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MA POLITICAL SCIENCE

MPS 105- SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

w.e.f Academic Session: 2023-24

CENTRE FOR DISTANCE AND ONLINE EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY MEGHALAYA

nirf India Ranking-2023 (151-200)

Accredited 'A' Grade by NAAC

Techno City, 9th Mile, Baridua, Ri-Bhoi, Meghalaya, 793101

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University of Science and Technology Meghalaya

First Edition
Print Jan 2024

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This book is a distance education module comprising of collection of learning material for students of Center for Distance and Online Education, University of Science and Technology Meghalaya, 9th Mile G S Rd, Ri Bhoi, Meghalaya 793101.

Printed and Published on behalf of Center for Distance and Online Education, University of Science and Technology Meghalaya by Publication Cell, University of Science and Technology Meghalaya – 793101

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

LEARNING OUTCOME: After going through this lesson, students will be able to-

- **Know the Definitions, Characteristics and Types of Social Movements**
- **Understand the Social Movements and Distribution of Power in society**
- **Learn the correlation between Social Movements and Human Rights**

1.1 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: DEFINITION, CHARACTERISTICS AND TYPES

Definition

The International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences (1972) defines a social movement as a variety of collective attempts to bring about change. The attempts may be to bring about change in certain social institutions and to create an entirely new social order. Or the attempts may represent a socially shared demand for change in some aspects of the social order. Turner and Kilhan define a social movement as a "collectivity which acts with some continuity to promote or resist change in the society or group of which it is a part" (cited by McLaughlen 1969: 27). Toch (1965) emphasises that a social movement is an effort by a large number of people to solve collectively a problem they feel they share in common.

These definitions bring out, above all things, two important qualifying features of a social movement. Firstly, those social movements involve collective action as against actions of a small group of individuals. Secondly, the collective attempt is designed to promote change or resist change in the society in which the attempt is made. So collective attempt may be to alter, inaugurate, supplant, restore or reinstate all or some aspects of the social order.

Let us look at these two features in a little more detailed manner in order to understand how social movements are different from other kinds of collective behaviour like a mob or a crowd. We will also see the difference between social movements and other movements like a cooperative movement or a trade union movement.

Social movements involve collective action by the people. Any form of collective action cannot be labelled as a social movement, even if it is directed towards changing the existing social values. For example, in some places when a car or a truck knocks down a pedestrian a mob collects immediately and starts beating up the driver. The mob is provoked because the driver's actions have led to injury or loss of life. Hence this could be regarded as a form of collective action to ensure sanctity of life and to prevent rash driving. But can we call this a social movement? No, because this is just an impulsive outburst. Hence, another feature of a social movement is that it should be sustained and not sporadic. Similarly social movement differs from a crowd by being a longterm collectivity, not a quick spontaneous grouping. However crowds may emerge as a result of social movements. A morcha taken up by members of a woman's organisation, a part of the women's social movement may attract a crowd.

At the same time one has to keep in mind that social movements are different from other movements in society. For instance, we have the cooperative movement or the trade union movement, which we are quite familiar with. Both these movements have features, which are common to those discussed above. Namely, they attempt to change the existing social relations and try to promote change. They are also sustained movements as they have existed over a period of time. However, they have one feature, which excludes them from being social movements. These movements are institutionalised movements. By this we mean that trade unions, cooperatives or such other organisations function under a given set of rules. These include procedures for recruitment and subsequently, expulsion, exclusion and punishment. The membership of these organisations is not open to all. In fact membership may not be open to even those who are expected to be participants of the movement. Let us clarify this. A trade union is expected to fight for protecting and enhancing workers' rights. But all workers do not automatically become members of a trade union. They can become members only if they agree to the objectives of the trade union and they formally enroll as a member. Similarly a cooperative which is expected to help poor peasants will not automatically include all such people as its members. There are some formalities to be fulfilled such as registration of membership, purchase of shares etc. Therefore these organisations have a formal set of rules for membership. Only those accepting and abiding by these rules can hope to be included as members can be dropped or suspended from membership.

A movement, which is institutionalised in the above manner, can function with a fixed structure and a hierarchy. In other words, the structure of such organisations cannot change. A trade union will have its hierarchy based on authority. There will be a president, secretary and committee members etc. Each of them has separate responsibilities and they hold varying degrees of authority. This type of a hierarchy is necessary for any institutionalised movement. In fact this is what helps it to sustain itself.

Social movements on the other hand, will not have any of the above features. The two features of social movements, namely, sustained action and spontaneity operate simultaneously. These together distinguish a social movement from other movements. Existence of either of these features does not result in a social movement. To explain, earlier examples of trade unions and cooperatives show that these movements have sustained over a period of time. But this is because they are institutionalised and not because they are spontaneous. On the other hand, sporadic outbursts such as beating up a rash driver are collective behaviour, which is spontaneous. It is not a social movement because it is not sustained.

We are laying stress on spontaneity because social movements do not follow a fixed pattern of hierarchy. They are thus able to innovate new features of organisation. Institutionalisation would in fact prevent any form of innovation because of its fixed structures.

If we now take into account the features which we have discussed so far, we can define social movements as, collective action by large groups of people which is directed towards changing some of the values, norms and social relations in a society but which are spontaneous and sustained.

We had mentioned earlier in this section pertaining to the two qualifying features of social movements that a social movement constitutes a collective attempt not only to promote change but also to resist change. This feature has to be kept in mind because all social movements do not attempt to change the existing situations. For instance, we all know that right from the nineteenth century there have been collective attempts to remove the social practice of sati. Raja Ram Mohan Roy actively campaigned against sati and was chiefly responsible for legal action being taken against sati in the nineteenth century. Even during his time, there were collective attempts to resist the introduction of the law abolishing sati. Even today there is a sizeable section of population who do not recognise or pay heed to the law against Sati.

The enthusiasm with which some people tried to celebrate and promote the performance of Sati in Deorala, Rajasthan, was a movement which could be regarded as change resisting (see figure 35.1). In addition, there could be movements, which promote casteism or, more specifically, attempt to reinforce the hegemony of the castes. Movements, which preach domination or superiority of certain castes or a particular religion over others, movements that spread communal or ethnic prejudice, are all change-resisting movements. They attempt to change the prevalent norms, values and social relations and replace them with obscurantist values.

EXAMPLE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: SOME CONCRETE INSTANCES

We have so far attempted a definition of social movements. This should help us understand what social movements are and how they differ from other movements. However the discussion so far may appear somewhat abstract. Till now we only know some features of social movements. But what in concrete terms are social movements? One example which comes to our minds immediately is the process of sanskritisation expounded by the eminent sociologist, M.N. Srinivas. In this process we find that members of a caste group try to elevate their position to that of a caste deemed higher than their own. They do so by internalising the values, rituals and social behaviour of the members of that caste. Prof. Srinivas has given the cases of the Lingayats in Karnataka. We can find similar instances elsewhere. In a similar move the Rajbanshis in Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri districts of West Bengal sought to elevate their position to that of the Kshatriya caste. This community belongs to the Bodo-Kachari group of North East India. Its members inhabit, apart from the above mentioned districts, parts of the neighbouring states of Assam and Bangladesh. Till the Census of 1901, the Rajbanshis were bracketed with the Koch, a tribe belonging to the same group. It was then believed that both came from the same ethnic origin. However in 1909 the Rajbanshis, under the leadership of Thakur Panchanan Barman declared that their identity was different from that of the Koch. They stated that they were in fact Kshatriyas from North India who had taken refuge in this part of the country. The Kshatriya Sabha was formed and it urged all Rajbanshis to revert to their original status. The Rajbanshis started following the rituals of Kshatriyas such as wearing the sacred thread, change in marriage practices, abstention from eating beef or pork, etc. They also started adopting the title “Thakur” along with their names. The Rajbanshis have been recognised as a separate group since the Census of 1911.

This movement is a social movement because it displayed the features of a social movement discussed earlier. Though the Rajbanshis formed an organisation (Kshatriya Sabha) and operated through it to elevate their status, it was not a formal organisation like a trade union or a peasant organisation. The Sabha did not have a formal set of rules and regulations relating to membership.

It is not necessary for a social movement to strive only for elevation of status; there can be movements with political or cultural dimensions. The Naxalite movement, which started in 1968 in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal, could also be regarded as a social movement. In this movement peasants and agricultural workers engaged in a violent struggle against those whom they defined as their exploiters. The movement spread to other parts of the country and it was declared illegal by the government. This in fact prevented it from developing a formal, institutional structure. The different groups engaged in various regions could operate only clandestinely i.e., secretly. However after 1978 the government removed the ban on Naxalites provided they discarded violence and used peaceful means to press for their demands. As a result several Naxalite groups declared themselves as political parties and developed formal institutional structures. The movement then ceased to be a social movement.

In the cultural field too we have social movements. We can observe such movements in literature and in drama. In films, the New Cinema or Parallel Cinema movement started in the late 1960s is one such instance. Young filmmakers started making films, which were realistic and dealt with the everyday life of the common man. This was in contrast to the romantic films in the commercial sector. This movement did not originate from a formal organisation such as a federation or an association. It was started by film-makers who shared the common belief that realistic films based on good literature should be shown to the people.

We can cite the SNDP Movement (Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Movement) as an example of a social movement which has social, political, educational and religious dimensions to it. The movement arose as a backward classes movement in the nineteenth century in Kerala. It focused on the conflict between untouchable castes (Izhavas, toddy tappers of South Travancore, Kerala) and the clean Hindu upper castes (Nayars, Nambudiris). The Izhavas were subject to several ritual as well as civil disabilities. They had to maintain a prescribed limit of distance from the upper caste, could not use the roads, tanks, wells or temples used by the higher castes. They were denied admission to the traditional caste Hindu schools and were kept away from administrative jobs. Under the leadership of Sri Narayana Guru Swamy, the Izhavas formulated a programme of social uplift. The issues they undertook were right of admission to public schools, recruitment to government employment, entry into temple and political representation. They fought for social mobility, for shift in the traditional distribution of power, and transformed themselves into a large ethnic block, which became politically viable.

We can now see that social movements have varied dimensions. As such they can cover all parts of our lives. There can be social movements, which promote change, and there can be those which resist change. This distinction has to be kept in mind because all social movements do not attempt to change the existing situation.

LIFE CYCLE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

After having described the crucial role played by leadership and ideology in social movements, let us now state the stages through which generally a social movement passes through.

Stage one reflects the social unrest present in a society. Almost all social movements are rooted in social unrest and problem. Collective tension builds up as a result of this. This stage is followed by stage two in which collective excitement can be witnessed in the society, where people feel they have a problem in common. Certain social conditions are identified as the root cause of the misery and excitement sets in. The movement gains support and a guiding ideology. Agitations rise everywhere. This period is generally brief and leads quickly to action.

Stage three is the formalisation stage through some movements, like migratory movements, may be able to operate without formal organisation. In this stage, a chain of officers is drawn up. There is division of labour among leaders and the followers. Fund raising is systematised and ideology becomes clearer than before. The leaders clarify the ideology in that they remind people of the discontent they share in common, identify their opponents and state the objectives of the movement. The strategy and tactics for protest and for action are drawn and a moral justification for having adopted a particular course of action is established.

The fourth stage is one of institutionalisation. The movement crystallises into a definite pattern. Efficient bureaucrats replace agitators; buildings, offices are established. The aims of the movement become accepted in that society. This period may last indefinitely. The fifth stage is one of dissolution. Different movements come to different ends at different points of time: some movements end early while some dissolve after the objective has been achieved. Sometimes differences of opinion among the leaders within a movement may lead to divisions within a movement, with each group having its own ideology and programme of action. Only some movements achieve full institutionalisation.

It is not necessary that all movements pass through all these above mentioned stages. But what can be certainly said about all social movements are:

a) they play a major part in social change,

b) they help in quickening the pace of change, and

c) they influence many aspects of the peoples lives: moral, political, social, and cultural.

In India social movements have tried to change certain aspects of the traditional value system though they have not always been successful in doing so.

CHARACTERISTICS

By far the most popular and currently widely used classification of themes of movements in types, are those of Old and New social movements. The first, refers to the conventional 'old' themes of peasant, tribe and industrial worker and other movements. The second orientation however, reveals the emergence of new types of movements such as, for example, those on the issues of identity, environment and collective mobilisations of people on the questions relating to gender and social justice etc.; Some times these two themes tend to overlap upon each other, blurring the line of their mutual separation.

Characteristics of old social movements:-

1) Old or classical social movements have generally been defined by their class contents. It has been treated as the child of three major socio - economic characteristics the contemporary world, namely capitalism, industrialism and materialism. Readers may find discussions on these concept

in publications (such as Rajendra Singh ; 2001:44-50). Old social movements are therefore, mostly ‘class-bound’ movement. The term‘class’ is required to be explained. Omvedt insists that the concept of class need to be defined in terms of social Marxist concept of relations of production (see for detail, Omvdt; 1982:13) Reduced to its simplest meaning, the term ‘class’ refers to (a).the division of population into unequal groups; (b). inequality among the groups emerge because of differential distribution of economic resources; (c) a minority group happens to get more share in the ownership and control over the economic resources than it actually requires; others; the majority groups, consequently, gets less than what they actually need; (d) this faulty system of the distribution of economic resources or property gives birth to ‘the rich’ and ‘the poor’ or the bourgeoisie and the proletariats classes in society, (e) the poor on account of ‘being on the same boat’ develop a sense of class unity among themselves and enter into an antagonistic relationship with the class located above them. This antagonistic relationship between the rich and the poor, in course of their dialectical relationship gives rise to what Marxist scholars refer to a ‘class struggle’. Most of the studies on peasants and peasant movements (such as, Dhanagare; 1983, Oommen; 1990, Omvedt; 1982 etc;) or those on trade unionism and the working class movements (such as, Giri; 1958, Mathur; 1964, Karnik; 1978 etc) are some of the examples of old movement studies based on class model .

2) The class based old social movements tend to have a strong ideological grounding in the conception of ‘class struggle’, ‘class revolution’ and in the overthrow of the entire political system of governance and reestablishment of a new social order. Many ‘old’ social movement studies of Marxist theoretical orientation (such as, Sundaryya ; 1972, Sunil Sen;1982, Mitter; 1977, P.N. Mukherji; 1980 and 197 etc;) envision a radical recasting of society . Phrases such as ‘peasant war’ (wolf; 1971) or ‘agrarian struggle’ Desai;1986) have been in usage to orchestrate the revolutionary ethos of the Marxist construction of peasant conflict in the countryside. The role of violence in such types of collective mobilisations are not ruled out as all revolutionary struggles have witnessed the use of violence in wide scale in the name of ‘ cleaning the system’ or ‘the ‘purging’ of the corrupt from the society.

3) In the case of old social movements, it may be noted that the adversaries are easily identifiable social groups- a caste or a class. The peasant uprisings in the region of Avadh and eastern districts of the state of Uttar Pradesh (see, M.H Siddiqi; 1978, Rajendra Singh; 1984

respectively) have had a clear image and known identity of the opponent. The category of the rural dominant, then (that is, the abolition of talukdari and zamindari system in 1952, in Uttar Pradesh) who generally belonged to the classes of talukdar and in Avadh and the Zamindars in the zamindari region of East U.P. respectively were clearly identifiable group of rural population. Restive and insurgents; the tenants could name them, blame them and hold them responsible for their misery and the life of subjugation and wretchedness. It was their victimisation at the hands of the local landlords that forced the peasants ultimately to get organised and rise to voice their resentments through collective struggle. Like-wise, the opponents in Shiv Sena movement in the state of Maharashtra, or tribal's uprisings in Jharkhand region, now in the state of Chhattisgarah, have had a clear picture of the Dikhu- the "outsiders" who were held responsible for the tribals exploitation and social miseries. In addition, it can also be pointed out that the opponents or the target of the movements, in most of the cases are or were located in the same locality or region, such were the situations in the cases of peasants uprisings against the zamindars and talukdars residing in the villages along with the peasants (ibid, Siddiqi; 1978, Rajendra Singh; 1984).

4) And finally, the mass society conception of movements generally reflected in the writings of scholars such as (Lederer; 1940, Arendt; 1951, Kornhauser;1960). Their attempt at presenting a social diagnosis of the contemporary societies present a pessimistic picture of people's place in society. They emphasise on the growing process of social alienation, anomie and the fragmentation of social world one lives in. The image of the modern mass society is characterised by the increasing sense if social rootlessness, facelessness and powerlessness. The individual finds himself in a highly bureaucratised and mechanical social world, finding it difficult as how to orient his relation towards others in different social situations. There is a sense of loss of direction. The dissolution of normative bases of social anticipations expectation produce atomised mass society.

Characteristics of new social movements:-

1) Most of the NSMs base their ideological conceptions by imputing a duality between the state and the civil society. The assumption is that the social space of the civil society getting increasingly shrunk the "social" of the civil society is being systematically eroded by the penetration of the expanding tentacles of power and control in almost every aspect of life. What

more is disturbing the reality is that the expansion of the state coincide with and overlap upon the process of the expansion of market. The institutions of state and the market grip the civil society so tenaciously that society is rendered helpless in their combined pressure of surveillance and control. NSMS therefore, emerge in the 'self-defense' of the community. The state, in the name of the 'public' interests attempt making encroachment at almost every aspects of the 'private 'lives of the individual. Its perhaps on account of the all-round attack of the state and the market on the civil society thadiverse forms and types of NSMs: urban, ecological, anti-authoritarin, anti-institutionalists, feminist, anti-racist, ethinic and regionalist have sprung up in the contemporary society. The site of the struggle has shifted from the traditional workplace of industries and factories, and field and farms. The basic agenda of the NSM is to establish a postbourgeois, post-industrial, post-materialist democratic civil society. Such an agenda is, indeed, a new phenomenon in the contemporary the postmodern world.

2) The NSM radically alter the Marxist paradigm of explaining all forms of social conflict and contradictions in terms of class and class conflicts, a point we have suggested earlier. The Marxist system of the explanation of movements and change in society could not account for the issues emerging from the questions relating to ecology and environment, gender, race, ethnicity etc; Marxism treated all forms of struggles as class struggle and all forms of social conflicts as class conflicts. It went far beyond to assert that human cognition and the consciousness is fashioned by the material forces and conditions of society. Further, it went to treated all forms of social groupings and organisation as class grouping and class organisation. It may be realised that many types of contemporary struggles, such as those of anti-racism, disarmament. Feminist and environmentalist movements are not class struggle, nor do they reflect movements of classes. The groupings in the above movements are not class grouping- they often go beyond class confines. Marxism as a method and a general theory of explanation in social sciences is in shambles; at the face of the new social reality, it has totally collapsed both as philosophy as well as methodology of science. Marxism saw all forms of conflict located in the class structure of society. In the contemporary setting of societies conflicts spill over space wider than the space of classes and often crossing over the boundaries of a nation and society. Contemporary movements are trans-cultural, trans-national and trans–political systems of societies. NSMs raise questions and issues of universal nature, relating to future of the humankind. Their goals and values are global and overarching the width of mankind. Their agenda include issues relating to

disarmament, peace, nuclear pollution and nuclear war; issues regarding the defence of the planet (the earth), ecology, environment and human right.The ideological paradigm of the NSMs go beyond the confines of materialistic determinism and successfully overcome the inabilities of Marxism.

3) With the collapse of Marxism, it became evident that the class background does neither determine the identity of the actor nor define the nature of its stakes. Therefore the NSMs generally abandon the industrial worker model of union organisation as well as the political model of political parties. With the exception of the German Green and the Green Party, most of the NSMs evolve grass-root politics , initiate grass-root actions , micro-movements participated by small groups and struggle for localised issues and questions with small institutional base. The new movements generally, produce horizontally organised democratic associations, “ that are loosely federated at the national level (Jean Cohen; 1985 : 667) According to Cohen the NSMs target the social domain of the civil society rather than launching an attack on the economy and the state (ibid).The chief social characteristics of the NSMs are seen in its self-limiting nature. According to Cohen, they are self-limiting in four senses as presented below.

a) Generally, the actor in NSM’s do not struggle for the return of the utopian undifferentiated communities of the past,

b) The actors struggle for the autonomy, plurality and difference, without rejecting the egalitarian principles of democracy, parliament, political participation and public representation of its juridical structures,

c) The actors make a conscious efforts to learn from their past experiences, torelativise their values through reasoning, except in the cases of the fundamentalist expressions of the NSMs, and finally,

d) The actors in the NSM’s accept the legitimacy of the state and the formal existence of the market.

TYPES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The classification of social movements is not easy as a movement may have a mixed nature or may change completely at different stages during its career. However, the social movements are classified into millenarian, migratory, Utopian, expressive, reformist, rebellion, revolutionary, and resistance.

A detailed discussion on all these social movements is given as follows:

i. **Millenarian Movement**

Millenarian movements are based on a belief of a religious, social, or political group that a major transformation of society will occur after which all the elements or components of the society will be changed in a positive or sometimes negative direction.

Millenarian groups typically claim that the current society and its rulers are corrupt, unjust, or otherwise wrong. They, therefore, believe that they will be destroyed soon by a powerful force. The harmful nature of the status quo is always considered intractable without the anticipated dramatic change. For instance, in medieval millenarianism the world was seen as controlled by demons, and this idea prevailed even up to the nineteenth century.

ii. **Migratory Movement** These movements take place when a large number of people leave one country and settle in some other place or country. The major reasons for mass migration may be discontent or dissatisfaction with the existing situations or circumstances or looking for new opportunities for a bright future.

Mere migration of people from one place to another cannot be called migratory movement. The Zionist Movement (the back-to-Israel movement is known as Zionism) and the movement of people from East Germany to West Germany are some examples of migratory social movements.

iii. Utopian Movement

A Utopian Movement is a movement which is expected to create an ideal social system, or a perfect society, which can only be imagined but cannot exist in reality. Utopian movements conceive man as good, co-operative, and altruistic. The most successful Utopian Movement in the recent history is the Israeli kibbutz. Sarvodaya Movement is another example of a Utopian movement.

iv. **Expressive Movement**

Expressive movements arise when people are discontented and cannot easily change the unpleasant situations (i.e., they feel powerless and cannot flee from the social system) with the result that the individual comes to terms with that unpleasant reality and changes his own reactions in order to make his life bearable. One of the best examples of expressive movement is Hippie Movement.

v. **Reformist Movement**

A reform movement can be described as a mass movement that seeks to change only one specific aspect of a society .The reform movement is an attempt to modify some parts of the society without completely changing the whole social system.

Most of the reform movements are possible in democratic countries as people have an opportunity to express their opinions and criticize the existing social institutions and can bring about some changes in them. The movement to abolish untouchability and dowry system, and the movement to preserve wildlife are all examples of the reform movements.

vi. Revolutionary Movement

The Revolutionary Movement aims at overthrowing the existing social system and replacing it with a new one. Revolutionary movements are quite opposite to the reform movements. Revolutionists generally believe that reform is not possible under the existing social system.

Usually, revolutionary movements arise when people have no other alternative to reform the social system other than changing it as a whole. Revolution serves as an alternative to the individuals to come out of their existing misery. The communist revolution in Russia and China are the examples of revolutionary movements.

vii. **Resistance Movement**

A resistance movement can be described as a movement that arises not only for the purpose of instituting change, but also to block change or to eliminate a previously instituted change. Revolutionary movements arise as people are dissatisfied and feel that the pace of social change is very slow, whereas resistance movements occur when people consider that the change is rapid. The movement against Hindi of Dravida MunnetraKazhagam is a typical example of resistance movement.

viii. Revivalist Movement

A revivalist movement seeks to take the system back to its original pristine purity. Most of the movements try to involve people in the political process and bring about political awareness among the people. Some movements aim at bringing about a change in the lives of certain sections of society, such as the downtrodden as well as women.

Conclusion

From the above we can see the meaning and definition of social movement, example of social movements and it's life cycle. The characteristics of old and new social movements have also been discussed above alongwith the various types of social movements.

1.2: Social movements and the distribution of power in society

Social movements are universal found in all societies in the past and present. They play an important role in distribution of power among various segments in society. Distribution of power in society means how the government distributes the resources and political power. In most of the society in India, we see uneven distribution of power because of which in every society a handful of people become more powerful than the rest. These people are also powerful because they have more access to government resources in comparison to other citizens. For example, in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal , the landlords (Thakurs and Zamindars) are much more powerful than the farmers and other people. This happens due to wrong distribution of power from the government side.

In such societies, we can see discriminations on the basis of economic and political powers. In such societies, economically powerful people easily gain political power. For example:- most of the time, the landlord become the head of the panchayat (sarpanch). No other people dare to contest the election against him. After him, his son becomes the head of the panchayat which leads to corruption and exploitation. Social movement play a significant role in such societies by motivating the ordinary citizens to revolt back against the landlords. The movements like Naxalbari movement, Kishan Sabha movement and Maoist movement in Jharkhand are examples of social movements which change the power structure drastically and gave the farmer their rights and lands.

Conclusion

From the above we can say that a strong and disciplined social movement can influence the process of decentralisation of power to the large extent. All the social movements were launched against powerful people of the society by those who are deprived from their own rights and power. The government of India and many state governments have passed different laws to change and uplift the situation of the disadvantaged section of the society. This is how social movements play an important role in the process of distribution of power in the society.

1.3:Social movements and human rights

Without social movements, there would be no human rights. And indeed, without human rights and the institutions that enforce them, people's struggles for justice would have few outlets and would have trouble building support. Scholarship on the history of social movements shows the important relationship between the emergence of modern states and popular struggles to set limits to states' authority and on the legitimate uses of state coercion.

Social movement challenges to state authority shaped the very structure of today's democracies, as activists developed political repertoires designed to expand public voice and participation in political decisionmaking. The expansion of the franchise to include groups formerly denied political voice, the reduction of barriers to political participation, and the development of laws promoting public accountability and defending rights of minorities were all won through historic and ongoing pro-democracy struggles between social movement challengers and political authorities (Markoff 2015; Tilly 1978).

Not only have social movements shaped the institutions and practices that define contemporary national governments, but they have also played key roles in helping build the global architecture for human rights. Indeed, the earliest efforts to develop laws governing the behaviors of states came in response to popular outrage and resistance to slavery and the international slave trade and to the devastating impacts of wars on both soldiers and civilian populations (Charnovitz 1997, Finnemore 1996, Hunt 2007). Social movements—collections of actors, including both individuals and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) with varying degrees of formalization and resourcefulness, united in coordinated efforts to advance social change—have worked throughout history to help define what it means to be a legitimate state.

Social movements and human rights

Scholars have long shown how social movement activism has helped institutionalize universal human rights principles into international organizations, declarations, and treaties, despite resistance from powerful states. The earliest struggles for rights were those opposing arbitrary state violence and torture and those opposing slavery and the slave trade (Hunt 2007). Human rights movements were key to making human rights a central component of the United Nations Charter at its founding in San Francisco in 1945. They also helped secure a place for civil society organizations in the ongoing work of the United Nations (Seary 1996; Gaer 1996).

Over time, activists have used their access to the United Nations to strengthen the organization, for instance by expanding its work to address gender inequality and rights (Ferree and Mueller 2004; Paxton et al. 2006; Prügl and Meyer 1999) and to improve institutional mechanisms for monitoring and enforcing rights (Smith 1995; Lasso 1994; Clark 2004). For instance, health and human rights advocates have also helped advance global treaties around toxic wastes, environmental justice, landmines, and reproductive health (e.g. Newell 2005; Taylor 1993; Petchesky 2003; Clapp 1994). Other movements have worked to build global norms around the right to food and culture, achieving recent advances by securing the 2018 UN Declaration on the rights of Peasants (see Edelman and Carwil 2011). More recently, social movements have helped strengthen international laws and institutions to hold corporations accountable for their impacts on human rights (Smith 2008; Sikkink 1986). Such work fills a major lacuna in human rights law (e.g., Gibney 2008).

Nelson and Dorsey (2007) describe the emergence over recent decades of a "new human rights advocacy" that emphasizes the intersections of economic and social rights with civil and political rights. These movements are bringing a more diverse array of groups together using a wide variety of tactics and operating at different levels—from local to global. What is apparent when we examine these different struggles across place and time is how global institutions develop in response to contestation between states and social movements. As Kathryn Sikkink and her colleagues have shown, social movement advocates have made use of global norms to bring pressure on governments—what she calls the "boomerang strategy" (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Sikkink 2005). Considering the proliferation of local and national human rights activism, Rodríguez-Garavito (2014) describes a human rights "ecosystem," involving "multiple boomerang" strategies synchronized across different contexts—all pressing governments in similar directions and reinforcing global human rights . Hafner-Burton and Tsutsui (2005) describe a "paradox of empty promises," whereby governments ratify human rights treaties without much intention to transform human rights practices, but as global human rights have been strengthened, we're seeing improvements in actual human rights practices. This paradox has generated, over time, a dynamic refered to as the "spiral model" and the "justice cascade" (Risse, Ropp and Sikkink 1999; Sikkink 2011).

The Diffusion of Human Rights

In a process of human rights globalization, social movements have worked to build a global culture of human rights, supported by a growing array of international treaties and institutions designed to promote and protect human rights and dignity. While states have been organized to reinforce territorial boundaries and competitive interests, people have always worked across those divisions to promote shared interests and cooperation.

Although it is as old as the top-down, state-driven forms of globalization centered on international trade, military, and economic interests, human rights globalization has received far less attention from historians and scholars. This is largely because the proponents of human rights globalization have been groups typically denied a voice or any formal standing in most inter-state institutions and legal structures. In addition, human rights can pose a direct threat to the interests of elites promoting economic globalization and conventional power politics, and powerful groups have used their resources and influence over mass media and political institutions to marginalize movements and discredit their agendas. Nevertheless, in introducing the idea of human rights globalization, aims to focus the attention on the long-term and global efforts of popular forces to articulate human rights norms and develop and build a system of treaties and organizational infrastructures designed to improve human rights protections.

Through this world-historical lens, we can link historic efforts of anti-slavery activists and proponents of the early Geneva Conventions on the laws of war to today's struggles against discriminatory policing and for protection of sexual minorities. A common thread is that, as discussed above, activists and movements have used the inter-state arena to gain leverage against powerful states, holding them accountable to global human rights norms and laws by using what

Keck and Sikkink (1998) refer to as a "boomerang" strategy. Over time, social movements have contributed to a "spiral model" involving the elaboration of new international treaties and organizations designed to better define international expectations around human rights and to promote better monitoring and enforcement of those rights (Risse, Ropp and Sikkink 1999; Smith 1995). Thus, we cannot understand the global human rights architecture without attention to the contestation between human rights movements and states.

The 1990s saw an explosion of new levels of engagement by civil society actors in global spaces, and the United Nations hosted a series of international conferences that encouraged networking and learning across diverse groups and issues (Friedman, Clark and Hochstetler 2005; Willetts 2011). These conferences helped support more multi-issue global organizing and inspired new thinking about intersections of different human rights, including the effects of racism and patriarchy and links between economic and social rights and political/civil rights. Global conferences also helped connect concerns of women, indigenous peoples, immigrants, and other marginalized groups with broader human rights discourse and strategy (Falcón 2016). The opportunities for activists to work together in global spaces enabled them to develop new thinking about how to build broader human rights movements and improve local implementation of global human rights norms and laws.

Over time, many activists—particularly feminists—became frustrated by the failures of traditional approaches to building a human rights treaty system from the top down. States might be willing (with some prodding) to sign a convention, but they rarely took initiative to actually follow-through on their treaty obligations. Getting states to ratify treaties they signed and then to make requisite changes in national laws and practices required ongoing vigilance and pressure from activists and lawyers. Thus, human rights globalizers began to think more systematically about strategies for ensuring greater correspondence between global principles and local practices (Alvarez 2000, Desai 2009). At this same time, Nelson and Dorsey document what they call "new rights advocacy," a "dramatic increase in the application of human rights standards and strategies to economic, social and development policy issues" (2007:189). Such advocacy has involved efforts by some groups to push for stronger monitoring processes and greater enforcement capacities at the international level. But it also involves grassroots mobilization and coalition-building that centers economic, social and cultural rights and that targets local officials and publics.

Localizing Human Rights

In 1993 at the World Conference of Human Rights in Vienna, as the end of the Cold War inspired hope for more united efforts to advance economic and social as well as political and civil rights, movement energies converged around strategies for localizing the movement (Oomen and Baumgärtel 2012; van den Berg and Oomen 2014). A key achievement was the creation of a UN High Commissioner for Human Rights—an office that would centralize international work around human rights and engage in more pro-active efforts to promote global compliance with international norms. The establishment of the High Commissioner achieved a long-standing goal of the global human rights movement, and it marked a critical advancement for human rights globalization. This office broadens and deepens the institutional foundations for global human rights by providing organization and staffing that helps monitor compliance with human rights across all international agencies, expands attention to the practices of member states, and supports the UN Human Rights Council. The High Commissioner's Office hosts and supports numerous Special Rapporteurs and Working Groups focused on important human rights concerns and authorized to engage in fact-finding and analysis that builds support for human rights among states and civil society. The High Commissioner has become an important liaison helping link human rights movements with the global system of states, bringing the knowledge and creativity of movements to the work of global human rights governance.

International attention to localizing human rights has been fueled in part by the rise of new governance challenges within member states caused by economic globalization and the related rapid growth of cities (Khanna 2010, Sassen 1991). Numerous Human Rights Council Resolutions passed since 2013 have furthered international efforts to promote "human rights mainstreaming in local administration and public services". This work from the inter-state arena has been complemented by efforts of municipal leaders themselves to come together across cities to address shared problems faced by local governments (Frug and David J. Barron 2006). What we're seeing today is thus a "rescaling" of politics in response to what Hanna and Walton-Roberts see as a "spatial paradox where changes in governance aimed at enhancing global competitiveness have actually diminished the local qualities cities depend upon to sustain such advantage" (2004:37). A growing global human rights cities movement, emerging initially in the global South and largely in response to pressures brought about by economic globalization and its displacement of people and communities, has been working to link human rights movements with local officials concerned with addressing this spatial paradox and helping connect global and local politics (Marks et al, 2008.).

Thus, we see how social movements have contributed to an important process of human rights globalization that both responds to and serves as an alternative to the top-down agendas of states focused on prioritizing global trade and financial exchanges and military/territorial sovereignty over human needs. Alongside this work to build a global infrastructure that supports human rights norms and that—over time—has become more effective as a tool for holding powerful actors accountable to these rights, movements have been deepening connections within and across national civil societies. This work of movement-building has benefitted from advances in technology that facilitate international communication and travel. Such developments have made it increasingly possible for activists to engage in "grassroots globalism" that links diverse people in varied and remote locales with a global movement that can coordinate action across space.

Evolving Global Rights Norms

But it is not only new organizing techniques that have been important to the localization of the global human rights movement. Also key have been the articulation of global human rights norms and their importance to shaping what Tsutsui (2018) refers to as "social movement actorhood." Globalized human rights norms enable local communities and individuals to make claims against more powerful actors. The global legitimation of human rights both empowers local actors and invites them to understand their conditions differently. Many oppressed groups have, over time, internalized dominant narratives that marginalize their histories and experiences, discouraging them from even viewing their situations as unjust, much less subject to change. Opportunities to engage with other oppressed groups from different places, and to do so in a context where human rights discourses frame interactions, help reframe local struggles and inspire agency against long-term structural violence.

These global processes have generated a movement strategy that Tsutsui and Smith (2019) have called the sandwich effect, which combines the top-down "boomerang" strategy with coordinated action from below to increase pressure on local and national governments as well as other powerful actors to comply with global human rights norms.

Thus, human rights globalization has advanced local human rights advocacy and social movements by

(1) creating political opportunities at the international level that enable local actors to exert external pressures on local authorities;

(2) increasing flows of international support for political mobilization;

(3) providing frames for social movements that appeal to and engage both global audiences and local publics; and

(4) enabling and supporting new, translocal identities and movement actorhood that contributes to the rescaling of global politics and the revaluing of place and community.

In this global political context where city officials are also emerging as global actors, we see the rise of new global-local connections in the human rights movement. Below I provide an illustration of how activists are forging those connections while helping strengthen human rights globalization by advancing human rights institutions as well as local and trans-local movement-building.

Case Study: Human Rights Cities "Bringing Human Rights Home"

A significant institutional innovation in human rights globalization and human rights organizing has been the introduction of the Universal Periodic Review (UPR) process in 2006, as part of a larger UN reform process. The UPR involves a periodic (every 4 ½ years) review of the human rights record of every member government, and the Human Rights Council makes a set of recommendations to governments of actions that will improve their compliance with the entire body of international human rights laws and norms.1 The UPR improves upon past mechanisms for human rights enforcement in a number of ways. First, it empowers civil society actors by inviting them to submit stakeholder reports as part of the formal review process. This happens prior to states' submissions, so that governments are pressed to respond to civil society claims rather than vice-versa. The UPR also is an improvement in that it takes place on a routine basis.

Thus, over time activist groups can expand their skill and knowledge of international human rights law and work to promote local learning about the United Nations and global human rights architecture as they work to hold their governments accountable to UPR recommendations.

Local Organizing and the Third US UPR

In spring 2019, the UN Human Rights Council launched the third Universal Periodic Review of the United States, creating an opportunity upon which a national network of human rights organizers was poised to act. The US Human Rights Cities Alliance, a network of organizations and activists representing the US component of the global human rights cities movement, launched the "UPR Cities Project,"2 to encourage local activists to document local human rights conditions as part of the third US Universal Periodic Review.

The group organized a series of webinars hosted in the months leading up to the October deadline for submitting stakeholder reports to the United Nations, helping local groups better understand how international processes could be used to advance their local work around issues such as affordable housing, gun violence, gender and racial discrimination, and food insecurity. Webinars also provided guidance about relevant international laws and documentation that could support the concerns being raised by communities. Organizers helped provide logistical support for groups preparing to submit formal stakeholder reports. Such reports include not only testimony about conditions in particular locales that require remedy but also identify recommendations for policy changes at the national level that would improve possibilities for regional and local officials to strengthen human rights protections. It is important to note that these movements don't limit their understanding of rights to the formal body of binding laws, but rather they advocate for "people-centered human rights" that uses people's needs as a guide for policy and law (Baraka, n.d.).

Producing stakeholder reports requires consultation among diverse community groups. The UPR submission process encourages groups to collaborate, and submissions that reflect diverse constituencies are encouraged. Thus, the UPR process itself encourages activists to engage in human rights-centered dialogues and learning—all forms of human rights movementbuilding. In addition, the task of generating recommendations for the UPR process requires dialogue and reflection on the work of governance. This is not something citizens are typically asked to do in conventional politics. Instead, they're offered solutions by politicians and policy experts, but they're not invited to come up with solutions of their own. By inviting residents to consider not only what is wrong but also how to make things better, the UPR process strengthens people's agency, or actorhood, and engages them in the work of active citizenship. Such engagement, moreover, provides positive reinforcement for elements of city government that support equity and human rights—agencies and officials who are often marginalized and overshadowed by the usually more powerful government entities focused on economic development and growth.

Human Rights Movement-Building

Bringing international attention to the US human rights record is not the only aim of the UPR Cities project. The ultimate goal is to build a human rights constituency throughout the country—people who know their rights and are organized and empowered to defend them. An online UPR Cities organizing toolkit supports efforts to mobilize local residents and equip them with resources to shape local human rights practices. While national governments ratify treaties and participate in UN processes, it is ultimately local officials who make and enforce decisions that relate most directly to international human rights laws and standards. Yet, many local officials are uninformed about international law. It's up to organized communities, then, to be what human rights cities organizer Rob Robinson calls "human rights enforcers."

Organizers outline three main steps for participants in the UPR Cities project, called the "3 Cs." First, residents collect testimonies and documentation about local human rights conditions. These can be both examples of good or best practices, as well as illustrations of where improvements are needed. Next, activists compile these accounts into a report that can be submitted to the official UPR review of the United States. This report becomes the basis for further organizing aimed at educating local communities and inviting them to discuss and reflect on the report's analysis and strategies for local action. Such conversations can lead groups to produce their own local UPR report that targets city/community officials as well as other local targets, such as corporations, universities, or large nonprofit entities. Finally, the UPR Cities project calls for local efforts to clamor for human rights. Reflecting on the recommendations generated in their reports and identifying the ones they wish to champion can generate local enthusiasm and support for the long-term organizing work needed to help realize the recommendations in the UPR and any international review process. This last step is the most critical for achieving concrete changes in human rights practices, and it reflects the wisdom of early human rights campaigner Frederick Douglass, who said "Power concedes nothing without a demand."

Without local knowledge of international reviews or appreciation of how international pressure could benefit communities, the UPR would be—like one critic dubbed the early Human Rights Commission—"the most elaborate waste paper basket ever invented."3 Organizers of the UPR Cities initiative hope that involving local residents in work to generate shared understandings of the systemic issues that prevent better local level compliance with, for instance, expectations in regard to the right to housing, education, political participation, and freedom from arbitrary arrest and torture, the project will build skills and commitment needed to support ongoing movement action to advance UPR recommendations at both national and local levels. Because local activists are involved in work to build stakeholder reports, they are more likely to remain active in this essential step of clamoring for government action to follow up on the UPR recommendations.

Many people criticize the UN because its reports and declarations are often ignored by governments. What they don't realize is that democratic governance requires both laws to protect people and vigilant and active citizens to hold public officials accountable. Local actors have long been a critical missing link in the UN human rights architecture, and they are the ones necessary to "guard the guardians." That is, they help ensure that governments follow through on their promises and that global human rights expectations get "translated" into national and local polities. It is in local contexts where rights advocates can frame issues and mobilize supporters and collective action that builds both political will and public capacity to effectively implement the full range of human rights (i.e., including economic, social and cultural rights).

The recent history of human rights movements shows that activists have learned that it is not enough to merely promote good treaties and document rights violations, it is up to local populations to demand that officials use human rights principles to guide policy decisions.4 The UPR Cities project and related initiatives are helping build communities of activists who can identify key treaties and documentation from prior reviews and develop cross-city analyses of the key human rights priorities and recommended changes. What is more, the initiative will be working to sustain and support local advocacy far beyond the third UPR by building campaigns to promote key UPR recommendations in local as well as national advocacy. For instance, planners are discussing ideas for highlighting "20 UPR Recommendations for 2020," in the follow-up to the UPR. And in another four and a half years, there will be an opportunity to assess progress in advancing these recommendations in the 4th UPR round. The organized movement of activists working to help local communities understand and use this important UN process is critical to its success as a tool for human rights protection. When communities see changes in local practices that grow from this work, this illustrates progress on the path of human rights globalization.

Knowing there is international attention on local rights conditions may not move national governments to act, but mayors and other community leaders are more accountable to the people whose lives their decisions impact, and they can significantly impact national policies (Barber 2014, Meyer 2009). By reminding image-sensitive local leaders that "the world is watching," initiatives like UPR Cities can help keep human rights on local agendas and shift discourses in ways that prioritize human rights over the prevailing, uncritical acceptance of market logics. In sum, the UPR process has been an important innovation in the UN human rights architecture. But without an active, informed, and engaged local constituency, its value is quite limited. Its reports will go to national governments who may have little intention to heed their recommendations. When human rights advocates are mobilized into this process, they build and expand local human rights constituencies. This can change local conversations, agendas, and priorities and strengthen accountability to human rights standards at local levels where this matters most.

Human Rights Globalization & Cities

Human rights cities and projects like the UPR Cities initiative described above are reflections of the recent trend of localization of the global human rights movement. Human rights defenders are using the sandwich strategy to bring pressure on both national and local officials to conform with global human rights norms. This process has required work to build and strengthen international human rights laws, norms and institutional mechanisms. But more importantly, it requires far more effort to build human rights constituencies and movements of activists ready to vote, speak, and take action for human rights. Movement-building is difficult work, but it is necessary for improving the most critical dimensions of human rights, which are related to broader systemic forces, power relations, and inequities in the distribution of resources. Henri

Lefebvre, whose book, Le Droit à la Ville (The Right to the City), has been a major inspiration to this movement, observed that "In order to extend the possible, it is necessary to proclaim and desire the impossible. Action and strategy consist in making possible tomorrow what is impossible today."

Human rights cities ask residents to consider what their city or community could become if political leaders prioritized human rights over the common political emphasis on economic development and growth. What if human rights metrics were centered in policy evaluations, rather than the numbers of new business start-ups or amount of outside financial investment in the community? What if measures of residential longevity and stability were prioritized over the expansion of luxury housing and retail developments? What if the funds used to provide subsidies to attract corporate development in the community were used instead to provide lowinterest loans for local small businesses, support training and apprenticeships for low-income residents, and improve transit? Could the work of placemaking—that is, encouraging residents to become more active and engaged citizens and leaders making communities places that are attractive and that promote the well-being of all residents—help cities fare better despite limited budgets? These are all questions that emerge from efforts of people in communities to build human rights cities.

Economic globalization has detached people from place and community while shifting major policy decisions to technical experts and remote decision-makers who are unaccountable to the people affected by these policies. Countering this form of globalization, human rights defenders continue the long historic struggles of people to defend their right to have a voice in concentrated at the global level, we're seeing more threats to local livelihood that are inspiring greater grassroots mobilization. The human rights globalization that has taken place over centuries has provided both normative and institutional structures that can be resources for these struggles. Human rights cities movements help connect these global and local processes and reveal important lessons about how human rights are made real for real people in actual communities.

Summarisation of some of the key practices we see in many different human rights cities. These suggest some broader lessons that are emerging from the work of human rights advocates about how we can advance human rights in a world that has become increasingly oriented around the logic of global markets.

- Convening & supporting spaces for bridging differences—Much of the work human rights cities activists do involves bringing diverse residents together to learn from one another and develop inter-personal relationships and a sense of shared interest and community to counter the detached and dehumanizing narratives in mainstream discourses.
- Promoting human rights learning & consciousness—Popular education about international human rights is critical. In the United States, very few residents—even those with advanced formal education—know much about the Universal Declaration of Human Rights or the system of international human rights treaties and reviews. Inviting residents to think about things like housing and health care as human rights instead of privileges reserved for those with adequate incomes can transform thinking about everyday politics and life in the community. Inviting residents to consider how well their community leaders protect human rights inspires a sense of place, belonging, and responsibility for the well-being of neighbors and the environment.
- Building human rights constituencies— To influence political processes, we need organized blocs of voters to make human rights the driving consideration in their electoral choices. We also need candidates who articulate human rights priorities in their platforms. Human rights are not single-issues but intersecting concerns that address underlying structures of power. They also transcend conventional left-right political divides as well as national boundaries.
- Cultivating political and legal imagination— The institutions in place in our communities were designed to advance the interests of business and the goal of economic growth. They were not designed to prioritize people's well-being and basic needs. Thus, building communities where human rights are routinely respected and enjoyed requires us to invent new forms of politics and new kinds of institutions that center human rights norms. Getting from where we are to that vision requires creative political and legal strategies. Human rights city initiatives create spaces and opportunities for the cultivation of such creativity, and they help build the networks of connections needed to carry out strategies to achieve community visions and help "[make] the impossible possible," in the words of Lefebvre.

- <u>Creative institution-building/work with government allies</u>—Finally, the human rights city initiatives we've seen so far have been led and driven by social movements, but they involve connections and partnerships with local public officials. Knowledge of how cities work and what strategies can help advance human rights in a locale is developed by people who serve in local leadership positions and who have relationships with existing government officials. And sometimes human rights leaders get into government positions and can make important changes that can substantially improve local human rights conditions. Transforming cities requires innovations in local policies and practices that is most likely where there is cooperation between movements and some elements of local government.

Conclusion

Often it is difficult to see the tremendous progress that activists have made in defending human rights in the face of resistance from powerful actors seeking to defend their own wealth, privilege, and power. And most accounts of international law and global politics focus on powerful entities like states and corporations, overlooking the important role civil society actors play. In response to the increased concentration of power and wealth in the world, the localization of human rights struggles provides an important counter-force that can help remedy some of the urgent crises in our world today.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Self Assessment Exercises:

Q1. What do you mean by social movement? What are its major characteristics?

Q2. What is the role of social movement in distribution of power in the society?

Q3. What role social movement plays in protecting the human rights of the people?

CHAPTER 2

THEORIES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

LEARNING OUTCOME: After going through this lesson, students will be able to-

- **Know the concept of Resources Mobilization Theory**
- **Understand the concept of Relative Deprivation Theory**
- **Grasp the Rational Choice Theory in context of the Marxist and Post Marxist approaches**

2.1 RESOURCE MOBILIZATION THEORY

Social exclusion is a multidimensional term that encompasses social, economic, political and cultural spheres. Exclusion is linked to the recognition of social identities, resource allocations and power relations. In most cases, both subjective consciousness and actual inequalities lead to ethnic assertions and extremist activities. Unlike other studies on ethnicity and extremism, the present article tries to understand ethnic assertions in northeast India in the context of rampant social exclusion taking place in the region.Northeast India is known to other parts of India and world as the hotpot of ethnic violence, extremism and insurgency. The region witnessed the emergence of a number of extremist organizations challenging the sovereignty and integrity of the Indian state. These include United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), National Democratic Front of Bodoland, National Socialist Council of Nagalim, Kuki National Army, Garo Liberation Front, Bru National Liberation Front, National Liberation Front of Tripura, Hmar People's Convention (Democratic), Zomi Revolutionary Army, All Tripura Tigers Force, Liberation Tigers of Arunachal, National Liberation Army of Arunachal, United Liberation Tigers of Arunachal, Revolutionary Army of Arunachal Pradesh, etc. The demands of these extremist groups vary from autonomy to secessionism and sovereignty. Since independence, this region witnessed the emergence of number of movements which mobilized the people on ethnic lines. For instance, the Assam Movement of 1979-84 was against illegal migration and protection of Assamese identity, the Naga movement can be seen in the context of crisis of Naga identity and the Mizo movement wasthe outcome of the neglect of Central and state governments during the famine. Though India adopted liberal democracy with inherent institutional safeguards for the protection of the interest of various communities and groups, extremist tendencies based on ethnicity is taking roots in recent past. In this context, it is pertinent to ask the question as to why extremist trends are developing in a liberal democracy.The ethnic mobilization often leads to virulent form of extremism and violence in a society. Extremism is a tactic adopted by a group or individual to achieve their goals which are not reflected or achieved through normal channels of liberal democracy. In the present world, no society is free from extremist challenges of one or the other forms. Ted Gurr views that violent or extremist acts pose a threat to the political system in two senses: "they challenge the monopoly of force imparted to the state in political theory; and, in functional terms, they are likely to interfere with and, if severe, to destroy normal political processes" (Gurr, 1970:

Understanding Social Exclusion

Exclusion is a multidimensional process covering social, economic, cultural and political domains. Exclusion is linked to the recognition of social identities, resource allocations and power relations. Marshall Wolfe talks about various kinds of social exclusion – exclusion from livelihood, exclusion from social services, welfare and security networks, exclusion from political choice, exclusion from popular organization and solidarity, and exclusion from understanding of what is happening (Wolf, 1995: 81-101). Social exclusion refers to both individual exclusion and group exclusion from society, other groups or individuals. It results in the denial of access to opportunities, public goods, public offices and institutionsandself respect in the public spheres. It is argued that "social exclusion is about the inability of our society to keep all groups and individuals within reach of what we expect as a society . . . or to release their full potentials" (Power and Wilson, 2000:27). The socially excluded is deprived of social recognition, self-respect and social values. The basis of exclusion can be race, ethnicity, gender, religion, language, region, or caste. Each form of exclusion has its nature and manifestation.The issue of social exclusion is usually related to the problem of equal opportunity. Though modern liberal democracies formally recognize full citizenship, very often it create unequal citizenship in actual practice, as the structural accommodation through citizenship and affirmative action policies fail to bring about the desired change. Charles Taylor argues that there is an inbuilt tendency towards exclusion in liberal democratic states "arising from the fact that democracies work well when people know one another, trust one another, and feel a sense of commitment toward one another" (Taylor, 1998: 147). Human history is a history of struggle for equal share in public resources and equal opportunity for occupying public institutions. Social exclusion results in injustice to certain communities as it denies the access to public offices and primary goods. Rawls, for instance, in his celebrated theory of justice viewed that opening of institutions and distribution of primary goods as means to ensure social justice (Rawls, 1971).

Conceptualizing Ethnicity

After having explained social exclusion, it is pertinent to understand the concept of ethnicity. Ethnicity is often identified with the ideas of primordialism based on descent, race, kinship, territory, language, history, etc. It is also related to the memory of a golden age which is closely linked to a sense of collective destiny. Ethnicity is defined as "the sense of collective belonging to a named community of common myths or origin and shared memories, associated with an historic homeland" (Smith, 1999: 262). Ethnicity also refers to some form of group identity related to a group of persons who accept and of common descent or origin, shared historical memories and connections (Chazan, Mortimer, Ravenhall and Rothchild, 1988: 35). Ethnicity can be classified into two groups - instrumental ethnicity which emanates from material deprivation – and symbolic ethnicity based on one's anxiety to preserve one's cultural identity (Noyoo, 2000: 57).Ethnicity entails a subjective belief in common ancestry. Ethnic membership is based on group identity and often identities would be or constructed. In certain cases, ethnic identity is intrinsically connected with language. Language is very often becomes a maker of cultural differences. Ethnicity is often considered as the outward expression of discrimination – discrimination in access to resources and opportunities. Such "discrimination is built into the normal operating procedures of institutions" (Yinger, 1997: 169). T.K. Oommen identifies six reasons for the process of ethnification. First, a nation may continue to be in its ancestral or adopted homeland and yet it may be ethnified by the colonizing or native dominant collectivity. That is, the link between territory and culture should not be viewed merely as a physical phenomenon. Second, the denial of full-fledged participation in the economy and polity to an immigrant collectivity which had adopted a new land as its homeland. Thirdly, the tendency on the part of a settler collectivity to identify with its ancestral homeland even after several decades, sometimes even after centuries, of immigration. Fourthly, ethnification also occurs when a state attempts to ‘integrate’ and homogenize the different nations in its territory into a common people. Fifthly, if those who migrate to alien lands are denied basic human and citizenship rights even when they become eligible for them, they are ethnified in that they are treated as strangersand outsiders. Finally, even when immigrants are accepted aconationalsbythehostsociety, the former may not want that identity and might wish to return to their homeland (Oommen, 1997: 13-15). Thus, one can see that Oommen’s analysis of ethnification is more related to the process of social exclusion.

Such “discrimination is built into the normal operating procedures of institutions” (Yinger, 1997: 169). T.K. Oommen identifies six reasons for the process of ethnification. First, a nation may continue to be in its ancestral or adopted homeland and yet it may be ethnified by the colonizing or native dominant collectivity. That is, the link between territory and culture should not be viewed merely as a physical phenomenon. Second, the denial of full-fledged participation in the economy and polity to an immigrant collectivity which had adopted a new land as its homeland. Thirdly, the tendency on the part of a settler collectivity to identify with its ancestral homeland even after several decades, sometimes even after centuries, of immigration. Fourthly, ethnification also occurs when a state attempts to ‘integrate’ and homogenize the different nations in its territory into a common people. Fifthly, if those who migrate to alien lands are denied basic human and citizenship rights even when they become eligible for them, they are ethnified in that they are treated as strangersand outsiders. Finally, even when immigrants are accepted as co-nationals by the host society, the former may not want that identity and might wish to return to their homeland (Oommen, 1997: 13-15). Thus, one can see that Oommen’s analysis of ethnification is more related to the process of social exclusion.

Social Exclusion and Ethnic Identity Formation

Social exclusion, in many cases, leads to identity assertion which in turn causes conflict, sometimes violent. Social exclusion leads to crisis at individual level, societal level, national level and international level. Individual self cannot be located within the community which is facing some level of identity crisis. Identity crisis, in turn, problematize political boundary and national imagination of the nation state. Social exclusion is closely linked with material exclusion – exclusion from land, from other productive assets or from market for good. In his study on ethnicity Paul Brass identified that ethnic identity formation involves three processes. Firstly, “within the ethnic group itself for control over its material and symbolic resources”, secondly, “between ethnic groups as a competition for rights, privileges, and available resources”, and thirdly, “between the state and the groups that dominate it, on the one hand, and the populations that inhabit its territory on the other” (Brass, 1991: 247)Social exclusion is a process and state that prevents groups from full participation in social, economic and political life and from asserting their rights. (Beall and Piron, 2005) It is viewed that “ethnicity or ethnic identity also involves, in addition to subjective self-consciousness, a claim to status and recognition, either as a superior group or as a group at least equal to other groups” (Brass, 1991: 19). The civic nationalism championed by modern nation state has bearing on the emergence of ethnic cleavages in a multicultural society. It is argued that “although not always as conflict prone as ethnic nationalism, civic nationalism may be discriminatory as well, if only in the sense that it does not acknowledge ethnic differences and thus potentially deprives members of ethnic communities other than a country’s dominant group from opportunities to preserve, express, and develop their distinct identities” (Wolf, 2006: 32)Amartya Sen says that sense of one’s identity creates a sense of exclusion from mainstream and in “many cases carry with it the perception of distance and divergence from other groups” (Sen, 2006: 2) Constructing a national identity and in the process ignoring the specificitiesof smaller communities further creates exclusionary tendencies. In libera democracies, governance diffuses tensions between the state and the people. Democratic institutions are not merely the instruments for running the affairs of the government, but are also the agents of mediating the interests between various social classes. Institutions are expected to respond to the democratic needs of the people.Raphael Zariski while analyzing ethnic extremism among the ethno territorial minorities in Western Europe analyses three dimensions of ethnic extremism - willingness to resort to violence, ethnic exclusivenessand separatism. First dimension, according to him, was “the readiness of a political actor to resort to the use of violence to achieve proclaimed objectives, even when there are legal avenues available for pursuing these goals”. The second dimension of ethnic extremism is cultural and politicalexclusiveness. According to Raphael, “members of some ethnic minorities are very reluctant to seek political support from other ethnic groups or to make any effort to admit willing recruits from such groups to their ranks”. The third dimension is creating a feeling of separatism and leading to separatist movements (Zariski, 1989: 253-254).

The Case of Northeast India

The northeastern region of India is often described as the cultural mosaic of India consisting of diverse tribal communities, linguistic, and ethnic identities. Often these identities transcend the territorial and social boundaries drawn by the Indian state and the larger community respectively. The region, connected to the mainland India with the 22 k. m. long “Chicken-Neck Corridor”, consists of eight states and has international border with neighbouring countries, namely Bangladesh, Myanmar, Nepal, China, and Bhutan. In the international scene, it is a strategic location linked to South and South-East Asia. From internal security point of view, the region is known for the ‘problem states’, experiencing law and order problems, inter and intra tribal conflicts and human rights violations by the security forces.The politics of northeast India is marked by ethnicity and extremism for a long time. The assertion of various ethnic identities and the attitude of the state in containing ethnic extremism make the region distinct from the rest of India. The root cause of ethnic assertion can be foundin the identity crisis of various tribal communities who extend over the territorial boundaries drawn by the Indian nation state. Most of the ethnic assertions are due to ethnic groups’ desperate attempts to protect their identity, culture and language. For instance, it is argued that “claims to ethno-nationalism of the Bodos can be interpreted as closely intertwined with issues of institutional and social exclusion based on language politics” (Saikia, 2011: 60). In other words, the basis of ethnic assertion can be seen in two contexts. Firstly, the tribal communities’ subjective consciousness of being excluded, oppressed and marginalized. Secondly, the process of development failed to address the legitimate concerns of the people. Though after independence the Indian state tried to integrate and assimilate various ethnic communities in the mainstream national identity, the development process generated a feeling of alienation among them. Moreover, development led to the unequal distribution of resources across the communities and regions. Thus, both non-economic (subjective consciousness) and economic (material) factors created a sense of exclusion among the some ethnic communities.In northeast India, the fear of exclusion started even before Independence. The Nagas foresaw the possibility of exclusion in postcolonial India in the event of their integration with Indian Union, andstarted mobilizing Nagas for a separate nation free from the clutches of the Indian state. Moreover, they also felt that their community life and values would bethreatened with the increasing number of the majority communities from other parts of India. The sense of social exclusion in the northeast was articulated with the emergence of new social forces – educated elite, students and youth groups, etc. The reasons for the emergence of social forces in the northeast include: the impact of Christianity on the socio-cultural life of the people, spread of education, etc. Oommen identified three major agents of change among the tribes of northeast India – the state, the civil society (of which the Church is the major element) and the market forces. (Oommen, 2009: 10). Ethnicidentity provided the grouping ground for their mobilization. Like Dalit mobilization started among the educated sections of Mahars in Maharashtra, these social forces articulated the grievances of the communities. It isargues that the Youth who feel alienated from society and excluded from job opportunities and decision making may turn to ethnic mobilization. Karna argued that the process of ethnic identity formation in the northeast region was based on the idea of large group formation (Karna, 1991). Moreover, the social exclusion of ethnic communities has a dialectical link with psychological exclusion of the tribal communities of the region.These include exclusion from deliberative institutions due to their lack of cognitive orientation and the epistemological inequality due to lack of access to epistemological resources. The impersonization of their social, cultural, economic and political life by people from other communities or modern state further accelerated this process

Ethnic Exclusion and Nation-Building Process

Among the various actors involved in the exclusionary practices,nation-states constitute the major instrument. In other words, the nation-state itself often creates exclusion of certain ethnic communities. Thisexclusionary strategy is best depicted by Andres Wimmer who argued that"in many cases, minorities are meant to remain permanently outside of thesphere of national imagination but inside the state's territory" (Wimmer,2006: 339). While endorsing this view in a different context, Stefan Wolfstates that neither ethnicity nor nationalism in itself causes ethnic conflictand, however, when state or government ignore the legitimate political,social, and economic grievances of disadvantaged ethnic groups contributeto ethnic conflict. (Wolf, 2006: 5).In India, freedom from the British did not bring any solace to the communities of the region as the dominant nationality suppressed the smaller nationalities. The major factors that contributed to the socialexclusion and subsequent emergence of ethnic mobilization are the pitfalls of nation-building process, the faulty modernization process, and the nature of the nation-state. The nation-building process undermined the specificities of ethnic minorities of the region generated fears among them. The modernization, especially the capitalist modernization weaned away the traditional values, norms and practices which are inherent in the tribal communities. Moreover, the modern nation state erected arbitrary territorial boundaries, in place of traditional ethnic boundaries.After independence, India's constitutional democracy instead of adopting a confrontationist approach followed a policy of accommodation and assimilation. The Constitution of India provides institutional accommodation for tribal communities of northeast India through various measures like protective discrimination policies. In some states in the region, the interests of tribal communities are protected by invoking Inner Line Permit (for instance, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Mizoram) and special provisions. The Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution gives special status to the traditional institutions and makes provisions for the creation of autonomous district councils. In spite of all these accommodations, the tribal communities are confronting with multiple kinds of exclusion. Moreover, all these institutional mechanisms proved to be futile when the State and its institutions indulge in human rights' violations In the process of nation-building some communities were left out either because of their low numerical strength or due to low bargaining power with the power structure. Though the postcolonial states initiated a number of policies to ensure 'inclusiveness' for the discontented communities, the efforts did not yield much result. Initially most of the discontent was manifested in a more peaceful manner and latter it assumed extremist posture. The Naga movement first began in 1947 as a peaceful movement and when the Indian state undertook counter insurgency activities, it took a violent turn affecting the life and property of the individual. In the western context, nation created state, while in India the states is in the process of constructing the nation and instilling national consciousness among the people. When the state with its all powerful authority constructs nationand wider national identity it often meets with a problem. Sometimes in this process the state imposes its will and authority on the people. In other words, while the state is engaging in nation-building through the construction of national identity, smaller identities move in the opposite direction, when they feel that they are about to lose their identity. In thiscontext, various ethnic groups are seeking larger space in state and are trying to protect their peculiar identity. The state initiative to integrate all communities and groups proved to be counter-productive. As Roy argues that the "formation of a rebel consciousness in the ethnic formation is an obvious corollary of this hegemonic goal of the Indian state. The 'rebel consciousness' has found articulation in the formation of 'nations from below' which, by nature, contests the state-centric Indian nation" (Roy, 2005: 2176).The postcolonial development process tried to integrate and assimilate ethnic communities towards the mainstream development process while ignoring their cultural and economic specificities. The centralized planning and the capitalist modernization further lead to the exclusion of various tribal communities from mainstream. Biswas and Suklabaidya view that "the tribal life-world suffered heavily owing to the introduction of the state sponsored agencies to govern development" (Biswas and Suklabaidya, 2008: 124). It is argued that "the governmental machinery created only a top down administration within which the local self-governance and traditional institutions of various tribes could retain a nominal presence. Rather it gave rise to intense conflict between traditional institutions and state government leading to an unaccountable condition of development" (Ahmed and Biswas, 2004: 5). Though, not in largescale, the capitalist development strain the relationship between culture and nature. The indigenous way of development was disturbed by the penetration of the capitalist development leading to underdevelopment, displacement of communities from their settlement and livelihood and erosion of community life.The postcolonial modernization initiated by the newly independent India generated some kind of discontent among the communities leading towards violence. As Gurr observes, "if discontented people have or get constructive means to attain their social and material goals, few will resort to violence. Only men who are enraged are likely to prefer violence despite the availability of effective nonviolent means for satisfying theirexpectations" (Gurr, 1970: 317). While analyzing ethnic unrest in Assam, Hiren Gohain identifies two possible factors responsible for the transition of ethnic movements to armed militancy. Firstly, "the naxalite theory in the late 1960s identified the Indian state as a 'prison-home of nationalities' and encouraged armed revolt among such oppressed tribal groups against the Indian state". Secondly, "as with the determined armed opposition of the state to the most overwhelming mass movements, tribal leaders came to the end of their tether" (Gohain, 1997: 391).The Indian state and the governmental machinery often treat extremist activities as a mere law and order problem. The state, in this context, became more repressive often invoking the Armed Forces Special Powers Act, 1958. The state government, under the provisions of the Act, can declare any areas as disturbed and give a free hand to the armed forces to arrest a person on the basis of mere suspicion. The state repression in the name of counter insurgency leads to human rights violations. When the state considers extremism a law and order problem, the response was the invocation of draconian laws on the innocent civilians who mostly belong to tribal communities. Apart from perceiving ethnicity and extremism as mere law and order problem and firmly deal with it through army, police and other paramilitary forces, at times the state also opens up the door for dialogue and negotiation with the extremists groups.

Insider Vs Outsider Phenomenon

In some parts of the northeast, the issue of ethnic identity assertion is related to migration that resulted in a sense of exclusion. This region since Independence witnessed migration of Bangladeshis, Nepalese and migrant workers from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The 'insider' and 'outsider' syndrome crippled the social, political, economic and cultural life of the tribal communities. In Tripura, the indigenous tribal became landless and land alienation of tribal to Bengali migration. They emerged as the dominant force. The threat to their survival due to illegal migration created further social exclusion. Apart from creating a feeling of 'us' and 'them', it led to the alienation of natural resources and cultural specificities of ethnic groups leading to identity crisis. As Fernandes argues that "given their symbiotic relationship with the land and the close link between natural resources and culture, the affected ethnic groups view theland shortages also as an attack on their identity" (Fernandes, 2004:4610). The material existence of tribal communities was threatened by the influx of migration, occupation of key government jobs by non-tribals leading to their further exclusion. The phenomenon of ethnic extremism is further activated by declining jobs opportunities in the government sector.Ethnic communities feel in terms of "us" and "them" in the process of generating ethnic consciousness. This feeling emerges out of one group or community realizes its relative deprivation in comparison with others. Ethnicity, in this context, is the "phenomenon of an ethnic group coming to self-awareness that enables it to reaffirm its identity and pursue its interests" (Heredia, 1997: 1011). The frustration of the unemployed youth was utilized by the extremist organizations to serve their interests. The demands of the extremist groups are varying from autonomy to secessionism. They often challenge the sovereignty and integrity of the nation-state. The assertion of ethnic identity and the accompanying extremist tendencies are related to the feeling of losing one's own identity, marginalization and exploitation by others

Elite Formation and the Emergence of Middle Class

The problem of ethnicity and extremism is further aggregated by the regional consciousness aroused by elites, especially the middle class (Singh, 1998; Baruah, 1991; Sharma, 1990). Both in the western context and India in general, the middle class is viewed as the champion of liberal democracy promoting democratic values such as toleration, liberty, equality and justice. However, in the northeast, the middle class can be seen as the promoter of ethnic extremist movements. For instance, the Assam movement emerged as Assamese middle class movements whose interest was mostly affected by the migration of outsiders (Baruah, 1991).Another dimension of the elite formation in the tribal communities is that the dominant communities allied with state power exclude certain groups from accessing resources, institutions and opportunities, generating a feeling of exclusion of other groups. In such situation, smaller ethnic communities assert for resources and opportunities. The assertion of marginalized identities and its extremist posture are giving a new direction to state politics. In this context, democratic politics is overshadowed by ethnic politics. The elite within the ethnic communities mobilize people in ethnic manner to realize its goals. As Brass argues, "the cultural norms, values, and practices of ethnic groups become political resources for elites in competition for political power and economic advantage" (Brass, 1991: 15). The assertion of Hmars in Mizoram against the domination of Mizos and the assertion of Garos against Khasis in Meghalaya is a self-evident factor to prove this argument.

From Ethnicity to Ethnic Politics

The ethnic demand for homeland created a number of smaller states in the northeast. For instance, the greater Assam was balkanized into Nagaland (1963), Meghalaya (1972), Arunachal Pradesh and Mizoram (1987) to meet the demands of these ethnic groups. However, mere making of territorial boundary did not solve the problem; on the contrary, it further aggregated it. It is argued that the creation of separate statefurther fanned the fire when "various smaller and bigger communities started to demand establishment of more states; on the other hand, the state showed their inability to deliver the basic goods" (Madhab, 1999: 320). The denial of basic goods to various communities can be seen in the larger contest of denial of social justice for the communities. John Rawls, the contemporary American philosopher, in fact, states that the discrimination of primary goods such as basic rights and liberties and self-respect, income and wealth, etc. as the precondition for ensuring justice in a society (Rawls, 1971). In the context of India, Ambrose Pinto states that “the competition for power among different social and ethnic groups was legitimized on the premise that all social and ethnic groups will have equal space and opportunities. However, with the majoritarian groups or the dominant social group gradually aspiring for power; the attempt was to create a national culture. In the process the ethnic groups have felt marginalized and rejected. The culture of ethnic groups remains restricted to private expression within the group with no attempts to include it, in spite of the constitutional slogan of ‘unity in diversity” (Pinto, 2000: 189). Moreover, it is viewed that, “when the state fails as the principal agent of socio-economic transformation and cannot ensure distributive justice to its citizens, it tends to become increasingly coercive” (Misra, 2002: 3784). Further, the creation of smaller territorial units acceding to the demands of the dominant ethnic community in a region often threaten the existence and survival of numerically less ethnic communities as the positions and jobs and resources were monopolized the dominant ethnic group. The Hmar problem in Mizoram and the Garos disadvantageous positions in accessing resources and positions in Meghalaya are such examples forcing them to arouse ethnic feeling and violent mobilization. While the making of territorial boundary satisfied the dominant ethnic community, it created despair for the minority ethnic economic communities. As a result, the level of extremist activities percolated from one level to another.The ethnic mobilization assumes an extremist posture when various ethnic movement arousing emotive issues to expand its mass base among the society. The Mizo National Famine Front formed under the leadership of Laldenga used the famine situation of 1959 to arouse ethnic consciousness and later turned it into an underground movement. The Assam Language Movement (1960-70) raised the issue of making the Assamiya language as the medium of instruction upto graduation level in addition to existing English language. As Srikanthargues, “by provoking national and ethnic identities, the Assam agitation has prepared the ground for the rise of militancy in Assam” (Srikanth, 2000: 4122). The emergence of ULFA as a militant extremist organization was a radical offshoot of the Assam movement. When Assam Gana Parishad (AGP) turned to a political party after the Assam Accord of 1985, ULFA continued its extremist path.Another kind of social exclusion visible is in the area of language. The introduction of alien language over local language also created ethnic mobilization. The early movements in Mizoram, Meghalaya, Nagaland is due to the domination of Assamese. The Assam Official Language Act 1960, had its repercussion on the Mizos, Khasis, Garos and Bodos, and it further rekindled the regional consciousness among the divergent ethnic groups in the United Assam. For instance, the people of Khasis Hills, Jaintia Hills and the Garo Hills under the leadership of the All Party Hill Leaders Conference demanded separate state. There are criticisms against popularizing Hindi in Arunachal Pradesh.

Ethnicity to Ethnic Conflicts

In the debate on social exclusion and ethnicity it is pertinent to examine reasons behind the extremist positions taken by some extremist groups when they are moving away from normal democratic process provided by constitutions and other institutions. The multidimensionalmanifestation of social exclusion is articulated by the emerging socialforces leading to ethnic based conflict in a society. It is argued that:Social exclusion is a leading cause of conflict and insecurity in many parts of the world. Excluded groups that suffer multiple disadvantages may come together when they have unequal rights, are denied a voice in political processes and feel marginalized from the mainstream of their society. Peace may be the first step, such as marches, strikes and demonstrations. But if this has no effect, or if governments react violently to such protests, then groups are more likely to resort to violent conflict if they feel there is no alternative (Beall and Piron, 2005: 8)According to Marshall Wolf, ethnicity is not the ultimate, irreducible source of violent conflict. In other words, violence does not spontaneously erupt between otherwise peacefully coexisting ethnic groups. Power and material gain can be equally strong motivations, for leaders and followers alike, to choose conflict over cooperation, violence over negotiations" (Wolf, 2006: 3). Most ethnic movements emerged initially within the Constitutional framework and peaceful manner. In course of time, they turned violent when the state used its repressive machinery and resorted violence while engaging in peace negotiations. The state viewed that itcan suppress the ethnic mobilization by invoking force. The assertion of ethnic identity, in course of time, percolated to the realm of politics. The state often conveniently uses one group against another, at times extending patronage to one ethnic group, as in Naga-Kuki conflict in ManipurIn NEI, social exclusion and ethnicity reinforce each other in many contexts. The prevailing exclusionary tendencies show that most of the institutional means of accommodation such as granting autonomy to particular ethnic groups in a particular region and even the formation of separate state for some communities would not yield desired results. The exclusionary tendencies created by both the state and the dominant community lead to the ethnic assertion of specific ethnic communities. However, such exclusionary practices cannot be tackled by mobilization of ethnic communities and identity politics but ‘recognizing’ the specificities and material needs of community through the mechanism of the state. The state needs to adopt more conciliatory path and bring the alienated sections into the mainstream.

Summary

Resource mobilization is the process of getting resources from the resource provider, using different mechanisms, to implement an organization's predetermined goals. It is a theory that is used in the study of social movements and argues that the success of social movements depends on resources (time, money, skills, etc.) and the ability to use them.It deals in acquiring the needed resources in a timely, cost-effective manner. Resource mobilization advocates having the right type of resource at the right time at the right price by making the right use of acquired resources thus ensuring optimum usage of the same.

It is a major sociological theory in the study of social movements that emerged in the 1970s. It emphasizes the ability of a movement's members to acquire resources and to mobilize people towards accomplishing the movement's goals. In contrast to the traditional collective behaviour theory, which views social movements as deviant and irrational, resource mobilization sees them as rational social institutions that are created and populated by social actors with a goal of taking political action.According to resource mobilization theory, a core, professional group in a social movement organization works towards bringing money, supporters, attention of the media, alliances with those in power, and refining the organizational structure. The theory revolves around the central notion of how messages of social change are spread from person to person and from group to group. The conditions needed for a social movement are the notion that grievances shared by multiple individuals and organizations, ideologies about social causes and how to go about reducing those grievances.The theory assumes that individuals are rational: individuals weigh the costs and the benefits of movement participation and act only if the benefits outweigh the costs. When movement goals take the form of public goods, the free rider dilemma must be taken into consideration.Social movements are goal-oriented, but organization is more important than resources. Organization means the interactions and relations between social movement organizations (SMOs) and other organizations (other SMOs, businesses, governments, etc.). The organization's infrastructure efficiency is a key resource in itself. Resource mobilization theory can be divided into two camps: John D. McCarthy and Mayer Zald are the originators and major advocates of the classic entrepreneurial (economic) version of the theory, and Charles Tilly and Doug McAdam are proponents of the political version of resource mobilization called political process theory.The entrepreneurial model explains collective action as a result of economics factors and organization theory. It argues that grievances are not sufficient to explain creation of social movements. Instead, access to and control over resources is the crucial factor. The laws of supply and demand explain the flow of resources to and from the movements and that individual actions or the lack thereof is accounted for by rational choice theory.The political model focuses on the political struggle, instead of economic factors. In the 1980s, other theories of social movements such as social constructionism and new social movement theory challenged the resource mobilization framework.

2.2: RELATIVEDEPRIVATIONTHEORY

The theory of relative deprivation developed by American scholars (Gurr 1970) has alsoguidedsomestudiesonagitationandmass movements.

Relative deprivation is defined as actors' perception of discrepancy between their valueexpectations and their environment's apparent value capabilities. Value expectations arethegoodsandconditionsoflifetowhichpeoplebelievetheyarejustifiablyentitled.The referents of value capabilities are to be found largely in the social and physical environment; they are the conditions that determine people's perceivedchancesofgettingor keeping the values they legitimately expect to attain. Gurr writes: "The frustration-aggression and the related threat-aggression mechanisms provide the basic motivationallink between Relative Deprivation and the potential for collective violence". Gurr alsolinksthreeotherconceptstorelativedeprivation, namely dissonance, anomie and conflict. The second of these, anomie is important in its effect to value opportunities. There are thre emodelsastohowthedifferentiationofvalueexpectationsandvaluecapabilitieshasimpactonrelatived eprivation.Decrementaldeprivationmodeldescribesthesituationwhere the expectations are stable but capabilities declines. In as pirational model the capabilities remain the same but the expectations increase. The last model, J-curve orprogressive deprivation model, fits to the situations when expectations and capabilitiesfirst increase hand in hand but then capabilities stop to increase or decrease whileexpectationsstillgoon.

Those who perceive deprivation and as a result experience a feeling of frustrationbecome aggressive. They are 'jealous' of those who have more. They protest or revoltagainst those who have more. They do not deal with the sources of deprivation. ForGurr, 'deprivation' is primarily psychological; therefore, he does not deal with thesocio-economic structure which is the source of deprivation. If such sense of deprivationisconfinedtoanindividualagainstanotherindividualitleadstocrime.Whenitbecomescollective perception – deprivation of region, community or caste – it takes the form ofcollective action. But it is not accompanied with ideology for the social system, itremains a protest or rebellion and hardly takes a form of social movement. They become'temporaryaberrations'ratherthanas'ongoingprocessesofchange'.Relativedeprivationis a necessary but not a sufficient condition for protest movements. M.S. A. Rao argues,'asufficientlevelofunderstandingandreflectionisrequiredonthepartoftheparticipants,and they must be able to observe and perceive the contrast between the social andculturalconditionsoftheprivilegedandthoseofthedeprived,andmustrealisethatitispossibletodosomethingaboutit'.

SUMMARY

Approach or theoretical framework help us to understand social movements in moremeaningfulway.Theyareusefultogivemeaningtothefactsandalsovaluableguideto those who are active in movements. Among all the most important approach is theMarxist perspective. It is also called classical approach or old approach. The list ofapproaches given above is not exhaustive. There are also approaches like behavioral,cognitive,multilevelandon.Buttheyarenotwidelyusedbythescholarstostudysocialmovements.Withineachapproachtherearedifferentshadesforanalysis.

2.3: Rational Choice Theory: Marxist and Post Marxist

RATIONAL CHOICE THEORY

It has long appeared to many people that economics is the most successful of the social sciences. It has assumed that people are motivated by money and by the possibility of making a profit, and this has allowed it to construct formal, and often predictive, models of human behaviour. This apparent success has led many other social scientists to cast envious eyes in its direction. They have thought that if they could only follow the methods of economics they could achieve similar successes in their own studies. These sociologists and political scientists have tried to build theories around the idea that all action is fundamentally 'rational' in character and that people calculate the likely costs and benefits of any action before deciding what to do. This approach to theory is known as rational choice theory, and its application to social interaction takes the form of exchange theory. The fact that people act rationally has, of course, been recognized by many sociologists, but they have seen rational actions alongside other forms of action, seeing human action as involving both rational and non-rational elements. Such views of action recognize traditional or habitual action, emotional or affectual action, and various forms of value-oriented action alongside the purely rational types of action. Max Weber (1920), for example, built an influential typology of action around just such concepts. His ideas were taken up by Talcott Parsons (1937) and became a part of the sociological mainstream. In a similar way, the social anthropologists Bronislaw Malinowski (1922) and Marcel Mauss (1925) looked at how social exchange was embedded in Rational Choice Theory structures of reciprocity and social obligation. What distinguishes rational choice theory from these other forms of theory is that it denies the existence of any kinds of action other than the purely rational and calculative. All social action, it is argued, can be seen as rationally motivated, as instrumental action, however much it may appear to be irrational or non-rational. A pioneering figure in establishing rational choice theory in sociology was George Homans (1961), who set out a basic framework of exchange theory, which he grounded in assumptions drawn from behaviourist psychology. While these psychological assumptions have been rejected by many later writers, Homans's formulation of exchange theory remains the basis of all subsequent discussion. During the 1960s and 1970s, Blau (1964), Coleman (1973), and Cook (1977) extended and enlarged his framework, and they helped to develop more formal, mathematical models of rational action .Rational choice theorists have become increasingly mathematical in orientation, converging more closely with trends in micro-economics. Indeed, some economists have attempted to colonise areas occupied by other social scientists. This trend towards formal, mathematical models of rational action was apparent in such diverse areas as theories of voting and coalition formation in political science and explanations of ethnic minority relations and, in a less rigorously mathematical form, social mobility and class reproduction. Economists such as Becker set out theories of crime and marriage. A particularly striking trend of recent years has been the work of those Marxists who have seen rational choice theory as the basis of a Marxist theory of class and exploitation.

Rationality and Social Exchange

Basic to all forms of rational choice theory is the assumption that complex social phenomena can be explained in terms of the elementary individual actions of which they are composed. This standpoint, called methodological individualism, holds that 'The elementary unit of social life is the individual human action. To explain social institutions and social change is to show how they arise as the result of the action and interaction of individuals' . Where economic theories have been concerned with the ways in which the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services is organized through money and the market mechanism, rational choice theorists have argued that the same general principles can be used to understand interactions in which such resources as time, information, approval, and prestige are involved. Rational Choice Theory In rational choice theories, individuals are seen as motivated by the wants or goals that express their 'preferences'. They act within specific, given constraints and on the basis of the information that they have about the conditions under which they are acting. At its simplest, the relationship between preferences and constraints can be seen in the purely technical terms of the relationship of a means to an end. As it is not possible for individuals to achieve all of the various things that they want, they must also make choices in relation to both their goals and the means for attaining these goals. Rational choice theories hold that individuals must anticipate the outcomes of alternative courses of action and calculate that which will be best for them. Rational individuals choose the alternative that is likely to give them the greatest satisfaction. The methodological individualism of rational choice theorists leads them to start out from the actions of individuals and to see all other social phenomena as reducible to these individual actions. For Humans, however, it was also necessary to see individual actions as reducible to these conditioned psychological responses. This position was justified on the grounds that the principles of rational choice and social exchange were simply expressions of the basic principles of behavioural psychology. While many other rational choice theorists have rejected this claim - and Homans himself came to see it as inessential - it is worth looking, briefly, at the argument.

A Psychological Basis

The idea of 'rational action' has generally been taken to imply a conscious social actor engaging in deliberate calculative strategies. Homans argued that human behaviour, like all animal behaviour, is not free but determined. It is shaped by the rewards and punishments that are encountered. People do those things that lead to rewards and they avoid whatever they are punished for. Reinforcement through rewards and punishments -- technically termed 'conditioning' -- is the determining factor in human behaviour. This behaviour can, therefore, be studied in purely external and objective terms; there is no need to invoke any internal mental states. People learn from their past experiences, and that is all we need to know in order to explain their behaviour. The inspiration behind Homans's psychology was the behaviouralism of Skinner, developed from studies of pigeons . Food is the basic goal sought by animals, and Skinner held that animal behaviour could be shaped by the giving or withholding of food. Food is a reward that reinforces particular tendencies of behaviour. Humans, however, are motivated by a much wider range of goals. While pigeons will do almost anything for grain, humans are more likely to seek approval, recognition, love, or, of course, money. Human consciousness and Rational Choice Theory intelligence enters the picture only in so far as it makes possible these symbolic rewards. Homans did not see this as involving any fundamental difference in the way that their behaviour is to be explained. The character of the rewards and punishments may differ, but the mechanisms involved are the same. In social interaction, individuals are involved in mutual reinforcement. Each participant's behaviour rewards or punishes the other, and their joint behaviour develops through this 'exchange' of rewarding and punishing behaviours. While any behaviour can, in principle, reinforce the behaviour of another, Homans held that approval is the most fundamental human goal. Approval is a 'generalised reinforcer' that can reinforce a wide variety of specialised activities. Because of its generalised character, Homans saw approval as directly parallel to money. Both money and approval are general means of exchange in social interaction, one in economic exchange and the other in social exchange. Not all rational choice theorists have relied on behavioural psychology in this way. Indeed, many remain quite deliberately agnostic about the ultimate determinants of human action. Following the example of many economists, they have seen their task simply as the construction of logically coherent, predictive theories of human action. Individuals, they argue, act as if they were fully rational and, therefore, rationality can be taken as an unproblematic starting point. There is no need to dig any deeper into individual psychology: whatever psychology may say about motivation does not affect the fact that social relations and exchange processes can be understood as if all individuals were purely rational actors. This argument is tenable only if a rather extreme positivist view of knowledge is adopted, and most realists would expect to find some attention given to the psychological basis of motivation and, therefore, to attempts to test out the adequacy of particular psychological assumptions. While these epistemological issues point beyond my present concerns (see Delanty 1997), they should be borne in mind in the following discussion.

Social Interaction as Social Exchange

Following the economic model, then, rational choice theorists see social interaction as a process of social exchange. Economic action involves an exchange of goods and services; social interaction involves the exchange of approval and certain other valued behaviours. In order to emphasise the parallels with economic action, rewards and punishments in social exchange have generally been termed rewards and costs, with action being motivated by the pursuit of a 'profitable' balance of rewards over costs. The various things that a person might do - his or her opportunities - vary in their costs, but they also vary in their rewards. In many cases, there will be a combination of monetary and non-monetary rewards and costs. The rewards received from goods purchased from a shop, for example, might include the intrinsic satisfactions that can be gained from their consumption and the social approval that is gained Rational Choice Theory from their status display. Stealing a car, on the other hand, might be rewarding because of the pleasures derived from joy riding and the recognition accorded by fellow car thieves. These same activities, however, also involve costs. Items can be purchased from a shop only by giving up some of the money that a person possesses, and car theft involves penalties, such as imprisonment and social disapproval that will be incurred if the thief is apprehended and convicted. The strength of a reinforcement is measured by its quantity and its value. For example, the more banknotes that a person receives, and the higher their denomination, the more of a reward they are likely to be. The quantity and value of social approval, on the other hand, is less easily measured, though it may sometimes have a monetary equivalent. Social exchange theories, however, regard this as a purely technical problem that exists only because we have not yet developed adequate methods for measuring it. For many rational choice theorists it is not even a technical problem, as it can be handled in exactly the same way as the intangible satisfactions that people gain from the objects that they buy or sell with money. The value of a reward, they argue, is the 'utility' that it has for a person. While this subjective utility can vary greatly from one person to another, it is possible to construct preference curves that measure the relative utility of one object against another and, therefore, the likelihood that people will try to obtain them. In general, the utility of someone's behaviour is seen in terms of such things as the amount of their time that it takes up and the frequency with which they are able to do it. Rational choice theorists also recognized that the threat of punishment or the promise of a reward may motivate people just as much as the punishment or reward itself. The threat of punishment, for example, may call forth appropriate behaviour from those who wish to avoid the punishment. This assumption allowed Homans to recognize the motivating role of threats and inducements in the conditioning of human behaviour. This can be illustrated by the case where one work colleague helps another to complete a difficult task. Someone who helps another and, in consequence, receives their approval, is likely to help them and others in future circumstances where he or she expects this to meet with approval. Conversely, the more often that approval has been given to those who help, the more often are people likely to help others; and the more oriented a person is to approval-seeking, the more likely he or she is to offer help. However, the more often that a helper has been approved by others, the less likely is she or he to find this approval to be so highly rewarding in the future. Such relationships will also involve an exchange of punishments as well as an exchange of rewards. For example, a person who has been punished for an activity in the past is likely to avoid doing it wherever he or she believes that they are likely to be punished again. Rational Choice Theory The profit that a person gains in interaction is measured by the rewards received minus the costs incurred. Homans argued that 'no exchange continues unless both parties are making a profit' (Homans 1961: 61). What this means is that unless each participant finds it profitable, the interaction will not continue. The person who experiences a 'loss' finds the interaction more costly than rewarding and so will have an incentive to withdraw. A sustained social relationship, therefore, rests upon a balance of mutual profitability. Participants in social interaction engage in a calculus of rewards and costs and the interaction will continue in a stable form only if all participants are making a profit. Those who experience a loss will withdraw and will seek out alternative interactions where they are more likely to earn a profit. Exchange relations are also power relations, as the resources that people bring to their social relations are rarely equal. The outcome of any particular exchange, therefore, will depend upon the relative power of the participants. This bargaining power varies with the dependence of each participant on the exchange relationship, and this dependence varies, in turn, on the extent to which there are alternatives available to them (Emerson 1962; Heath 1976: 24). If people are able to obtain a particular goal only through one specific social relationship, then they are highly dependent on that relationship and so will have little power to influence the 'price' that they have to pay. This reflects the fact that a monopoly supplier is able to use its market power to command a high price from its customers. Social exchange systems, like economic markets, range from this monopoly situation through various forms of oligopoly and imperfect competition, to the fully competitive. In recent work, Emerson's colleagues have analysed the generation of power in extensive networks of exchange relationships (Cook 1983).

Problems in Rational Choice and Social Exchange

Three inter-linked problems have been developed attempts to depict theories of rational action as general theories of social action. These are the problems of collective action, of social norms, and of social structure. Critics have argued that a proper solution to these problems shows the need to go beyond, or even to abandon, the theory. The problem of collective action is that of how it is possible to explain the co-operation of individuals in groups, associations, and other forms of joint action. If individuals calculate the personal profit to be made from each course of action, why should they ever choose to do something that will benefit others more than themselves? The problem of social norms is the related question of why people seem to accept and to follow norms of behaviour that lead them to act in altruistic ways or to feel a sense of obligation that overrides their self-interest. This and the problem of collective action comprise what Parsons (1937) called the Hobbesian problem of order: if actions are self-interested, how is social life possible? The problem of social structure is that of how it is possible for an individualistic theory to explain. Rational Choice Theory and take proper account of the existence of larger structures. In particular, it is the question of whether there are social structures that cannot be reduced to the actions of particular individuals and that, therefore, have to be explained in different terms. This problem is raised for all individualistic theories, but it takes a particular form in relation to rational choice theories. I will discuss each of these three problems in turn, looking at the answers proposed by rational choice theorists and assessing the adequacy of their arguments.

The Problem of Collective Action

Rational choice theorists have incorporated collective action into their theories by requiring that the actions of groups and organisations be reducible to statements about the actions of individuals. Trades unions, political parties, business enterprises, and other organisations may, then, all figure as actors in rational choice theories. Whenever it is possible to demonstrate the existence of a decision-making apparatus through which individual intentions are aggregated and an agreed policy formulated, it is legitimate to speak of collective actors (Hindess 1988, Cook et al 1990). The problem that these theories face, however, is that of showing how such organisations come to be formed in the first place. It is possible to show that rational individuals would join organisations that are likely to bring them benefits that outweigh the costs of membership and involvement, but why should individuals join or support organisations that provide benefits that they will gain even if they do not join the organisation? Why, for example, should someone join a trades union if they will receive any negotiated wage increases in any case? Why will they join a professional association that works on behalf of all members of the profession, regardless of whether they are members of the association? This is the problem of the so-called 'free rider'. Rational actors have no individual incentive to support collective action. They will calculate that the costs of membership are high and that their participation can have no significant effect on the organisation's bargaining power, and so they will conclude that they have nothing to gain from membership. Each potential member of a trades union, for example, will judge that the sheer size of its membership gives it the necessary bargaining power, one extra member will make no difference. This leads to a paradox: if each potential member makes this same calculation, as rational choice theory expects them to do, then no one would ever join the union. The union would have little or no bargaining power, and so no one will receive any negotiated pay rises or improved conditions of work. The fact that people do join organisationsand do become active in them must mean that there is something missing from the simple rational action model. Olson (1965) has suggested that collective action is sustained through what he calls 'selective incentives'. Unions might attract members, for example, if they can ensure that only their members will benefit from what they are Rational Choice Theory able to negotiate. Selective incentives alter the rewards and costs in such a way as to make support for collective action profitable. Union membership is a rational choice for individuals if a 'closed shop' can be enforced, if pay rises are restricted to union members, or if unions can offer advantageous insurance or legal advice to their members. Hechter (1987), has generalised this point into the claim that associations are formed if it is possible for them to monopolise a resource and to exclude non-members (See also Oliver et al. 1985: Oliver and Marwell 1988; Marwell et al. 1989). The fundamental problem remains, however. Organisations and associations that do not act in this way still do manage to attract members and, often, to thrive.

The Problem of Norms and Obligation

The related question is that of why individuals should ever feel any sense of obligation or wish to act in altruistic ways. Why, that is, should individuals obey norms that lead them to act in nonself-interested ways? Individuals pay taxes or join trades unions, for example, because they feel that they are under an obligation to do so or because they have some kind of moral or ideological commitment to the organisation. Rational choice theorists tend to respond that norms are simply arbitrary preferences. Individuals may be socialised into all sorts of value commitments and will then act rationally in relation to these, whatever they may be. If people want to help others and get a sense of satisfaction from doing so, then giving help is an act of rational self-interest. Other rational choice theorists find a solution in the existence of reciprocity. They argue that where social exchanges are recurrent, rather than episodic, it is possible for cooperation to emerge as a rational strategy. People rapidly learn that cooperation leads to mutual advantage, even if it does not produce the maximum outcome for any one participant. They learn, that is to say, that cooperation, rather than pure self-interest, is the optimum strategy. Ridley has argued that this must be seen as an instinctive response, as a genetically programmed innate predisposition for cooperation and reciprocity. The question remains, however, whether such an instinct exists and, if it does, whether it is powerful enough to generate the wide range of cooperative and altruistic behaviour found in human societies. Equally important, it is not at all clear that rational choice theory can explain why cooperative and altruistic behaviour is so often sensed as a normative matter, as a matter of obligation and commitment. Durkheim (1893) argued that all rational economic actions occur within an institutional framework of norms that cannot itself be explained as the result of rational action alone. The norms of fair exchange and reciprocity, for example, cannot be explained in terms of specific contractual acts of exchange. This was, I have already suggested, the core of the Parsonian critique of the Hobbesian account of social order. Parsons (1937) held that self-interested rational actors cannot generate a stable social order on an economic (or coercive, political) basis. For Parsons, social order could be explained. Rational Choice Theory only through the recognition that there is a normative, non-rational element in individual contracts. Blau (1964) attempted to counter the problem by suggesting that people are willing to incur costs and imbalances in their exchange relations when they are formed into long chains of actions. In these circumstances - which are normal in all societies - they anticipate that any loss can be traded in for a counter-balancing profit at some time in the future. People anticipate a long-term reciprocity that is in everybody's interest and so becomes accepted as a norm. However, this solution assumes that individuals will trust each other, and the whole point of Parsons' argument is that rational individuals have no incentive to build this trust in the first place. The framework of norms and commitments that sustain such trust relations cannot themselves be explained through rational action processes. Coleman tried to overcome this problem by seeing the emergence of trust in social interaction as a rational response to attempts to build coalitions, but the recent work of Cook and Emerson (1978) has recognised that the existence of trust cannot be seen in purely rational terms. They show that the norms of trust and justice that individuals use in their actions have a moral force that runs counter to purely rational considerations. The sense of obligation is real and can be felt very strongly. Elster, among rational choice theorists, has accepted this conclusion. He argues that norms are not 'outcome-oriented' but are internalised and so acquire a compulsive character that cannot be explained in purely rational terms (Elster 1989a: 119; Elster 1989b: 98). Norms operate, he holds, through shame and guilt, rather than through rewards and punishment. As far as the explanation of norms is concerned, rational choice theory has nothing to offer. Rational choice and normative commitment, he argues, are complementary processes in the formation of social action. The assumption of instrumental rationality, then, cannot give a complete explanation of social order. A full account must incorporate an awareness of the part that is played by social norms and emotional commitments alongside the exercise of rational choice. This dependence of rational choice theory on assumptions from very different theoretical traditions was recognised by Heath in his review. While rational considerations may explain why particular individuals introduce and enforce social norms, they cannot explain how these norms come to be internalised: 'The rational choice approach can only explain what people do. It can explain why people might institute a norm and might then enforce it, but it cannot explain why they should change their values - for this is what internalisation amounts to. Values … must always remain a "given" in the rational choice approach and to explain how they change we should have to introduce additional psychological mechanisms that have nothing to do with rationality' (Heath 1976: 64. See also Friedman and Hechter 1990: 226. And see Granovetter 1986). Rational Choice Theory

The Problem of Social Structure

The methodological individualism adopted by rational choice theorists holds that all statements about social phenomena are reducible to statements about individual action. Explanation of social facts in terms of other social facts is, at best, a shorthand summary of the more detailed individual-level processes that produce them. Homans held that there are no independent and autonomous social structures: 'If you look long enough for the secret of society you will find it in plain sight: the secret of society is that it was made by men, and there is nothing in society but what men put there. Homans claimed that his analysis of the 'elementary social behaviour' of face-to-face interaction comprised the 'subinstitutional' level of social analysis on which all large-scale social institutions depend. The greater complexity of the institutional level simply reflects the more indirect nature of many exchange relations and the greater use of such generalised reinforcers as money and social approval. The employee of a business enterprise, for example, exchanges work time for a wage that is received from a clerk in the salary department and not from a direct supervisor or from the owner of the firm. Instead of a direct exchange between the worker and the person for whom the work is undertaken, there is an indirect exchange that involves one or more intermediaries. Those features of social life that are conventionally called 'social structures' are, for rational choice theorists, simply chains of interconnected individual actions. They are the 'patterns' that result from individual actions. It is because many of these chains can be quite extensive that social life can appear to have a life of its own. Cook and her colleagues (1990) have recently drawn on arguments from social network analysis to suggest that social structures can be understood as chains of interconnection that form extensive exchange networks through which resources flow. The most successful attempts to explain the distinctive structural features of social life, have seen them as the unintended consequences of individual action. It is the compounding of unintended consequences that produces social phenomena that individuals may be only partially aware of and that they experience as constraints. The classic example of this is the operation of market relations, as seen in economic theory. Through the operations of the competitive market, it is argued, the supply and the demand for commodities is matched without the need for central planning and co-ordination. The matching of supply and demand is the unplanned and unanticipated consequence of many hundreds of separate individual actions. It must be said, however, that rational choice theorists do tend to deny any autonomy or constraining power for Rational Choice Theory social structures. This claim is not inherent in rational choice theory but in the methodological individualism that, for most of its advocates, is adopted as a philosophical underpinning. In this respect, rational choice theory faces similar difficulties to most other social theories that have focused on action to the exclusion of social structure. Rational choice theory refers to a set of guidelines that help understand economic and social behaviour. The theory originated in the eighteenth century and can be traced back to political economist and philosopher, Adam Smith.The theory postulates that an individual will perform a cost–benefit analysis to determine whether an option is right for them. It also suggests that an individual's self-driven rational actions will help better the overall economy. Rational choice theory looks at three concepts: rational actors, self interest and the invisible hand. Rationality can be used as an assumption for the behaviour of individuals in a wide range of contexts outside of economics. It is also used in political science, sociology and philosophy. The basic premise of rational choice theory is that the decisions made by individual actors will collectively produce aggregate social behaviour. The theory also assumes that individuals have preferences out of available choice alternatives. These preferences are assumed to be complete and transitive. Completeness refers to the individual being able to say which of the options they prefer (i.e. individual prefers A over B, B over A or are indifferent to both). Alternatively, transitivity is where the individual weakly prefers option A over B and weakly prefers option B over C, leading to the conclusion that the individual weakly prefers A over C. The rational agent will then perform their own cost–benefit analysis using a variety of criterion to perform their self-determined best choice of action. One version of rationality is instrumental rationality, which involves achieving a goal using the most cost effective method without reflecting on the worthiness of that goal. Duncan Snidal emphasises that the goals are not restricted to self-regarding, selfish, or material interests. They also include other-regarding, altruistic, as well as normative or ideational goals. Rational choice theory does not claim to describe the choice process, but rather it helps predict the outcome and pattern of choice. It is consequently assumed that the individual is self-interested or being homo economicus. Here, the individual comes to a decision that maximizes personal advantage by balancing costs and benefits. Proponents of such models, particularly those associated with the Chicago school of economics, do not claim that a model's assumptions are an accurate description of reality, only that they help formulate clear and falsifiable hypotheses.[citation needed] In this view, the only way to judge the success of a hypothesis is empirical tests. To use an example from Milton Friedman, if a theory that says that the behavior of the leaves of a tree is explained by their rationality passes the empirical test, it is seen as successful. Without explicitly dictating the goal or preferences of the individual, it may be impossible to empirically test or invalidate the rationality assumption. However, the predictions made by a specific version of the theory are testable. In recent years, the most prevalent version of rational choice theory, expected utility theory, has been challenged by the experimental results of behavioral economics. Economists are learning from other fields, such as psychology, and are enriching their theories of choice in order to get a more accurate view of human decision-making. For example, the behavioral economist and experimental psychologist Daniel Kahneman won the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences in 2002 for his work in this field.

Rational choice theory has proposed that there are two outcomes of two choices regarding human action. Firstly, the feasible region will be chosen within all the possible and related action. Second, after the preferred option has been chosen, the feasible region that has been selected was picked based on restriction of financial, legal, social, physical or emotional restrictions that the agent is facing. After that, a choice will be made based on the preference order. The concept of rationality used in rational choice theory is different from the colloquial and most philosophical use of the word. In this sense, "rational" behaviour can refer to "sensible", "predictable", or "in a thoughtful, clear-headed manner." Rational choice theory uses a much more narrow definition of rationality. At its most basic level, behavior is rational if it is reflective and consistent (across time and different choice situations). More specifically, behavior is only considered irrational if it is logically incoherent, i.e. self-contradictory.

Early neoclassical economists writing about rational choice, including William Stanley Jevons, assumed that agents make consumption choices so as to maximize their happiness, or utility. Contemporary theory bases rational choice on a set of choice axioms that need to be satisfied, and typically does not specify where the goal (preferences, desires) comes from. It mandates just a consistent ranking of the alternatives. Individuals choose the best action according to their personal preferences and the constraints facing them. The basic premise of rational choice theory is that the decisions made by individual actors will collectively produce aggregate social behaviour. Thus, each individual makes a decision based on their own preferences and the constraints (or choice set) they face. Rational choice theory can be viewed in different contexts. At an individual level, the theory suggests that the agent will decide on the action (or outcome) they most prefer. If the actions (or outcomes) are evaluated in terms of costs and benefits, the choice with the maximum net benefit will be chosen by the rational individual. Rational behaviour is not solely driven by monetary gain, but can also be driven by emotional motives.

The theory can be applied to general settings outside of those identified by costs and benefits. In general, rational decision making entails choosing among all available alternatives the alternative that the individual most prefers. The "alternatives" can be a set of actions ("what to do?") or a set of objects ("what to choose/buy"). In the case of actions, what the individual really cares about are the outcomes that results from each possible action. Actions, in this case, are only an instrument for obtaining a particular outcome. organizational assets of Wright). Roemer argues that "exploitation has much more to do with property relations than with the labor market – and that Marxists' focus on the labor market has been excessive and has given rise to their own fetishism of labor" (Roemer, 1988, p. 10). Roemer and Wright demonstrate that exploitation can exist in socialist societies and explain how ownership of skills and credentials, not just ownership of capital, can create exploitation. Usefulness. As with any other sociological theory or method of analysis, RCT should be evaluated on the basis of its ability to help us explain and understand the social world. There is no doubt that each of us is an individual, and if a theory developed from this point of view can help explain aspects of social interaction and social systems, then it has worthwhile aspects to it. In addition, in our society much social action is explicitly rational and is undertaken by individuals – purchase of consumer durables, choice of a career, and perhaps even choice of a lover or spouse. Where the choices are not always entirely conscious and rational, it is possible that RCT models may help explain much social action. Critics of RCT note several problems, considering it too individualistic, too minimalist, and too focussed on rational choices in social action. One tendency that RCT sociologists have is to justify any human action as rational. For example, we are all involved in sharing and cooperative activities and each of us devotes some time or money assisting others (charity, altruism, good neighbours). RCT tends to argue that in the end, these are all inspired by individual pursuit of self-interest. As a result, RCT sometimes attempts to explain too much – any theory that tries to explain everything may in the end explain little, especially where there are few standards about the factors are to be introduced into the model and how these are to be analyzed.

Courses of social action: Each social actor has some options concerning possible courses of action. For some individuals, and in some situations, choices may be limited (in their daily lives, members of the proletariat have little choice but to work at a job) while for others there are multiple options (capitalist has many options). Each option has an expected set of outcomes associated with it that involve. Benefits associated with different courses of social action. These may be tangible (money, goods and services) or intangible (psychic satisfaction, Costs of different course of action. These may be costs associated with the outcome (eg. a woman in a family with the husband as primary income source who seeks divorce may expect that reduced income will result) or costs associated with the action itself (the process of divorce may be a stressful and miserable set of experiences).

Optimality ofdecision: The social actor's decision is an optimal one in sense of maximizing difference between benefits and costs (not just monetary, but satisfaction, psychic, social benefits and costs). At least the actor's decision is based on maximizing the expected net gain from the decision (net gain of action = benefits of action minus costs associated with the action). That is, in taking the course of action selected by the actor, he or she expects that his or her interests and preferences will be met to the best extent possible. Ofcourse, the result may not always turn out to be optimal, given uncertainty about the future, unexpected outcome, or unintended consequences of the social action.

Rational choice theorists generally adopt three assumptions. These are:

Individualism: It is individuals who ultimately take action, although some RCT includes both individual and corporate actors (eg. James Coleman, see Adams and Sydie, p. 190). Individual social actions are the ultimate source of actions that lead are associated with broad social outcomes. That is, social outcomes, patterns of regularity, and social institutions must be explained on the basis of combinations of individual actions. This is contrary to Durkheim's mode of sociological explanation, where social facts are structured at the societal level and influence or determine individual action through societal level forces such as norms and common consciousness. RCT can develop societal level explanations, but RC theorists begin with individual action and interaction and from this build a model of relationships at the system level. Part of Coleman's concern was to develop explanations of different types of norms, the demand for norms, how norms emerge, and how they are realized. RCT does not take norms for granted, or as pre-existing, but attempts to develop an explanation of these system or societal level forces. The RCT approach can be termed methodological individualism – it does not necessarily value individual action, rights, and freedoms over collective action, but its methodological approach is to begin with the individual, since all actions are ultimately individual actions.

Socializing Agent: If this can be accomplished, this is an efficient way of producing individuals who develop an internal system of regulation. Coleman notes that this means modification of the self of others – producing a new self in the others, one able to decide what is right or wrong. This is efficient since it means that the socializing agent need not dictate specific rules, but can rely on the modified self to produce proper actions in the socialized individual. (p. 295, middle). The aim of the socializer is to "align the agent's interest so fully with those of the principal that the agent's self-interest comes to coincide with the principal's interest". As Coleman notes, this may go quite deep and result in a major change in the interests of the individual, so that the self of the socialized really does take on the interests of the socializer. In the corporate world, the employer's aim may be to construct corporate selves who identify with the goals, interests, and norms of the corporation. This might be accomplished by providing monetary rewards, tied to the success of the corporation; long-term employment contract; and collective activities that attempt to build a sense of community among employees . Coleman addresses the issue of the efficiency of internalization, especially a global strategy, or that associated with construction of a new self in the individual to be socialized. In particular, the more diverse the set of actions to be governed by norms, the greater the interests in internalization. This implies· That when the aim of the socializer is to govern a broad set of actions, greater attempts will be made to create a new self . religious orders or parents who wish to govern a broad set of actions of children. Using an economic analogy, Coleman argues that this involves both capital (initial investment) and marginal costs (or variable costs associated with ongoing socialization).

The costs devoted to internalization are likely to be related to potential benefits. This implies that greater efforts will be made to have children internalize norms in the home, but less effort may be devoted to internalizing norms that do not relate to the manner in which actions proceeded following the initial rally was somewhat spontaneous, with the crowd responding to calls and suggestions from various leaders and unidentified individuals. The collective that emerged following the initial rally marched to the gymnasium site, attempted to tear down a fence and then returned to the main campus, eventually occupying Hamilton Hall – actions which would not have made much sense for individuals acting alone. Coleman notes though that "many students had an interest in some action against the university". Coleman makes the argument that individuals acting alone were essentially barred from these radical actions because they would have been severely punished if they had carried out these actions as individuals. Here Coleman examines the issue of authority as a resource and granting authority to others. By becoming students at Columbia University, these individuals, as students, had implicitly accepting transfer of some rights of control over their actions to authorities of the university and the city . When the students began to act as a collective, they took back some of these rights for themselves, although not so much as individuals, but by turning their rights of control over to the collective and to those who advocated radical action. Coleman argues that this shift began with what he refers to as a "milling" period, where individuals attempted to "determine the degree of common sentiment". By gaining the information from each other that there was a sentiment to proceed to more radical action, the crowd became a collective, with the individual members turning their rights of control over to the collective. The collective was then able to take on certain actions which the individuals could not, as individuals.

Coleman argues that this was a means of solving the free rider problem – without collective action, the negative consequences of action, or the costs of such action, would be entirely borne by individuals who took individual action. Those who do not take such action but might have benefited from such action, do not bear the costs, so long as it is up to each individual to act. This can be referred to as externalities associated with actions and "the consequences for the individual are highly dependent on what others do" . He further argues that the number of people involved in such actions alters the situation – with increasing numbers of those with common sentiments leading to individuals being more likely to turn authority over to the collective. In such situations, the potential gains of collective action are likely to be greater and the potential costs less than in the case of individual action. In addition, Coleman notes that increased numbers may be associated with increased courage – exactly how this relates to the assumption of RCT though is not clear.

By increasing the number of actors in the collective, individual benefits rise with the number of actors. When a diverse or heterogeneous set of individuals is involved in a collective action of this type,where different individuals have different reward structures, collective action is more likely to emerge than in situations where everyone has common reward structures (p. 225). That is, it may be worthwhile for one person to participate in collective action when as few as 2 people are involved, and for another it may be worthwhile at 3 people. As a result, the critical minimum for the transfer of authority to the collective may be reduced if these heterogeneous reward structures exist. Note that this is contrary to common sense, in that we often attribute collective action to common sentiments and solidarity, rather than diversity.

In this reading, Coleman demonstrates how collective action can emerge from individual rational decision making. The students assembled each had grievances against the University, so their preferences or values were to carry out some action that could stop the construction of the gymnasium, change the University's plans, or embarrass the University. Individually they could not do this very effectively, if at all, but collectively they could. The action of the collective could be considered Two forms of social capital are "bonding" (links within groups) and "bridging" (links among groups or across groups). For the study of immigrant integration, different forms of social capital are necessary and useful for immigrants to build a new life in Canada. Settlement organizations, churches, host families, NGOs, government services, city services, all proved important, as did networks of friends and acquaintances (within the community that immigrants identified with and with others who are more established in Canada). Social capital is important in helping find jobs and housing, as well as helping immigrants deal with schools, government programs, and business. Actors bring different amounts and types of labour and other assets (means of production, skills) to a game (society) that is coordinated using a set of rules. Would a group of actors be better off if they stayed in the game or withdrew from the game? In order to examine this issue, Wright uses the following game theory approach. In the game, a coalition of actors S (subordinate) is considered to be exploited by a different coalition of actors D (dominant) if:

- An alternative exists where S would be better off if they did not participate in the game,
- If S withdraws from the game, then D would be worse off than when S is in the game.
- Prevents S from withdrawing from the…

In addition to the difficulties associated with accepting the three basic assumptions, there are a number of other problems associated with RCT. Some of these are: Problems associated with inadequate information and uncertainty. This may make it difficult for individuals to make rational decisions. As a result, they may rely on other ways of making decisions.. Human social action and interaction is complex, and many of the theories examined earlier may provide better guides to how these take place.

Theorists of rational choice argue that macro level structures and institutions can be explained from the models of individual social action. But there are problems of aggregation of individual to societal level. Rational choice theory suggests that individuals make decisions by weighing the costs and benefits to maximize their own self-interest. It assumes people act purposefully, make rational decisions based on available information, and aim to achieve the best outcomes for themselves.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Self Assessment Exercises:

Q1. What do you mean by Resource Mobilization theory?

Q2. How relative deprivation theory explains social movement?

Q3. Discuss about the Marxist and post Marxist views on social movements.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND SOCIAL CHANGES IN INDIA

LEARNING OUTCOME: After going through this lesson, students will be able to-

- **Understand the conceptual framework of Peasants Movements**
- **Know about the Labour and Trade Union Movements**
- **Understand the concepts of Tribal Movements**

3.1 PEASANT MOVEMENTS

The peasant movements created an atmosphere for post- independence agrarian reforms, for instance, abolition of Zamindari. They eroded the power of the landed class, thus adding to the transformation of the agrarian structure. The growth of peasant movement exercised considerable pressure on the Indian National Congress. Despite this, the Karachi Congress Charter did not even touch the fringe of the peasant problem. But the political pressure of the Kisan Sabha succeeded in the Faizpur Congress agrarian programme. However, the Congress couldnotunderthepressureofthenativebourgeoisiegrantanyradicalconcession tothepeasantdemands,atthecostofjeopardizingtheinterestsofzamindars. This was amplydemonstrated by theperformancesofthe Congressministersduring the short period that they were in office before independence.

Indian economy is primarily an agrarian economy. The main occupation of majority of the population is agriculture. Before Independence, India was a poor country and its agriculture was primitive in nature. Further, feudal lords had complete domination over the lands and there was an unequal distribution. After independence, the government's agriculture policy evolved a two-pronged strategy.Ontheonehand,therewasaneedtomodernizeagricultureandincrease production,andontheother,bringaboutauniformownershipsystem.Intheearly 1960s, new agricultural policies were introduced popularly under the banner of Green Revolution primarily to increase production. The policies were designed to provide financial support to the landowners and in turn increase their output by assuringaccesstoallirrigationalfacilities.Itwas,however,onlytherichandmiddle- class farmers, who could secure loans, invest in fertilizers and procure high yield variety seeds. As the agriculture policies did not touch upon redistribution of the agriculture produce, the condition of small and marginal farmers deteriorated drastically. Further, constant oppression and exploitation by the rich farmers became rampant. The failure of governmental measures in resolving agrarian problem has been widely recognized and admitted today. The land reforms and community programmes meant for promoting capitalist footing in India have only succeededinintensifyingtheagrariancrisis.TheCongressGovernmenthasnotonlyfailed in providing relief to the vast bulk of deficit farmers and agricultural proletariat,but itsagrarianpolicyhasaggravatedtheirmiseries.Thisfacthasbeen sufficientlydemonstratedbythevariousGovernmentEvaluationReportsand non-officialenquiriesontheimpactofwelfaremeasuresonruralsociety.Consequently, Indian agrarian society is seething with discontent-even after independence. This has led to a series of peasant struggles in different parts of the country. The following were the notable agrarian movement of this phase –

The Santhal Rebellion of 1855

The Santhal rebellion, also known as a Santhal Hul, classified as a tribal movement by many scholars, took place at present day Jharkhand and part of West Bengal (at the foothills of Rajmahal). It was a rebellion against the British colonial authority and against the zamindars, whom the Britishers had given ownership of land that peasants had traditionally cultivated and had imposed heavy rents. The rebellion was also directed against moneylenders who charged huge interest on borrowed money and government officials who were autocratic and indifferent to the grievances of Santhals. The Santhals were getting evicted from their land and settlements due to their failure to pay taxes and debts. Thus they became tenants on their own land or even bonded labourers (Sarda 2017, Venkateshwarlu 2015). The revolt broke out in July, 1855 when thousands of Santhals assembled at Bhogandih village and declared themselves free.The movement was organized and led by two brothers namely Sidhu and Kanhu who claimed that they received messages from supernatural powers to put an end to the ‘zhulum’ of officers and the deceit of merchants. They attacked zamindars and moneylenders to drive them out. This triggered a series of conflicts between the English East India Company's army and the Santhals. The Santhals fought bravely with their traditional weapons, such as, bows, arrows, axes and swords but they didn't stand a chance against the sophisticated firearms used by the East India Company troops and the rebellion was brutally suppressed by the beginning of 1856.

The Maratha Uprising of 1875

The typical conditions in the Ryotwari area caused an the agrarian uprising in the Poona and Ahmednagar districts in 1875. Wanting to have a steady flow of large revenue the East India Company imposed excessive taxes on ryots for land which was to be paid in cash and without any regard to fluctuations in crop production due to famines or any other reason. The farmers turned to moneylenders who were mostly outsiders, in order to pay revenue and to save their land from forfeiture by the government. The famers offered land as security and government favoring giving land to moneylenders in case the farmers fail to repay the loans. Thus peasants found themselves trapped in a vicious network with the moneylender as the exploiter and main beneficiary. In 1874, the growing tension between the moneylenders and the peasants resulted in a social boycott by the ryots against the moneylenders. The ryots refused tobuy from their shops. No peasant would cultivate their fields. The barbers, washer Peasant Movements in India men, and shoemakers would not serve them. This social boycott spread rapidly to the villages of Poona, Ahmednagar, Sholapur and Satara. Soon the social boycott was transformed into agrarian riots with systematic attacks on the moneylenders' houses and shops. The debt bonds and deeds were seized and publicly burnt (Venkateshwarlu 2015). The government, justifying the activities of moneylenders, quickly moved against the agitating peasants and resorted to repressive activity. The peasants could not withstand for long against the terrible repression by the government and had to abandon these active struggles. The active phase of the uprising in Poona and Ahmadnagar lasted only three weeks. As a conciliatory measure, the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act was passed in 1879 (Desai1979: 165).

Champaran Satyagraha (1917-18)

Even before the production of artificial blueing dyes by the chemical industry, Indian cultivators had been growing a plant called indigo (Neel) that yields dye for bluing cotton cloths. Demand for the dye indigo was quite high in the textile industry in Great Britain in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This made indigo trade a highly profitable business. Many retired officers of the East India Company and young upstarts, acquired lands from native Zamindars in Bihar and Bengal and extended the cultivation of this crop on a large scale. Tenant farmers were forced to grow indigo crop under a system of oppression (Pradhan 1988). The tenant farmers were forced by the British planters to cultivate indigo in three twentieth part of a bigha of their holding, this was known as 'Teen Kathia' system. The planters forced indigo cultivation at the best portions of land and offered very low prices for the indigo output. The British administration was indifferent to the indignity, physical abuse and exploitation of farmers. When the indigo market was adversely hit by the introduction of synthetic indigo in the world market in 1897 the planters started a new type of exploitation. Either the losses were transferred to poor peasants or they could give up indigo cultivation by paying higher rents for the land. This miserable scenario of indigo exploitation forced the ryots to resist, violently or otherwise, from time to time, against their oppressors but were cruelly crushed. The British administration instituted inquiries but most of it was eyewash in Bihar (Iyenger 2017). Gandhiji came to know about this issue in early 1917. He was joined and assisted in his protest against such exploitation by prominent personalities like J.B. Kripalani, Babu Brajkishore Prasad and Babu Rajendra Prasad.Gandhiji's method of peaceful satyagraha and civil disobedience were unique but effective and had a positive impact on the minds the of downtrodden and poor peasantry. The government had to relent and called Gandhiji for talks and also made him a member in the committee to enquire into the plight of the indigo peasants. Based on the committee's report the Teen Kathia system was abolished. However, the recommendation did not resolve the problem of excessive rent and issue of low wages to the agricultural labours. It also remained silent on the exploitation of peasants by Indian Zamindars.

Moplah Rebellion in Malabar (1921)

The Moplah peasant movement was engineered in August 1921 among the peasants of Malabar district in Kerala. The Moplah tenants were Muslims and they agitated against the Hindu landlords and the British government. While the elite among the Moplahs were traders and merchants, the Moplah masses of the Moplah worked as agriculturists who were tenants of Hindu landlords called Jenmis. The major grievances of the Moplah tenants were (i) Insecurity due to unfavourable land tenure system due to which Moplahs could be ejected from their land without any appropriate notice (ii) High renewal of fees fixed by the Jenmis (iii) High rent fixed for Moplah and discriminating them against Hindu Tenants. The impetus for the 1921 movement started with meeting of Malabar District Congress Committee at Manjeri in 1920 that supported the tenants' cause and demanded legislation to regulate landlord-tenant relations. Following this the Moplah tenants formed an association with branches in the whole of Ker-ala and thus brought the Moplah tenants under one organization. During the same time there was the Khilafat movement, in which Moplahs actively took part but finally ended up with an agitation against the landlords. The British government issued prohibitory orders against the Khilafat meetings in the beginning of 1921. In August 1921, police raided the mosque at Tirurangadi to arrest a Khilafat leader and a highly respected priest. The police opened fire on the unarmed crowd killing many persons. Due to this, clashes ensued and government offices were destroyed, records burnt and the treasury looted. The rebellion soon spread into all Moplah strongholds. In the agitation the targets of Moplah attack were the unpopular Jenmis, police stations, treasuries and offices, and British planters. However, the Moplahs lost the sympathy of general the Malabar population because of the communal flavor and Moplah rebels were isolated. British repression did the rest and by December 1921 all re-sistance had come to a stop. The Moplah toll was quite heavy and about 2400 persons lost their lives (Mandal 1981).

Tebhaga Movement in Bengal (1946-47)

The word Tebhaga literally means three shares of harvests. The movement was started for the reduction in the share of the produce from one-half to one-third, which they traditionally used to pay to the jotedars, the intermediary landowners. The movement arose in North Bengal and included the districts of Dinaipur and Rangpur in East Bengal and Jalpaiguri and Malda in West Bengal. This was organised by the Kisan Sabha and marked a departure from the pattern of movements by Indian National Congress (SinghaRoy 1992). This movement grew against the backdrop of the deteriorating economic conditions of the sharecroppers (known locally as bargardars); while the intermediary landowners (known as jotedars) flourished. The Permanent settlement 1793 introduced in Bengal, brought in a number of intermediaries between the Zamindars and the peasants. These jotedars used to sublet their land to the sharecroppers, known as bargardars, who cultivated the land and used to pay a half of the produce to the jotedars. The bargardars had only temporary rights in the piece of land for a fixed period usually five years. In addition there was exploitation of the rural economy by moneylenders who were giving credit Peasant Movements in India to the jotedars and peasant owners (middle peasants) at high rates. The peasant owners often lost their land and became bargardars on their own pieces of land or agricultural labourers when they failed to pay back their debts (SinghaRoy 2005). The Krishak Praja Party formed the first popular Ministry in Bengal in 1937. The Land Revenue Commission appointed by it recommended in 1940 that "All bargadars should be treated as tenants, that the share of the crops legally recoverable from them should be one-third, instead of half" (Vol. I, 1940: 69). The government did not show urgency to implement these recommendations. This prompted the All India Kisan Sabha to radicalize its agrarian programme and in November 1946 the Bengal Kisan Sabha, its provincial branch, passed a resolution in Calcutta for ' Tebhaga' (two thirds share of the produced crops) for the sharecroppers and land to the tiller (Ibid 1992). North Bengal, especially the Dinajpur district became centre of the Bengal Kisan Sabha activity because of the high concentration of the sharecropping system of land. The poor peasantry of Khanpur village, who were mostly from the scheduled castes (Rajbansi, Polia, and Mali), the scheduled tribes (the Oraon, Colkamar Santal) and ex-tribes (Mahato) responded spontaneously to the movement. The main struggles were during the harvest season when the bargardars refused to provide the half share of paddy to the jotedars and took away the paddy to their houses or kholan (courtyard). A local jotedar filed FIR against the bargardars. Police entered the village on the morning of 20 February 1947 and arrested a few bargardars. The news spread like wildfire all over the village, and an alarm was raised by the beating of drums, blowing conch shells and beating of gongs and utensils by the peasant women. Soon a huge mass of sharecroppers and poor peasants, with conventional weapons, from Khanpur and its neighbuoring villages assembled and demanded release of the arrested sharecroppers. But the police was adamant and fired 119 rounds, killing 22 protesters, including two women, and injuring hundreds (SinghaRoy 2005). This episode of Khanpur triggered off the Tebhaga movement very quickly in most parts of Bengal. Poor peasants ignoring their conventional ties with the landowners declined to share half of their produce with the landowners. Protest, firing and killing became part of this movement. The colonial rulers used all possible repressive measures to crash this movement by introducing a reign of terror in the rural areas and the movement eventually collapsed in mid-1947. However, the movement was successful to an extent as an estimated 40 percent of the sharecroppers were granted

Tebhaga rights by the landowners themselves (SinghaRoy 2005).

Telangana Movement (1946-52)

The Telangana Movement was a fight against the feudal oppression of the rulers and local landowners of Andhra Pradesh. It was launched by CPI through its peasant wing, the Kisan Sabha. The agrarian social structure of Hyderabad state under Nizams was very oppressive in the 1920s and thereafter. Two types of land tenure systems were prevalent, namely, Khalsa or Diwani and Jagirdari. The former was similar to Ryotwari system where the peasants owned patta in their names that were registered and the actual owners were shikmidars. In the jagirdari system crown lands were granted to the Nizam's noblemen in return fortheir services. The peasants were most oppressed under the jagirdari system (SinghaRoy 2005). In rural the economy, the jagirdar and deshmukh, locally known as dora, had immense power at the local level. They were the intermediary landowners (with higher titles) cum money lenders cum-village officials and were mostly from the upper caste or influential Muslim community backgrounds. Because of their privileged economic and political status they could easily subject the poor peasantry to extra-economic coercion known as vetti (force labour). Under this system the jagirdars and deshmukhs could force a family to cultivate his land and other works that would continue from generation to generation. A system known as Bhagela was also prevalent under which the tenants who haved taken loans from the landlords had to serve the landlords until the debt was repaid. They served for generations as the records which were maintained by landlords were manipulated to keep them indebted. (SinghaRoy 2005) The movement led by the Communists began in Nalgonda district in 1946 which spread to the neighboring Warangal and Bidar districts and finally engulfed the whole of the Telengana region. The movement was against the illegal and excessive extraction by the rural feudal aristocracy and thus concerned with the whole of the peasantry. The demands included writing off of peasants' debt. The movement took a revolutionary turn in 1948 when the peasants formed an army and started fighting guerilla wars. Over 2,000 villages set up their own 'People's Committees'. These 'Committees' took over land, maintained their own army and own administration (Mehta, 1979). Razakars, a private militia, organised by Qasim Razvi to support the Nizam, brutally started crushing the armed revolts by the peasants. The armed resistance continued until 1950 and was finally crushed by the Indian army. The movement was ultimately called off in 1951.

The cost of the movement was quite heavy. As many as 4000 communists and peasant militants were killed; more than10,000 communist cadres and people's fighters were thrown into detention camps and jails for a period of 3-4 years (Sundarayya, 1985:4).

Naxalite Movement in West Bengal (1967-71)

The peasant uprising that occurred in the Naxalbari thana in the Darjeeling district of northern part of West Bengal in May 1967 is one of the major uprisings post - colonial India that has witnessed. It was organised against large scale eviction of sharecroppers by jotedars resulting in the deteriorating condition of poor peasants and the government's failure to enact Land Reform Laws effectively. After independence, the Govt. of West Bengal enacted the West Bengal Estate Acquisition Act (1953) to abolish zamindari and other intermediary systems. The West Bengal Land Reform Act (1955) was enacted to put a ceiling on landholdings, to reserve 60 per cent of the produce for the sharecroppers and to restrict the eviction of share croppers.However, due to ineffective implementation of the provisions, eviction of the tenants and the sharecroppers continued. This resulted in sharp downward mobility of the peasants along with economic insecurity and unemployment. The proportion of sharecroppers decreased from 16 per cent of the rural households in 1952-53 to 2.9 per cent in 1961-62. Though the proportion of the marginal and the small cultivators increased among the rural population due to land transfers, the poor peasantry was in a difficultcondition due to livelihood insecurity. This can be seen from the census data of Peasant Movements in India 1961 and 1971 that showed the phenomenal increase of the agricultural labourers from 15.3% in 1961 to 26.2% in 1971 and the decline of the category of cultivators from 38.5% to 32 % during the same period (Census of India 1961, 1971). The Left political parties had initiated mobilisation of the peasantry in the Naxalbari areas since the early 1960s when the landowners of the Naxalbari region started large-scale eviction of sharecroppers. The agrarian revolt arose in the month of April 1967 after the formation of the new government in West Bengal in which the CPI (M) was a major partner. The two most prominent leaders of this movement were Kanu Sanyal and Charu Mazumdar who later formed CPI(M-L) after being expelled from CPI(M). The high point of the movement was in May 1967 when forcible occupations, looting of rice and paddy and intimidation and assaults by the peasants took place. The leaders of the movement claimed that around 90 percent of the peasants in the Siliguri subdivision supported the movement. The movement came to a halt, when, under central government pressure, the West Bengal police entered the region and swept the area. Cases of killing of landlords were carried on later as a part of the annihilation strategy (SinghaRoy 2005). The tasks of the rebellion spelled out by Kanu Sanyal, inter alia included redistribution of land to peasants that were tilled but not owned by them, burning all legal deeds and documents, declaring void all unequal agreements between the moneylenders and the peasants as null and void, confiscating hoarded rice and distributing among the peasants, trying and sentencing to death all Jotedars etc. The movement spread to other areas of the state and elsewhere in Bihar and Andhra Pradesh later in the form of the Naxalite movement.

Changing Pattern in Contemporary India

The history of the peasant movements can be traced to the economic policies of the Britishers, which have brought about many changes in the Indian agrarian system. The consequences of the British colonial expansion were felt the most by the Indian peasantry and it rose in revolt from time to time. Under British rule changes in the modes of production in agriculture have disturbed the traditional agrarian relationships which also led to peasant unrest. Land became a marketable commodity and commercialised agriculture developed during the late nineteenth century. This led to erosion of the traditional bonds, thus providing possibilities of rebellion. With commercialisation of agriculture between 1860 and 1920, the landlords who used to collect rent in cash started collecting rent in grain, the price of which was high (Shah 2004) The peasant movements created an atmosphere for post- independence agrarian reforms, for instance,' the abolition of Zamindari system. They eroded the power of the landed class, thus adding to the transformation of the agrarian structure. Since the 1960s, agricultural production has increasingly become market oriented. Non-farm economic activities have expanded in the rural areas. In the process, not only has the rural-urban divide become blurred, but the nature of peasant 124 Resistance Mobilisation and Change society in terms of composition, classes/strata and consciousness has undergone considerable changes. An agricultural labourer in contemporary India, in general, is no longer attached to the same master, as was the case during the colonial and pre-colonial periods in pre-capitalist agriculture. Due to the process of proletarianisation of agricultural labourers, in the last few decades, they are more dependent on wage labour and thus losing the extra-economic relations with their employers which govern the conditions of their work and life (Kannan 1988:12, Shah 2004: 17-18) Since the green revolution there is penetration of market economy and globalization and the peasant struggles also have undergone changes. New Farmers' organisations such as the ShetkariSangathana in Maharashtra, Bhartiya Kisan Union (BKU) in Uttar Pradesh, Khedut Samaj in Gujarat, Tamil Nadu and Punjab have come into existence that have a lot of political clout and influence. They demand 'remunerative prices' of their produce, concessions and subsidies in the prices for agricultural inputs, electricity charges, irrigation charges and betterment levies, etc. (Omvedt 1993;Brass1994a; Gupta 1997; Lindberg 1997; Shah 2004).They assert for a change in the development paradigm from industrial development to agricultural development. With the rural urban divide blurring in many places, rich peasants have begun to invest their agricultural surplus in industries and other urban sectors. The post economic reform period in India saw a number of peasant protests and movements against acquisition of cultivable fertile land for industrial units and developmental projects. A few examples are – movements at Singur and Nandigram in West Bengal in 2006, Mann in Maharastra in 2005, and Sompeta in Andhra Pradesh in 2010. In these movements support from several NGOs and wide publicity due to advancing IT sector is also seen.

3.2 LABOUR AND TRADE UNION MOVEMENTS

The trade union movement in India has a long and significant history, playing a crucial role in advocating for the rights and welfare of workers. Here are some key points regarding the trade union movement in India:

1. Early Trade Unionism: The organized labor movement in India traces its roots back to the late 19th century, with the formation of early trade unions such as the Bombay Mill Hands Association (1890) and the Madras Labour Union (1918). These unions emerged in response to exploitative working conditions and low wages faced by workers during the colonial era.

2. Formation of National-Level Unions: In the early 20th century, national-level trade unions started to emerge. The All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) was formed in 1920, playing a significant role in mobilizing workers across various industries and advocating for labor rights.

3. Influence of Political Movements: The trade union movement in India has often been closely associated with political movements and ideologies. During the struggle for independence, trade unions actively participated in the freedom movement and voiced workers' concerns within the broader political context.

4. Legal Framework: The Trade Unions Act of 1926 provided legal recognition and protection for trade unions in India. The Act outlined provisions for the registration, internal governance, and collective bargaining rights of trade unions.

5. Major Trade Union Federations: Several national-level trade union federations exist in India, representing different political ideologies and sectors. Some prominent ones include the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), affiliated with the Indian National Congress party, the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), affiliated with left-leaning political parties, and the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), affiliated with the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS).

6. Collective Bargaining and Strikes: Trade unions in India engage in collective bargaining with employers to negotiate wages, working conditions, and other employment-related matters. Strikes and protests are common methods employed by trade unions to press for their demands and draw attention to labor issues.

7. Legal Protection and Welfare Measures: Trade unions in India have been instrumental in securing legal protections and welfare measures for workers. They have advocated for the enactment and implementation of labor laws, including those related to minimum wages, working hours, safety and health standards, and social security benefits.

8. Challenges and Issues: The trade union movement in India faces several challenges, including fragmentation along political and ideological lines, low membership density in certain sectors, and difficulties in organizing informal sector workers. Additionally, labor rights violations, contract labor exploitation, and the need for effective implementation of labor laws remain significant concerns.

Despite these challenges, trade unions continue to play a vital role in representing workers' interests, negotiating with employers, and advocating for improvements in labor conditions and social welfare in India.

3.3 TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

India is known for its tribal or adivasi inhabitants. The term 'adivasi' connotes that they were the first or original inhabitants of the land, having original habitat, native to the soil. Rivers has defined a tribe as a social group of a simple kind, the members of which speak a common dialect and act together for such common purpose as welfare. Tribes live in a definite habitat and area, remain unified by a social organisation that is based primarily on blood relationship, cultural homogeneity, a common scheme of deities and common ancestors and a common dialect with a common folk lore. Their habitat and culture not only provides them a sense of freedom, self identity and respect, it also empowers them to stand united against any kind of exploitation, oppression and harassment by outsiders like zamindars, kings, British and others. As a corollary, the tribal history of India is abundant with stories of uprising against the exploiters as and when such occasion arose (Wilson 1973).

Before independence, tribal revolts stood primarily against alien rulers. According to Mahapatra (1972), most of the tribal movements had their origins in religious upheavals. Vaishnavist movements were one of the important religious movements found among the Meithei tribe in Manipur, Bhumij in West Bengal, Nokte Naga in Assam, Bathudi in Orissa and tribals in Jharkhand (Bihar), Orissa and south India. These were also found among Gonds in central India, Kondh in Orissa and Bhils in Rajasthan. In the early years of colonisation, no other community and even rulers of so many dynasties in India could put forward such heroic resistance to British rule and faced tragic consequences as did by the numerous Advise or tribal communities of present Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Orissa and Bengal. Shah (1977) has stated that there were also movements against oppressing landlords, moneylenders and harassment by police and forest officials in Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Chhattisgarh. For example, Bhagat movements were found among Oraon of Chotanagpur, Bhils of Rajasthan, etc (Bose 1975: 64-71). These were also revivalist movement for avoiding animal food, liquor and blood sacrifices. Apart from that, Mundas reformative movement was also reported under a powerful charismatic leader Dharti Aba who preached Hindu ideals of ritual purity, morality and asceticism and criticised the worship of priests (Singh 1985).

Extinction of two important resources of the tribals namely land and forest were at the helm of many tribal movements. Xaxa (2012) has argued that the erosion on land rights of tribes began with the coming of the British rule and administration. It was brought about by a combination of forces that were at work during the British period. Of these the most important were the introduction of the private property in land and the penetration of the market forces. The two taken together opened up the way for large-scale alienation of land from tribes to non-tribes especially after the tribal areas came to be linked by roads and railways. The mechanisms through which this was achieved were fraud, deceit, coercion and the most widely debt bondage. Despite much protective and even restorative legislation to stop land alienation in the post-independence period, there has been little success to this effect. Of course the major source of land alienation in the post-independence period is not so much the encroachment of the non-tribals into the tribal land as the process of development that the Indian State has followed during the period. The large scale industrialisation and exploitation of mineral resources and the construction of irrigation dams and the power projects that the tribal areas have witnessed during the period have been the single most factors that have uprooted more people out of their lands than the transfer of land from tribals to non-tribals on the individual basis. These issues have also influenced the contours of Maoist movements in India (Ghosh 2015).

At the extreme end, there are instances of tribal movements for the agenda of liberation. We can include the instances of Naga revolution, Mizo movement, and the Gond Raj movement, under this category. Thus, on the whole, tribes of India have launched different kinds of movements and these were mainly related to their issues of livelihood, socio cultural security, oppression and discrimination, neglect and backwardness, poverty, hunger, unemployment and exploitation.

Major Reasons of Tribal Movements

Various reasons have stimulated the tribals for uprising. Historically speaking, however, there is a qualitative shift in tribal movement in independent India as compared to the period before 1947. Let us begin by explaining this difference.

Before Independence

It is possible to classify tribal movement in India before 1947 into three types (Mahapatra 1972). The first type is called the 'reactionary' movement. It attempted to oppose political or social reform by the tribes mostly in the context of mixture with non-tribes. Such movement was mostly seen among the tribals living a simple and isolated life in forest. Whenever they saw alien groups creating obstacles in their life, they became offensive and tried to bring back the 'good old days'. The second type is 'conservative' which opposed any kind of changes in tribal life and culture and sought to maintain status quo. And the third type is 'revolutionary' that aimed to replace certain traits of their traditional culture or social order with a progressive one. This movement is also termed as 'revivalistic' as the leaders of such movement also sought to 'purify' certain elements of culture by eliminating evil customs, beliefs and institutions.

Apart from these, there are several other attempts to classify tribal movements. For instance, Singh (1982) has suggested a four fold classification which is based on i) political autonomy (e.g. Jharkhand movement), ii) agrarian (e.g. Santhal Movement) and forest based issues (Koi movement), iii) sanskritization (e.g. Bhagat movement), and iv) cultural movements for script and language (Bhil movement). Again, Sinha (1968) has classified tribal movements into five types: a) Ethnic rebellion, b) Reform movements, c) Political autonomy movements within the Indian Union, d) Secessionist movements, and e) Agrarian unrest. For Dubey (1982), these movements are of four categories namely, a) Religious and social reform movements, b) Movements for separate statehood, c) Insurgent movements and d) Cultural rights movements. Shah (1990) too has categorised them in three groups which are Ethnic, Agrarian, and Political.

After Independence

After independence, the Government of India and various state governments have made great and incessant efforts in the direction of tribal welfare and development. Various efforts have been made by these governments to improve the socio-economic status of the tribals and to guarantee constitutional safeguards given to tribal people. Special programmes for their development have been undertaken in the successive Five Year Plans. But, at the same time, the establishment of heavy industries, construction of dams and launching of development plans in tribal zones has necessitated displacement of local population. Destruction of forests as a consequence of felling of trees for industrial purposes has threatened the small communities of hunters and food gathers. In spite of some rehabilitation and resettlement programmes here and there, unfortunately a large section of the tribals became the victims of developmental projects and they could not also adequately adopt themselves with new challenges (Rao 1978). Against rising economic and social disparities, the tribals started raising their collective voice in independent India. The tribals especially in central India had reacted sharply against their exploiters. These movements were directed towards freeing their land from all those who exploited them economically and culturally (Roy and Debal 2004). At the same time, each of these movements put emphasis on revitalisation of their culture, their traditional culture which was swayed under the impact of the outsiders. So, the basic issues behind the tribal movements in India after independence are: land alienation, unemployment, deprivation, cultural sub-mergence and unbalanced development. It is possible to categories various tribal movements by their reasons in the following way:

PATHS OF TRIBAL MOVEMENTS

There are only two paths of any kind of movement: nonviolent and violent. The non-violent path is based on bargaining and negotiating with the government and using a variety of pressure tactics without resorting to violence/revolts. On the other hand, the violent path is militant path of revolts or mass struggles based on developing the fighting power of the oppressed tribal strata. The importance of both these paths is different. One indicates struggle generated to reshape and reform, while the other indicates structural transformation of the community. For example Tana Bhagat movement was nonviolent and Muriya Movement was one of the violent insurgent of tribals. The Tana Bhagat movement is also an example of what M.N. Srinivas called as 'sanskritization'. These tribals found solutions to their problems by the acceptance of new life style, values and beliefs. Those who converted to this new life are known as Bhagat.

Spectrum of Major Tribals Movements in India

In 1976, the Anthropological Survey of India had identified 36 tribal movements in the country. Raghavaiah (1971) has listed 70 revolts from 1978 to 1971, while various other scholars (Mathur 1988; Fuchs 1965; Shah 1990; Sharma 1986; Singh 1972) have argued that instances of tribal movements could be traced even before 1768. Singh (1982) has divided all these movements into three faces. The first face was between 1778 and 1860 and these coincide with the rise, expansion and establishment of the British Empire. The second face covers the period of colonialism when merchant capital penetrated into tribal economy affecting their relationship with the land and forest. The third phase deals with the period from 1920 till the achievement of independence in 1947. During this phase the tribals not only began to launch the so called separatist movement but at the same time participated in nationalist and agrarian movements. Apart from these faces, we are able to identify the fourth face of the insurgents which started from 1947 and continuing at present.

There have however been attempts to identify several tribal movements basically as peasant uprisings. It is true that the tribals mostly live as forest dwellers and simple peasants. According to Shah (1990) despite tribals joining movements of different types, land question predominates in all these. Many other scholars have also treated tribal movements as peasant movements (Gough 1974; Desai 1979; Guha 1983). Historically speaking, since the introduction of the permanent settlement by Lord Cornwallis, increasing instances of alienation of tribal land led to general discontentment among them (Hardiman 1981). It has also been argued that the tribals revolted mostly against those alien groups who wanted to acquire their culture, habitat, farm, forest as well as solidarity (Gopalankatty 1981). For example, Mundas joined the Sardar movement which was a peasant movement based on agrarian reforming. Similarly, the Gonds of Andhra Pradesh protested when they lost their traditional privileges in the forest. According to Verier Elwin (1965), the tribals firmly believe that the forests belong to them and they have a right to collect forest products. They also worship forest as their 'god'. They have been there for centuries; it is their life and they consider themselves justified in resisting any attempt to deprive them of it. On the whole, most of the tribal movements, during the British rule in particular, were organised in order to mobilize tribal peasants against oppressors like land lords (Zamindars) money lenders and officials of British.

MAJOR TRIBAL MOVEMENTS:

The Chuar Revolt

The Chuars were inhabitant of north western Midnapur. Basically they were simple farmers and hunters and also worked under local zamindars. They received tax free land instead of salaries.

During colonization period of East India Company, when the zamindars had imposed huge tax burden, the Chuars revolted. The uprising continued for around three decades from 1768-69 to 1799.

The Kol Revolt

The Kol tribe was the inhabitant of Chotanagpur. They preferred an independent life. The main reason of Kol revolt was imposition of new taxes by the king of Porhat. In 1820, the king of Porhat agreed to support the British and pay them huge taxes annually. In return, he claimed the neighbouring Kol region for collection of taxes. He went on to collect taxes from the Kols. The Kols resented against this kind of taxes and a few officials were killed by them. The British then sent troops in support of the king. The Kols took up traditional arms like bows and arrows to face British troops armed in modern weapons. They revolted very bravely but had to surrender in 1821. In 1831 the Kols rose again because the region of Chotanagpur was leased out to Hindu, Muslim and Sikh money lenders for revenue collection. The oppressive tactics of money lenders, high revenue rates, British judicial and vulnerable revenue policies devastated the traditional socio-cultural framework of the Kols. They gathered under the leadership of Bir Budhu Bhagat, Joa Bhagat, JhindraiManki and Sui Munda. In 1831, Munda and Oraon peasants first took up arms against the British. It encouraged the tribals of Singbhum, Manbhum, Hazaribagh and Palamou as well. But, after two years of intense resistance they lost to modern weapons of the British. Thousands of tribal men, women and children were killed and the rebellion was suppressed.

The Santhal Revolt

The Santhals were mainly agriculturalists living in the dense forests of Bankura, Midnapur, Birbhum, Manbhum, Chotanagpur and Palamou. The Santhals fled their original land (Bhagalpur and Manbhoom) when the oppressive zamindars brought that land under Company's revenue control. They started living and farming in hill of Rajmahal, calling it Damin-i-Koh. But their oppressors followed them and exploitation started in full swing. Apart from the zamindari and British Company, local moneylenders also cheated them with high interest rates. The simple minded Santals reeled under loans and taxes and had to lose everything. Sidhu and Kanhu, the two brothers, rose against these dreadful activities. Santhals assembled at the Bhagnadihi fields on 30 June 1855 and pledged to establish a free Santhal state. The rebels' ranks swelled and they numbered nearly 50,000 from early 10000. Almost all the postal and rail services were thoroughly disrupted during this movement. They bravely fought with only bows and arrows with the armed British soldiers. At last, in February 1856, the British could suppress this uprising by slaughtering 23,000 rebels. Overall the Santhal Revolt was essentially a peasant revolt. People from all professions and communities such as potters, blacksmiths, weavers, leather workers and doms also joined in (Chandra 1998). It was distinctly against the policies of colonial rulers in British India.

Koi Revolt

Koi revolt is an important mass uprising among the tribals of Bastar. The people of the Jamindaris, who were involved in the cutting of trees, were known as Kois, which subsequently became the name of the revolution. The rebellion stood against the autocratic and dominant British rule. A vital revolution among the other tribal rebellions, Koi revolt is considered as a serious uprising that resulted in a considerable change in its aftermath. The tribal people denied the decision of the British, which offered the contracts of cutting of Sal trees to people outside the region of Bastar. The outside contractors who were offered the contract of cutting the trees were also known to exploit the innocent tribal people in many ways. This added to the problem and the tribal men were exploited both economically as well as mentally. When the water rose above their heads, the tribal people of Bastar collectively decided that they would not tolerate the cutting of a single tree. The British wanted to suppress the unrest and used various methods to stop the opposition led by the tribal people. But the tribals were very rigid in their decision. They stated that forest and its trees was their mother and they would not allow the exploitation of their natural resources and forests. Finally, they decided that they would not allow the exploitation of their natural resources and rich forests. After this insurgency, Britishers became alert and modified their rules in order to use their natural resources.

Paralkot Rebellion

In 1825, the Paralkot rebellion was a symbol of protest against foreign rules by Abujhmarias, who were the inhabitants of the present day state of Chhattisgarh. The anger of Abujhmarias mainly originated against the foreign rulers like the Marathas and the British. Gend Singh led the revolt of Paralkot and the other Abujhmarias supported him. The purpose of this rebellion was to acquire a world that is free from all outsiders. In the time of Maratha Dynasty, Abujhmariyas were levied heavy tax, which was impossible for them to pay. So, they revolted against the injustice by the foreign powers. One thing noteworthy of this movement was the desire of the Abujhmarias to build an independent Bastar, free of foreign intrusion. The Paralkot revolt is one of the important tribal rebellions in the history of the Indian state of Chhattisgarh.

Halba rebellion

The event of Halba rebellion took place in the Bastar District in Chhattisgarh. The Halba rebellion started against the Marathas and the British in the year 1774 after the decline of the Chalukyas. The governor of Dongar, Ajmer Singh, was the initiator leader of the revolt of Halba. The movement of Halba was aimed at creating a new and independent state in Dongar. The Halbas stood beside Ajmer Singh as the soldiers. Another reason for insurgency was lack of money and food in the hands of the common people. Added to this huge problem, there was the pressure and fear caused by the Maratha and the British which eventually resulted in the uprising. Many of the Halba tribal people were killed by the British and Maratha armies. Subsequently, the army of Halba was also defeated. The Halba revolt created conditions for the decline of the Chalukya dynasty which in turn significantly altered the history of Bastar. It created circumstances for first bringing the Marathas and then the British to the region.

Maria Rebellion

The uprising of Maria Tribe was a prolonged rebellion in Bastar; it continued for twenty years from 1842 to 1863. It was apparently fought to preserve the practice of human sacrifice. The Anglo-Maratha Rule forced the aboriginal tribes to part with their tribal faiths and practices. The British and the Marathas used to enter the temples constantly, which according to the innocent beliefs of the tribal people polluted the sacred atmosphere of the temples. The only way to save the identity of the Marias was to revolt against the invaders. The Maria Rebellion is considered one of the major tribal rebellions for their expression of particular identity and socio-cultural specificity

Muria Rebellion

Muria rebellion of 1876 is another revolt that appeared in the region of Bastar. It is a great booster for the ill treated and suppressed people of all ages, all over the country. In the year 1867, Gopinath Kapardas was selected as the Diwan of the state of Bastar. Gopinath Kapardas used to exploit the simple and innocent tribal people. The tribal people appealed to the King to remove the Diwan from the position, but the King did not support their subjects. Being repeatedly neglected by the King, the Murias were left with only one option: to revolt. On second March of the year 1876, the raging tribal people enclosed Jagdalpur, the abode of the King. The Muria people besieged the King and blocked all the ways of exit. Surrounded by all sides, the King faced real inconvenience to inform the British about the unrest that had generated among the tribal people. Much later, the British Army was sent which rescued the king and suppressed the revolution. Despite such suppression, the Muria rebellion encouraged the common people to raise the voice against injustice done against them.

Tarapur Rebellion

Tarapur rebellion is a great example of the tribal rebellions in Bastar, the present Chhattisgarh. The common people of Bastar stood against the foreign rulers. The revolt of Tarapur took place from 1842 to 1854. The native people of Bastar felt that their local tradition and culture were being considerably harmed and the social, political as well as economic interests were being hampered. Thus, they stood against the Anglo-Maratha reign in order to restore their native culture and protest against imposition of heavy taxes. The local Diwan, who used to collect the taxes from the common people, became the symbol of oppression for them. The tribal rage grew more and more, resulting in the Tarapur rebellion. It was an assertion of tribal identity against the tampering with their traditional aspects of living. For tribals, the experience of coercive taxation was alien and therefore they opposed them. As a result of such taxation, the annual tribute paid to the Nagpur rulers in Tarapur had increased which was opposed by Dalganijan Singh. The latter decided to leave Tarapur after being pressurised by the Nagpur rulers.

Bodo Movement

The Bodos are recognized as a plains tribe in the Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. The major objective of the Bodo movement was to have a separate state of their own. Since the colonial period, there had been attempts to subsume the Bodos under the umbrella of Assamese nationalism. Therefore, it was under the British rule that the Bodos first raised the demand for a separate homeland along with the hill tribes of the northeast. The formation of the All Assam Plains Tribal League (AAPTL) in 1933 was evidence enough. Subsequently, formation of organisations such as the Bodo Sahitya Sabha (BSS) in 1952, Plains Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA), and All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) in 1967 reflected the Bodo people's quest for political power and self-determination. The movement of ABSU began with the slogan "Divide Assam Fifty-Fifty". In order to spearhead the movement, the All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) created a political organization called the Bodo People's Action Committee (BPAC). Initially, the ABSU and PTCA worked in tandem to put forth the demand for a separate homeland for the Bodos, but ABSU withdrew its support to PTCA in 1979 when they felt that the PTCA had failed to fulfill the aspirations of the Bodo people for a separate state during the reorganisation process of Assam. This movement officially started under the leadership of Upendranath Brahma on 2 March 1987; but the movement was suppressed by the Government and ended up with the creation of Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) through bipartite Bodo Accord in 1993.

Jharkhand Movement

The Jharkhand movement in Bihar is a movement of tribal communities consisting of settled agriculturalists who are sensitised to Vaishnavism. There were major cultural changes in the life of tribals since 1845 when the Christian missionaries first arrived in Jharkhand. Many tribes were converted into Christianity and many schools including higher institutions for both the sexes were established for educating the tribals. The impact of modern education on the changing aspirations of the tribal boys and girls became evident later. As against such positive development, the tribals also had to face many problems due to extraction of mineral wealth from Jharkhand. The region is a rich source of coal and iron. Even bauxite, copper, asbestos, limestone and graphite are also found there. Coal mining in this region had started in the year 1856 itself. In the year 1907, the Tata Iron and Steel Factory was established in Jamshedpur. Since independence, much emphasis was laid on planned industrialization concentrating on heavy industries especially on the expansion of mining. Interestingly, the Jharkhand region contributed to 75 percent of the revenue of Bihar. The Government began acquiring the lands of the tribals, but did not resettle and rehabilitate them. The local people also felt that the prices of different forest products, which the Government paid them, were much less. In the course of time, these problems continued and were intensified. In the early part of the twentieth century, the Jharkhand movement was initiated by the Christian tribal students and it was later continued by the non-tribals and the non-Christians too.

Interestingly, the Jharkhand movement developed in phases from ethnicity to regionalism since 1950. The social base of this movement later got broadened to include the non-tribals so as to transform it from an ethnic to a regional movement (Ghosh 2001).The movement was based on the demand of autonomous state owing to the exploitation of local tribal people by dikus or non tribals. It was a result of the interplay between historical, cultural, economic and political forces which culminated in the emergence of Jharkhand Party in the Chotanagpur division and the Santhal Parganas of Bihar in the late 1940s. The tribal autonomy in the Jharkhand movement comprises the whole of the Chotanagpur plains, some districts of Orissa, Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. The formation of the Jharkhand party in 1950 gave a new direction to political and other welfare activities in the Jharkhand region in Bihar. The history of Jharkhand movement has passed through four phases since independence: first from 1947 to 1954, second from 1955 to 1963, third from 1964 to 1969 and forth was 1970 onwards. The Jarkhand Mukti Morcha was formally formed during the first period. It contested the 1952 general election and emerged as the main opposition in the Bihar Legislative Assembly. The second phase started with the States Reorganization Commission's rejection of the demand for a separate Jharkhand State and ended with the merger of the Jharkhand party with the Congress Party. During the third phase, there emerged factions and cleavages among the Jharkhand cadre. The movement which lasted for more than five decades which started since 1845 and significantly the movement ended with the formation of new separate Jharkhand State.

Bhumkal

The Bhumkal rebellion took place in the year 1910 in the present Indian state of Chhattisgarh. It was a widespread rebellion. Tribal people of forty six out of the eighty four parganas of the district of Bastar participated in this movement. According to most of the historians, the origin of the Bhumkal protest movement was rooted in the previous rebellious movements that took place in this region. It was a movement based in the earlier struggle of the tribal people of Bastar to protect and preserve their tradition, culture and customs. The revolt of the tribal people of Bastar was to reassert their rights on the forests and other natural resources of this area. It is because all their customs, culture and economic activities depended on their basic belief about the relation between man and nature. The sudden dispossession of the forestland since 1908 when the British declared the forests as 'reserved zones' initiated the Bhumkal rebellion.

Bhil Rebellion

The Bhils are a tribe of central India, mainly distributed in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, who traditionally had an identity of guerrilla fighters and warriors. Under the Moghul Emperors, they could peaceful live the life of a hunter-gatherers; but they faced persecution under the Marathas. They took to the jungles and became less acquiescent to authority. In 1818, when the British organised the princely states of Central India into the Central India Agency, centred on the town of Neemuch (north-west Madhya Pradesh, close to the border with Rajasthan), they attempted to bring the Bhils from the hill. But the Bhils did not like this. The Bhil's main objection was similar to that of nomadic hunter gatherers anywhere in the colonised world, whether it is Apache or Sioux in America, Bushmen in South Africa and aborigines in Australia. Therefore, in 1825 the British created a Bhil Agency, specifically to deal with them and a Bhil Corps was formed, in an attempt to quell the less cooperative tribesmen. But the British failed to control them completely and Captain Henry Bowden Smith died at Neemuch in 1831 because of "wounds received in action against the Bhils" (Singh, 1972). The Bhils being nomadic hunters operated from thick jungle and the regimented British forces clearly found them difficult to overcome. The guerrilla war lasted for over twenty years.

Tana Bhagat Movement

Tana Bhagats is a tribal community of Jharkhand. This community were formed by Oaron saints Jatra Bhagat and Turia Bhagat. In its earlier phase, it was called as Kurukh Dharam. Kurukh is literally the original religion of the Oraons. The movement was against the Zamindars, missionaries and British. Tana Bhagats were followers of Mahatma Gandhi and believes in Non-violence. They opposed the taxes imposed on them by the British and they staged a Satyagraha (civil disobedience movement) even joined Gandhi's satyagraha movement.

Nagas Rebellion

Nagas were once head hunters, as they used to cut off the heads of the enemies and preserve them as trophies. But with the advent of Christianity and education, the Nagas, comprising more than 30 tribes, have evolved a rich culture and tradition. The Naga national movement is the consequence of the intermingling of ethnicity, geography, history and most significantly the indomitable spirit of the Nagas who belong to Mongoloid race under Tibeto-Burman category. They have customs and traditions which are very different from those of the plains people. One of the theoretical paradigms of how an ethnic group becomes a nation is when that group faces a common enemy (Fuchs, 1965). This may be said to be true in the case of the Nagas as the emergence of their national movement and simultaneously that of their nation have their moorings in their interaction and contact with the outside world, which is riven with unpleasant exchanges. Oral tradition indicates that the Nagas fought battles with the people of other plains. In order to protect their indigenous culture, they demanded independent homeland for the Nagas.

The objective of the NSCN (Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland), that led the movement, was to establish a Sovereign State by unifying all the Naga inhabited areas in the North East of India and Northern Burma which the organisation and the people of the area proposed as Nagalim. Unification of all Naga tribes under one administration and 'liberating' Nagalim from India is listed as one of the supposed main objectives of the organisation. Its manifesto is based on the principle of Socialism for economic development and a Baptist Christian religious outlook. The leaders however had to forgo many of their demands when the new state of Nagaland was finally formed on 31 January 1980. The name of the Government was called "The People Republic of Nagaland (Nagalim)".

Munda Rebellion

This rebellion was led by Birsa Munda in the south of Ranchi in the year 1899 against of land alienation. The "Great Tumult" aimed to establish Munda Raj and independence. Traditionally, the Mundas enjoyed a preferential rent rate known as the khuntkattidar, which meant the original clearer of the forest. However, in course of time, the Mundas realized that this system of khuntkattidar is being corroded by the jagirdars and thikadars who came as moneylenders and as traders. After the establishment of the British rule, the movement into the tribal regions by the non-tribals increased. This, in turn, led to increase in the practice of forced labour. The tribal people became more aware of their rights due to the spread of education, which was provided by the missionaries. The social cleavage between the Christian and non-Christian Mundas deepened due to which the solidarity of the tribals got diluted. Therefore, there were two reasons for the revitalization of the movement, one was agrarian discontent and the other was the advent of Christianity. The movement aimed to reconstruct the tribal society from disintegration, which was staring in its face due to the stress and strains of the colonial rule.

Dongria Kondh's Struggle:

Dongria Kondh tribe have resided in the Niyamgiri Mountains for generations. They have sacred and symbiotic relationship with nature. One of the mountains in the Niyamgiri hill range, Niyam Dongar, is regarded by the tribe to be the abode of their divine God, Niyam Raja (The King of Law). As a part of their customs, felling trees on mountain tops is considered taboo and a sign of disrespect to their supreme deity. The peaceful life of the tribe was brought under threat, when on June 7, 2003 Vedanta signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the Government of Odisha for the construction of one million ton per annum alumina refinery, along with coal based power plant in the Lanjigarh region of Kalahandi district. For the purpose of obtaining bauxite for this alumina refinery, Vedanta owned Sterlite Industries also entered the picture, with plans to construct an open pit, bauxite mining plant at the top of the sacred Niyam Dongar Mountain.

The Dongria people clearly understood that any mining activity at the top of the mountain would cause these perennial streams to dry up. So, they stood together and prevented workers from Vedanta from entering their sacred hill. They strongly stand against the mining process in Niyamgiri. The movement against Vedanta was not only lead by the local tribes, but it also gained massive support from international communities. Organizations like Survival International, Amnesty International and Foil Vedanta visited the protest site in India regularly and also organized mass rallies outside the company's London office. For seven years, Survival International organized demonstrations at the Annual General Meeting of the company in London. The organization also launched an international campaign, encouraging major shareholders of Vedanta Resources to disinvest in the company until it removed its operations from Niyamgiri. Witnessing the company's atrocious treatment of the Dongria Kondh and its involvement in the blatant violation of human rights, many international investors like the Norwegian Government Pension Fund, Martin Currie, the Church of England and Marlborough Ethical Fund sold their stocks in the company.

Conclusion

The tribes of India since time immemorial have been engaged in protecting their land and culture from the outsiders including powerful rulers like the British. Their potential, strength and energy for holding their fort till the last person is alive had always been a matter of great inspiration for common man and activists. Interestingly, the spirit of their revolutionary action has not shown any marked signs of abatement in independent India. It is because of these movements that the Indian state today recognises the rights of tribal to live and manage forests. Tribals have time and again resisted the exploitation of natural resources by the nexus of money-lenders, bureaucrats, politicians and corporate honchos. In recent times, the transnational corporate companies are invited by the state to take control over the mineral rich landmass in the tribal areas. Uncontrolled infiltration in the tribal domain by the national and multinational corporations aided and abetted by the state machinery without any commensurate wergild provided to the 'sons of the soil' have led to their marginalization. A feeling of lack of empowerment and lack of effective governance, compounded with appalling poverty has given rise to belligerence amongst tribal population in India. It is also a major cause of the rise of Maoist influence in the hilly regions domesticated by the tribals. It appears that when the government and its machinery fail to protect the tribals, they are forced to take up arms against their exploiters. The instances of tribal movement therefore remain a source of inspiration for all those who are exploited and marginalised.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Self Assessment Exercises:

Q1. What do you mean by peasant movement? Discuss important peasant movements of India?

Q2. Write a note on labour and trade union movements in India.

Q3. Critically examine major tribal movements in India.

CHAPTER 4

NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

LEARNING OUTCOME: After going through this lesson, students will be able to-

- **Understand the ecological and environmental movement in India**
- **Know about the Women's Movement**
- **Understand the Ethnic Movement with special reference to North East India**

A social movement is a sustained campaign launched to achieve a particular goal. Thesemovements are organized to change old social structures or values that have proved detrimental to the individuals belonging to particular groups. The Social Movement might differ in magnitude, but they are a joint effort of a group of people; the latter doesn't follow the samerules but have a mutual outlook on life. The 20th century saw a surge in social movements inIndia,encompassingawidearrayoffocusessuchasenvironmentalpreservation,classequality,caste rights, tribal representation, and women's rights.There have been many New SocialMovements in India in the past few years. Social movements have an agenda to achieve aparticular goal. Mainly New Social Movements in India have been launched to change the oldsocial values or structures that have caused damage to individuals from certain groups. Socialmovements are a joint effort, and in this article, we are going to discuss the New SocialMovements in India.

4.1 ECOLOGICALANDENVIRONMENTALMOVEMENT

Anenvironmentalmovementisatypeofsocialmovementthatinvolvesanarrayofindividuals,groups and coalitions that perceive a common interest in environmental protection and act tobring about changes in environmental policies and practices. Environmental and ecologicalmovements are among the important examples of the collective actions of several socialgroups.

Causesofenvironmentalmovements:-

- The increasing confrontation with nature in the form of industrial growth, degradationofnaturalresources,andoccurrenceofnaturalcalamities,hasresultedinimbalancesinthebio- sphericsystem.
- Majorreasonsfortheemergenceofenvironmentalmovements inIndiaareasfollows:
- Controlovernaturalresources.
- Falsedevelopmentalpoliciesofthegovernment
- Rightofaccesstoforestresources.
- Non-commercialuseofnaturalresources.
- Socialjustice/humanrights.
- Socioeconomicreasons.
- Environmentaldegradation/destructionand
- Spreadofenvironmentalawarenessandmedia.

MajorEnvironmental MovementsinIndia

Many environmental movements have emerged in India, especially after the 1970s. Thesemovements have grown out of a series of independent responses to local issues in differentplacesatdifferenttimes.Someofthebest-knownenvironmentalmovementsinIndiaaregivenbelow: -

TheSilentValleyMovement

The silent valley is located in the Palghat district of Kerala. It is surrounded by different hillsof the State. The idea of a dam on the river Kunthipuzha in this hill system was conceived bytheBritishin1929.Thetechnicalfeasibilitysurveywascarriedoutin1958andtheprojectwassanctioned by the Planning Commission of the Government of India in 1973. In 1978, themovement against the project from all corners was raised from all sections of the population.The movement was first initiated by the local people and was subsequently taken over by theKeralaSastraSahityaParishad(KSSP).ManyenvironmentalgroupsliketheNarmadaBachaoAndolan (NBA), Bombay Natural History Society (BNHS) and Silent Valley Action Forumparticipated in the campaign. As a consequence, in 1979, the Government of Kerala passedlegislationregardingtheSilentValleyProtectionArea(ProtectionofEcologicalbalanceActof1979) and issued a notification declaring the exclusion of the hydroelectric project area fromthe proposed national park. The valley is famous for many rare species of birds and animals.Birdlife International listed 16 bird species in Silent Valley as threatened or restricted. ThemammalsinthevalleyincludeGaur,thelargestofallwildcattle.Thereareatleast34speciesof mammals at Silent Valley, including the threatened species of mammals. Over 128 speciesof butterflies and 400 species of moths live here. Silent Valley is identified as a region withhigh biodiversity and an important Gene Pool resource for Recombinant DNA innovations bythe Indian Council of Agricultural Research, ICAR (India). In 1914 the forest of the SilentValleyareawasdeclaredaReserveForest.However, from1927to1976portionsoftheSilentValley forest areas were subjected to forestry operations. In 1983, the Central GovernmentinstructedtheStategovernmenttoabandontheProjectandonNovember15,theSilentValleyforests were declared as a National Park. On September 7, 1985, the Silent Valley NationalPark was formally inaugurated. On September 1, 1986, Silent Valley National Park wasdesignatedasthecoreareaoftheNilgiriBiosphereReserve.

TheChipkoMovement

ChipkoMovementstartedonApril24,1973,atMandalofChamolidistrictofGharwaldivisionof Uttarakhand. The Chipko is one of the world-known environmental movements in India.Themovementwasraisedoutofecologicaldestabilisationinthehills.Thefallintheproductivity of the forest produces forced the hill dwellers to depend on the market, whichbecame a central concern for the inhabitants. Forest resource exploitation was considered thereason behind natural calamities like floods, and landslides. On March 27 the decision wastaken to ‘Chipko” that is ‘to hug’ the trees that were threatened by the axe and thus the chipkoAndolan (movement) was born. This form of protest was instrumental in driving away theprivatecompaniesfromfellingtheashtrees.TheChipkoMovementwasinitiatedbySunderlalBahu gunain1973.Itwasaconservationmovement,anuprisingagainstthefellingoftreesandmaintainingecologicalbalance.

Chandi Prasad Bhatt, the environmentalist and Gandhian social activist, In 1964 founded acooperativeorganization,DasholiGramSwarajyaSangh,laterrenamedDasholiGramSwarajya Mandal (DGSM). DSGM encouraged the development of small industries for ruralvillagers, using local resources. The Mandal became the force of opposition against the large-scaleindustrywhenindustrialloggingwaslinkedtotheseveremonsoonfloodsthatkilledmorethan200people intheregion.Thegovernmentdeniedthevillagersaccesstothesmallnumberoftreestheyneededto makeagriculturaltoolsandallottedanevenbiggerplottoasportsgoodmanufacturing company. This outraged the villagers and then the first Chipko MovementstartedintheupperAlaknandaValleyin 1973.Onhearingthedenialofthevillagers'appealbythe government, Chandi Prasad Bhatt led the masses in the forest and embraced the trees topreventlogging. Thegovernment, aftermanydaysofprotest, cancel edthecompany'sloggingpermit and granted the original allotment requested by DGSM. The landmark event of theprotest happened in March 1973 where peasant women in Chamoli district of Uttarakhandreclaimed their forest rights from the State Forest Department and prevented the trees frombeing cut down. Read about the Forest Right Act, India (FRA), 2006 ,With the success, a localenvironmentalist,SunderlalBahuguna,spreadtheChipko'stacticswithpeopleinothervillagesthroughout the region. Another instance of Chipko Andolan occurred in the village of Reni in1974, where more than 2000 trees were planned to be cut.From the surrounding villages of anearby city, the government summoned the men for compensation, ostensibly to allow theloggers to proceed without confrontation. They met the group of village women, led by GauraDevi,whorefusedtomoveoutoftheforestandeventuallytheloggerswereforcedtowithdraw.The action in Reni village ultimately led to a 10-year ban on commercial logging in the area.The movement was grounded in Mahatma Gandhi's concept of satyagraha (resistance withoutviolence).Between 1972 and 1979, it is believed that more than 150 villages were involvedwiththeChipkomovement,whichresultedin12majorprotestsandmanyminorconfrontations in Uttarakhand. In 1980, when Sunderlal Bahuguna's appeal to Indira Gandhi (then PrimeMinister)ledto15yearsbanoncommercialfellingoftreesintheUttarakhandHimalayas.Thisis when theChipko Movementbecameagreatsuccess.

DemandsofChipkoMovement

ThedemandsoftheChipko Movementareas follows:

- Completestoppageofcuttingtreesforcommercialpurposes.
- Thetraditionalrightsshouldberecognisedonthebasisoftheminimumneedsofthepeople.
- Makingthearidforestgreenby increasingpeople'sparticipationintreecultivation.
- Formationofvillagecommitteestomanageforests.
- Developmentoftheforest-relatedhome-basedindustriesandmakingavailabletherawmaterials,money and techniqueforit.
- Givingprioritytoafforestationinthelightoflocalconditions,requirementsandvarieties.

ItwasamovementthatpractisedmethodsofSatyagrahawherebothmaleandfemaleactivistsfromUttarakhandplayedvitalroles.Themovementgrabbedattentionfromacrosstheworld.Itled in the proper direction and inspired in time many similar eco-groups by- increasing socialawarenessandecologicalawareness,theneedtosavetreesandslowdowntherapiddeforestation, exposing vested interests, demonstrating the viability of people power. Inspiredsimilar movements against environmental degradation. Though many of the leaders of themovement were men, women were the mainstay and backbone of the movement. It has beenan ecofeminism movement.The Chipko protests in Uttar Pradesh achieved a major victory in1980 with a 15-year ban on green felling in the Himalayan forests of that state by the order ofMrsIndiraGandhi,thethenPrimeMinisterofIndia.Thesimplicityandsincerityoftheleaderslike Sunderlal Bahuguna and their access to national leaders like Mrs Indira Gandhi, otherpoliticiansandofficialsalsohelpedtothesuccessofthemovementtoalargeextent.Thenatureof agitation. Unlike other environmental movements, Chipko hasstrictly adhered to theGandhiantradition of freedomstruggle, i.e.,non-violence.

The Bishnoi Movement

Bishnoi Movement was started approximately290 years ago (in the early part of the 18thcentury) in Rajasthan by the Bishnoi community. A large group of them from 84 villages ledby a lady called Amrita Devi laid down their lives in an effort to protect the trees from beingfelled on the orders of the Maharaja (King) of Jodhpur. The Bishnoi movement is one of thefirst organized proponents of eco-conservation, wildlife protection, and green living. TheBishnoisareconsideredthefirstenvironmentalistsofIndia.Theyarebornnaturelovers.Inthehistory of environmental movements, this was the movement that, for the first time, used thestrategy of hugging and embracing trees for their protection. The famous Amrita Devi'smovementisconsideredtobeamongthepioneeringeffortsforenvironmentalprotection.KingAbhay Singh of Jodhpur, in the 1730s, when building his new palace, ordered his soldiers tocut down the trees for wood in Khejarli village. As a symbol of protest, Amrita Devi stoodagainst the soldiers and fought for the life of trees by clinging onto them. Her three daughters,Asu, Ratni, and Bhagu also stood by their mother. Supporting them, the other people of thiscommunity also stood up for the trees and wrapped their arms around the trunks. The soldierscontinued to axe the trees down, without paying heed to the requests of the people. The primereason behind opposing tree cutting was embedded in the cultural belief of the Bishnoicommunity as described in the principles of their sect, advocating the protection of trees andwildlifeconservation.Anotherreasonwasimmediatelyrelatedtotheirrurallivelihood,astheydependedontheforestforthesupplyoffuelwoodandfodder.BishnoifromKhejarliandothervillagescametojointhisagitationandhuggedtheKhejritreesonebyonetoprotecttreesbeingcut at the cost of their head.In this movement, 363 Bishnois laid down their lives for theprotection of Khejri trees in the Khejarli village of Rajasthan. This movement has left anindeliblemarkonthememories andalong-lastingeffectonthepsycheofthepeople.

Objectives ofBishnoiMovement

Themovementhadfourmajorobjectives:

- Conservationofbio-diversity toensureeco-friendly sociallifeforthecommunity.
- Promotingpersonalhygiene toensureahealthylife.
- Advocacyagainstcuttingoftrees.
- Preservationofbiodiversityandanimalhusbandry.

ThismovementandsacrificenotonlyinspiredtheChipkoMovementinthe20thCenturywhichwas led by Sunder Lal Bahuguna but also the Government of India in the form of the "AmritaDeviBishnoiWildlifeProtectionAward"andGovernmentofRajasthanintheformof"Amrita Devi Bishnoi Smrithi Paryavaran Award" for contributing to the protection of wildlife andenvironmentconservation respectively.

The Appiko Movement

AppikoMovementisoneoftheforest-basedenvironmentalmovementsinIndia.Themovement took place in the Uttara Kanada district of Karnataka in the Western Ghats. Thestory of the movement is that for several decades the forest department had been promotingmonocultureplantationsofteakafterclear-fellingtheexistingmixedsemi-evergreenforests.

In September 1983, women and youth of the region decided to launch a movement similar toChipko, in South India The movement was named Appiko which means "hug" in Kannada,symbolising protection for the tree. The movement was founded and led by environmentalactivist Panduranga Hegde. The aim of the movement was to conserve the trees of the Kalseforests in Karnataka. Women and youth from Saklani and surrounding villages walked fivemiles to a nearby forest and hugged trees there. They forced the fellers and the contractors ofthe state forest department to stop cutting trees. The agitation continued for 38 days and thisforcedthestategovernmenttofinallyconcedetotheirdemandsandwithdrawtheorderforthefelling of trees. Like the Chipko, the Appiko movement revived the Gandhian way of protestandmobilisationforasustainablesocietyinwhichthereisabalancebetweenmanandnature.

ObjectivesofAppikoMovement

TheAppikomovement succeeded in itsthree-fold objectives,which include:

- Protectingtheexistingforestcover.
- Regenerationoftreesindenuded land
- Utilizingforestwealthwithproperconsiderationfortheconservationofnaturalresources.

The Appiko movement saved the basic life sources for the people, that is, trees like bambooused for making handcrafted items which they could sell for earning some money for theirlivelihood.Italsosavedmedicinaltreesfortheirusebythelocalpeople.Further,themovementcreat ed awareness among the villagers throughout the Western Ghats about the ecologicaldanger posed by the commercial and industrial interests to their forest, which was the mainsource ofsustenance. Like the Chipkomovement, south India's Appikomovement alsoachievedsuccessfulresults.

NarmadaBachaoAndolan

NarmadaBachaoAndolanisanIndiansocialmovementledbynativetribes,farmers,environmentalists andhumanrightsactivistsagainsttheconstructionofanumberoflargedamsunder the Narmada Dam Project across river Narmada.The river Narmada flows through thestates of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. Sardar Sarovar Dam in Gujarat is one ofthe biggest dams on the Narmada River and was one of the first focal points of the Save theNarmada Movement. Sardar Sarovar Dam is a part of the Narmada Dam Project that aims toprovideirrigationandelectricitytopeople of theabovestates.

Narmada BachaoAndolan is the most powerful mass movement, started in 1985, against theconstruction of a huge dam on the Narmada River. As per the Narmada Dam Project, the planwas to build over 3000 big and small dams along the river. The proposed Sardar Sarovar Damand Narmada Sagar were to displace more than 250,000 people. The big fight of the Save theNarmada Movement was over the resettlement or the rehabilitation of these people. After theindependence, India's first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, called for the construction ofdams on Narmada river to arrest excess water flowing into Arabian sea passing throughMadhya Pradesh and Gujarat to aid local people and development of the nation.Two of thelargestproposeddamswereSardarSarovarandNarmadaSagar.TheNarmadaWaterDisputesTribu nal approved the Narmada Valley Development Project, which included 30 large dams,135 medium dams, and 3,000 small dams including raising the height of Sardar Sarovar dam.In1985,afterhearingabouttheconstructionofNarmadaDamProject,MedhaPatkarandhercollea gues visited the project site and noticed that project work was being checked due to anorderbytheMinistryofEnvironmentandForests,GovernmentofIndia.In1987,constructionbegan on the Sardar Sarovar Dam and the people who were going to be affected by theconstructionofthedamweregivennoinformationbuttheofferforrehabilitation.InMay1990,Narm ada BachaoAndolan organized a 2,000-person, five-day sit-in at PM V. P. Singh'sresidence in New Delhi, which convinced the Prime Minister to 'reconsider' the project. InDecember1990,approximately6000menandwomenbegantheNarmadaJanVikasSangharshYatra (NarmadaPeople'sProgressStruggleMarch),marchingover100kilometres.InJanuary1991,BabaA mteandtheseven-memberteambegan anindefinitehungerstrike(continuedfor22 days) and committed to a sit-in unto death. The Sardar Sarovar Dam's construction beganagainin1999andwasdeclaredfinishedin2006.The heightoftheprojectwasincreasedfrom138meters to 163meters. Itwasinauguratedin2017byPMNarendraModi.

4.2 WOMEN'SMOVEMENT

ThisisoneoftheNewSocialMovementsinIndiathatwasassociatedwithrepresentingwomeninthesoci alandpoliticalsphere.Therehasbeeninequalitybetweenmenandwomensincethebeginning of time, and it has led to women's movements. The women's status in society hasremainedlowerthanmenforaverylongtimenow.Thereasonforhowthisdisparitycameintoexistenc e is not clear, but it definitely put women at a disadvantage, leaving them dependableon men for several things. In India, women bore the brunt of evil practices including, but notlimited to, sati, purdah system, female foeticide& infanticide, and child marriage. The idea ofa woman working outside the house or her having a say in the important family matters wasnotevenentertained.Toendthiscontinuedoppressionandbringliberationtowomen,women'smov ementin Indiabegan.

Women's Movement in India was inspired by feminism movements abroad. They deal withissuespertainingto women and aremeanttoempowerwomen and bringthemequalto men.Awave of feminism had started taking on the world in 1800s and since then, it has evolved toincludeallspheresofawoman'slife.Initially,itwasaboutabolishingevilpracticesthenitwasabout increasing their freedom and giving them more rights that would eventually empowerthem.Inthemodernidea,ithasextendedtoincludeissueslikegivingthemequalindependence asmen,providingthemmorechoices,andsuch.Inthe19thcentury,Britishrulestartedtotakeover the Indian subcontinent. Our country went through a bunch of social, economic, andcultural transformations. Indians were exposed to western values and ideas. Inspired by theEnglishview,socialrevolutionsbeganwhichwereaimedateliminatingsocialaberrationslikesati, illiteracy, purdah system,etc. These weremajor obstaclesinthe path of women'sprogression and an idea was adopted that a society cannot progress unless all its membersequally contribute to its progression. Leaders like Savitribai Phule, Swarnakumari Devi, andRassundari Devi contributed immensely during this time period to bring forth the plights ofwomenandworkedtowardssolvingthem.SavitribaiPhuleisawomanworthmentioninghere.Referred to as the first female teacher of India, she belonged to a lower caste and workedtirelesslywithherhusbandtoendcasteandgender-baseddiscrimination.Sheeducatedwomen,raised her voice against violence against women, and evil social practices. By the time India gotherindependence, significantimprovementintheareaofeducationforwomen, satipratha, purdah system, and female infanticide and foeticide was attained. There were educationalinstitutions in the post-colonial period that were dedicated entirely to women. During theBritish raj, Indian women were at the forefront of the fight for independence, leading thestrugglewhenmenwerejailed.Thisprovedthatwomenarenotonlycapableofmanagingwelloutside their homes and leading, but are also sound in political matters. They readily took partin famine and drought relief movements. Towards the Equality Report of 1974, however, laidbare the real truth that although the women's condition had improved, it still needed a lot ofwork. Women continued to be regarded as the secondary gender, with minimum bare roles inpolitical,economic,andsocialareas.Severallegislationswerepassedpost-colonialperiodthataimed to strengthen women. Article 15 and Article 16 (2) of the Indian constitution are crucialfor Women's movement as they forbid discrimination on the grounds of gender. Thereafter,importantactsliketheHinduMarriageAct,DowryProhibitionAct,HinduSuccessionAct,andEqual Remuneration Act were passed. Women's participation in the political sphere alsoincreased.WegotourfirstfemalePrimeMinister,IndiraGandhiin1966.TheCommunistPartyofIndia establishedthe National Federation of Indian Womenwhichmobilisedwomeninthepolitical sphere. 1975 to 1985 was recognized as the International's women decade. In 1975,Women's Day was celebrated on March 8th for the first time, and since then March 8th isrecognized as Women's Day worldwide. Numerous women's movements in India and abroademerged during that time. While talking about women's movement in India and elsewhere, itisworthnotingoneofthemostimportantwomen'smovements–women'ssuffragemovementwhichbeganinthemid-

19th centuryandlastedtill1920.Thiswasanationalmovementstartedin the United States to reserve the right of voting for women. Before 1920, women were notallowedtocastvotesinnationalandlocalpoliticalelections.Thismeantthattheirissueswerenot really catered to and regarded by the political parties. It was vital to make their presencenoted in the political arena. The National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA) was formedby Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in May of 1869. It was in 1920 that all thestates intheUSAhad adoptedthelegislationthatenabledwomen tovote.

Today's women enjoy many more rights than the women in the 19th century. Social evils likesati, child marriage, and female infanticide have become extinct in almost all parts of thecountry. Strict laws have been framed for women's protection in the economic, political, anddomesticsphere.Thewomen'smovementhasbroughtforththewomen'sissuesandpavedthewayf or their solution.

4.3 ETHNIC MOVEMENTS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TONORTH–EASTINDIA

Ethnicity is a category of people or a social group of people that shares a common ancestryculture, religion, language, society or nation. It is usually an inherited status based on thesociety in which one lives. Ethnicity refers to shared cultural practices, perspectives anddistinctions that set apart one group of people to another. Ethnicity is a human product whichsurfacesandverymuchpresentinoneortheotherformeveninmostdevelopedcountries.Thedime nsion of ethnicity is very prominent in the countries comprising multi-ethnic societies.ContemporaryhistoryshowsaseriesofethnicmovementsinSouthEastAsiancountrieswhere westerncolonialrulecontinuedforaconsiderablelengthoftime.Thesocio-politicalhistoryofIndia reveals several ethnic movements which gained momentum during colonial era andbecameeffectiveundergoingthroughcertainmodificationinitsideologiesinpost-independentyears. The North East region of India too attracts the attention in this regard. There have beena number of ethnic movements in the north-east in order to preserve ones' ethnic identity. Themain reason being that when a particular group attains its demand due to ethnic polarizationandmovements,othergroupswhoarealsointhesimilarsituationgetencouragedtofollowt hesame means to attain their aspirations. On the one hand, people of the region are not satisfiedwiththecentralgovernmentanditspoliciestowardsthenortheastandontheotherhand,thereist ensionamongthetribesoftheregioninordertopreservetheirdistinctidentity.Today,mostof the north eastern states do experience ethnic conflicts due to which the region has a badreputation and this has also adversely affected the developmental activities of the region aswell.

Among the ethnic movements in the region, the movement laid down by the Naga National Council for an independent Nagaland deserves special mention. Nagaland did not have stronglegalandpoliticalrelationshipwithpresentdayIndia initshistoricalpast.ThehistoricalNaga club requested the Simon Commission in 1929 to keep the Naga hills out of the proposedreforms. Starting from the point several militant groups like Naga National Council, NSCNetc., fought against Indian army. The Nagas have a long history of bloodshed and insurgencyinpostindependentyears.
ThesecessionistactivitiesinManipurstartedin1948whenHyamIrabot,aMaoistcommunistwantedtol iberateManipurfromfeudalismandsemi-colonialismofManipurkingsandIndianstate.Itsunsuccessfulstorydidnotnegativetheemergenceofse veralothersecessionistgroupsintheState. AmongthemthemovementofPeople’sLiberation Army(PLA),People’sRevolutionary Party of kangleipak (PREPAK), Kangleipak communist party (KCP) may bementioned.ThesecessionistmovementofMizoramunderthecoverageofMizoNationalFronthas been over by now. The highly tribal concentrated State had experienced a lot of hard daysdue to the insurgency adopted by MNF to capture power and political autonomy. Though indue course of time the insurgent groups came under the umbrella of Indian constitution andformed a separate State sidelining from the former State of Assam, the new threat from HmarPeople’s Convention (HPC), a tribal group minority in Mizoram. The reason for the origin ofinsurgencyinTripuraistheconflictbetweenBengalisandtribals.ThetribalpeopleinTripurahavebee nout-numberedbytheBengaliinfiltrationfromBangaladeshaswellasWestBengal.Theundergroundgroups likeTripuraNationalVolunteers(TNV)andAllTripuraTribalForce(ATTF) are active in the state and they have been fighting on an ethnic basis for the betterpoweradjustmentof thetribalpeoplein theState. Among them, the movement of the Bodo, political backgrounds of these movements areattached with several common phenomena. The Bodos, , Tiwa, Mishing, Deori and Sonowalkacharis deserve mention. The socio-cultural and political backgrounds of these movementsare attached with several common phenomena. The Bodos, one of the largest

Indo-Mongoloidgroups in Assam, have occupied an extensive area in the middle and lower Assam. There areseveral other ethnic movements in the State which are in different levels of development.Among them the Tiwa movement for autonomy, the Mishing movement, the Deoris, theMorans, and the Sonowal Kacharis are prominent. The Tiwa (formerly known as LalungKachari)areinhabitingthemiddleAssambasicallyinNagaon,MorigaonandKamrupdistricts.T hedemandsoftribalgroupsdatebackto1933when theTribalLeaguewasformedinAssam.ButwhentheLeaguetransformedintoaninnocentsocio-culturalorganisationaftertheindependence, the Plain Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA) was formed in the year 1967. Thedecision of the State Government of Assam to recogniseAssamese as State's official languagein 1960 made the Bodo Sahitya Sabha (Literary organisation) to fight relentlessly for theintroduction of Bodo language in the primary school level which ultimately was extended tosecondary school level. The PTCA and All Bodo Student Union (ABSU) jointly moved for aseparate homeland for the tribal people of the area demanding a union territory "Udayachal"in1973.Since1987thedemandhasbeenmadeforaseparatestatetobecalled"Bodoland"o nthe north bank of the Brahmaputra. And in order to catch the attention of the govt. And to fullfill their demand they sometimes resorted to violent means. The demand for Bodoland wasbasicallyoneoftheethnicculturalrecognitionandthefocusofethnicidentitywassharperthaninthe previousUdayachalmovement.

The next intensive ethnic conflict was surfaced in the hill areas of Karbi Anglong (formerlyMikirhills)andDimaHasao.Theseareasweretreatedasexcludedandpartiallyexcludedarea bythecolonialruleswhicharestillattachedwiththepoliticalAssam.Thoughtherewasethnic tension in socio-economic spheres the political importance of Karbi ethnic identity got itsmomentum only after the decision of the State Government of Assam to make Assamese asofficial language. Compared to Bodoland movement, the Karbi movement was mild one andnon-violentnature.

Today, ethnicity has become an important tool not only for the mobilization but also in thestruggleforpreservingone'spoliticalauthority,territory,naturalandmaterialresources.India,more particularly the North-East India is a land of various ethnic and tribal groups. It hasdescribedastheculturalmosaicofdiversetribalcommunities,linguisticsandethnicidentities. This very sensitive region has been in much debate prior to independence. It's because of theethnicity and extremism prevailed in this particular region. When we are talking about theincreasing frequency of the ethnic movement in the region we see a gradual deepening ofinsurgency and identity questions on the part of the diverse ethnic groups inhabited here. It isvery important to note here that to reduce ethnic conflict effort should be made to bring inpositive peace that is enduring and welfares in nature. The groups as well as people at largemust be made to realize that all problems can be solved through peaceful talks. The ultimateaimofallhuman beingis peaceand itcannotbemadealastingonethroughuseofgun.

The autocratic-feudal regime of India's biggest princely state was shaken up, clearingthewayfortheformationofAndhraPradeshonlinguisticlinesandrealising another aim of the national movement in this region.

Conclusion:

The history of peasant movements can be traced to the economic policies of the Britishers, whichhavebroughtabout many changes in the Indianagrariansystem. TheconsequencesoftheBritishcolonialexpansionwerefeltthemostbytheIndian peasantryanditroseinrevoltfromtimetotime.Thesepeasantuprisingscertainly didtakeplacebutwerenotrecordedassuchundercolonialhistory,andtheywere considered acts of bandits and dacoits in the official records. A vast amount of information can be found in the archival data, which has only recently been uncoveredandwrittenabout. India is basically anagrarian economy withthe bulk of rural population following the occupation of agriculture. Peasants formed the backbone of the civil rebellions, which were often led by zamindars and petty chieftains.

The best example of this is the revolt of 1857. Another set of peasant revolts occurredprimarilyontheissueofreligion.Althoughtheystartedoutasmovements of religious and social reform and purification, they could not hide their agrarian interests for long and openly attacked the new zamindars, landlords, and moneylenders, irrespective of their religion. At the end, they clashed with British politicalandeconomichegemony,whichledtothemasspeasantmovements.Even after independence, interests of the peasants have not been safeguarded. There were many peasant movements in the post-independent India.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Self Assessment Exercises:

Q1. How new social movements arises in India?

Q2. Write a note on women's movement in India.

Q3. Why North-East India witnessed many ethnic movements? Discuss few important ethnic movements.

Suggested readings:

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