

Exploring Occupational Factors Affecting the Labor Discontent in Kerman

Nozar Amin Saremi^{1,*}, Javad Khaje pur²

¹Assistant professor, Amin University of Police Sciences
naminsaremi@gmail.com

²M.A. student in policing information, Amin University of Police Sciences
khajepoor@yahoo.com

Abstract. In recent years, due to economic, social or trade conditions, labor environments have been subjected to discontent, tension and collective protest in form of gatherings, sit-in and so forth. This problem almost sometimes arises in Kerman, home to the highest number of mines including coal mines. This research was aimed to explore the trade factors affecting labor discontent in coal mines in the province of Kerman and has named most effective of which. The research starts with a main issue: what are the trade factors affecting labor discontent in coal mines in the years 2010-2013? and what are the appropriate guidelines for preventing from discontent? The methodology is descriptive-survey. The statistical population of this research consisted of 120 people, including 60 elites and labor experts in coal mines and 60 officials of labor unions in the province of Kerman, who were selected via full tally. Data were gathered through inventories on a Likert scale, and they were analyzed by using descriptive statistics and T test, Friedman variance analysis and single sample mean test. The final results indicated that in prioritizing trade variables affecting discontent, labor relations assume priority and after that, labor institutional factors, workforce and labor economics factors come next.

Keywords. Protects, Labor Discontent, Trade Factors, Labor Economics Factors Labor Institutional Factors, Labor Relations

1. Introduction

Today, one of the issues and crisis of our country is the subject of labor discontent which sometimes arises in various forms of protects, gathering and sit-in in most provinces. In recent years, due to economic, social or trade conditions, labor environments have been subjected to discontent, tension and collective protest in form of gatherings, sit-in and so forth. This issue has mainly happened due to mismanagement, non-payment of wages and benefits, lack of training, depreciated machineries, uncontrolled transfer, etc. Meantime, exploration, identification and provision of practical and concrete guidelines of trade factors affecting such discontent which, in most cases lead to labor gatherings and protests, have a major role controlling and managing such environments. The province of Kerman which is currently the second vast province is known as a paradise of mines. Of active mines in the province is the coal line which are mainly active in the north of the province and in such cities as Zarand, Koohban an Ravar, and the coal extracted from these mines is used as flea as raw material in the national iron factories. Currently, the province having 20 mines, 12 corporations and over 7600 laborers is not an exception from this such that, according to the social-political deputy of Kerman, over 1739 cases of discontent had happened in coal mines from 2010-2013.

When coal mines were prioritized in 2004, and all mine reacted measures were ceded to private contractors until 2007, fewer tensions would occur in the said environment due to the fact that there were old workforce string machineries and the attention they paid to them. However, as old forces were retired, either voluntarily or through incentives or by mans of coercion, or because of the depreciation of means and other factors since 2007, labor protects, gatherings and sit-in has risen; such that some of the gatherings would take 10 days and practically resulted in strikes.

Hence, through trade factors affecting labor discontent, one can adopt proper and rational planning and seek to eliminate these vacuums, and thus keep the labor environment and even the origin cities from a series of tensions and protests. This research was aimed to explore the trade factors affecting labor discontent in coal mines in the province of Kerman and has named most effective of which. The research starts with a main issue: what are the trade factors affecting labor discontent in coal mines in the years 2010-2013? and what are the appropriate guidelines for preventing from discontent?

The current research is significant in that in recent years, the social and economic trends of the country as well as polices such as the incomplete implementation of subsidies, liberalization and economic modification, especially, in line with the implementation of principle 44 of the Constitution and privatization of industrial unions, have aggravated labor challenges and issues. Privatizations in labor unions, spate of expulsions and coercive retirements of laborers, as well as legal

failures such as temporary work contracts have led to labor discontent. In addition to this, dehydration in Kerman and climatic problems have caused people and officials to pay attention to this sector, especially the labor union. The possible labor protests in these mines, besides engaging labor force as well as mines managers and officials, may engage a number of state organizations including municipalities, government offices, province officers, urban and provincial councils, labor commissions, and labor officers. Therefore, it is needed to identify trade factors affecting the possible gatherings and to provide guidelines so that crises are averted.

With respect to labor protest and discontent in Iran, many researches have been conducted by people, academic centers and organizations. In a research on examining labor actions developments in recent decades in Iran, Amin Saremi (2012) has addressed the role of structural developments in recent decades as regards work affairs, work force and work area (social and cultural developments). Findings showed that these factors have caused, in Iran, labor action to direct to peaceful relations from aggressive states. Noorbakhsh (1997) have examined the job satisfaction of Pars Khodro and found out that from among the current workforce in the Pars Khodro Staffs, spiritual values have higher position compared to material values in terms of job satisfaction. In a research on examining the relationship between job satisfaction and education level and service of staffs at Communication Company, Rostami (2002) revealed that there was a relationship between staffs' job satisfaction and their individual traits.

- **Social movement:** Social movement is one of the most significant forms of collective behavior in which a large number of people engaged in it actively and in an organized form. Although this phenomenon is discussed in most writings under the heading of collective behavior, it has fundamental differences with it. Collective behavior usually refers to thinking and sensual methods as well as actions that does not follow a special pattern, and, contrary to a movement, it is mainly unplanned, purposeless and free from ideology (Roberstson, 1998; p. 578).

Definition of social movement is a controversial issue. Like "Revolution", this concept has various definitions, in some of which, conflicting and contradictory views are seen. Experiences have shown that each so-called comprehensive definition of social movement will be, in the end, incomplete, and does not suffice for understanding of this phenomenon. Pall and Wilkinson maintain that this term is almost everything for everyone (Wilkinson, 1981, p. 51), because it is easily mistaken for and misunderstood because of similarities social movement has with other collective behavior phenomena and due to the intervention of some of its properties. Hence, in order to better understand this phenomenon, it is necessary to determine the difference of one movement with other collective behavior kinds and some similar social and political phenomena.

In fact, social movement is the organized efforts and struggle by a group who seek

to change or maintain some norms of the society (Cohen, 2005, p. 413). Social movement occurs when an organized group seeks to create some developments. Giddens has defined this phenomenon as including forms of collective actions for causing transformation in some aspects of order in the society, stating: Social movement can be defined as a collective action for furthering shared interests or for meeting shared goals through collective action outside of official institutions (Guidens, 2001, p. 671). Giddens states that social movement is referred to a fully formed and certain organization which, in order to defend, expand or meet some certain goals, deals with groupings and recruitment of members (Roshe, 2002, p. 164). What certainly determines social movement is it being claiming and requesting that seeks to make certain ideas, values and integers be known. Thus, it constantly seeks to increase members and struggles to attract the public and the elite of the society.

- **Labor protests:** The industrial revolution in the world resulted in the employment of sciences in industrial conversion of rural community to urban communities, transformation and advent of new social classes. The evolution and creation of labor movements has been one of the deep social and political effects of industrialization and formation of industrial labor class. Laborers managed to defend and fight for their own interest as they acquired skills, experiences and expertise, thus becoming a gravity point in factories and social relations as they formed organizations and labor unions in industrial centers. Therefore, protest and conflicts between the employers and laborer began in countries where there were much industrial progresses and factories productions, such that data showed that in England, from 1895 to 1989, over 2600 cases of strike had coerced and the number of striking laborers was reported to be 1458325 people, showing the highest number of labor protests given the commencement of industrial revolution in 1760 (Arya'ea, 1975, p. 86). All kinds of violent protests, restlessness, chaos, detailed negotiations, oppressions and all kinds of collective activities are among the phenomena which have been created after the laborer' rights were registered and identified. Meantime, in the second half of the 19th century, laborer managed to recognize their own collective activities as labor unions while removing legal constraint; of most important of these labor movements leading to the creation of unions and labor guilds, one can refer to labor unions in Lyon, France, nationwide strikes by Russian laborers and the English Chartism movement.

A century ago, Iran became industrialized. The discovery of mines in 1904, importing printing house in 1749 to Tabriz and in 1861 to Tehran led to the creation of a labor class. Following thinking development in the society and gradual development of the industry in the country, laborers in each field had a guild for themselves, most important of which was the labor guilds of Tabriz, Isfahan and Rasht. These guilds had a major and sensitive role during the Constitutional revolution, and with the advent of the said revolution the first guilds

were formed as per article 20 of the Constitutional laws (Freedom of expression and guilds) by a group of laborers in small printing houses in Tehran. In 1757, Tehran printing houses finished organizing nationwide unions of laborers working in printing houses. The first labor movements that came into prominence during the Constitutional revolution was the strike by the Bandar Anzali's workers on November, 21, 1906 (Bashiry, 2004, p. 107).

- **Collective action theories:** The issue of social protests and actions is viewed from different dimensions and various theories have addressed this issue. However, the most important of these approaches are as follows:
- **Mass society theory:** In this theory, the society is composed of people who have been eradicated (atomized). Rapid social changes, weakening of collective links and disintegrated social traditions, weakness of social groups or civil bodies, invalidity of reference groups effective in determining social norms, and at last, the increasing and rapid growth of urbanization all pave the way for people to be abandoned in the community, capable in participating social movements and recover their own (Panahi, 2010, p. 112).
- **Structural pressure theory:** According to this theory, there is inequality in social systems; social bodies do not have an appropriate functioning and announced values and peoples' actual behaviors are not coordinated. These conditions hurt the balance off the society, and as a result, inequalities and pressures from this imbalance will allow for the occurrence of social movements. Smelser has considered six factors in forming social movements: 1. Structural ground: this means that structural conditions of the society is so that it allows for the emergence of social movements, 2. Structural pressure: when some pressure is imposed on a society, people will mostly be encouraged to find an acceptable solution, 3: generalized beliefs: Before a collective solution is found for an issue all must accept that such an issue does exist. Therefore, the issue must be recognized and the public focuses their attention on it, so that possible solutions are provided for it.
- **Precipitating factors:** For the collective behavior to emerge, a major eventuality, needs to compel people to a collective action at first. This special eventuality can be exaggerated via gossips and as a result, embody considerably
- **Mobilization for action:** When a precipitating event occurs, the group becomes mobilized for action, this kind of mobilization can, at first, be structure less; however, it can be structured during mobilization., In this process, leadership assumes a key role, 6. Social control functioning: success or lack of success by collective actions mainly depend on success or failure off social control mechanism such as police, mass media and the like (Delavarpur, 2004, p. 109).
- **Relative deprivation theory:** In this theory, imbalance and ineffectiveness of bodies and structures are not focused attention; rather it is the subjective conditions of the individual, in which he feels there is some kind of coordination between expectation and realities he is dealing with, are focused attention, this

dissatisfaction and failure arising from sense of incoordination between expectation and realities, leads to social movements (Gor, 1999, p. 164).

- **Charles Tilly Theory:** Charles Tilly seeks to analyze transformation processes from a heuristics perspective in more general forms of protest and violence. He defines four major parts off practical-collective action in order to protest the social order or efforts for its subversion; organization or other groups, mobilization, shared interest of others who take part in a collective action and events which occur quite randomly that bring about opportunities for seeking revolutionary goals, For Tilly, social movements are usually created by the mobilization of group sources such that people have not established institutional means for expressing their own wants or that their needs are directly oppressed by government authorities (Tilly, 2006, p. 98).

For Tilly, a collective action with the aim of protesting against the existing order or endeavor for subverting it has four major elements. Organization, including organized groups or communities; mobilization including manners in which sufficient sources are provided for the occurrence of a collective action; shared interest which means the benefits and losses participation people incur in collective actions; and opportunity which includes a situation in which the collective action prevails. For Tilly, these opportunities are mainly random. He maintains that an effective collective action is the one which starts from the organization, leads to mobilization, shared interests are created and perceived by the participants, and hence the opportunities obtained will be used consistent with the emergence of collective action (Tavasoli, 2007, p. 365).

Tilly observes when faced with a political system or bodies which respond to their needs, people will turn to the to follow their claims, However, when peoples' needs are directly oppressed by the state or that there is no means for expression of peoples' wants, social movements are created through mobilization by people. He maintains that social movements (in the United Sates) face three things: either they are dissolve through oppression; or will be integrated in to another political body, or turn to a sustainable pressure group that leave effects on the government or parties. He remarks that in monolithic countries, the chance of social movements becoming new and temporary political parties is high (Nash, 2005, p. 132).

Theories and views expressed in this section all seek to explain collective protests; however, the reality is more complicated than that, and it cannot be examined just by one theory, and not one theory can cover this great subject matter. Hence, in this section, by using the Tilly's theory, the theoretical framework is defined and constructed. Like other theorists of popular mobilization, and in contrast to Smelser and Durkheim on collective action disorder, Tilly maintains that structural changes affect collective action. He desires to show how changes to economic forms, urbanization and government building will bring about large scale changes to collective actions and characters. This process, according to Tilly's views, will foster new forms of mobilizations and organizations.

For Tilley, structural changes affect collective action and change its character. These processes such as economic developments and urbanization help create new forms of mobilizations and organizations; because they enhance collective actions sources. Tilly observes that collective action is a dynamic process and its outcomes are extremely dependent on the process of interaction and collective action is, in fact, composed of strategic interaction between groups. For him, bargaining bodies and forms of social and political coherence, management and trade unions organizations, are all involved in the likelihood of striking action taking place. However, the practical scope of strikes is determined via process of negotiations among them. Thus, it is imperative to navigate the study of social and political bodies by means of labor class action analysis.

In sum, as Tilley suggested, there is a need for the employment and promotion of rational action models for a theoretical context, and in this relation, strategic interaction models in which, displacement by one party engender in the arousal of more or less calculated responses by others, will be useful (Tilley, 1984, p. 235). These models consider their point of departure in social relation and structure which introduce a set of actors; possible manners list action for people and groups, allow for new social links and concentrate on strategic interaction.

This framework is the theoretical foundation of the research from which the theoretical solution comes out. In the theoretical framework of this research, structural development (labor relations, developments, labor force developments, labor economic factors and labor institutional factors developments) are a necessary condition in which labor discontent will reduce and is controlled by police as sufficient conditions amount.

2. Research Methodology

The current research is applied in terms of kind and methodologically, it is descriptive-survey. The statistical population includes 120 people, including 60 people of a group of mine laborers who were most dissatisfied since 2010-2013, and 60 people of labor officials in northern cities of Kerman who are engaged in this area, and on the one hand, it was possible to access all of them.

- Political officials of the province (15 people);
- Police officials of the province (15 people);
- Officials of the House of Labor in the province (10 people);
- Experts and officials of the Labor and Social Affairs of the province (10 people);
- Officials and experts of the General Bureau of Industries, Mines and Commerce of the province (10 people).

This research was performed from 2010 to 2013 and the place where the research was done was northern cities of Kerman, and all 120 people were selected as the statistical sample. To gather data, an inventory was used which was quite confirming to research goals. The validity of this research was examined via nominal validity and a number of inventories were provided to the relevant elites and they were confirmed. Also, in order to examine reliability, the inventories were distributed to the statistical population and the data obtained were analyzed via Cronbach's alpha coefficient. This calculation indicated that the questions raised enjoyed sufficient validity. This validity was estimated by means of SPSS software, where the results are provided in the following. Single sample Mean Test was used to examining the hypotheses.

Table 1. Inventory's Validity and Reliability Results

Half test	Cronbach's alpha coefficient
Half test of labor economic factors	83%
Half test of labor relations	87%
Half test of workforce	85%
Half test of labor institutional factors	81%

3. Research Findings

First hypothesis: Labor economics factors affect laborers' discontent at the Coal Mines Co.

H₀: Labor economic factors are not effective on laborers' discontent at the Coal Mines Co.

H₁: Labor economic factors are effective on laborers' discontent at the Coal Mines Co.

Table 2. The Extent to Which Labor Economics Factors Affect Laborers' Discontent

Variable	Options					
	T Test	Freedom degree	Sig.	Mean dif.	Distance of confidence from difference of levels	
					Low	High
Economic factors	119/968	119	0/000	23/3750	22/9892	23/7608

Given the Table 2 data, since ($t=119.968$, $Sig=0.000$), and lower and upper levels enjoy positive significance, the null hypothesis is rejected and the H₁ is supported, and it is suggested that labor economic factors have been effective on labor discontent at the Coal Mines Co.

Table 3. Chi-Square Test: The Effects of Labor Economic Factors on Laborers' Discontent

Options	Economic factors
Chi-square Test	102/517
Freedom degree	12
Sig.	0/000

Based on the results obtained from Table 3, since the chi-square is 102.517 and significance level is 0.000 (being smaller than 0.01), indices of labor economic factors have different priorities.

Second hypothesis: Labor relation factors affect laborers' discontent at the Coal Mines Co.

H₀: Labor relation factors are not effective on laborers' discontent at the Coal Mines Co.

H₁: Labor relation factors are effective on laborers' discontent at the Coal Mines Co.

Table 4. The Extent to Which Labor Relations Factors Affect Laborers' Discontent

Variable	Options					
	T Test	Freedom degree	Sig.	Mean dif.	Distance of confidence from difference of levels	
					Low	High
Labor relations	98/721	119	0/000	45/7167	44/7997	46/6336

Given the Table 4 data, since ($t=98.721$, $Sig=0.000$), and lower and upper levels enjoy positive significance, the null hypothesis is rejected and the H₁ is supported, and it is suggested that labor relations factors have been effective on labor discontent at the Coal Mines Co.

Table 5. Chi-Square Test; The Effects of Labor Relations Factors on Laborers' Discontent

Options	Labor relations
Chi-square Test	53/250
Freedom degree	20
Sig.	0/000

Based on the results obtained from Table 5, since the chi-square is 53.250 and significance level is 0.000 (being smaller than 0.01), indices of labor relations factors have different priorities.

Third hypothesis: Workforce factors affect laborers' discontent at the Coal Mines Co.

H₀: Workforce factors are not effective on laborers' discontent at the Coal Mines Co.

H₁: Workforce factors are effective on laborers' discontent at the Coal Mines Co.

Table 6. Effects of Workforce on Laborers' Discontent

Variable	Options					
	T Test	Freedom degree	Sig.	Mean dif.	Distance of confidence from difference of levels	
					Low	High
Workforce	90/165	119	0/000	26/4833	25/9017	27/0649

Given the Table 6 data, since ($t=90.165$, $Sig=0.000$), and lower and upper levels enjoy positive significance, the null hypothesis is rejected and the H₁ is supported, and it is suggested that Workforce factors have been effective on labor discontent at the Coal Mines Co.

Table 7. Chi-Square Test; The Effects of Workforce Factors on Laborers' Discontent

Options	Work force
Chi-square Test	73/500
Freedom degree	14
Sig.	0/000

Based on the results obtained from Table 7, since the chi-square is 73.500 and significance level is 0.000 (being smaller than 0.01), indices of workforce factors have different priorities.

Fourth hypothesis: Labor institutional factors affect laborers' discontent at the Coal Mines Co.

H₀: Labor institutional factors are not effective on laborers' discontent at the Coal Mines Co.

H₁: Labor institutional factors are effective on laborers' discontent at the Coal Mines

Table 8. Effects of Labor Institutional Factors on Laborers' Discontent

Variable	Options					
	T Test	Freedom degree	Sig.	Mean dif.	Distance of confidence from difference of levels	
					Low	High
Institutional factors	84/580	119	0/000	27/2917	26/6527	27/9306

Given the Table 8 data, since ($t=84.580$, $Sig=0.000$), and lower and upper levels enjoy positive significance, the null hypothesis is rejected and the H₁ is supported, and it is suggested that labor institutional factors have been effective on labor discontent at the Coal Mines Co.

Table 9. Chi-Square Test; The Effects of Intuitional Factors on Laborers' Discontent

Options	Intuitional factors labor
Chi-square Test	106/200
Freedom degree	17
Sig.	0/000

Based on the results obtained from Table 9, since the chi-square is 106.200 and significance level is 0.000 (being smaller than 0.01), indices of Intuitional labor factors have different priorities.

Fifth hypothesis: Trade factors affect laborers' discontent at the Coal Mines Co.

H₀: Trade factors are not effective on laborers' discontent at the Coal Mines Co.

H₁: Trade factors are effective on laborers' discontent at the Coal Mines

Table 10. Effects of Trade Factors on Labor Discontent

Variable	Options					
	T Test	Freedom degree	Sig.	Mean dif.	Distance of confidence from difference of levels	
					Low	High
Trade factors	121/784	119	0/000	123/0750	121/0739	125/0761

Given the Table 10 data, since ($t=121.784.$, $Sig=0.000$), and lower and upper levels enjoy positive significance, the null hypothesis is rejected and the H1 is supported, and it is suggested that trade factors have been effective on labor discontent at the Coal Mines Co

Table 11. Chi-Square Test; The Effects of Trade Factors on Laborers' Discontent

Options	Trade factors
Chi-square Test	58/600
Freedom degree	37
Sig.	0/0113

Based on the results obtained from Table 11, since the chi-square is 58.600 and significance level is 0.0113 (being smaller than 0.01), indices of trade factors have different priorities.

4. Discussion and Conclusion

In order to prioritize the hypotheses and determine trade factors affecting labor discontent at Cal Mines Co., Kerman, from 2010-2012, the mean rate of each hypothesis was estimated based on Friedman Tests and the hypotheses are displayed in Table 12 by the effects they have respectively.

Table 12. Friedman Test; Research Hypotheses Priority

Priorities	Index	Mean
First priority	Labor relations	45/7167
Second priority	Labor institutional factors	27/2917
Third priority	Workforce	26/4833
Fourth priority	Labor economic factors	23/3750

As seen from Table 12, given the mean rate obtained, labor relations have had the highest effects and ranks first as the most important factor in laborers' discontent, and after that labor institutional factors stand second and workforce is in third while labor economic factors comes last.

Research results have shown that according to the prioritization made in the Friedman Test, the second hypothesis (labor relations) with a mean rate of 45.71 had the highest effects on laborers' discontent in northern cities of Kerman in 2010-2012, standing in the first line of hypotheses. The fourth hypothesis (labor institutional factors) ranks second with a mean rate of 27.29. The third hypothesis takes the third priority with a mean rate of 26.48, while the first hypothesis (labor economics factors) comes last with a mean rate of 23.37.

Also, research results indicated that the most important problems of laborers which brought about discontent in the last five years consisted of labor economics factors such as lack of cash, shortage of raw material wages level, job security social and economic discrimination, lack of emotional relations between the worker and the employer, and lack of social and economic positions as well as problems with laws and rules. Also, workforce faces with such problems as lack of expert forces,

appointment of non-local managers and workers, re-employment of the retired, and labor institutional factors were related with weak performance by the supply council, managers' unsystematic support for mines employers, adoption of biased decisions and the like. Given the results obtained, the following are recommended:

- Observing trade factors affecting laborers' discontent by public security police continuously;
- Identifying grounds for labor discontent equal to inherent and legal duties by the public security police;
- Providing the ground for the IRIPF's interaction with relevant bodies involved in working affairs;
- Attention to annual training of staffs serving under IRIPF in the area of working developments;
- Reinforcing working offices of public security police via allotting elite experts;
- Analyzing and examining the questions prior to the subjects, tensions and working incidents;
- Utilizing information banks, updating and expanding them;
- Determining and announcing the share and role of each organization in working incidents.

References

- Arya'ea, H. (1975). Evolution and role of labor unions in England, Tehran: University of Tehran publication
- Smin Satemi, N. (2014). Examining the developments of labor actions in recent decades in Iran, Tehran: University of Imam Sadeh publication
- Amin Saremi, N. (2005). An introduction to methodology, Tehran: Jaame Jam publications
- Bashirye, H. (2004). Political sociology of the labor class and labor processes in Iran, Tehran: The Institute of publishing institution of higher labor education.
- Panahi, MH. (2010). Theories of revolution; occurrence, process and outcomes, Tehran: SAMT
- Tilley, Ch. (2006). From mobilization to revolution (Trans. Ali Morshedizade). Tehran: Research institute of Imam Khomeini and Revolution publication
- Tavoli, Gh. (2007). Theories of sociology, Tehran: SAMT
- Delaporta, D. and Diani, M. (2004). An introduction to social movements, (Trans. Mohamad Taghi Delforouz). Tehran: Kavir publication

- Roshe, G. (2001). Social changes (Trans. Mansoor Vosooghi), Nei publication
- Cohen, B. (2005). Sociological basics (Trans. Gholamabbas Tavasoli, and Reza Fazel), Tehran: SAMT
- Gore, T. (1998). Why do people rebel? (Trans. Ali Morshedzade). Tehran: Publications Institute for Strategic Studies.
- Giddens, A. (2001). Sociology, (Trans. Manoochehr Saboori), Tehran: Nei publication
- Nash, K. (2005). Modern political sociology (Trans. Mohamad Taghi Delforouz), Tehran: Kavir publication
- Robertson, R (1998). *Social Movements*, International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. (Vol 13), NY, Mc Millan.
- Tilly, charls (1984). *Social movements and National politics*, in Bright and Harding: statmaking and social movements, university of Michigan press.
- Wilkenson, Pavl (1981). *Social Movement*, London, Macmillan.