

# THE RISE OF POPULAR MOVEMENTS

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

There are different modalities of support to the State government:

1st G. Spanish Civil: begins with the failed coup in certain parts of the territory. Different studies pointed out that with the means of coercion existing at that time, a war of centuries or a few hours could be produced. For the final outcome, the intervention in the form of material was definitive. In addition, it can be said that Franco's army crossed over to the peninsula thanks to German planes, given that the Spanish navy at that time was Republican in style. Without that help that decompensated the contenders, the result would have been very different. It was not about military capacity in terms of effectiveness or the population for or against, but about European aid.

This can be carried over to all revolutions. Regardless of the causes, whoever has more and better means will be the one who wins in the contest, although the circumstances of the place in which they face each other must be taken into account (Afghanistan, Chechnya, Vietnam...).

## 2. THE EMERGENCE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The collective action of the national repertoire in Europe. An example: subsistence riots.- The rise of the social movement in Britain.- Catholics, Protestants and Parliament.- Problems and factors that influence the rise of the Social Movement.- Its imitation and spread throughout the world.

There are 2 examples of collective actions from the traditional repertoire:

1st Bread Mutiny: very common in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was a way of responding to the bread conflict. It was a response to hunger; riots broke out for cheap bread. This situation occurred when there were bad harvests.

Before these centuries it was ensured that there was bread but it depended on additional circumstances such as the weather. Local authorities in this situation protected with high prices to avoid speculators. However, in the eighteenth century there are processes that change people's relationships with bread, since the liberalization of the economy occurs, that is, the freedom of trade of different products. Keep in mind that bread represented 2/3 of the diet of that time

Along with the economic transformations were also the political ones, without forgetting the demographic balance prior to the 18th century. From this century, and even in the mid-nineteenth, there were migratory movements from the countryside to the city, which meant a decrease in production but an increase in consumption, giving rise to an imbalance between supply and demand. In addition, permanent armies are created in times of peace that needed to be supported by the State, but the existing scarcity caused a greater demand for wheat. In those moments, in addition to being cyclical, the shortage will be constant since it is needed in the barracks and in the cities. All this makes wheat farmers protest against the expropriation of their wheat.

This environment provokes the bread riots that can be analyzed from 2 points of view: from the places of production, where the means of transport are attacked, preventing the wheat that will later be converted into bread from leaving its locality,

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and from the places of consumption, which refers to what is called the "Popular Bread Tax". From this perspective, the existing bread in the locality is embargoed and transported to the most important square where it will be auctioned.

In both cases, we are not talking about marginalized people, but about the morality of consumers, understanding what is fair and what is unfair. In 1920 the bread riot still exists but organizations that carry out social mobilizations (UGT) appear.

2º La Cencerrada: it is a form of social protest that consists of making noise with various instruments to attract attention. It concerns a moral conflict that goes against the custom of the people. An example of this is the widowers married in second marriages, who were considered criminals if they married a housewife went against the rights of young people, who had fewer women left.

The protagonists were young men of emancipation age who watched over their future, realizing that there were certain behaviors that went against their rights. Hence, the young people, once they had met and decided who had committed the offense, went to the residence of the culprit with different instruments. The victim of this action must flee the town, and is even sometimes subjected to some kind of humiliation.

One could also speak of another collective action, such as Luddism. It consists of the rejection of machines for changing work relationships. This activity was carried out by craftsmen, specialized workers and all those who saw unfair competition. The moral economy can be applied to this collective action, where what is fair is work and traditional relationships.

Other actions are the burning of crops, the destruction of religious buildings, the burning of effigies.

• Transition to the new repertoire:

This new repertoire of collective action appears first of all in England and in the USA (first third of the 19th century). Subsequently, other countries imitate England. The pace of transition will be difficult due to socioeconomic and political characteristics.

In England there are political changes at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, accompanied by cultural and economic changes...Social Movements can be found in the English Revolution, the War of Independence of the 13 colonies, in the French Revolution. However, these social movements associated with political crises do not have continuity, so there is no change in collective action.

In the 1920s, when England had experienced an intense period of war until 1815 with the end of the Napoleonic War, a Catholic association was founded that challenged the Government for the Catholic vote, since after the incorporation of Ireland in 1801 into England only Anglicans could vote. Not only will freedom of expression be used for those who have influence in the government, but there will also be demonstrations, rallies, petitions to Parliament, even confronting the police. Faced with this position, the protesters carry out the so-called counter-movement.

The Catholic mobilization brings together many people, both Catholic and non-Catholic. When Parliament approves the expansion of the Catholic vote, success is achieved for having included this issue on the political agenda and mobilizing the people. As of 1828, Catholics vote with the same restrictions as the rest of the voters.

In earlier times, despite the fact that this mobilization could have existed, it did not continue over time. However, from 1823 this continuity in time began to take place. In fact, Catholics and non-Catholics united years later to achieve universal male suffrage, producing a deployment in England based on various forms of action to democratize Parliament. Many were mobilized under the so-called English Radicalism, to such an extent that in 1832 an electoral law was enacted that gave the vote to the middle class. The electoral districts gave importance to the countryside taking it away from the city.

Another social movement was abolitionism, which was not as important as it was not placed on the political agenda.

Another social worker movement was the Chartism of 1935. It manifested itself as a letter of petitions with thousands of signatures. The 1940s was an important mobilization that, although it did not achieve its objective, marked a before and after in relations between workers and the State. It marked the beginning of legislation more favorable to workers.

Little by little the traditional repertoire is disappearing, because in England the new repertoire became general, especially the social movement.

At the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, Great Britain presented some peculiar characteristics due to the different wars experienced between 1776-1815: failures such as the loss of the 13 American colonies and victories such as the Napoleonic War generated political pressure. In fact, during those years English politics became modern (Parliament, Government, increased suffrage...). This advent of modern politics is simultaneous with the French Revolution, but by different means.

Until the 7 Years' War (1763-1770), Great Britain was a fragile state that would see its situation change after the Napoleonic Wars, when it became a powerful power controlling the population; that power will reside in Parliament. In 2nd place, there are many simultaneous conflicts, which although they did not lead to revolution, were important. Some of the issues in these conflicts were about the corruption of Parliament, which was only accessible to individuals of a certain social status. But after the secession of the 13 colonies, the radicals linked to religious confessions began to denounce Parliament and its form of access. Another debate was Protectionism against free trade. Along with this, we must highlight the conflict of the accession of Ireland in 1801 to the British Empire, which had the opposition of the Catholics. There are also the labor and social problems of an incipient industry: the increase in cities and their population gave rise to these problems and the appearance of the so-called beggars. This situation in the cities caused different strikes in the 1920s and the appearance of clandestine unions that favored the confrontation between workers and capital.

All these conflicts are revolutionary situations. The variety, continuity and intensity was a breeding ground that generated many mobilizations, including opposition elites, where certain aspects were demanded. This is the appropriate framework to generate this new repertoire.

The end of the Napoleonic wars marked the beginning of this new repertoire:

1st Transformation of the British State: it goes from being decentralized and with a King with considerable power, although limited by Parliament, to becoming a centralist State against local entities and with a strengthened Parliament against the King. The British State will govern the whole territory; for this, you need to win the possible wars, which requires excessive money. This supposes that the Parliament increases its power by centralizing politics in it.

2nd simultaneously there is a revolution in the textile and metallurgical industry (railroad). The increase in population produces more interests, more requests and conflicts, more wage earners and the concentration of labor and capital in the cities. At the same time, the market is becoming unified: from the local market to the national market and both capital and labor are concentrated in large cities such as London, Manchester, Liverpool... What was happening in other localities was becoming more and more important, something fundamental for the nationalization of social life. This refers to the supralocal character of the new repertoire.

3rd cultural and political transformation: the varied and continuous conflict is creating a culture of protest. If that stable period with scattered conflict had not been continuous over time, the new repertoire would not have taken root.

Finally, in the 1920s the police replaced the army. Later the Napoleonic wars take place, freedom of expression for fear of the French Revolution... In 1823 the Trade Unions and the Catholic Movements facilitate the new repertoire granting political rights.

### 3. LABOR MOVEMENTS UNTIL 1914

The historical formation of the working class as a collective identity.- Great rivals of class identity: the nation and the people.- Political discourses on the emancipation of workers.- Organizations and models of political and trade union strategy.- Strikes and other forms of action used.- the first of May.- the working class and the first world war.

A characteristic example of the 19th century, both in Europe and in the US, are the mobilizations for the differences between workers, coming to be defined as a social movement.

The axis to understand the labor movement is to see how the working class is built. We must start by saying that the class is a collective entity and a very special concept due to its connotations. The most complex collective identity is a social process by which there are people who feel they belong to a community. In this case, it is about workers at certain times who felt they belonged to a community that they called class. For this, a series of dynamics were produced that allowed the

workers to understand themselves as such with certain characteristics and that differed from other social groups. This process is constituted through feeling, ideas, customs, etc. Without experiences like these there is no collective identity.

The protagonists are qualified workers with a traditional trade not related to the productive sectors or to mechanization or factories, etc. They are workers whose skills and knowledge were their work tools. This worker is the protagonist of the first phases or experiences of the formation of the working class, depending on how it is and what its relationship with other classes was.

There are elements that must be taken into account to understand the formation of the working class:

1st dissolution of the guilds: they were typical corporations of the old regime that regulated the urban trade (typographers, coopers, etc.). thus, those who wanted to belong to a trade regulated by a guild had to belong to it. The characteristics of the guilds were different in each city. They regulated the price, the labor structure, the production, the access to work, the distribution of the product... in a city. Within them, the labor structure was as follows: apprentice, who observed the other workers; officer, who collected and made the product being the most numerous workers in the traditional trade, and the master, who used to be the owner of the workshop and who had enough resources to buy a workshop and the necessary tools in his time as an officer. The expectations of the apprentice and the officer was to become a teacher. It should be noted that the conflicts were not between the different components of the workshop since the teachers also worked and were considered equal by the officers.

It was a traditional work culture but it went into decline as the guilds were abolished by different political transformations. The most qualified traditional workers had no law to protect them against the competition of machines, workers, laws... and they had no collective association.

Not only did this association disappear, but the officers' hope of becoming masters of their own workshop also disappeared. When the officers stop thinking about the idea of becoming a teacher, the mobilization begins and they think in class terms. It must be taken into account that there was a unit of trade that did not allow them to think that independent workers in their trade had anything in common. The latter is what gives rise to the birth of the class.

In reality, this occurs simultaneously in certain countries. However, in Spain it happened at the end of the 19th century, despite the fact that the guilds were abolished at the beginning of the century.

2° the workers, during the XIX century, see that after revolutions and political transformations electoral means begin to be established and they lack political rights so they cannot have a parliamentary representation that defends them and legislates in their favor since they could not vote. This allows them to come closer to a class identity.

3° the introduction of economic transformations did not make the traditional workshop disappear but gave rise to different companies whose management was not carried out by a teacher but there were differences between the employer and the person who is in contact with the work. There is a business diversification: the entrepreneur knows nothing about the product or its preparation, since his merit is to invest in that company; while the one in charge of management is the person who is in contact with the workers and the production method. That owner is called an employer. The machines are introduced in new sectors giving rise to competition. Their application to workshops disrupted production as skilled labor was not needed to handle them. This led to the differentiation of work and different conflicts such as Luddism.

These transformations are parallel and of a business nature that disrupt production and give rise to new languages.

4° interpretations of what happened are produced, especially about justice and solutions, about those responsible and about who the workers are. In this framework the term of exploitation arises and the workers call themselves workers; They are no longer typographers or coopers but workers in general, in such a way that different workers from different trades come together. All this becomes discourses and ideologies (Nazism, Marxism, anarchism...). These class discourses, competing with each other, indicate that we are facing the formation of the class. When networks frequented by workers are used or created and serve to bring them into agreement, inform them or mobilize them, then we are facing the process of class formation.

5° the celebration of rituals that commemorate the origins set to mark the beginning of the class (May 1), also indicates the formation of the class.

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6° the protests and mobilizations of the workers for their rights indicate the formation of class.

When all this occurs in a coordinated and generalized way, involving almost all the workers, it can be said that the formation of the class is being witnessed. That class feeling is not permanent depending on various aspects such as the economy, culture, politics....

There are two concepts that should be highlighted:

1st town: the people do not feel of one trade or another but they feel of the town.

2nd nation: individuals feel in the nation above their class. In 1914, in many countries, it is shown in the enlistment to the army to fight for their country.

This historical process was what made the formation of classes possible. The working class arises by expansion in a territorial area and, despite international workers' attempts, on few occasions have workers from different territorial places been able to act together.

The protagonists that drive the working class are the skilled workers, who represented the majority of urban workers in Europe in the nineteenth century; even in England they are also the majority. These workers, who come from a traditional work culture, are the first to associate and begin to speak a new language (exploitation, boss...), and demand a series of political rights.

Unskilled workers, who do not require any type of specialization and are located in large and small production units, are women and children who used to work in the fields and lack the networks and political culture to act collectively and lead this labor movement. Despite their conditions, they cannot organize themselves because of the exploitation to which they are subjected: they compete with each other, there is no solidarity between them, etc. These workers are characterized by mobilizing in favor of a salary increase but they do not worry about interacting with other workers, so they cannot be the protagonists of the previous situation.

In the unions of skilled workers it was very difficult for unskilled workers to enter. In the Spanish case, the union of qualified workers was UGT, to which they had to join.

Main working classes in Europe: there are few studies in this direction. Thompson was the pioneer in England who placed the rise of the working class in the 1930s before Chartism.

Later, similar studies were carried out in France that also placed the birth of the French working class at that time, which has little to do with the current one.

In Germany, already produced the unification, the fall of the unions and the appearance of the movements in the years 60-70 is located. However, in other countries such as Italy and Spain there is no study on it.

The speeches that talk about classes are the following:

1st Radical or Democratic/Republican (depending on the country): arises in England and talks about English politics trying to democratize it. It proposes political rights for workers: since they cannot vote, they do not have sufficient capacity to influence the creation of laws that suit them. It is comparable to the French republican system or the Spanish democrats, who universalized the vote in order to create legislation favorable to workers. For its part, radicalism sees society as divided into those who are privileged and who have the capacity to vote and those who do not. This discourse was widely accepted in England, being described as petty bourgeois and disqualified by the rest of the social discourses, despite what took root among the workers (Lerroux in Barcelona).

2nd utopian socialism: it arises around 1820 in France but also in England and Spain. This discourse divided society between producers and non-producers (those who do not generate wealth and live off the efforts of others such as rentiers, bourgeois...). Producers are those who through their work or capital help production even though they are not the ones who produce. They are called utopians because they believe stories about the future ideal society in which there will be no limitations of society (Thomas More). But this idea does not come to fruition. They contributed a series of elements that were incorporated into other discourses such as exploitation, collective ownership of the means of production, centralized economic administration, etc. They also contributed a series of practical proposals, such as the cooperative movement of

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productions, workers' associations to protect themselves..., which over time became part of the unions. Utopian socialism competes with radicalism until 1850.

3rd Marxism: it is a scientific socialism. They are the proposals of Marx and Engels that respond to the so-called historical materialism, which would be a succession of modes of production until reaching the socialist model and, from this, to communism. It is based on the class struggle as the engine of history. It is a theory that confronts the proletariat with the bourgeoisie, the production force with capitalism, which supposes a revolution to change the capitalist production system towards a socialist one. After the death of Marx began to create a series of speeches on the revolution. Marxism proposes that it be the workers themselves who fight for their rights and create the necessary instruments for it. This is how the parties of social democracy are born, which drives the birth of unions and workers' societies that will take care of making workers' sentiment noticeable in society.

4th Anarchism: arises between 1860-1870. It is the most heterogeneous of all discourses given that its roots are very varied. It aims to put an end to injustice so that the proletariat seizes power. It shares with Marxism the economic theories that capitalism produces inequality, but they take into account many more sources (capital, State and religion). The working class is the victim but so are all those people who live under the State and religious morality. The alternative they present is a stateless society that would be organized under absolute freedom, since power is closer to the individual. (There can be nothing superior to the individual). Terrorism against associations, kings, presidents is globalized because it understands that there should be no higher authority. In addition, property must be collective at the same time that non-participation in the State is proposed through abstention from voting. In short, it is an apolitical and propagandist discourse. This leads to the creation of a series of anti-terrorist laws that limit individuals at the same time that they dismantle anarchist unions, being replaced by direct action anarcho-unions (CNT...). He lives and confronts Marxism continuously.

5th Social Catholicism: It was born around 1892 before the progressive estrangement of the workers. There were divisions within the Church between those who were in favor of doing something about it and those who believed that this departure was good because the workers were in this world to suffer. Mixed organizations composed of workers, employers and religious were created in which each one had a clear function: the workers would have money available for leisure and other needs; the bosses put up the money, while the religious were in charge of directing the organizations. It occurs in few places and has very few members. In the middle of the 20th century, a variant appears that, with the creation of unions and the promotion of strikes, will make the workers fight for their own improvements, although they did so without counting on the Church and employers.

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