, on the other hand, would rather focus on movements that are clearly class based, including the prominently present peasant movements, which were categorized according to their 'political' or 'pre-political' character (e.g. Quijano 1979). Eventually, marxist inspired versions of 'marginality theory' were also developed (e.g. Nun 1969, Sunkel 1970, Quijano 1974). The events in Chile and the subsequent work of Castells may be said to mark the beginning of the era of the 'urban social movements'.

Reviewing the literature, we found that six themes seem to be prominent in the current debates and, as already mentioned, the works listed in the bibliography have been indexed accordingly. In the following, we will briefly outline the issues covered in the thematic indexation. The themes are:

1. The relations between urban movements and class struggle.
2. The issue of urban movements and the state.
3. The diversity and pluriformity of the movements with regard to their aims, means, organizational development, etcetera.
4. Urban movements and socio-political change.
5. The socio-cultural impact.
6. Views on the role of 'external agents', such as political parties, the church, NGOs and other 'organizations of civil society'.

1. Urban movements and class struggle

One of the starting points for many of the analyses of urban movements in Latin America in the 1970s was the notion of 'urban contradictions'. The aim was to determine the way in which such contradictions would give rise to urban movements and how these movements could actually have an impact on systemic features which, in the last analysis, give rise to the urban contradictions. The notion of urban contradiction was generally operationalized in terms of collective consumption, for which Castells's (1977) example was followed. It was argued that, on the one hand, the development of capitalism and the concomitant spatial agglomeration of the labour force requires an extended provision of urban services. As such services - indispensable for the reproduction of the labour force - tend to be unprofitable for private capital, the state, attending to the long term interests of capital, would become responsible for these items of collective consumption. Ultimately, however, the 'indirect wage' provided through the state is dependent on taxation of private enterprise and thus eats into the profit rate. Hence the contradiction facing the capitalist state in simultaneously attending to the requirements of accumulation and preserving its legitimacy which give rise to phenomena like the 'fiscal crisis of the state'. Such problems, it was argued, provide the context for the emergence of urban movements. In the Latin American context they have special prominence due to the relatively late, peripheral, process of industrialization: accumulation on a 'poor base' (Moisés 1982) and the particularly 'predatory' and 'savage' form of capitalism (e.g. Kowarick 1980).

Although the operationalization of the notion of urban contradictions in terms of 'collective consumption' has given rise to various comments which we will touch upon later, Jacobi (1987) has argued that one "cannot bypass the fact that the majority of the urban movements in Latin America, and specifically in Brazil, reveal a struggle for the redistribution of the means of collective consumption". The real problem with the concept of urban contradictions, he argues, is not that it has been a-critically transposed to Latin American reality, along with the concept of State Monopoly Capitalism. It is the economism of these notions, that is the presuppositions from which they spring, which poses the real problem.

It is out of the dissatisfaction with economism in its various forms, such as 'epiphenomenalism' and 'class reductionism' (cf. Pansters 1986, Slater & Pansters 1986), and the allegedly mechanistic view on the relations between 'objective conditions' and consciousness (Mainwaring 1987: 140-144) that the search for more 'actor-oriented' approaches began. Slater and Pansters (1986) draw much of their inspiration from the work of Laclau and Mouffe (1985) and their post-structuralist theory of the 'discursive conditions' for collective action. Others have turned to the 'moral economy' approach (e.g. Nunes 1989), to the 'methodological individualism' of resource mobilization theories or to new versions of alienation theories (e.g. Evers 1985, Kärner 1983), including Touraine's (1977, 1981) sophisticated view that alienation derives from the appropriation of a society's 'cultural model' by one class and that the oppositional role of social movements arises from the desire of the dominated sectors to make their self-image coincide with their social image. Castells himself would, in the course of time, turn away from the approach in which "collective action is usually seen as a reflection of a crisis created by an economically determined structural logic", arguing that as a result, "we are left with urban systems separated from personal experience; with structures without actors, and actors without structures" (Castells 1983: xvi, cf. Lowe 1986). Castells's rejection of his earlier views is related to his rejection of the role of 'the party' which he had seen earlier as the mediating factor between structure and actor. As Assies points out in his contribution, this shows that even in the earlier marxist studies, the relation between structure and 'superstructures' was not taken to be simply one of mechanical reflection. Therefore even if one rejects the idea that 'the party' provides the 'correct line' it cannot be assumed that every 'self-conscious' movement makes 'good sense'.[2] The structure/actor problem, on which further comments can also be found in Salman's contribution, cannot be solved that easily.

The issue is related to the question of the 'subject for anti-capitalist struggle'. The Salvadorian sociologist Mario Lungo (1987: 73) has criticized the tendency to bid farewell to the working class as it has emerged in some of the recent 'new social movements' studies. "By no means", he states, "do I wish to state that the movements of women, blacks, pacifists, ecologists, homosexuals and others are not important, or cannot have any effect, or that they have to deny part of their identity. By no means. It is simply that the principal (though not the only) grave-digger of capitalism is and remains the organized working class". With reference to urban movements, this view of the matter was reflected in Castells's earlier emphasis on the need for urban movements to articulate themselves with the struggles of the working class in order to become *social* movements effectively addressing the 'primary' contradiction between private appropriation of surplus and the socialization of the production process which gives rise to 'secondary' urban contradictions. On the other hand, Pansters (1986: 21) has argued that "in classical Marxist discourse all forms of struggle that do not take place in the primary movement of capitalism, i.e. the relations of production, are seen as secondary. The historical specificity of Latin American cities however makes it impossible to accept such a view". The distinctive feature of the Latin American situation is characterized by Pansters as one of 'incomplete proletarianization'. Thus the *pobladores* do not derive their identity from their insertion in the relations of production: "Their communality is expressed in the sphere of income, that is the level of the household which constitutes the major entity for the reproduction of labour power". This links up with the arguments presented by Evers, Müller-Plantenberg and Spessart

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[2] These are the problems which give rise to the 'paradox of emancipation'. If, on the one hand, it is held that collective self-emancipation is desirable but, on the other, that the consciousness of those who are expected to emancipate themselves is systematically distorted and manipulated as a result of domination which impedes them from recognizing their 'real interests', either emancipation is out of the question if the 'autonomy' of subordinate groups is to be respected, or it cannot be 'pure' self-emancipation.

(1979) and Moisés (1982) about the class heterogeneity of popular neighborhoods and the probability of the development of an anti-capitalist consciousness. To put it crudely, the argument is that in view of the historical specificity of Latin America, social protest cannot but be 'pluriclassist' - that is involving the 'popular classes' -, in contrast to the countries with a clearly defined class structure. Class is thus turned into a 'secondary issue' whereas the issue of collective consumption and the ensuing antagonism of 'the people' to the peripheral capitalist state is turned into the 'primary' one (see also Assies's contribution).

Before turning to the issue of the relation with the state, we should observe that the central role which the notion of 'collective consumption' has come to play in the analyses has been subject to various comments. Lojkine (1981) has already argued for a broader definition of 'urban contradictions' that would not focus exclusively on collective consumption. However his approach, inspired by the theory of State Monopoly Capitalism, hardly differentiates between the state and capital and thus automatically, the central role of the state as the target of mobilization is retained. Borja (1975) has pointed out much more clearly that urban contradictions also include issues such as ground rent which involves private capitals rather than being directly related to the state. Of course the issue is a complex one. Squatters may occupy 'private' terrains and then either face the violence of the owner or that of the state, or both, or may strike a bargain with one of them against the other (e.g. Vellinga 1986). Once the issue is settled, it is followed by the collective problems of drainage of the terrain and the 'individual' problem of constructing a house, for which materials, again, may be acquired collectively by pressuring the state into setting up a 'self-help' housing program. Others have pointed to the use of mobilization concerning issues of 'individual consumer goods', such as the *Movimento do Custo da Vida* in Brazil (Evers 1981) and communal kitchens that have recently emerged in Peru and Chile (e.g. Wesemael-Smit 1988).

2. Urban movements and the state

As has become clear from the previous discussion, it was largely as a result of the historical specificity and the heterogeneous class structure of the Latin American countries that such a central role was attributed to the relation with the state. It was argued that the heterogeneous popular classes derived their popular identity from their opposition to the state (Moisés 1982). Evers, Müller-Plantenberg and Spessart (1979) wrote that "given that, for most of the population in Latin American countries demands for adequate living conditions are incompatible with the existing form of capitalist development on the continent, such demands are, in the final analysis, directed against capitalism as a social relation of domination. Even so, the main target for these demands in the sphere of reproduction is the state". In these analyses it often was too easily assumed that the relation to the state would always be one of pure antagonism.

However, the state not only relies on repression in perpetuating its domination, but also attempts to cope with urban movements in different ways. Burgess (1982, 1986) has argued that in dealing with this problem, pluralist theory is rather inadequate because of its exclusive focus on integration and on institutionalized forms of articulating demands, even at a time when political life on the continent was increasingly characterized by repressive regimes. Marxist theory, by contrast, has focussed too much on state-repression and non-institutionalized forms of articulating demands. What is needed, he argues, is a theoretical framework which encompasses the domination-integration and domination-repression functions of the state (Burgess 1986: 29). Since the state determines access to public resources, it can use this power as a control mechanism and maintain political and economic domination over the urban masses. Burgess distinguishes three types of domination-integration. First, he mentions state support for self-help housing and points to the individualistic ideology behind this approach which tries to isolate the people, promotes a petty-bourgeois mentality, channels their discontent and attempts to neutralize it by offering sporadic help to alleviate the worst conditions. The second form of domination-integration is the attempt to control popular organizations by integrating them into a vertical and hierarchical state structure. Vertical integration, rather than horizontal articulation, has of course a divide and rule effect. The third form is the use of state resources for partisan political purposes through a complex interaction of patron-client relationships. One form of clientelism is *ventajismo*, that is the use of state power and resources to advance the cause of the governing party among low income groups at the expense of the opposition. It often goes together with *paralelismo*, the setting up of parallel institutions to compete with popular organizations in which the opposition is firmly entrenched.

If Burgess has made clear that the state does not only rely on repression in coping with the urban poor, Banck (1986: 536) has criticized his conception of clientelism for turning it into a "self-propelled system of status quo maintenance (that) holds society and popular neighborhoods in its grip" and makes it analytically difficult to account for change. While not denying the strong status quo tendencies of clientelism, he claims that it is neither timeless nor static. Focussing on the Brazilian case, Mainwaring (1987: 152) has argued that "paradoxically, the very success of the movements in challenging traditional political practices eventually led them to become more exposed to these traditional practices". He goes on to argue that initially the movements were met with repression, but that subsequently the state was forced to develop a strategy to respond to them and that at that point, clientelistic practices became more widespread. Therefore, he asserts, cooptation of an established movement implies some exchange between the state and the movement. Others (e.g. Leeds & Leeds 1978) have stressed that the relationship is a two-way process involving interests that are not always conflicting and where both parties have to 'give and take' according to circumstances. Such a view of mutual dependence, however, carries the danger of seeing the relationship as an egalitarian one.

It is in this context that one must understand the discussion of 'citizenship' on the one hand, and of the autonomy of urban movements, if they are to be *social* movements, on the other. In his synthesis of the work of Castells and Weffort (1978) on the theory of populism, Moisés (1982) has argued that the *Sociedades de Amigos de Bairro* which arose in the 1945-64 period in São Paulo came to consider the populist hand-outs as rights and were thus demanding citizenship of the participants. This also points to the ambiguous role which the state can play in legitimizing demands, on the one hand, and confining them through the verticalist, individualizing, policies of clientelism and populism, on the other. It was when these mechanisms of cooptation entered into crisis that the *Sociedades* came to play a more autonomous role in pressing for citizenship. The 'crisis of populism', of which the more autonomous role of the *Sociedades* was one aspect, and the subsequent military intervention remind us that the capacities for 'integration' and 'responsiveness' of the state are not unlimited.

It is as a result of the efforts to contrast the movements that emerged in the 1970s to those of the populist period and their subjection through mechanisms of verticalist domination-integration that the notions of autonomy and non-institutionalization took on such importance. In the eyes of students of the movements as much as in their own self-understanding, this came to be understood as the distinctive feature which made these post-populist movements into *new* social movements. So much so that any type of 'participation' or 'institutionalization' was equated with 'integration' and rejected out of hand with the argument that any reform only serves to strengthen the system (Borja 1975: 51, Castells 1977). This view not only contributed to obscuring the actual relations between the movements and the state (Cardoso 1983, 1986, Kowarick 1986, Mainwaring 1987) but also became rather questionable in the context of the democratization processes in various countries (cf. Espinoza 1984). Moreover, as Salman puts it, urban movements simply cannot afford to be as autonomous and 'outside' the existing order as sometimes has been suggested. Borja (1975:121) once observed that "integration does not derive from the concrete character of demands, nor from their negotiation, but from the demobilization of those interested, from their disorganization" and that is what verticalist strategies are aimed at.

If, on the one hand, more attention is being paid to the relative flexibility in the state's responses to urban movements, on the other hand the image of the state as a monolithic block in confrontation with an equally monolithic 'movements-block' has been questioned. In an early study, Borja (1975: 36) argued that in response to the needs of monopoly capital, the state and the local administrations must increasingly become strong and autonomous organs with respect to the population but that through this centralizing tendency, the local administrations even loose their efficacy as ideological apparatuses since they become incapable of even simulating 'citizen participation'. Recently various authors have paid attention to countervailing tendencies towards local autonomy and have argued that such resistance is less irrelevant than had been suggested in the structuralist-marxist studies and their fetishization of the moment of 'seizing power'. Thus, Pedro Santana discusses the issue of the local state and urban struggles in Colombia in the new *FORO*-journal, which will continue to highlight the issue. As to the Peruvian case, the articles of Lima's ex vice-mayor, Henry Pease, deserve attention. In his study of local government in Colombia, Collins (1988) points to the danger of stereotyping local governments in Latin America as traditional outposts of corruption and political clientelism that are neither responsive to, nor representative of broad community interests. In his research, he found that during the 1970s and 1980s, local governments, rather than being the targets, were often participants in, and intended beneficiaries of the *movimientos cívicos*. A considerable number of the local administrations have supported, organized and/or decreed so-called civic strikes, either through the municipal council or through the mayor or some other local government official who would subsequently quite often be the target of retaliation by the central state.

Such events point to the frictions and cleavages within the state which may also exist between or inside the various state apparatuses and which increasingly have drawn attention in research reports. Similarly, more attention is being paid to the 'relative autonomy' of state employees who may not only play a role in legitimizing the demands of urban movements but may also 'leak' relevant information or act as counselors (cf. Downs & Solimano 1988).

3. The plurality of urban movements

'Urban movements' is what one might call a 'catch-all concept' referring to different types and forms of organization with a variety of aims, means of action. The boundaries of 'urban movements' are not easily specified. They address a wide range of issues, not only concerning housing problems or local infrastructure, but also health-care and the preservation of popular medicine, public transport, education and nutrition. The means of action vary according to the issues as well as to 'the situation'. The illegal tapping of electricity, for instance, is a form of 'self-help' which may originally be an individual affair but may also give rise to collective action when the electricity company decides to intervene. Riots over public transport problems or the occasional looting of supermarkets are borderline cases since it is difficult to decide to what degree they constitute a movement.

Movements may be more or less long-lived. They may be very informal, without a clear structure or a very specific program or list of demands. In some cases they disappear once a specific demand has been satisfied, but there are many examples of more sustained activity and organizational development than 'life cycle'-theories sometimes suggest. After obtaining legal title to a squatted terrain, other issues requiring a collective solution may be addressed. Moreover, the organizations may develop into centers of community life as they begin to organize popular cultural events, broadcast local radio programmes or experiment with self-management. The thesis that neighborhood associations are always short-lived affairs, in contrast to workers' struggles which necessarily repeat themselves every year at the time of renewing contracts, thus does not hold in the way it has sometimes been suggested.

Nor does the idea that the struggles of neighborhood associations are entirely characterized by stubborn localism apply in any simple way. Although day-to-day struggles play an important role and are often scattered as a result of the many different problems to be solved and state apparatuses to be addressed neighborhood associations are part of a broadly defined 'popular movement' which manifests itself in specific conjunctures. Examples are the Brazilian *Movimento do Custo da Vida* of the late 1970s (Evers 1981), the Brazilian campaign for direct elections in 1984, the various mobilizations for democratization in Chile or the national and civic strike movements in Peru and Colombia.

This brings us to the issue of 'class alliances'. It should be born in mind that the notion of pluri-classism takes on a very different connotation in Latin America. In that context it refers to the heterogeneous class structure of the 'popular classes' (see 1.) rather than to alliances between the proletariat and the middle classes, as Castells (1977) has suggested. Mainwaring (1987) has pointed out that 'urban contradictions' have not usually contributed to bridging the gap between the middle classes and the 'popular classes' in Latin America while Boschi (1987) has recently paid specific attention to the newly emerging middle class associations in Brazil. Nevertheless, at specific moments, there may be a convergence towards common goals. However, using notions like 'popular classes' should not blind us to the divergences that exist among 'the people'. The same applies to the notions of 'community' and 'communitarian movements'. Such terms are 'constructs' that do not eliminate the actual heterogeneity in terms of status, class, political preferences or ethical choices and which influence the functioning of the movements (Cardoso 1983, Durham 1984, Unda 1986, Lesser 1987).

4. Urban movements and socio-political change

Most studies attempt to assess, in one way or another, the potential for socio-political change of urban movements. This remains an important issue, although the overdrawn expectations of some of the early studies have been toned down (Cardoso 1983 Mainwaring & Viola 1984, Mainwaring 1987). Some have even argued for removing the issue of 'change' from the definition of *social* movements altogether, to make the term apply to virtually any type of collective action aimed at 'solving felt problems' (Schuurman 1989). As has been argued elsewhere (cf. Burgwal & Salman 1990), we do not share this view.

However, if the initial studies asked what the contribution might be to a directly democratic alternative, the limitations of such a way of posing the problem became apparent soon. In many countries the question is not of direct relevance and the imagery of rapid societal transformation after the model of political revolutions, inherited from 1789 and 1917, has been extensively discussed. Over the years, and in relation to the problems presented by 'democratic transitions' after periods of military rule, attention has shifted to the question of possible contributions to the democratization of society and its relation to socialism on the one hand, and to what might limit the contribution of urban movements to such a project, on the other. Ruth Cardoso (1983) has argued that the urban movements in Brazil certainly play a role in marking the presence of the oppressed, but that control over the aims of the state apparatus and its operation are outside their scope. It is at this point that the controversial questions of the links between the movements and a broader political project, to the 'political system' in general, and the problem of 'institutionalization', crop up. Mainwaring (1987: 154), among many, has argued that "the construction of effective linkages to political institutions, especially parties", is of crucial importance if the movements are to become a more salient political factor (cf. Mainwaring & Viola 1984).

This is a thorny issue. Not only as a result of the movements' experiences with the domineering practices of many left-wing parties, but also because it relates to the problem of populism and clientelism. Castells (1983: 211) evokes the image of squatters as "guest citizens of the Latin American metropoles, as foreign immigrants are guest workers of capitalist economies". This situation makes Latin American movements vulnerable in relation to the political system, he argues. It is in this context that the issues of autonomy and cooptation have received such overwhelming attention and that the proudly proclaimed 'autonomy' of the movements that arose in the 1970s led to actual relations with the state and their development being overlooked.

Thus the assessment of immediate institutional effects which the movements may attain by themselves have been toned down. Nevertheless, Mainwaring and Viola (1984) point to the influence of the movements on party programs and on the political agenda, and to their ways of entering into local politics. Moreover, they have drawn attention to the long term effects of the movements on 'political culture'. They also focus on the development of 'citizenship', that is 'a set of rights that belong to an individual simply by virtue of being an adult member of a nation', and the erosion of the tradition of political elitism.

5. The socio-cultural meaning of urban movements

This last point refers to another dimension of change that has been most vividly debated recently, namely the socio-cultural meaning of the urban movements. One of the most clearest statements of the emphasis on this aspect is Evers's (1985) assertion that "weak and fragmented as they are, the new social movements thus hold a key position for any emancipatory project in Latin America. They are it....". And he goes on claiming that "their potential is mainly not one of power but of renewing social-cultural and socio-psychic patterns of everyday social relations penetrating the micro-structure of society" (Evers 1985: 44, cf. Kärner, 1983). Friedmann and Salguero (1988) have emphasized similar points in their sketch of an eventual, complete transformation of political processes commenting that "empowerment is one aspect of larger social processes in which the future is foreshadowed; more precisely, with their emphasis on reciprocity, mutual aid, solidarity, social learning, participation and egalitarianism, they are counter-hegemonic processes in the specific Gramscian sense". Rather than focussing on the political and institutional effects of the movements, these authors point to the attention to the 'subjective' effects of *empowerment* resulting from the experience of participation in the movements (cf. Friedmann 1989). The emphasis given to this aspect reflects the influence of the debates on the 'new social movements' and the attention to the 'politization of the personal'. At times, the focus on the 'internal processes' of the movements and the emphasis on counter-cultural aspects has led to loosing sight of their 'external' aims and the way these may be attained. The problem is obvious in Evers's assertion "the more power, the less identity, the more alienation".

In this respect Mainwaring's (1987) account, which takes into consideration the dialectic of 'internal' and 'external' aspects, seems to be more balanced. In a more down to earth fashion he discusses the possible long term effects of the movements on the authoritarian and elitist political culture in Latin America and argues that "the most significant political impact of the urban popular movements is influence on the reworking of the symbolic side of political life, the new understandings of authority and legitimacy". These changes, he goes on, are related to the development of a sense of identity and citizenship that, in the longer run, may contribute to significant changes in the institutional political order.

6. External agents

The last theme of indexation is one which, after the initial tendency to emphasize 'spontaneity' and 'autonomy', has gradually received more systematic attention. 'External agents' have often been found to play a crucial role in stimulating the organization of neighborhood associations and they remain important supports in subsequent development. The role of these agents, in particular the clergy and the NGOs, is one of giving advice on organizational, technical and legal matters, introducing themes for discussion and reflection on the modes of internal functioning of the organizations as well as on the effects of their activities within the broader political arena. The NGOs - particularly prominent in Chile and Peru - and the Church also quite often provide some of the basic infrastructure and both play a role in establishing contacts with other organizations and in the formation of broader federations. Although influential, these 'external agents' attempt to remain in the background and usually do not attempt to 'instrumentalize' or 'hegemonize' the movements in the way political parties have so often attempted to do. They understand their contribution as a 'pedagogical' and facilitating one.

The proliferation of the ecclesiastical base communities (CEBs) can serve as an illustration. They seem to have originated in Brazil in the early 1960s. According to Mainwaring (1986: 126) they now number some eighty thousand communities in which about two million people participate. Not surprisingly then, most studies of the CEBs have originated in Brazil, but they also seem to play a rather important role in Chile and Central America. As Levine and Mainwaring (1989) have pointed to, the prominence of these communities in the popular struggles depends much on the character of the local church organization. Thus, the rather conservative clergy of Colombia has not allowed the CEBs to play the role that they have played in other countries. Nevertheless, they observe that even in Colombia, participation in the CEBs has contributed to an increase in the self-esteem of the participants. Levine and Mainwaring emphasize that the CEBs have not arisen spontaneously, as has sometimes been suggested. They were intended as a means of strengthening the church and have almost always started as a result of sponsorship by the official church. Therefore, they warn, "to see them primarily as tools for political change (as the left has often done with praise, and the right with condemnation) is to overstate their political involvement and to misread their religious nature" (Levine & Mainwaring 1989: 209).

Not only the NGOs and the clergy but also other types of 'professionals' like teachers, social workers, doctors, nurses and lawyers contribute to the emergence and activities of the movements. Quite often, and to different degrees, such contributions are coordinated through their professional associations and are obviously not totally separate from their 'official career'. This is an interesting point in relation to the role of the executive techno-bureaucracy whose numbers have grown rapidly with the increase of state-interventionism in contemporary capitalism. In many cases their role is much more ambiguous than that of the simple executors of policies which have been developed at higher levels of the hierarchy. Their ideology of the 'rationality and neutrality' of urban planners may run up against the actual impossibility of real urban planning under capitalist conditions and this may produce a radicalization of these professionals. Eventually they may come to contribute to the legitimation and broadening of the actions of urban movements. Downs and Solimano (1987) have discussed what they call 'the relative autonomy' of public sector employees and point out that even under authoritarian regimes these people often play an important role in attenuating the adverse effects of official policies since they feel it their duty to serve the population.

A final aspect of this 'external agents-debate' is the *nature* of the relation between the movements and these external agents. This relation, as the literature suggests, may vary from instrumentalism (the movements as 'object of manipulation', backing up specific political or other commitments of the external agents) to one of expressing solidarity and providing assistance in various forms. The issue of 'instrumentalization' has been most hotly debated with regard to political parties. Some have argued that 'party politics' should be avoided to maintain autonomy and 'authenticity' (e.g. Castells 1983) but it is also felt that some form of 'political action' is indispensable to go beyond 'localism' and increase effectiveness (Coraggio 1985, Gohn 1982, Kowarick 1983, Singer 1980).

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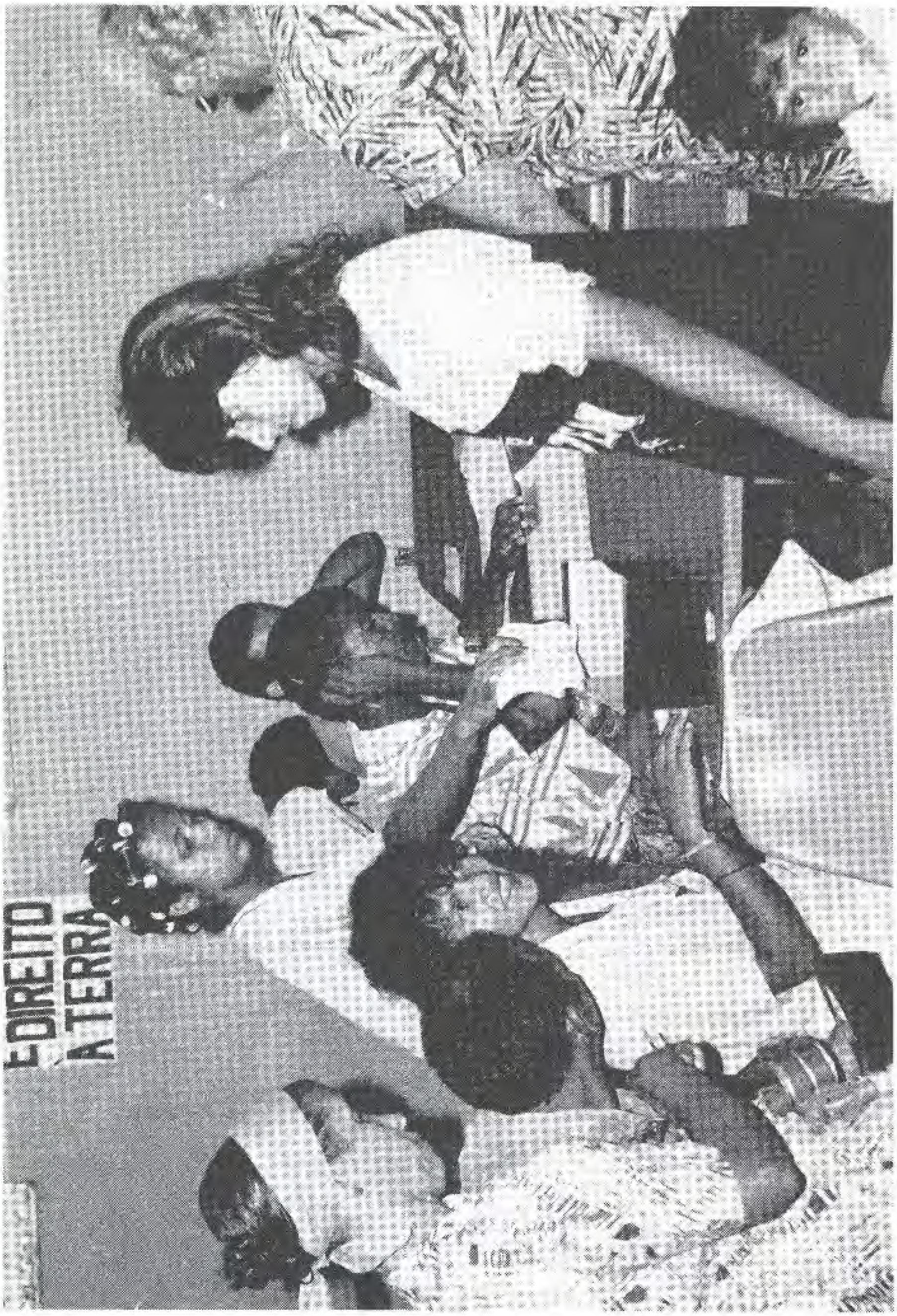
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Elections for neighborhood association (Recife, 1988/photo: Willem Assies)

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Over the past fifteen years, a rapid growth in the number of studies of *social movements, new social movements* and *urban social movements* can be observed. In Latin America in particular, research on urban movements has occupied a prominent place among the studies of popular mobilization. Assessments of the significance of these movements have ranged from dismissing them as rather irrelevant, since they do not directly address the class structure of society and lack real political influence, to their glorification as 'the new subjects for societal transformation'. The bewildering number of studies in this area often leaves students at a loss. This book traces the development and impact of some of the theoretical perspectives involved. Rather than providing ready-made solutions, the intention is to review the emergence of the questions under debate in a systematic way. It is only through an understanding of why things are questioned and in what context questions have become relevant, that an assessment of the debates on the different types of social movements becomes possible. This in turn, provides the basis for further progress in this field of study. The book provides a general discussion of theoretical perspectives and research strategies in the study of social movements and situates the debates on urban movements in Latin America within this broad context. A bibliographical overview of studies on Latin American movements and their thematical indexation provides a valuable aid to students of the subject.

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The authors are currently working on research projects on urban movements in various Latin American countries. Ton Salman is working on a research project in Santiago, Chile; Gerrit Burgwal is conducting research on neighborhood organizations in Quito, Ecuador; and Willem Assies is studying urban movements in Recife, Brazil.

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