SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND POLITICS IN INDIA

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Reviewer

Dr Kalpana Agrawal

Lecturer, Ginni Devi Modi Girls PG College, Modinagar (UP)

Authors

Dr. Biswaranjan Mohanty, Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, SGTB Khalsa College, University of Delhi
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SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE
Social Movements and Politics in India

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

The term, social movements, refers to a kind of group action. They are huge informal assemblage of persons or establishments that are directed towards certain issues related to politics and the society. To put it across in a different way, they bring about, or put up resistance against specific policies or practices, or undo a social change.

The occurrence of contemporary western social movements was only possible with the help of education (the broad propagation of literature) and enhanced transportability of labour. This was a result of the mechanization and sophistication of the societies of the 19th century. There are often arguments pertaining to the fact that the freedom to express, educate and be relatively economically independent, that is dominant in the modern Western culture, is the cause of unparalleled number and extent of a variety of present-day social movements.

Nevertheless, others point out that majority of the social movements of the past few centuries developed quite well. One example of such a movement is: the Mau Mau in Kenya, which had started to protest against western colonialism. Either way, social movements have been and continue to be, strongly linked with autonomous political systems. At times, social movements have played important roles in bringing democracy to countries, but more frequently they have done well after democracy as well. Ever since the past two centuries, social movements have become an integral section of a well-liked and global expression of dispute.

Contemporary movements often make use of technology and the Internet for mobilizing people all over the world. Getting accustomed to new means of communication is a widespread theme among successful movements. Research has started to delve into the manner in which sponsorship organizations, associated with social movements in developed countries, utilize social media to make civic engagement and cooperative action possible.

The book, *Social Movements and Politics in India* is written in a SIM (Self Instructional Material) format for Distance Learning and each Unit starts with an Introduction and Unit Objectives. Then, the detailed content is presented, in an understandable and organized manner. Each Unit will also have Check Your Progress Questions to test the students' understanding of the topics covered. A Summary is provided at the end of the Unit for a quick revision, followed by a list of Key Terms and Questions and Exercises. Each Unit also has a list of books for Further Reading.

UNIT 1 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: CONCEPT AND RELEVANCE

Structure

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Social movements is a collective term used to describe all enterprises that establish a new style of life. They originate from a condition of unrest and derive their motive power from dissatisfaction, with the current form of life and from wishes and hopes for a new scheme or system of living. In its beginning, a social movement is shapeless, poorly organized and without any form. At this stage, the collective behaviour is at a primitive level and the mechanisms of interaction are elementary and spontaneous. As a social movement gradually develops, it attains the form of an organization. On maturity, it has a body of customs and traditions, established leadership, an enduring division of labour, social rules and social values. In short, it has a culture, a social organization and a new scheme or style of life.

Structural conduciveness and strain, creation of a generalized belief, circumstances, mobilization of participants and the application of social controls are six primary factors that act as determinants of a particular social movement. The study of social movements is very helpful as an integral part of social science/studies.

1.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- List the definition, features and ideology of social movements
- Explain social movement organizations and leadership
- Describe the types and phases of social movements
- State the theories of social change
- List the factors of social change
- Analyse the concept of social transformation
- Interpret the impact of social change
- Discuss the history of industrialization in India
- Describe the caste system in modern India

1.2 UNDERSTANDING THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The term 'social movements' was introduced in 1850 by the German sociologist Lorenz von Stein, in his book, *History of the French Social Movement from 1789 to the Present* (1850). Social movement is carrying out, resisting or undoing a social change. A social movement generally aims to bring in reforms or changes in the social structure. It is born out of conditions of deprivation and exploitation in a society. According to Graham Wallace, an English social psychologist and educator, who is remembered for his contribution to the development of political science, the psychology of politics and his pioneering work on human creativity, 'A social movement develops out of a deliberate, organized and conscious effort on the part of members of society to construct a more satisfying culture for themselves.' Social movements refer to a collective action or behaviour to achieve better conditions in society. Thus, they may be defined as a voluntary association of people engaged in a concerted effort to change behaviour and social relationships in a larger society. Many a time, they aim at bringing in radical changes against the unjust, unlawful and inhuman actions in society.

Sometimes it is argued that the freedom of expression, education and relative economic independence that are prevalent in the modern western culture are responsible for the unprecedented number of social movements. Modern western social movements gathered momentum through education (the wider dissemination of literature) and increased mobility of labour, because of industrialization and urbanization of the nineteenth century societies.

Definitions of Social Movement

The concept of social movement gained momentum in the nineteenth century in Europe. During the period of European social chaos, a new momentum started

for changes in the society, which later on came to be known as social movements. Politicians and sociologists of the time advocated the liberation of oppressed classes and the establishment of a new society by altering property rights and relationships according to the Marxist ideology. Their ideology is reflected in their definitions of social movement.

Since the early 1950s, many sociologists have made attempts to give a specific definition of social movements. Some important definitions of social movements are as follows:

- **Herbert Blumer:** 'Social movements can be viewed as collective enterprises to establish a new order of life. They have their inception in the condition of unrest and derive their motive power on one hand from dissatisfaction with the current form of life and on the other hand, from wishes and hopes for a new scheme or system of living.'

- **M.S.A. Rao:** 'A social movement essentially involves sustained collective mobilization through either informal or formal organization, and is generally oriented towards bringing about change, either partial or total.'

- **T.K. Oommen:** 'A movement is a conscious effort on the part of a group to mitigate their deprivation and secure justice, a movement is conditioned by the factors in the social structure; a movement is perhaps the chief mechanism through which the deprived section demonstrates its power united by an ideology to redress the evils or grievances.'

- **Prof. Y. Singh: '**Social movement is a process of collective mobilization of people in a society in an organized manner under an individual or collective leadership in order to realize an ideologically defined social purpose.'

Nature of Social Movement

A social movement is a consciously organized and planned activity of individuals having common interests. In the modern world, it largely depends upon the traits of different interest groups and their ideological make up for the pursuit of particular goals.

Like social class and political representation, the term 'social movement' is used by various scholars idiosyncratically. First, a social movement is a group of people who endeavour to build a radically new social order. According to Craig Jenkins, Professor of Sociology, the Ohio State University: 'A social movement is "a series of collective actions conducted to bring about change in social structures", and is guided by "a vision, however dimly articulated, of the alternative order desired and of the basic measures necessary to put it into effect".' Participants in a social movement not only challenge decisions made by authorities, and make demands on authorities but also try to make lasting, large-scale and significant changes in the texture of the society. John Wilson, a

renowned sociologist and a Professor at the Duke, views that participants see themselves as engaged 'in the building of new social worlds.'

Movements range widely in terms of proportion of participants who desire radical change. As Dennis Chong, Professor of Political Science at the North-Western University, Chicago, points out: 'In every social movement, some activists primarily seek immediate gratification and private benefits, such as an increase in local prestige, and are not deeply committed to long-term social change.' Cornel West, an American philosopher and civil rights activist, who is known for his combination of political and moral insight and criticism and his contribution to the post-1960s civil rights movement, is of the opinion that social movements have often been 'culturally degraded, politically oppressed and economically exploited'.

According to Paul Wilkinson, Emeritus Professor of International Relations of the University of St Andrews Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, 'Social movements are clearly different from historical movements, tendencies, or trends. It is important to note, however, that such tendencies and trends and the influence of the unconscious or irrational factors in human behaviour, may be of crucial importance in illuminating the problems of interpreting and explaining social movement.'

A social movement must demonstrate a minimal degree of organization. The organization of a social movement may be loose, informal, highly institutionalized, or bureaucratized. Much of the literature relating to social movements has been concerned with natural histories, models, or theories of movement development. Such models have tried to suggest changes in the structure and nature of social movements, ranging from the state of initial social unrest and excitement to a revolutionary movement.

A social movement's commitment to change and organization depends on the participants' aims, beliefs and intensity of involvement. According to Thomas A. Heberlein, Professor emeritus, Community and Environmental Sociology, University of Wisconsin-Madison, these aims and beliefs are an expression of the collective will of the adherents of the movement. Heberlein emphasizes that it is the element of wish that makes a belief socially valuable. It is the conscious will of individuals that provides the base of the ideology of a social movement.

A social movement can also be identified with the help of different criteria. For instance, a social movement can be designated as radical or reactionary on the basis of the change it desires to bring about in a society as a whole or in its segments only. This implies the need to understand the nature of a movement which requires the comprehension of its ideological base, i.e., its aims, objectives and goals which legitimize the movement as well as determine its character. The nature of change which the movement aims to bring about, whether total or partial, in fact, is determined by nature of the ideology which it formulates. A social movement has no fixed life. It can be both of long and short duration. It can be both violent as well as peaceful but, for its coming into existence some efforts are needed. It does not come into being all of a sudden. It may or may

not be organized but it also deals with some aspect of change i.e., it may try to bring or resist a change. Its ultimate objective is reforming of society.

A social movement has four basic elements, which are as follows:

- **A social movement is a collective behaviour:** A considerable number of persons must be involved in an activity for it to be considered as a social movement.

- **Social movements extend beyond a single event or community:** Only when local activities have spread across several communities and events do they become movements.

- **Social movements involve systematic efforts:** they are coordinated activities rather than random ones.

- **Social movements are change-oriented:** They have as their objective, some form of change in the way people think, in what they believe, and in their behaviour. Some movements, however, have as their objectives the protection of existing values and norms which appear to be threatened or of revivalist nature.

Distinction between Social and Political Movements

Political movements are different from social movements in the sense that the former are located in the state alone. The participants of a social movement strive for social justice. However, there are some serious flaws in this conclusion. It is obvious that the society and state, and hence, social and political power are two different things. But in the present society, trying to differentiate between social power and political power seems like a naïve attempt at ignoring the complexities of the processes in politics. Politics is not practiced only by the political parties. The sociologists oversimplify the situation by not taking into account the political significance of the movements revolving around the issues concerning justice or injustice. You cannot simply say that the classes have ceased to exist in the society. However, you can ignore the fact that almost all movements are marked by the dominance of a particular class in a movement. Consider the fact that although environment is apparently a non-class issue, yet the class to one belongs is a major determinant of the perspective that one holds in such issues. For example, the perspective of the *adivasi* community in the environmental issue will be hugely different from that of an individual belonging to the middle class. Thus, it can be concluded that the difference between 'social' and 'political' movement is purely semantic and these are two overlapping categories. State and the social movements

The state does not react positively to any social movements. Its first action is to suppress any such movements as the state sees them as a challenge to its political authority. The state is the sovereign power that holds all power and seeks welfare of its subjects by managing the public sphere. So, by default, it tries to oppose any collective endeavour that seeks to break down its authority. Most social movements that are directed against the state seek to reform, implement or challenge a certain policy or decision of the state. In the eyes of the state, it

is a defiance of the state's legitimacy of governance. It does not matter whether the state is socialist or not, or which class' interests it supposedly represents; no state wants to be confronted.

The state tries to bring down a social movement by applying different measures. These measures may range from inviting the participants of a social movement for a dialogue and peaceful negotiation to trying to stop the activists through force and fear of punishment. At the same time, the state also uses various tactics to pacify and weaken the participants. It tries to break down the unity of the group by offering doles and concessions to the participants. This is followed by offers of co-option given to the leaders. The attitude of the state is relatively softer towards movements seeking social reforms within the framework of the institution than towards movements which seek the overthrow of the state. All the same, when the application of brutal force does not work in the state's favour, then the state changes its strategies, such as co-option of the leaders, infiltration in the movement, evolution of counter ideology and use of all kinds of gimmicks to appease the movement's participants and supporters.

Nature of Modern Social Turbulences

According to some scholars, contemporary social movements are the result of social-psychological rush to modernization. Most movement activists in recent years have been urban immigrants from small towns, and lower middle class rural families. New entrants to the city need a psychological relief for the social dislocation and personal loneliness inherent in modern day-to-day life. As daily life becomes noticeably more industrialized, bureaucratic, urban and large-scale, people feel increasingly insignificant and out of place. Further, market dislocations, labour organizations and big businesses develop a sense of insecurity among small merchants, independent artisans and workers with small-town backgrounds. Uprooted, economically beleaguered and perturbed by their declining social status, the urban immigrants approach social movements as a remedy for their problems.

There are many psychological appeals of movements. At rallies and meetings, participants are systematically exposed to easily understood ideologies that reveal the conspiracies behind their daily problems. Traditional ways of life are depicted as 'unproblematic' and 'preservable'.

Modern cultural elements, such as mass media, metropolitan school systems and corporations with enormous factories at multiple sites, have made the small-scale institutions and groupings ineffective and insignificant. There are no extended families to protect individuals against illness, illiteracy and hunger. Urban life has increasingly become private and somewhat lonely. Thus, a rising mass movement attracts and holds a following not by its doctrine and promises but by the refuge it offers to the people suffering from the anxieties, barrenness and loneliness.

Blumer and Lukac have pointed out that one of the unique traits of the nature of movements carried on in the modern world is that most of them are consciously organized with the set purpose of achieving certain well-defined goals.

Characteristics of Social Movements

The characteristics of a social movement may be summarized as follows:

- It is a collective behaviour of the people who share common traits completely or partially.
- It depicts some level of organization which may vary from a loose organizational structure, a club type, to the most highly organized structure like a party.
- It is oriented towards the transformation of the state of affairs in the existing system. But, it is not necessary that a movement would always try to bring about progressive changes in the existing social order; on the contrary, it may demand restoration of old values only.
- A social movement, in order to justify itself, invariably adopts some kind of ideology which, may range between the poles of radicalism and extreme conservatism.
- Majority of social movements are characterized by political activity and by people of a broad range of social backgrounds.
- A social movement usually adopts confrontational and disruptive tactics, such as occupying buildings, boycotting businesses and blockading streets. Movement activists, of course, also employ legal tactics scrupulously, such as lobbying and lawsuits. But the combination of socially disruptive and legal tactics differs based on permutation of interest groups and political parties. The activists endeavour to modify the existing legal code relating to public order and public safety. However, despite opponents' charges, it would be wrong to say that social movements are simply 'outlaw' organizations; some of their actions are legal, while others are illegal.

Differentiating Social Movements, Social Institutions and Social Associations

A social movement aims at reforming society, but it is different from both, a social institution and a social association, though it is concerned with both of them. A social institution is both stable and has some social status, whereas a social movement is temporary and has no social status. Similarly, a social movement is also different from a social association. A social movement is usually unorganized and wants to change established social norms. A social association, on the other hand, is an organized group of persons following the customs of society.

1.2.1 Social Movement Organizations and Leadership

A social movement organization (which is widely used in its abbreviated form as SMO) is an organized structured constituent of social movement (SM). SMO

generally is only an element of a specific social movement; in simpler language, a typical social movement generally comprises several social movement organizations—formal organizations that have the same targets, as that of the movement. As a common rule, the function of social movement organizations is to synchronize social movements. However, they are not directly involved in employing or giving directions to the majority of participants, who form the major chunk of the larger social movement community. Social movement organizations perform the tasks that are essential for the survival and success of every social movement.

An ideal example of this is the civil rights movement that was a social movement comprising certain social movement organizations [like SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) or CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)]. PETA (People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals) promotes and encourages vegetarian eating habits, in addition to its other goals. However, PETA is not the only group that advocates vegan diets and way of life; there are a number of other social movement organizations that are dynamically occupied toward this purpose. Thus in this case, social movement is the universal drive toward veganism (an attempt with several motivations) and PETA is only one of the SMOs operating within the broader social movement. The peace movement comprises a large number of groups that advocate peace. Groups that fall in this category are SMOs like Peace Action (SANE/FREEZE), Fellowship of Reconciliation and others. Ku Klux Klan is also an SMO. It is a division of the white supremacist movement.

An organizational counterpart of a specific social movement—a set of all SMOs focused on a particular field is known as a Social Movement Industry (SMI). SMIs resemble social movements in terms of scope. However, they are considered as having a more integrated structure. Social movement industries are brought under one roof in the society. This roof is known as the social movement sector.

Categories of Social Movements

It is widely known that social movements are based, either locally, nationally, or even globally. However, there may be other configurations or categorizations that may explain them further. Sociologist David Aberle (1966) deals with this topic by creating categories that differentiate between social movements, on the basis of the type and extent of changes they are aimed at bringing about. The aim of reform movements is to change something specific in the social structure. Instances of this include anti-nuclear groups, Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) and the Human Rights Campaign's advocacy for equality in marriage. Revolutionary movements aim at bringing about thorough changes in all aspects of society. These involve the 1960's counterculture development, as well as anarchist communes. Religious/Redemptive movements pursue meaningful goals and they are aimed at stimulating internal transformation or spiritual development in individuals. Organizations pushing these movements may comprise Heaven's Gate or the Branch Davidians. Other movements are

directed at self-enhancement and bringing about limited and precise changes to individual beliefs and behaviour. These include tendencies like boundless meditation or macrobiotic eating habits. Resistance movements are aimed at prevention of or causing changes to the social structure. The Ku Klux Klan and pro-life are these types of movements.

Stages of Social Movements

Later sociologists researched on the lifecycle of social movements—their emergence, growth and in a few of the cases, their phasing out. Blumer (1969) and Tilly (1978) drafted a process having four stages. The preliminary stage comprised people becoming conscious of an issue and rise of leaders. This is succeeded by the coalescence stage, wherein people come together and get organized for the purpose of making the issue public and building awareness. In the institutionalization stage, the movement does not need any volunteers at the ground level: it is works as an established organization, having salaried staff. When people wane, get occupied in another movement, the new movement succeeds in bringing the desired change. On the other hand, if people are not serious about an issue, the concerned movement goes into the decline stage. All social movements that have been mentioned earlier fall in the category of one of these four stages.

Social Movement Leadership

There are three scales of social movement leadership. Going forward, we explore the three salient features of an ideal-typical SM leadership.

1. Leaders, followers, actors

It is broadly visible that leadership is dependent on the correlative role of followers or 'followership'. Certain leadership qualities are reflection of the complementary tendencies of followers for approving or responding suitably to those qualities (Burns 1978; Little 1985). Nevertheless, both, leaders and followers are considerably competent in the casual perspective of social movement politics. To a point, this is the outcome of the dominant nature of social movement politics. Since a social movement has no pre-existing electorate or association, the first task of a social movement leadership is to motivate people to follow the leader and see themselves as participants of a movement.

Moreover, the new perspective of social movements meets the requirements of the leader-follower relationship through extensive misgivings about leadership, related to the new politics. Certainly, formal and even markedly hierarchical establishments have played a major role in a few modern movements. Greenpeace is an example of a well-known green movement. However, the more visible highlight of national social movements is a skepticism or even opposition toward hierarchy and leadership. The 'affinity' groups of the May 1968 Events in Paris, the 'awareness building' groups of the second-wave, feminism and anarchist elements of the anti-globalization movement, restrict or distribute in total with leadership responsibilities on principled grounds (Bookchin 1974; Rowbotham

1979). Powerful leaders and structured organizations were, otherwise speaking, occupied in the authoritarian politics of the real and existent socialism.

The new movements aimed at averting the authoritarian future of the Old Left by supporting more dynamic and prevalent participation of members. Abundantly functioning participation will be in a better position to manage the principal figures of the movement. Functioning members will also be equipped with confidence as well as technical and political skills — through their involvement (West 1990). Instead of being a dormant constituency or interest group characterized by its leaders, the members of SMs can be more aptly described as actors or agents and not as inactive followers. These actors are the actual bearers of the movement. Indeed, differing from formal organizations and institutions, a social movement can be referred to an ongoing and widespread pattern of collective activities. 'Subject group' may be a more suitable expression to describe the collection of actor constituents of the movement (Laclau and Mouffe 1985).

The more dynamic role of the members of the movement impacts the relationship between leaders and what they represent. If the representative functions, not only on behalf but also instead of those she represents, representation is an alternate for, rather than complements the active involvement of movement actors. With reference to this, Deleuze and Foucault discuss the disgrace of speaking for others (Foucault and Deleuze 1977). Actually, SM leaders (and organizations) have been targets of criticism, since they are not able to uphold their commitments on behalf of their followers (Offe 1985). However, this is to misinterpret the relationship between movement leaders and members in expressions more suitable to the perspective of formal representative organizations. What is more, this may make the movement stronger, when its actions cannot be easily managed or envisaged. The system may also co-select movement leaders. However, they are less able than their institutional equivalents to convey the movement as their part of the bargain.

With reference to this, informal leadership requires a different set of traits (or a different combination of qualities) as compared to formal leadership. Social movement leadership indicates the capacity to motivate, set in motion and empower rather than force decisions or authority. The institutional leader should have the ability to take decisions as to when to order his followers to act. Electoral parties are concerned with attracting voters and getting winning majorities only at the time of elections. On the other hand, social movement leadership is always concerned, most importantly, with the generation and maintenance of participant activity.

Essentially, social movement leaders aim to inspire actions that are more autonomous and initiated. Organizations having more hierarchies have characteristic values like obedience, loyalty, solidarity and at the extreme, the sacrifice of individuality and autonomy for the sake of the cause (cf. Arendt 1952/1958; Koestler 1950). The strength of movement, on the other hand, is increased when actions proliferate both numerically and qualitatively as a result of the plurality of relatively independent centres of thought and decision.

Change may occur less through a unified course of action imposed from above than from a 'contagion' of actions and reactions (Guattari 1984). Conversely, this transmittable quality also signifies a challenge for social movement leaders. Cascading political actions may violate the moral norms — and so diminish the moral capital — on which the broader authority and impact of the movement relies (Philip 2007: ch. 8). According to Hannah Arendt, the German-American political theorist, the early Greek understanding of action recognized the different roles of 'leader' and 'followers' without blocking out their interdependence in a fundamentally cooperative enterprise. This credit was lost in the following evolution of our political vocabularies (Arendt 1958: 189; 2005: 45). Undeniably, a new focus on social movements brings us nearer to the 'original' understanding of action.

2. Moral, cultural and ideological innovation

The characteristic of social movement leadership is additionally qualified by the role played by creativity and innovation in social movements. Social movements, as we are aware of, do not have much to do with the pursuit of existing interests or issues in comparison to the rise of new interests and matters, new political uniqueness and patterns of culture.

This poses a problem with theoretical approaches that are based on rigid suppositions, with respect to interests and enthusiasm. For instance, logical choice approaches like the 'resource mobilization theory', etc., depict the task of social movement leadership as mostly concerned with the organization of political resources and incentives, for bringing together self-interested people keen to multiply utilities with an available range of interests. The leader is an entrepreneur of politics who is probing for new (political) marketplace prospects (Taylor 1982). At the same time, their inferences may be valid within the limits of their own suppositions. Instead of merely making existing interests and resources more appealing with increasingly politically potent grouping, the success of social movements is fuelled by transformation of interests and identities.

The innovative demands of social movement leadership require a different range of leadership traits. The innovators of ideology and culture play a noteworthy role in social movements. Social movement leaders prosper, appropriately, due to their rhetoric skills, ethical personality and cultural motivation as much as organizational skills or decision-making. By implication, too, there are dispersed borders between social movement politics and other sections of social life, such as arts, cultural activities and even science. A work of literature or philosophy might contribute critically to the rise of a social movement. This is helpful in describing the acknowledgement of a writer like Oscar Wilde, as a foremost figure of the gay movement, Frantz Fanon as an icon of anti-colonialism, or Germaine Greer and Shulamith Firestone as top feminists. Scientific ecology and other sciences have significantly similar in the rise of 'green' and ecological movements. The permeable boundaries of politics mirror the exacting role of social movements as important agents of politicization that do not recognize these boundaries.

3. Social movements and the public sphere

The permeable boundaries of politics are also visible in the correlation between social movements and social movement leaders, to the public sphere. Social movements are obviously, deeply linked with the rise of the modern 'public sphere' in western societies. Both, social movements and the public sphere are dependent on and are a key reflections of the dimensions of 'modernity', together with industrialization, urbanization, growth of printing and news media, improved channels of transportation and communication. Both develop in complex interaction with parliamentary politics and broader processes of democratization (Tilly 1978).

However, social movements should also be recognized as dynamic instruments in the shaping of the public sphere, not merely as players within it. The pro democratic activities in communist Eastern Europe prior to 1989 can be explained as laying the foundations of a previously non-existent (or fragmentary) public sphere and civil society (Keane 1988). National social movements have extended the agenda of public dialogue, based on a number of dimensions, even in freethinking democracies with established civil societies. Formerly disregarded concerns and constituencies, pertaining to gender, sexuality, racism, peace and the environment, have been brought up in the public sphere as a consequence of their work, since the 1960s. National social movements have played a major role in the growing complication and receptiveness of the public sphere — or possibly more precisely, they have added to the proliferation of a plurality of public spheres (Habermas 1981; Fraser 1997).

The relation between social movement and public sphere(s) has implications for informal leadership. Publicly, social movements mean that they and their leaders never simply deal with a restricted constituency of 'members' or 'supporters'. They have to continuously endeavor to reach across boundaries that span across a larger population of prospective members and followers. Rivals are also considered important 'counter-constituencies', particularly when movements indicate nominally minority interests. In this case, they have to rely on the support, or at least consent, of minorities. The intricacy and assortment of the assemblage of social movement leaders indicates the frequent presence of tension between the public and the movement, in terms of responses to certain statements or proceedings. The public background of social movement means, that finally, the movement itself collectively puts into effect a kind of leadership role within the larger society.

1.2.2 Types and Phases of Social Movements

In this section, you will learn about the causes, determinants, components and types of social movements. This section will also introduce you to different approaches to study social movements.

Causes of Social Movements

Social movements spread due to various causes, but their main cause is social unrest. Another important cause of social movement is the spread of education and contacts with advance societies. Due to the spread of education and contacts with advance societies, the people of a backward society develop new ideas and wish to reform social systems and end some existing wrong social practices. Social movements also spread when society gets disorganized and one part of the society progresses much faster than others. This can happen due to urbanization, mechanization and industrialization. In such a situation, there is social confusion and some sections of society even begin to feel insecure. For bringing order in society and avoiding confusion, people organize themselves and start a movement. Yet another reason of social movement is to end social injustices which some powerful sections of society may be inflicting on other classes.

Social movements survive because they receive support from all those who are oppressed and suppressed, victims of exploitation, maladjusted, free from family responsibilities, and are faced with insecurities, particularly economic insecurity.

Theories on the Causes and Outcomes of Social Movements

There are two sociological theories, namely the Relative Deprivation Theory and the Resource Mobilization Theory, which explain the causes and outcomes of social movements.

1. **Relative Deprivation Theory:** The theory of relative deprivation was introduced by the American scholar, Denton Morrison, who has also guided some studies on agitations and mass movements. This theory emphasizes on why people join social movements. According to this theory, a person feels relatively deprived and disheartened when he/she does not get his/her fair share of chances. It ignores the importance of consciousness and the ideological aspects of the participants. It explains protests and movements of revolt, but it does not analyse revolutionary movements. Deprivation theorists believe that social movements are 'temporary aberrations' and not an 'ongoing processes of change'.

   It is not necessary that a protest will lead to a movement. The idea of relative deprivation is based on the notion of expectations— what do people think they deserve and want in life? When their expectations are met, they are no longer discontent or have the feeling of relative deprivation.

   According to M.S.A. Rao, a professor of sociology who had been a founder-member in 1959 of the Department of Sociology at the University of Delhi, relative deprivation is required but it is not enough for the emergence of 'protest movements'. He further argues: 'A sufficient level of understanding and reflection is required on the part of the participants, and they must be able to observe and perceive the contrast between the

social and cultural conditions of the privileged and those of the deprived, and must realize that it is possible to do something about it.'

For Gurr, 'deprivation' is primarily psychological; therefore, he does not deal with the socioeconomic structure which is the source of deprivation. The psychological dimension of the participants is important but it is not sufficient. It needs to be thoroughly examined as to how and why individuals come together for collective direct action to attain political objectives.

Relative Deprivation Theory seeks to find out roots in the relative deprivation of people. Relative deprivation refers to the gap between expectations and realizations. Thus, persons feeling entitled to things that are unlikely to be forthcoming, are likely to feel deprived. This deprivation may lead to aggressive behaviour. This theory is plausible but unproved. Feelings of deprivation are easy to infer but difficult to measure, and still more difficult to plot over a period of time. And relative deprivation, even when unmistakably severe, is only one of many factors in social movements.

The limitations of the Relative Deprivation Theory may be summarized as follows:

- It is basically restricted to individual revolts.
- It fails in clarifying the nature and the reasons for collectively and collective actions.
- It deals only with riots and does not take into account the purposeful movements launched for achieving social transformation.
- It explains only one type of movement and ignores revolutionary movements in which political parties and ideologies have an important role to play.

2. **Resources Mobilization Theory:** The resources mobilization theory attributes importance to the effective use of resources in promoting social movements since a successful movement demands effective organization and tactics. Leadership, organization and tactics are the major determinants of success or failure of social movements. Resource mobilization theory does not fit expressive or migratory movements which can succeed without organization or tactics.

It is likely that societal confusion, discontent, personal maladjustment, relative deprivation, and resource mobilization are all involved in social movements, but in undetermined proportions. Social movements are of so many kinds, with so many variables involved, that possibly no one particular theory will ever be exclusively established.

Determinants and Components of Social Movements

Let us discuss the determinants and components of social movements.

Determinants

There are six primary factors that act as the determinants of a particular social movement. These are as follows:

- **Structural conduciveness:** It examines a particular situation in a society and explains whether or not the existing structure allows movements to occur.
- **Structural strain:** Social movement occurs when people feel deprived or exploited in the social system. In other words, when people experience strain or turbulence; they can be motivated to participate in a mass movement.
- **Creation of a generalized belief:** It refers to the ideas regarding the source of the strains experienced and what should be done to remedy them.
- **Circumstances:** If determinants, such as structural conduciveness, strain and generalized beliefs regarding the need for changes, exist, then it is the circumstances that act as a tool for drawing people to organize a typical social movement.
- **Mobilization of the participants:** It refers to the actual social movement, activity that finally occurs, the mobilization of the participants.
- **Application of social controls:** The last determinant of a social movement is the application of social controls, i.e., control by persons in positions of authority, for example, efforts of the British Empire to suppress the Indian national movement.

Components

The social movements are generally characterized by the following components:

- Collective goal
- Common ideology or widely accepted programme
- Collective action
- Minimal degree of organization
- Leadership

These components are interdependent and influence each other. None of them is stationary. They keep evolving and changing, and getting new directions through the whole process of social movements.

Types of Social Movements

Social movements are of several types, such as:

- **Migratory social movement:** It is a type of social movement in which participants favour the objectives of a social movement and are keen to achieve them, but do not find favourable atmosphere in their homeland at that particular point of time, and migrate to some other place.

- **Expressive social movement:** It is a type of social movement in which certain sizeable numbers of persons wish to start a social movement but due to legal restrictions and other problems find it difficult to do so and are forced to adjust themselves to the existing situation.

- **Utopian social movement:** It is a type of social movement in which the object of those who launch a movement is to create an ideal social system or society.

- **Reformatory social movement:** It is a type of social movement in which the goal of the movement is not to overhaul completely the existing social system but to reform that in some respects.

- **Resistance social movement:** It is a type of social movement in which the aim is to change existing order totally.

Classification of social movements on the basis of quality of change they try to attain

On the basis of the quality of change they try to attain Ghanshyam Shah classifies social movements into the following four categories:

- **Revolt:** A revolt is a challenge to political authority, aimed at overthrowing the government.

- **Rebellion:** A rebellion is an attack on existing authority without any intention to seize state power.

- **Reform:** Reform does not challenge the political system per se. It attempts to bring about changes in relation between the parts of the system to make it more efficient, responsive and workable.

- **Revolution:** In a revolution, a section or sections of society launch an organized movement to overthrow not only the established government and regime, but also the socioeconomic structure which sustains it, and it further replaces the structure by an alternative social order.

Classification of social movements on the basis of issues

Social movements are also classified on the basis of issues around which participants get mobilized. On this basis, social movements are classified into the following types:

- Forest Movement
- Civil Rights Movement
- Anti-untouchability Movement
- Linguistic Movement
- Nationalist Movement

Classification of social movements on the basis of participants

On the basis of the participants, social movements are of the following types:

- Peasants Movement

• Tribal Movement

• Students' Movement

• Women's Movement

• Dalits' Movement

All these typologies, though useful, do not explain the dynamics of the movements which undergo change in the course of time. They do not take into consideration those movements whose objectives change during the development of the movement. Some movements do not have clear objectives in terms of the 'maintenance' or the 'transformation' of the system.

1.2.3 Approaches to Study Social Movements

Approaches to study social movements usually follow either a Marxist or non-Marxist framework for analysis. The three major approaches are discussed as follows:

1. Marxian approach

Marxist scholars are basically interested in bringing about a revolutionary change in society. They believe that the root cause of a social movement is the faulty economic structure of society. In a class-based society, the interests of the propertied class are opposite to those of the labour classes. This leads to contradictions in the society. The propertied class makes use of coercive power of the state and other institutions in order to force their ideology on society and control the exploited classes. The labour class resists, protests and launches a planned and united battle against the authority of the propertied class of the society. Members of the labour class aim to bring about radical political change in the society by removing the propertied class from the position of power and eminence.

Although Marxists believe that conflicting economic interests in the society are central to social movement, many of them have tried to associate ethnic, religious and other cultural factors with social movements. Some of them have started analysing the nature of the consciousness of exploited classes. Marxist scholars are of the opinion that members of a social class have common interests. At the same time, they also share a common consciousness relating to their position in society. This has led to their united action against the ruling classes and the state.

There is a great deal of discussion among Marxist scholars on the theoretical and methodological aspects of social movements. Of late, a group of Marxist historians, referred to as subaltern scholars, have started studying 'history from below'. They criticize the traditional Marxist historians for not taking into account the history of the masses. According to them, the subaltern classes have their own history and they do not depend exclusively on the advanced classes or the elite for organization and direction. They argue further that traditional Marxist scholars have diluted cultural aspects and have advocated a linear development

of class consciousness. According to traditional Marxist historians, the subaltern theory does have certain limitations—it ignores structural factors and views 'consciousness' as independent of structural contradictions.

2. Liberal approach

Non-Marxist scholars are not unanimous in their approach (liberal approach) to social movements. There is no ideological unanimity among them on many issues, such as the need for social and/or political change, and the role of movements. Liberal scholars like William Kornhauser, Robert Nisbet, Edward Shils and others are of the opinion that mass movements are the product of mass societies, which are characterized by extremist and anti-democratic elements. These scholars advocate the exclusion of the masses from day-to-day involvement in politics, as it impedes the efficiency of the government.

3. Gandhian approach

Mahatma Gandhi, who advocated the nonviolent agitations to end the British rule in India, disapproved the frequent launching of mass agitations. He believed that mass movement was 'dangerous' and 'dysfunctional' for 'civilized society'.

Some people disapprove revolutionary change in the social, political and economic structures. However, they are not against any political change aimed at reforming government and political institutions. Some people approve a revolutionary change. However, their analysis of class is different from that of Marxist scholars. Their emphasis is on political institutions and culture.

Significance of Social Movements

Social evils appear in every society in due course of time. For example, the social evils, such as child marriage, dowry system, untouchability, communalism, casteism, social disparity, polygamy, etc., still exist in India to some extent. It is the most essential duty of the social reforms to remove those social evils. Social movements force the governments to make laws and make the people conscious of the social evils. Thus, the main objective behind all social movements is to bring about a social, economic, cultural or political transformation in the society. The change may be limited in its scope. Sometimes a social movement only reforms certain practices or policies in an institution, but allows its basic functioning to remain intact. The change demanded by the participants and supporters of a social movement may be radical or revolutionary. There is no doubt that social movements have played an enormous role in shaping up societies and their culture and continue to do so. For example, the women's movements in India have changed the socioeconomic status of women in the country and have introduced a new era of empowerment. The same can be said about the peasant and tribal movements.

Social movements have been successful in securing people's rights around the world. There are many achievements to their credit, such as successful anti-colonial struggles in Asia, the creation of social democracies in Europe and North America, and initial improvements in education and health indicators across the

world. They have also successfully taken up struggles against growing poverty and inequality, deepening dispossession and privatization of commons. These movements have forced the government to bring reforms in various sectors, such as housing, food, healthcare, education, and land and water resources.

Phases of Social Movements

Social movements have a life cycle. Social movements are created, they grow, they achieve successes or failures and eventually dissolve and cease to exist. Nineteenth century proliferation of ideas like individual rights, freedom of speech and civil disobedience has given impetus to these movements. Social movements occur in liberal and authoritarian societies but in different forms. There must always be differences between groups of people for social movements to come up. In the olden times it was mostly due to poverty and wealth gaps. In case of the 'new movements', they are mostly due to differences in customs, ethics and values. Finally, the birth of a social movement needs what sociologist Neil Smelser calls 'an initiating event: a particular, individual event that will begin a chain reaction of events in the given society leading to the creation of a social movement.' For example, American Civil Rights movement grew on the reaction to black woman, Rosa Parks, riding in the whites-only section of the bus and was asked to vacate the seat for a white man. The Polish Solidarity movement, which eventually toppled the communist regimes of Eastern Europe, developed after trade union activist Anna Walentynowicz was removed from her job. The South African shack dwellers' movement, Abahlali baseMjondolo, grew out of a road blockade in response to the selling off of a small piece of land promised for housing to a developer. This type of event is also known as a volcanic model. Social movements are often created after a large number of people realize that there are others sharing the same value and desire for a particular social change.

One of the main difficulties facing the emerging social movement is to spread the news of its existence and then convincing the people to join the movement instead of thinking 'why should I trouble myself when others can do it and I can just reap the benefits after their hard work'.

Many a time social movements are created around some charismatic leader, i.e. one possessing charismatic authority. After the social movement is created, there are two likely phases of recruitment. In the first phase people are gathered who agree with the primary goal and ideal of the movement. In the second phase, people who want to be known as trendy and interested in adding it to their résumé. People who join in this second phase will likely be the first to leave when the movement suffers any setbacks and failures.

Eventually, the social crisis can be encouraged by outside elements, like opposition from government or other movements. However, many movements have survived a failure crisis, being revived by some hardcore activists even after several decades.

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CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. When and by whom was the term 'social movement' introduced?
2. How has Herbert Blumer defined social movements?
3. State any three characteristics of social movements.
4. State an ideal example of social movement organization.

</div>

1.3 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE INDIAN STATE: MAPPING THE DEFINITIONAL AND RELATIONAL TERRAIN

'Social change' denotes modifications in the social order of a society or social group. In practice it means changes in the nature, social behaviours, social institutions or social relations of a society. 'Social change' is essentially a basic term and must be given further context to make its functionality more clear. It might mean the idea of 'social progress or socio-cultural evolution' or the philosophical idea that society advances by evolutionary or dialectical means. It may perhaps refer to a definitive change in the socio-economic structure, e.g. a change from feudalism to capitalism. Therefore, it could also refer to social revolution like the Communist revolution in Marxism, or the social movements like the Civil rights movement or Women's suffrage. Social change can be driven by religious, cultural, economic, scientific or technological factors. Causes of social change are broadly categorized into three types:

- Causes inherent in the social systems in general or in specific types of special systems
- Causes born of the social environment of a particular social system
- Causes arising of the non-social (physical) environment

1.3.1 Theories of Social Change

Let us analyse the various theories of social change.

- **Evolutionary theories:** Evolutionary theories have the central assumption that societies steadily change and transform from simple and uncomplicated beginnings into more complex and multifaceted forms. Early sociologists starting with Auguste Comte held that human societies advance in a unilinear way, i.e. in one line of progress. L.H Morgan gave three essential stages in the course: savagery, barbarism and civilization. This evolutionary analysis of social change was greatly influenced by the theory of Organic Evolution by Charles Darwin.

- **Cyclical theories:** These theories of social change concentrate on the rise and fall of civilizations while trying to discover the causes of these patterns of growth and decay. Spengler, Sorokin and Toynbee are the champions of this hypothesis. Spengler held that the fate of civilizations was decided

by destiny. The civilization is similar to a biological organism passing through the life cycle comprising birth, adolescence and youth, old age and death. After studying the eight key civilizations including the West, he observed that the modern Western society is passing through the last stage or the old age. He held that the Western societies have now entered a phase of decay as is evident by conflicts, wars, and social breakdown.

- **Functionalist or dynamic theories:** In the middle of last century, many American sociologists changed their focus from social dynamics to social static, i.e. from social change to social stability. Talcott Parsons emphasizedthe significance of cultural factors in maintaining social stability. As per his opinion, society possesses the capability to absorb troublesome forces while maintaining stability by and large. Change is not taken as a factor which disturbs the social equilibrium, rather something that readjusts the equilibrium state to result in a qualitatively new equilibrium. He states that changes can arise from two sources: (1) from outside the society due to contact with other societies (2) from inside the society because of adjustment that is required to adjust strains in the system.

- **Conflict theories:** Equilibrium theories focus on the stabilizing processes working in social systems. On the other hand, conflict theories emphasize the forces generating struggle, instability and social disorganization. Ralf Dahrendorf observed that the conflict theories suppose that each society undergoes changes, making social change quite ubiquitous. Each social element contributes to change. All societies rest on the constraint of some of their members by others. Karl Marx put forward one of the most famous conflict theories. Along with Engel he observed in Communist Manifesto, 'All history is the history of class conflict.' Individuals and groups having opposing interests inevitably get into conflict. Two key social classes (the rich and poor or capitalists and the proletariat) have mutually antagonistic interests. As a result, history is the story of conflict between the exploited and the exploiter.

1.3.2 Concept of Social Change

In a limited sense, social change means the change in the structure of a social system. Among the structural changes, the most significant are the ones that leave big effects on the functioning of the system. The change in social structure comprises the following types of changes:

- **Change in social values:** Social values are the comprehensive standards of norms generally acceptable to society and individuals, e.g. 'Fair play' refers to a value. The change from a feudal society to an industrial one connotes a value change. Such changes however take generations to be really effective in the social functioning. These are characterized by a gradual and long-term trend involving ups and downs in the short term. In a feudal society, values are decided and upheld by the priests and warriors; in an industrial-commercial society on the other hand, economic

production is more valued and the leaders in this field of activity hold greater influence. Another value change is moving from 'universalism' to 'individualism'. During the present modern age, the latter is uprooting the former through a gradual series of changes over the coming generations.

- **Institutional change:** Institutional change means the change in definite structures like forms of organizations, their roles and responsibilities. Society-wide institutional changes are: polygynous to monogamous, absolute monarchy to democracy, private enterprise to socialism. In social systems of smaller level, e.g. business organizations, comparable changes take place, e.g. change in company policy or new methods of calculating wages. This type of change might introduce something new which can effectuate a change in the relative importance of the already existing patterns, e.g. dictatorship to parliamentary government in a society.

- **Change in the distribution of rewards and possessions:** These are the changes related to the quai-structural aspects of the social systems, e.g. without changes in the institution of property, changes can take place in the distribution of property rights. Such changes leave a significant effect on the system's operation. They might result in the redistribution of power. Tangible and intangible rewards like wages, reputation, prestige, affection and love might change to bring about social change.

- **Change in personnel:** Changes might take place in particular persons occupying important social positions. Since all of us are unique in our capabilities, such changes are found at the micro level. However, in comparison to a big social system as a whole, the changes born of the turnover in individuals are not generally too great. Nonetheless, there have been instances when realizations and experiences at the individual levels changed the course of industry. For example, Mahatma Gandhi's views on life changed after witnessing the discriminatory system followed by the White Government in South Africa. What followed needs no repetition. It brought about structural changes at the macro level. His individual philosophy became a mass movement changing the course of history.

Physical Environment or Geographical Conditions

When it comes to social change, social environment plays a bigger role than non-social environment (physical environment), except possibly over very long periods of time like glacial and interglacial time spans. Suppose we analyse a particular period sociologically, the physical environment components like water, air, land, flora and fauna hardly change during that time because it takes long times for these factors to change at a significant level. However, taken over a long period of time, key changes in the physical environment are very forceful. In ancient times, the desert wastes of North Africa were green having big population and greenery. Further, human misuse can result in very fast changes in physical environment. It changes the social and cultural life of the people. Deforestation results in land erosion and reduced rainfall. Environmental destruction has been considered as a major factor in the fall of great civilizations.

In history, human groups have migrated to change their physical environment. In primitive societies, the members are directly dependent upon their physical environment. In such societies, migration to a different environment results in key changes in the culture.

Population Factors

A population change can be considered as a social change in itself. It further becomes a casual factor for more social and cultural changes. When a sparsely populated frontier gets more people, the hospitality factor fades away. Further, secondary group relations increase, institutional structures become extensive and scores of other changes follow. A stable population might resist a change but a fast increasing population has to migrate, enhance its productivity or starve. Historically, big migrations and conquests of the Vikings, Huns and many others were fuelled by the pressure of a growing population surviving on limited resources. Migration facilitates further change because it puts a group in a new environment subjecting it to new social contacts.

Technical Factors

The technological factors are the conditions created by mankind. These leave a deep influence on human lives. To make his life more convenient, man repeatedly upgrades technology which is a byproduct of civilization. The scientific knowledge on application to solve the problems in life becomes technology. Technology means the systematic knowledge that is put into practice through tools and machines to serve our purpose. Science and technology go simultaneously. Technology has far-reaching social effects. Karl Marx observed that technology plays a key role in the development of social relations, mental conceptions and attitudes. According to him technology is the sole harbinger of social change. W.F Ogburn observes that technology changes society through changing our environment. These changes occur generally in the material environment and further involve the adjustments we make with these changes. All this often changes customs and social institutions. A single invention can leave countless social effects. Jacques Ellul says that in the present industrial societies 'technologism' has taken every aspect of social existence in its folds.

Attitudes and Values

Change appears normal to people in developed nations and societies. Children there get socialized to expect and welcome change. In contrast, the Trobriand Islanders off the coast of New Guinea were not familiar with the concept of change. They did not even have words in their language to express and understand 'change'. Usually, societies have different attitudes towards change. People who worship the past and are busy with rituals and traditions change slowly. If a culture has been comparatively static for a long time, the people expect that it will remain so forever. They become deeply ethnocentric assuming that their customs and techniques are correct forever. In such a society, a change is likely to be too slow to get noticed. On the other hand, a swiftly changing society nurtures a different attitude toward change. This attitude serves as both the cause and

effect of the changes already occurring. Quickly changing societies are conscious of these social changes. They are to some extent doubtful and critical of some traits of their traditional culture. Such attitudes strongly inspire the suggestion and application of changes by the outstanding individuals. Nonetheless, different groups within a locality or a society might show different degrees of receptivity to a change. Attitudes and values influence both the direction and the amount of social change. The ancient Greeks contributed greatly to art and learning but gave little in the field of technology. No society is equally dynamic in all aspects. Its values decide in which area—art, music, technology, warfare, religion or philosophy—it will be pioneering changes.

Cultural Factors

Cultural factors affect the character and direction of technological change. It is not just that our social institutions and beliefs should correspond to technological changes; rather they also determine the uses of technological inventions. The techniques and tools of technology are unresponsive to the use we put them to, e.g. the atomic energy may be used for producing lethal war weapons as well as for meeting our electricity requirements. The factories can be used to produce the weapons of mass killing or the basic necessities of life. Iron and steel may be used for manufacturing warships or farm equipment. Basically, a culture decides the type of use of a technical invention. Even though technology has grown geometrically in the immediate past, it alone does not bring about social change. To be precise, it does not even bring further advances in technology by itself. Here, social values play a leading role. The multifaceted combination of technology and social values produces circumstances which encourage more technological change, e.g. the belief that human life should not be sacrificed for wants of medical facilities, contributed to the advancement of medical science.

Max Weber observed that capitalism grew in the Western societies but not in the Eastern countries such as India and China. He concluded that Protestantism having practical ethics encouraged capitalism to flourish in the West. Hence industrial and economic progress took place there. On the other hand in the East, Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism and Islam did not support capitalism. So cultural factors play both positive and negative roles in generating technological change. Cultural factors like customs, habits, traditions, traditional values, conservatism, etc. might defy the technological inventions. On the contrary, factors like breakdown in the integrity of social values, propagation of social institutions eager for new thoughts, values, etc. might help technological inventions. The man creates technology. Mankind has always been motivated by thoughts, ideas, values, morals, beliefs and philosophies, etc. These comprise the elements of culture and hence influence the direction of technological change.

Isolation and Contact

Societies situated at world crossroads have traditionally been the focus of change. As most of new characteristics are acquired through diffusion, the societies in close contact with other ones are expected to change speedily. In ancient times,

the land bridge spanning Africa, Asia and Europe was the focus of civilizational change. Later on, this focus was shifted by the sailing vessels to the fringes of the Mediterranean Sea. Still later, it got shifted to the north-west coast of Europe. Not surprisingly, the areas of maximum intercultural contact have been the centres of change. War and trade generally result in intercultural contact. Presently, tourism is boosting the interaction between cultures. On the contrary, isolated regions are the centres of conservation, stability and resistance to change. The most primitive tribes are found in the most isolated regions like the Aranda of Central Australia and the polar Eskimos.

1.3.3 Social Transformation

Imagine the life of a boy in the 18th century. If he was born of Hindu parents then he was identified by his caste and also followed the profession of his caste. It would also depend on whether he stayed in a village or a town. Religion would also decide the circle of people that he could mingle with although there were no direct references to communal disharmony in the subcontinent. Upper castes and landlords lived in luxury.

The women of his family would remain illiterate if they were living in the villages and would have been married off at a young age. *Sati* and *purdah* were common at that time. Widow remarriage was unheard of and widows lived a very restricted life. If the boy was Hindu and was living in a village, he would go to a village *pathshala*, a Muslim would go to a *madrasa* for elementary education which comprised basic arithmetic, writing and reading. For higher education he would have to go to a big city, like Agra or Delhi. Here subjects like literature, religion and philosophy were taught in Sanskrit and Persian. The study of science and technology was neglected. Later on, in the 19th century, the English East India Company opened schools with English as a subject and medium of instruction. If the boy's family had money then he could have pursued education in such a school. With the introduction of western education and the growing contact with the European civilization, the social conditions too started changing. Many reform movements also started which fought against wrong traditional customs and practices.

Economy

Most people lived in the villages which were self-sufficient units and produced everything that was needed by the people. The blacksmith, the carpenter, the potter, the farmer, the cobbler, the priests all lived in different parts of the village. Exchange would be through barter or a weekly *haat* (market place). People did not have to travel much outside the villages.

They had little contact with the outside world and were unaware of the changes taking place in the rest of the world. There was extensive internal as well as external trade under the Mughals. But this trade did not affect the economic and social life of the people living in the villages.

Unlike Europe, the people who were becoming rich through trade in India were not able to bring about new ideas and establish a new political and economic system. They could not set up any form of a democratic government.

The money earned was used mainly for buying agricultural land and for money lending. The arrival of the European companies, however, changed the very nature of the economy. The most important change was that the traditional Indian economy now came under the English, who used it to serve their interests. For instance, they were forced to grow only those crops, which were needed in Europe and not those which were necessary for the local population.

Social Change under British Rule

The emergence of new social classes in India was the direct consequences of the establishment a new social economy, a new transport system, a new type of state system and state administrative machinery and the spread of new education during the British rule.

Transformation in Indian Society

Let us analyse the type of transformation seen in the Indian society.

1. Social and cultural changes

In the 19th century awareness among the people about what was happening in the world was much more than in the previous centuries. This process was facilitated by the British rule in India. Comparison with European thought and practices led to a questioning of the traditional practices and rituals. The spread of western education also had a major role to play in this. Some people tried to bring about changes in the country politically and socially. Many of these social changes in the country ultimately paved the way for its modernization. To address this objective social reformers discarded elements like *purdah* and caste system which made the society backward.

Largely due to the thinking and efforts of social reformers like Raja Rammohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Dayanand Saraswati and many others, the British introduced some social and religious reforms.

- **Sati:** Raja Rammohan Roy, a social reformer from Bengal was against the custom of sati. This age old custom of sati was banned by Lord Bentinck and made punishable by law in 1829.

- **Widow remarriage:** The Hindu laws and customs did not allow the widows to remarry. In 1856, during the tenure of Lord Dalhousie, a law was passed allowing the widows to remarry.

- **Female infanticide and other bans:** In some families the unfortunate custom of killing baby girls was followed. This inhuman custom was banned by Lord William Bentinck. Slavery was declared illegal by legislation in India in 1843. Lord Hardinge abolished the practice of human sacrifice which certain tribal groups followed. Responding to social reformers' opposition to the evil custom of child marriage, the government raised the marriageable age for boys and girls to 12 and 10, respectively.

2. Development of Transport

Until the revolt of 1857, the transport system in India was quite inadequate. Only two half finished trunk roads, one between Calcutta and Delhi and the other between Bombay and Agra, existed. A little before the middle of the 19th century the British had begun to pay serious attention to the improvement of the means of transport and communication. The British policy was to use raw materials available in India for their own industries. Good means of transport were required to export these and also to bring back the finished goods and sell them in different parts of the country. Plans were made to interlink the major cities, ports, agricultural centres and markets through good network of roads, canals and railways. The British developed transport and communication to further their own interest, and not for the economic development of India.

Railways: The credit of setting up the first railway line in India goes to Lord Dalhousie. The first railway line connecting Bombay to Thane was opened in 1853. The following year Calcutta was linked to the coalfields in Raniganj and Bombay was connected with Kalyan. In 1856, another line was opened to join Madras with Arakonam.

Thereafter the development of railways was given maximum encouragement and it made brisk progress. Railway lines connected the port cities like Bombay, Calcutta and Madras with their hinterlands from where the raw materials were transported. However, little attention was paid to link the various parts of the country, which would help in the movement of goods produced within the country from one part to another.

The same policy was also applied to protect the British interest in the freight charged. The rate of freight for goods going from one place to another within the country was higher than that of the goods moving between the port towns and other parts of the country. Again, areas which were important from the point of view of defence of the empire were linked together through elaborate railways to facilitate quick troop movement.

By 1876 about 5,000 miles of railway lines had been laid out connecting all the major centres in India, both by the government and private British companies. British businessmen and the contractors made huge profits by building railways in India. By the end of 19th century over 25,000 km of lines had been laid.

The introduction of railways made travelling and transport of goods quicker, cheaper, easier and safer. Mining areas could be linked with industrial areas. Construction of railways also provided employment opportunities to thousands of unskilled labourers.

The most important outcome, which the British could not prevent, was the coming together of the people of the country, which helped to promote integration. When the people of various castes and religions travelled together it helped to break caste barriers.

The construction of roads went along with the construction of railways. Gradually it connected more villages in its fray and the village gradually became part of the internal and external trade breaking its isolation in the process.

3. Growth of Industries

The second half of the 19th century witnessed the growth of plantation and machine industries. The demand for tea, coffee and indigo attracted many Europeans to the plantation industry in India. Although the plantation industry provided some employment to the people of India, the British profited most as they were the exclusive owners.

The machine industry made its appearance in the form of jute and textile mills, a large number of which were owned by Indians. With the growth of modern industries there was an increasing demand for steel, cement, chemicals, and above all, power. Coal was the most important source of power so there was great demand for it. With the expansion of railways the demand for coal shot up. Rich British industrialists invested their surplus capital in the railways. Therefore they did not encourage the growth of iron and steel industries in India, though both coal and iron ore were available in abundance. Railway engines, wagons, and tools continued to be imported from Britain.

4. Drain of Wealth

Although there was rapid expansion in foreign trade in the 20th century as a result of the introduction of railways, better road linkages and the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), there was no improvement in the Indian economy.

This was because the British government followed a one-sided trade policy which exempted from duty British goods entering India but levied high customs duties on Indian goods entering England. People therefore preferred to buy English goods which were cheaper and India's wealth continued to flow into Britain. Dadabhai Naoroji in his book *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* has presented a deep study of this.

5. Inequality

With the growth of industries, two new classes emerged in the Indian society—the capitalists and the industrial workers. There was also the middle class or the intellectual class, which grew with the expansion of the administrative machinery, trade and industry. A professional class had also begun to emerge as many people took to professions like law, teaching and engineering. This class played a leading role in bringing about social reforms and modernizing society.

However, the economic condition was one of extreme poverty. Workers were burdened with problems like low wages, long working hours, unhygienic working and living conditions. According to an estimate, the per capita income in 1947 was ₹ 228, which works out to be less than a rupee a day. Moreover, there was an unequal distribution of income among the various sections of society. While landlords and factory owners were earning well, factory workers, labourers and poor peasants lived a miserable life.

The British government neither protected nor encouraged the development of industries. Indian capitalists and the middle class also suffered. Gradually, they began to raise their voice against British policies and demanded political

rights as well as protection of India's economic interests. In 1938, the Indian National Congress set up a National Planning Committee to draw up a blueprint for India's economic development. It was from middle class that many leaders of the national movement emerged, and played a leading role in launching the national struggle for freedom against the British.

6. Education

Education in India was mainly religious in nature and a privilege of the rich and the upper classes of society. The English East India Company was interested only in trade and its profits did not make any efforts to bring a change in the Indian system of education for more than half a century.

The Company government took its first step towards education with the Charter Act of 1813. The Company was asked to set aside a sum of rupees one lakh on education. For two decades thereafter this money lay untouched as no consensus could be reached on the medium of instruction and on whether it should be western education or traditional learning. Lord Macaulay, the Law Member in the Governor General's Council was insistent that western education should be imparted through the medium of English. In 1835, the Government decided to impart western education in India through the medium of English language. The government announced that Indians educated in British schools would be considered for government jobs. In 1854 the British government declared its intention of 'creating a properly articulated system of education from the primary school to the university' through the Despatch sent by Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control. It laid the foundation on which the educational system of India subsequently developed. For higher education, universities were established in the British presidencies of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

Educational Development Post Independence

Soon after India gained independence in 1947, the major priority of the government was to extend education to all. Discrimination on the basis of caste and gender which has been a major impediment in the healthy development of the Indian society has been made unlawful by the Indian constitution. The 86th constitutional amendment has also made elementary education a fundamental right for the children between the age group of 6 to 14 years. According to the 2001 census, the total literacy rate in India is 64.8 per cent. The female literacy rate is only 53.7 per cent. The gap between rural and urban literacy rate is also very significant in India. According to the 2001 census only 59.4 per cent of rural populations are literate as against 80. 3 per cent of urban population. The government in 1953 established the University Grants Commission to develop the higher education system. The primary role of UGC has been to regulate the standard and spread of higher education in India. There has been a remarkable improvement in the expansion of higher education in India. The higher education system in India comprises of more than 17,000 colleges, 20 central universities, 217 State Universities, 106 Deemed Universities and 13 institutes of National importance.

The present education system in India mainly comprises of primary education, secondary education, senior secondary education and higher education. Elementary education is for eight years. Secondary and senior secondary education consists of two years of education each. Higher education in India starts after passing the higher secondary education or the 12th standard. Graduation in India can take three to five years depending on the stream that one has chosen. Post graduate courses generally have two to three years of duration. After completing post-graduation, scope for doing research in various educational institutes also remains open. There are quite a good number of educational institutes in India that can compete with the best educational institutes of the world. The Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs), Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs), Indian Institutes of Science, National Law Schools, Jawaharlal Nehru University are some such institutes.

Various measures are being taken to increase the access of education to the marginalized sections of the society as education is the means for bringing socio-economic transformation in a society. Introduction of the reservation system in the institutes of higher education is one such measure to the neglected strata of the society. Under the present law, 7.5 per cent seats in the higher educational institutes are reserved for the scheduled tribes, 15 per cent for scheduled castes and 27 per cent for the non-creamy layers of the Other Backward Classes (OBCs). According to the Indian Constitution, minority groups can also set up their own educational institutes. Efforts are also being taken to improve the access to higher education among the women of India by setting up various educational institutes exclusively for them or reserving seats in the already existing institutes. The expansion of the Open University system is also contributing a lot in the democratization of higher education in India.

Poverty and the Third World

Third World countries are often described as 'developing' while the First World, industrialized nations are called 'developed' nations. Lack of material wealth does not necessarily mean that one is deprived. A strong economy in a developed nation does not mean much if a significant percentage (even a majority) of the population is struggling to survive. Successful development can imply many things, such as:

- Improvement in living standards and access to all basic needs such as food, water, shelter, clothing, health, education, etc.
- Stable political, social and economic environment
- Ability to make free and informed choices that are not coerced
- Able to participate in a democratic environment

1.3.4 Impact of Social Change

Indian colonies comprised of areas of the Indian Subcontinent and those ruled by Maharajas. These Maharajas were controlled by European colonial powers through trade and commerce.

The transformation of India into a colony brought about both, positive as well as negative changes.

Positive aspects of transformation: There were a few positive aspects of transforming India into colonies. The most important of them were social reforms, which resulted in abolition of some social evils. Sati was a widely practiced social evil in India before the British. During the British rule, the custom of Sati was disallowed. Also, the killing of the female child was monitored and procedures were adopted to stop it. The British also established a multi-level system of education in India. This comprised of basic schooling for students (also girls) in the lower grades.

Improved standards of healthy living and better systems of water supply were also the positive aspects of the British rule. They introduced better ways of treatment and vaccines that prevented and cured epidemics, which were earlier fatal in India. Thus, India became socially more reformed, though it lost its identity under the British invasion and became just like any other colony in their control. When the British originally took over India, some of them adopted the Indian culture and even married Indian women.

Negative aspects of transformation: After a few years of their rule, the British considered and treated native Indians as savages and believed that no amount of social conditioning could make them civilized. Therefore, they suspended all social reforms. They validated Indians as savages by customs like Sati, dowry, etc. Due to polytheism, the majority of Indians were denounced by missionaries and not given any kind of support.

They used the term 'vernacular' as an adjective for one or more of the following:

• Language that is native to or commonly spoken by people of a specific country or region

• Native language of an area, that is different from the literary language

• Pertaining to or expressed in the local language or dialect

The British introduced the Vernacular Press Act. This Act imposed severe restriction on the vernacular press which they believed was used to spread fundamental, pro-independence ideas.

The colonial system restricted the capability of production drastically in regions where precious metals were found. The manufacturing capitalists of England, however, used the power that the colonial policy provided them with, not just to increase the industrial capability of their own country, but also to suppress that of India. Thus all industrial progress was limited only to Ireland and the British colonies, thus causing the destruction of industry in India.

The British invasion affected Indian artisans very negatively. As soon as the British rule was established in India, the art scene changed. All farmers, artisans, craftsmen and factory labourers became poorer because of the fiscal policies of the British Government in India.

Dadabhai Naoroji, proved how the effect of the British Rule caused the 'Drain of Wealth' from India to Britain. He was a Parsi scholar, educationalist,

cotton trader and a politician of ancient India. He believed that this was the real cause of poverty of India. British imports of manufactured cotton products into India increased by 50 per cent and Indian exports decreased to one fourth. The same effect was seen in silk goods, woollen fabrics, iron, pottery, glassware and paper. Millions of bankrupt artisans and craftsmen, spinners, weavers, potters, smelters and smiths lost their businesses and jobs. They had to work as landless agricultural workers to earn their livelihood. The British had no sense of Indian art and handicrafts. However, the ones who did understand a little bit got some artists to make paintings for them to take back home to England. They were of the belief that this would give their people an idea about India. The incapability of the British to understand work of art can be explained in the words used by Victorian writer and important art critic, John Ruskin. Ruskin regarded all Indian art with deep rooted hatred: 'The Indian will not draw a form of nature but an amalgamation of monstrous objects'. He also added, 'To all facts and forms of nature it willfully and resolutely opposes itself; it will not draw a man but an eight armed monster, it will not draw a flower but only a spiral or a zigzag.' George Birdwood (who took some interest in Indian decorative art) was of the similar opinion, '...painting and sculpture as fine art did not exist in India'. The traditional patrons of art became poorer and their business relations weakened. On the other hand, their western counterparts became wealthier.

Decline of Cottage Industry

Cottage industries, also known as Small Scale Industries (SSIs), are the terms used for small business. These businesses function from homes or residential surroundings. They have a small workforce of a few labourers who may or may not be members of the same family. They are mostly into production or manufacture goods that reflect traditional skills of artisans and craftsmen who are part of communities that have inherited their work as an art from their ancestors. The goods made by them include, dress fabrics like, 'khadi, leather, silk, cotton, wool, muslin, etc, many precious items like jewellery, ornaments, statues, idols, gems , stones and edible items like spices, oils, honey, etc. These products were in much demand not only within India but also in markets of other countries.

Since early days, these home-made products have been a source of major attraction for foreign traders and merchants. These played an important role in strengthening trade relations of India with the Greek, Chinese and Arab merchants. In India before the British rule, Indian craftsmen and artisans prospered sufficiently under the rule of the Turk, Afghan and Mughal dynasties. But after British conquered India, the running of these cottage industries underwent drastic changes. For having more and more luxury items at the low prices, the European traders and merchants exploited the Indian cottage industries extensively. As a result of this exploitation, cottage industries witnessed a severe fall in their level production. Thereafter, the Industrial revolution in the West also impacted the economy drastically and led to the decline of the cottage industry. Though, the 'Swadeshi' and the 'Boycott' movements led by Gandhi encouraged the promotion of *khadi* and other Indian fabrics, it could still not help much in saving manufacture of items that involved fine work as well as an artistic taste.

Villages in the British Rule—Reasons for Depression

A large number of craftsmen and farmers who were struck by poverty after colonialism had no land or profitable occupation left in their villages. Thus they migrated to the cities in search of sources of livelihood. Those who stayed back in the villages had to face demands of the Zamindars for revenue. These Zamindars represented British colonialism. The farmers had to pay the fixed amount of revenue even in case of occurrence of worst famines. There was no relief or even a temporary suspension of revenue for such unfortunate periods. The colonial administration was ruthless when extracting revenue, irrespective of the bad times its victims were going through. Thus during famines and droughts, the problems and miseries multiplied many times. Even in the good times the farmers in villages were never prosperous. This gave rise to different other problems like continuous indebtedness, meager individual earnings by selling or mortgaging parts of land to Zamindars and moneylenders, division of land, etc. *Lagaan* was the tax levied on farmers, which if left unpaid resulted in the landlords taking over the land. They also had to pay fixed revenues to the British. The consequences of the British rule on one hand were: breakdown of the farming community and continuous increase in landless population and on the other, a massive transfer of fertile lands into the hands of the non-agriculturalists.

Rise of Customer Culture

The major causes for rise of the customer culture in India during the British rule were as follows:

- **Disappearance of court culture:** The majority of demand for products of handicrafts came from Kings for their courts and the upper classes in towns. With the elimination of the royal court system, the main source of demand for the product of the handicrafts became very less and the manufacture of handicrafts fell. 'Karkhanas' or cottage industries, established in various parts of the country, fulfilled the requirements of the royal court. They had to be closed down after the establishment of British rule in India. The reason for this was that the local rulers were removed from power.

- **Negative effects of the British rule on tastes and habits:** With virtual end of the demand for handicrafts, that was a result of the disappearance of noble courts, the industry was on the lookout for a new source of demand The European officials, surely encouraged imported manufactures. The consumption habit of the newly educated Indians was also inclined towards imported products, thus dealing another crippling blow to these industries. These new Indian customers did not only avoid the products of cottage industries but also tried to adopt the European culture along with their goods. Imported items were considered to be a 'hallmark of enlightenment.

- **Prohibition of use and possession of arms:** British rule also resulted in the practical death of the handicraft industry which produced arms, weapons and shields by implementing laws which prohibited their use

and possession. Thus people who sought such weapons had to use means to import them.

- **Weakening of guilds:** The policies of the East India Company indirectly damaged the power of associations and other similar groups which regulated trade and monitored the quality of materials used. As soon as the supervisory committees were disabled, evils like adulteration of food and edible matter, poor workmanship, etc. started increasing. This eventually led to a decline in the artistic and commercial value of the wares and rise in customers for European markets.

- **Competition from European manufacturers:** Another factor which was responsible for the rise of customer culture was competition from the European manufacturers. In terms of quality, Indian weaver could do better than his European counterpart. But in terms of price, his goods stood nowhere near the machine made goods that were imported. Assigning much value to everything that was imported, by the Indian middle class helped foreign goods amass a large number of Indian customers. Thus, the rise of customer culture that started with the establishment of British rule and foreign influence was confirmed by the competition that came from imported goods.

- **Tariff policy:** The tariff policy that was imposed by the British Government in India was also responsible for creating the customer culture. This was a one-way tariff policy that favoured one-way trade. To ensure a more fruitful environment for industries in England, the British implemented the policy of protection through the imposition of import duties. But in the case of Indian goods, they developed the policy of free trade. In his book, R. C. Dutt talks about the East India Company and the British Parliament following the selfish commercial policy of a hundred years ago. This policy was a factor of discouragement for the Indian manufacturers in the early years of British rule. On the other hand, this encouraged the upcoming manufacturers of England. Their policy was to get India to be dependent on the industries of Great Britain and so that the Indian producer should produce raw material for the industries in England. Indian cotton and silk items, the prices of which would be 50 to 60 per cent lower than the price of cloth manufactured in England were subjected to import duties varying between 70 to 80 per cent in England. This was done simply to drive them out from the British market.

- **Weak industrial structure:** Some internal factors like weaknesses in the industrial structure were also one of the reasons for the decline of handicrafts. No one tried to explore markets for products. Indian foreign trade was completely dependent on foreigners. As a result, the Indian artisans and producers were at the mercy of foreign merchants. India lacked shrewd businessmen and a class of industrial entrepreneurs. This it became a dependant customer to British imports.

- **Exploitation of craftsmen by merchants:** As the power of Indian kings and rulers fell, British businessmen and their agents began to operate

undue pressure on craftsmen for producing goods as per their requirement and selling them at extremely low prices. Craftsmen were made to sign agreements which provided unfair conditions to them. This would never have happened under normal circumstances. Because of extreme exploitation, the majority of Indian craftsmen were left with no choice but to abandon their crafts or to flee to more remote areas where these policies had not yet penetrated.

Destruction and Commercialization of Agriculture

Before the British invasion, India was a very significant agricultural power. The per capita production of food in this region (which is of average fertility) was more than five times its produce today. Between 1762 and 1766 there were villages whose levels of production reached up to 12 tons of paddy a hectare. This level of production is only feasible in areas of the country where the effect of Green Revolution was the highest. Nowadays, only the best, most advanced, expensive and often environmentally ruinous technologies are able to give such results. The annual availability of all food averaged five tons per household. The British government disrupted these statistics. In a few of the areas they levied tax as per a percentage figure of the total tax revenue going to the institutions and fixed it as a dollar amount, in 1799 dollars. There a few institutions which still get the same government allotment, which has no value today. Others began to own the land from which they got a share of the production once. The British taxes spread poverty among the families of cultivators and farmers, since they were so high there was no money left to support them. British schemes lowered the growth of crops and weakened the Indian system of self-sufficiency. On a broad scale, three key types of land revenue systems were implemented in British India. These land revenue systems were:

- **Zamindari system:** This system was put in place to make sure that the revenue is finally directed to the British colonial power. A Zamindar was given the charge of management and collection of revenue, on a condition of payment of a fixed amount of the revenue to the British regime. The farmers were transformed into tenants of the land they worked on. They were deprived of the land title the other rights and privileges that they enjoyed during the Mughal period. The Zamindars employed several intermediate collectors to collect revenue from the farmers. The larger share of the produce went to the Zamindars and the farmer was left with a bare minimum which was not even sufficient to support his family. Thus the farmers were struck with poverty.

- **Rywotari System:** This system recognized the rights of ownership of farmers on their land and it was similar to the revenue system during the Mughal period, to a large extent. However, the Zamindari system gradually started penetrating within regions that worked on the Rywotari system, particularly in the princely states and the areas governed by the feudal lords.

- **Mahalwari System:** In this system revenue was fixed on the entire village, considering it as a single unit. The farmers paid the revenue share of whole village that was proportional to their individual earnings. This gave moneylenders the power to recover old debts by mortgaging the land holdings of farmers. This had serious consequences. The biggest of them was the transfer of land from cultivators to non-cultivators. As a result, rural society in Rywotari and Mahalwari areas exhibited the division of land in favour of landlords and rich peasants. As a result, tenants and agricultural labourers became landless and the distribution of land was highly unequal.

- **Commercialization:** This was yet another side effect of British economic policies in India. The production of commercial agriculture crops for market rather than for consumption purpose was encouraged by colonial rulers. The commercialization of agriculture disrupted the traditional structure of Indian village economy. The new land system had already made the existing rural framework weak. Now it was completely destroyed by the effects of commercial agriculture. This process of commercialization also had negative impacts on the life and economic position of the farmers and the cultivators.

Impact of Change on Family

Indian families are combinations of different essential themes of cultural life. Earlier, in major parts of the country, the basic system of a family was dominated by relatives of the father's side and relationships were spread across large groups. These types of families were known as patrineal joint families. This concept of joint family very popular and most of the households were based on this concept. Considered as an ideal, the joint family structure comprised of three or four generations related to the father's side, all living in one house. All members of the family worked, ate, worshipped and cooperated together in common social and economic activities. Most young women were expected to live with their husband's relatives after marriage, but they continued to have deep relations with their biological families as well.

Despite the continuous and growing impact of urbanization, secularization and westernization, the traditional joint household, both in ideal and in practice, remains the base of many families in India. Almost every individual is deeply loyal to his/her family.

Large families in urban areas are more flexible and suited to modern Indian life, in comparison to the majority of Indians who are farmers or agricultural workers, or involved in related activities. The system of joint family is also common in cities, where good relations with relatives are very supportive in securing jobs that are few in number or financial assistance. A number of famous Indian families, such as the Tatas, Birlas and Sarabhais, still maintain the joint family system although they work together to control some of the country's largest businesses. The joint family is a very old Indian institution, but it has

undergone a few changes in the late 20th century. Although an ideal family is where many generations live together, but in reality, this system depends on regions, social status and economic circumstances. Many Indians live in joint families that are different from ideal joint families and many live in nuclear families. A nuclear family is a unit which consists of a father, mother and their unmarried children. This is a common pattern found in families of the West. Even when relatives cannot actually live close to each other, they maintain strong bonds of relations and try to provide each other with economic help, emotional support and other benefits.

The breakup of a joint family into smaller units does not necessarily mean that the system has been rejected. Rather, it is usually a response to changing conditions like, the need for some members to move from village to city, or from one city to another for employment opportunities. Breaking up of the family is often blamed on disagreement between women, typically the wives of brothers. At times, disagreement between men also results in breaking of families into smaller units. Despite family values of brotherhood, adult brothers often quarrel over land and other matters, leading them to decide to live under separate roofs and divide their property. There are times when a large joint family divides after the death of elderly parents, when there is no longer a single authority figure to hold the family members together. After division, each new unit, in its turn, usually becomes another joint family when sons of the family marry and bring their wives to live in the family home.

Life of Women

The issue of women in India has always been a matter of concern. The majority of members of the society consider women as second class citizens. Though they are admired and preached in the name of Durga, Saraswati, Parvati and Kali, they are also abused forms of child-marriage, killing of the girl child, Sati, sexual harassment, dowry and so on. The status of women in India has been subjected to many changes over the past few decades. From practically unknown status in ancient times through low points of the medieval period, to the promotion of equal rights by many reformers, the history of women in India exhibits a variety of changes. The status of women has varied in different time periods.

The condition of women in society was worst during the medieval period. During this period, child-marriage, sati and killing of female infants was practiced at large. The Rajput women of Rajasthan practiced an evil custom which was commonly known as 'Jauhar'. Jauhar was the practice of the self-immolation of the wives and daughters of warriors who were defeated battles. Jauhar was practiced in order to avoid capture and sexual harassment by the enemy. Even polygamy was practiced by many Hindu Kshatriyas. Polygamy is a system where a husband marries more than one women. At the same time, many women excelled in arts, literature and music during this period. There were women who were rulers during the medieval period. One of the great women rulers was Razia Sultan, the only women to rule over Delhi. The Gond Queen, Durgavati, had

ruled for fifteen years before she lost the battle against Mughal emperor Akbar's general Asaf Ali. Sati was also commonly practiced during this era, where a woman were forced to jump in the burning funeral pyre of her dead husband. The 'Devdasi' culture was practiced in south India, where girls were married to deities or trees. This practice had destroyed the lives of many girls as they were physically molested and sexually exploited by many pundits. Thus, on a broad scale, the status of women in the medieval India was not calm and steady.

Transformation of Family in the 21st Century

One of the most important changes in India is economic change. Already during the colonial period the new means of transportation and communication and the development of cities had brought in a degree of economic and social change. People began to migrate to the cities in search of work and modern education. The barriers of caste began to slowly break down or become more flexible. Children were no longer compelled to follow the occupation of their parents; they could aspire for different and better work. Such change was, indeed, revolutionary in the context of Indian society. The ideas of liberty, equality, democracy and the like began to have a slow but sure impact on the colonized people; the struggle for Independence has shown the importance such ideas had for educated Indians.

There has also been social legislation that radically alters the rights of women. In particular, Hindu marriage, inheritance and succession laws have been changed in order to achieve greater gender parity. There have been some changes in the personal laws applying to Muslims and Christians, but not quite as far-reaching. Among Hindus, women now bear the right to equal inheritance along with their brothers in both their father's self-acquired as well as his inherited properties. Despite such radical legislation, however, it is still true that women frequently forgo their share in property, in order to not to damage their relations with their brothers. There are still many situations in which a woman will rely for support on her brother: if she is abandoned or widowed or if her marital relationship sours. Insistence on her legal rights may compromise the possibility of such support being forthcoming.

Changes in Women's Worklife

Modern India is changing very rapidly and society today presents some fascinating as well as contradictory trends. There is an increase in the age of marriage and women increasingly have an opportunity to get education and work before and after marriage. While more girls enter careers nowadays, this is sometimes because men want educated and employed brides. However, there is also a sharp increase in women working because they want to carve out independent careers. Men and women meet and try to discover areas of compatibility, even when marriages largely continue to be arranged by family members. However, there is also an increase in inter-caste, inter-religious marriages, especially among the urban, educated elite. Among such groups, the income, life-style and education of the partners often counts for as much if not more than just caste position. Divorce rates are soaring in modern India and it is becoming more

common as well as more accepted for divorcees and the widowed to enter into new marriages. Because of migration and mobility, the modern Indian family is more often than not nuclear in composition. There are changes too in fertility patterns, with more among the urban sections settling for just one or two children. While, traditionally, it was the son who looked after his parents during old age, there are many cases nowadays of women, especially single women, taking on these responsibilities. Marriage was the rule in the past, but there are increasing number of women (and some men) who remain single. This may be out of choice especially among the urban elite, but it may also happen due to a variety of other reasons. For instance, a woman may remain single because of the need to look after aged parents or younger brothers and sisters.

Negative Impacts of Family Division

The effects of conflict on children are well-documented. Family researchers generally agree that parental conflict is the biggest predictor of poor outcome for children. The most powerful determinants are the level and intensity of the conflict between parents, and whether the conflict is resolved. This is true no matter whether parents are married or divorced.

Summary of the Research on the Effects of Conflict

- Some children respond to parental conflict by acting out. They may demonstrate behavior problems, increased anger and inability to manage anger, violent behavior, delinquency, and gang involvement.

- Some children respond to parental conflict by turning inward. They are likely to demonstrate depression (we are prescribing anti-depressants for children at an alarming rate), isolation from friends and activities, physical symptoms like headaches, stomach aches, ulcers etc., and substance abuse.

- Children who are exposed to parental conflict do not interact well with others. These kids often have very poor social skills, low self-esteem and poor relationships when they become adults.

- Some children exposed to high conflict have trouble thinking. Advances in neuropsychology have shown that when exposed to conflict our brains release stress hormones that over time can actually change brain functioning. The effects of being exposed to conflict show up as problems in school, truancy, impaired thinking (things like problem-solving, abstract reasoning, memory are affected) and symptoms that mimic Attention Deficit Disorder.

Social Impacts

Indian Industrialization

The industrial policy of free India was first announced in 1948. This policy envisaged a mixed economy with an overall responsibility of the Government for the planned development of industries and their regulations in national interest. According to this policy Indian industries were classified into three groups.

- The first category included arms and ammunitions, atomic energy, river valley projects, and the railways. There were to be directly under the management of the state.

- The second category included coal, iron and steel, aircraft, telephones, telegraphs, wireless, shipbuilding and mineral oils which were also to be the responsibility of the state. The private undertaking in these industries was, however, to continue for at least ten years.

- The third category included the remaining industries, which were to be developed by private enterprise.

History of Industrialization in India 1850-1874

The first industrial undertakings were established in India only after the first railways had been constructed in 1851. The development in 1854 of the cotton textile industry in India – the first important large scale industry marks the dawn of a new industrial era in India. The real beginning of the industry was made in Bombay in 1854 with predominantly Indian capital and enterprise. In 1855 the jute industry was established at Rishra near Seramore, 12 miles north of Calcutta with Scottish capital and enterprise. The paper mill industry was started at Bally near Calcutta in 1867. The glass and chemical industries were started subsequently. A small number of minor industries, rice and flour mills, woolen and silk mills, iron foundries etc. were also set up. India continued to be an exporter of food and raw materials and an importer of manufactured articles. The progress of the jute industry was remarkable and spectacular.

Development during the First Plan

In the First Five Year Plan emphasis was mainly on agriculture, irrigation and power; only about 8 per cent of the total investment was allocated for industries and minerals.

Targets of production were more or less reached in the case of cotton textiles, sugar, vegetable oils, cement, paper, soda ash, caustic soda, rayon, electrical transformers, bicycles, sewing machines and petroleum refining.

News-print, calcium carbide, penicillin, DDT, carding engines, automatic looms, steel wire ropes, jute spinning frames, deep well turbine pumps and motors and transformers of higher ratings were first manufactured in this country.

Development during the Second Plan

The following was the order of priorities:

- Heavy chemicals including nitrogenous fertilizers, heavy engineering machine building industries.

- Aluminum, cement, pulp, dyestuffs, and phosphatic fertilizers, essential drugs.

- Jute, cotton, textiles and sugar

- Fuller utilization of the existing installed capacity in industries.

- Expansion of capacity for consumer goods industries.

Foundations were laid of heavy electrical and heavy machine tools industries, heavy machine building and other branches of heavy engineering. The production of machinery for the cement and paper industries started for the first time. In chemical industries, the advance was on a wide front, leading not only to large units and greatly increased output of basic chemicals such as nitrogenous fertilizers, caustic soda, soda ash, and sulphuric acid but also to the manufacture of a number of new products: urea, ammonium phosphate, penicillin, synthetic fibres, industrial explosives, news prints, dyestuffs and so on. The output of many other industries increased considerably: bicycles, sewing machines, telephones, electrical goods, textiles and sugar machinery. The index of industrial production rose from 100 in 1950-51 to 194 in 1960-61.

Development under the Third Plan and After

The main emphasis in the Third Plan was on the establishment of basic capital and producer goods industries with special emphasis on machine building programmes - and also the acquisition of the related skills, technical know-how and designing capacity so that in the following plan periods, the growth of the economy would become self-sustaining and increasingly independent of outside aid.

The priorities laid down were as follows:

- Completion of unimplemented/deferred second plan projects.
- Heavy engineering and machine building industries, castings and forgings, alloy tool and special steels, iron and steel and ferro alloys, fertilizers and petrol.
- Producer goods like aluminum mineral oils dissolving pulps, basic organic-inorganic chemicals and intermediates inclusive of petrochemical origin, and
- Drugs, paper, cloth, sugar, vegetable oils, and housing materials.

Slums in India

The number of people living in slums in India has more than doubled in the past two decades and now exceeds the entire population of Britain, the Indian Government has announced. The figure is the latest illustration of how India's recent economic boom has left behind millions of the country's poorest people, raising fears that social unrest could undermine further growth. India's economy has grown by an average of 8 per cent annually over the past four years, and yet a quarter of its population of 1.1 billion still lives on less than $1 per day. The expansion of India's slums is partly due to the rise in India's total population, which increased from 683 million in 1981 to 1.03 billion in 2001. That has been exacerbated by mass migration from the countryside as millions of farmers have forsaken the diminishing returns of small-scale agriculture to seek the relatively high wages of manual labourers in India's cities.

But the ballooning slum population is also evidence of the Government's failure to build enough housing and other basic infrastructure for its urban poor,

many of whom live without electricity, gas or running water. India's largest slum population is in Bombay, the country's financial and film capital, where an estimated 6.5 million people – at least half the city's residents – live in tiny makeshift shacks surrounded by open sewers. Bombay is also home to Dharavi, Asia's biggest single slum, which is estimated to house more than a million people.

Failure of Self-Employment Schemes

Apart from decentralization and community involvement, participation of the poor in the programme that affects their welfare, is important. Some of the self-employment schemes failed to take off because no effort was made to involve the poor in identifying the skills, which they can learn easily. As a result, the skills imparted are not utilized. Some of the skills imbibed may not have job potential in the community. On the positive side, micro-enterprise under the self-employment programme was successful because of the role of SHGs. The SHG members actively participated in the whole process and decided for themselves for the kind of skills they wanted to learn and also the kind of credit they needed from the bank to start the microenterprise. Many well-intentioned programmes fail to take off because of lack of understanding of the ground realities due to lack of participation of the beneficiaries.

Caste System in Modern India

The leaders of independent India decided that India will be a democratic, socialist and secular country. According to this policy there is a separation between religion and state. Practicing untouchability or discriminating a person based on his caste is legally forbidden. Along with this law the government allows positive discrimination of the depressed classes of India.

The Indians have also become more flexible in their caste system customs. In general the urban people in India are less strict about the caste system than the rural. In cities one can see different caste people mingling with each other, while in some rural areas there is still discrimination based on castes and sometimes also on untouchability. Sometimes in villages or in the cities there are violent clashes which, are connected to caste tensions. Sometimes the high castes strike the lower castes who dare to uplift their status. Sometimes the lower caste get back on the higher castes.

In modern India the term caste is used for Jat and also for Varna. The term, caste was used by the British who ruled India until 1947. The British who wanted to rule India efficiently made lists of Indian communities. They used two terms to describe Indian communities, castes and tribes. The term caste was used for Jats and also for Varnas. Tribes were those communities who lived deep in jungles, forests and mountains far away from the main population and also communities who were hard to be defined as castes for example communities who made a living from stealing or robbery. These lists, which the British made, were used later on by the Indian governments to create lists of communities who were entitled for positive discrimination.

The castes, which were the elite of the Indian society, were classified as high castes. The other communities were classified as lower castes or lower classes. The lower classes were listed in three categories. The first category is called Scheduled Castes. This category includes in it communities who were untouchables. In modern India, untouchability exists at a very low extent. The untouchables call themselves Dalit, meaning depressed. Until the late 1980s they were called Harijan, meaning children of God. This title was given to them by Mahatma Gandhi who wanted the society to accept untouchables within them.

The second category is Scheduled Tribes. This category includes in it those communities who did not accept the caste system and preferred to reside deep in the jungles, forests and mountains of India, away from the main population. The Scheduled Tribes are also called Adivasi, meaning aboriginals.

The third category is called sometimes Other Backward Classes or Backward Classes. This category includes in it castes who belong to Sudra Varna and also former untouchables who converted from Hinduism to other religions. This category also includes in it nomads and tribes who made a living from criminal acts.

According to the central government policy these three categories are entitled for positive discrimination. Sometimes these three categories are defined together as Backward Classes. 15 per cent of India's populations are Scheduled Castes. According to central government policy 15 per cent of the government jobs and 15 per cent of the students admitted to universities must be from Scheduled Castes. For the Scheduled Tribes about 7.5 per cent places are reserved which is their proportion in Indian population. The Other Backwards Classes are about 50 per cent of India's population, but only 27 per cent of government jobs are reserved for them.

Along with the central government, the state governments of India also follow a positive discrimination policy. Different states have different figures of communities entitled for positive discrimination based on the population of each state. Different state governments have different lists of communities entitled for positive discrimination. Sometimes a specific community is entitled for rights in a particular state but not in another state of India.

In modern India new tensions were created because of these positive discrimination policies. The high caste communities feel discriminated by the government policy to reserve positions for the Backward Classes. In many cases a large number of high caste members compete for a few places reserved for them. While the Backward Classes members do not have to compete at all because of the large number of reserved places for them compared to the candidates. Sometimes in order to fill the quota, candidates from the lowerclasses are accepted even though they are not suitable. Sometimes some reserved positions remain unmanned because there were few candidates from the lower classes causing more tension between the castes. Between the lower castes there are also tensions over reservation.

In the order of priority for a reserved place of the Backward Classes, candidate from the Scheduled castes is preferred over a candidate from the Scheduled Tribes who is preferred over a candidate from the other Backward Classes. As stated earlier Other Backward Classes are about 50% of India's population but only 27% of the Other Backward Classes are entitled for positive discrimination according to central government policy. Some Other Backward Classes communities are organizing politically to be recognized as Backward Classes entitled for positive discrimination.

The Scheduled Tribes who are seen as the aborigines of India got ownership and certain rights over Indian land. Many communities in India claim also to be aborigines of India and they are claiming the same rights as the Scheduled Tribes.

The caste identity has become a subject of political, social and legal interpretation. Communities who get listed as entitled for positive discrimination do not get out of this list even if their social and political conditions get better. In many cases the legal system is involved to decide if a certain person is entitled for positive discrimination.

But with all this positive discrimination policy, most of the communities who were low in the caste hierarchy remain low in the social order even today. And communities who were high in the social hierarchy remain even today high in the social hierarchy. Most of the degrading jobs are even today done by the Dalits, while the Brahmans remain at the top of the hierarchy by being the doctors, engineers and lawyers of India.

Religion and Society

Religions, whatever their form, can have major social impact in some societies for good or for evil. Of course in some religions any social impact they have may be secondary or incidental to their main declared aim of relating people to God. This site is not here concerned with considering the religious aspect of religions, but only with considering their impact on society. And the social impact of religions is normally less to do with the religion itself than its institutional form or church.

The social impact of any one religion is any society is strongly affected by whether it is supported by the majority of the population or by a minority. A majority religion not only directly impacts more people, but is also likely to have substantial impact on government and society values. Generally it is the poorest societies that have the greatest proportion of the population supporting religion, though that may mean several religions rather than one religion. But for the social impact of religions the major difference will still remain the difference between poorer societies and less poor societies.

Poorer Societies

Religions generally have greater social impact in poorer societies, where they tend to be supported more strongly by the majority. Often one religion will predominate and will have substantial effect on the government - either the

religion controlling the government, or the government using the religion in a majority-poverty society.

It is this type of situation that Karl Marx referred to when he stated that 'Religion is the opium of the masses'. Any religion that has a 'better afterlife' will tend to help the poor to live with their poverty and perhaps with exploitation and government oppression. So the poor will tend to more strongly support religion, and governments in poor societies can tend to encourage or use religion to help maintain social control. Churches as institutions tend to support governments and the wealthy who can finance churches better than poor believers can. In these societies religions will help maintain a social order that can include exploitation and oppression.

While a religion can be an ally of government or a tool of government, there are of course cases of a religion gaining control over government and effectively being government, and this often means church policies dominating a society - especially 'spread our religion'. This can mean other religions being oppressed and wars being encouraged or started against other religions. Christian Europe saw anti-heretic and anti-witch oppression and crusade wars against 'Infidels', moving to missionary-led worldwide oppressive colonizations - and societies motivated by other religions have done similar. And where a poor society had substantial support for two or more religions then fierce civil wars have often resulted.

An additional issue when a religion controls government is that they are often lacking in the kinds of skills needed for efficient government, lacking skills in business, in dealings, in compromising and in handling opponents. So with the best intentions, religious government often achieves little actual good.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

5. What are the different categories of causes of social change?
6. Why did Indians used the term 'vernacular' as an adjective?
7. State the practice of 'jauhar'.
8. What is the effect of conflict of parents on children?

1.4 SUMMARY

- Social movement is the activity of a group of people, who have a common ideology and who are collectively inclined to achieve certain common targets.
- A social movement has four basic elements, which are as follows:
  - o It is a collective behaviour
  - o It extends beyond a single event or community
  - o It involves systematic efforts
  - o It is change-oriented

- A social movement organization is an organized component of a social movement. Usually it is only a part of a particular social movement.

- There are two sociological theories, specifically the Relative Deprivation Theory and the Resource Mobilization Theory, which explain the causes and outcomes of social movements.

- The Relative Deprivation Theory states that a person can decide how well-off or deprived he is, as compared to others.

- Resource mobilization theory is used to study social movements and stresses that the resources (time, money, skills, etc.) determine the success of social movements and the ability to use them.

- The basis of evolutionary theories is the belief that societies slowly undergo transformations from modest beginnings to more complex forms.

- It was a belief with ancient sociologists that the evolution of human societies does not occur in a linear way; development does not take place in one line. As per them, social change referred to development in the direction of improvement. They perceived change as optimistic and advantageous. For them the process of evolution meant that societies would essentially achieve new and improved levels of civilization.

- Social change is a complicated and many-sided phenomenon. Both, endogenous (within a society) and exogenous (outside the society) aspects impact social change.

- Some common factors that affect social change are:
  - o Population factors
  - o Technical factors
  - o Cultural factors

- Social transformation is the process by which a person modifies the socially attributed status of their parents to a socially realized status for themselves.

- The impact of social change in India was both, positive and negative. This unit has discussed both the aspects in detail.

- During the period of the British, India followed a non-industrial model. Nevertheless, a large number of Indians felt that actual development was synonymous with industrialization.

- The first Indian Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, considered industrialization as the only solution to lessen poverty. Industrialization not only made the country self-reliant but also assured growth to external economies, in proportion to industrial growth.

- After independence, the Indian leaders decided that India would be democratic, socialist and secular. This policy separates religion and state. It prohibits and renders illegal for an individual to practice untouchability or discrimination on the basis of caste.

- Feudalism was a decentralized social system which was in practice because medieval monarchs wanted more power. It declined when, the lords could no longer demand that local people work on their lands. A large number of ordinary people turned rich and achieved the capacity to buy their own lands.

- The Renaissance was a cultural revolution that deeply impacted the intellectual life of Europe during the beginning of the modern period.

1.5 KEY TERMS

- **Third world:** The term 'Third World' arose during the Cold War to define countries that remained non-aligned with either NATO or the Communist Bloc. The Third World was normally seen to include many countries with colonial pasts in Africa, Latin America, Oceania and Asia.

- **Adivasi:** Adivasi are the tribal group population of South Asia. Adivasi make up 8.6% of India's population or 104 million, according to the 2011 census, and a large percentage of the Nepalese population. They comprise a substantial indigenous minority of the population of India and Nepal.

- **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC):** It was one of the most important organizations of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s. It emerged from a student meeting organized by Ella Baker held at Shaw University in April 1960.

1.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The term 'social movements' was introduced in 1850 by the German sociologist Lorenz von Stein, in his book, *History of the French Social Movement from 1789 to the Present* (1850).

2. According to Herbert Blumer**:** 'Social movements can be viewed as collective enterprises to establish a new order of life. They have their inception in the condition of unrest and derive their motive power on one hand from dissatisfaction with the current form of life and on the other hand, from wishes and hopes for a new scheme or system of living.'

3. Three characteristics of social movements are:

    - It is a collective behaviour of the people who share common traits completely or partially.

    - It depicts some level of organization which may vary from a loose organizational structure, a club type, to the most highly organized structure like a party.

    - It is oriented towards the transformation of the state of affairs in the existing system. But, it is not necessary that a movement would always try to bring about progressive changes in the existing social order; on the contrary, it may demand restoration of old values only.

4. An ideal example of social movement organization is the civil rights movement that was a social movement comprising certain social movement organizations [like SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) or CORE (Congress of Racial Equality)].

5. Causes of social change are broadly categorized into three types:

   - Causes inherent in the social systems in general or in specific types of special systems
   - Causes born of the social environment of a particular social system
   - Causes arising of the non-social (physical) environment

6. Indians used the term 'vernacular' as an adjective for one or more of the following:

   - Language that is native to or commonly spoken by people of a specific country or region
   - Native language of an area, that is different from the literary language
   - Pertaining to or expressed in the local language or dialect

7. Jauhar was the practice of the self-immolation of the wives and daughters of warriors who were defeated battles. Jauhar was practiced in order to avoid capture and sexual harassment by the enemy.

8. The effects of conflict on children are well-documented. Family researchers generally agree that parental conflict is the biggest predictor of poor outcome for children. The most powerful determinants are the level and intensity of the conflict between parents, and whether the conflict is resolved. This is true no matter whether parents are married or divorced.

1.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. How has social movement been defined by various sociologists?
2. What are the basic elements of a social movement?
3. What are the characteristics of social movements?
4. What are the evolutionary theories of social change?
5. What caused the end of feudalism?
6. How did cultural factors affect the direction and character of social change?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe the feature and ideology of social movement.
2. Discuss social movement organizations and leadership.
3. Describe the types and phases of social movements.
4. Write a note on the educational development in India after independence.

5. Describe the impact of social change on the Indian subcontinent.

6. Paraphrase the major causes for rise of the customer culture in India during the British rule.

1.8 FURTHER READING

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UNIT 2   EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Structure

2.0 INTRODUCTION

It is a saying that no society is stagnant. Liberty, procedures and nature as well as the course of social change differs from time to time and society to society. Social movements are significant players in intensifying the processes of transformation, in addition to providing route to social changes. However, institutionalized social sciences have not focused much on social movements since a long time. This responsibility lies with social historians. Since social movements are visualized to go hand in hand with social disagreements, they are ignored by the structural-functional approach, the prevalent paradigm of the discipline that stresses upon agreement and balance.

Social movements have had significant role-play in Indian politics since much before the establishment of India as a new state in 1947. At the time of the Nehruvian age, from Independence to Nehru's demise in 1964, poverty mitigation was a basic standard in opposition to which policy schemes and political assertions were calculated; during this period, movement activism was straightaway liable to this state discourse. Nevertheless, the role of social movements in India has changed in the last quite a few decades along with a new political focus from state to market and from supreme ideologies of secularism to beliefs of religion-based nationalism. In the first level, for concentrating on poverty and category in its investigation of social movements, a team of India's prominent intellectuals shows how social movements were forced to undergo transformations because alleviation of poverty no more effectively functions in a political pattern. However, certain divisions of the politics of social movement continue to be the holding vessels for India's democratic ethics.

This unit discusses the various social movements of India like: peasant movement, Naxalbari movement, labour and trade union movements and autonomy movements in Assam with focus on Karbi-Dimasa and Bodo Movements. It also discusses the changing nature of these social movements.

2.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Identify the peasant movements in India
- Discuss the issues in underdeveloped areas
- Describe the aspects of labour and trade union movements
- Paraphrase autonomy movements in Assam
- Analyse the changing nature of social movements with reference to the old and new social movements

2.2 INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

It is important to distinguish between social change in general and social movements. Social change is continuous and ongoing. The broad historical processes of social change are the sum total of countless individual and collective actions gathered across time and space. Social movements are directed towards some specific goals. It involves long and continuous social effort and action by people.

Peasant Movements

Peasant movements in India are generally classified on the basis of periods into pre-British, British or colonial and post-independence. The post- independence period is classified by some scholars into pre-Naxalbari and post-Naxalbari periods, or pre- and post-green revolution periods. The latter period is further divided into pre- and post-emergency. Oommen (1985) observes that there are certain movements which have continuity, despite the change in political power. These are movements which started during the pre-independence phase, have continued till today, though their goals have changed. The classification is based on a span of time because it is believed that the agrarian structure has undergone changes during different periods and that the nature of peasant movements varies under different agrarian structures.

A.R. Desai (1986) classifies colonial India into ryotwari areas under British territory, zamindari areas under princely authority and tribal zones. The struggles in these areas had different characteristics, raised different issues, involving different strata of the peasantry and tribals. Desai prefers to call struggles in the colonial period, 'peasant struggles' and those of the post-independence era, 'agrarian struggles'. The phase 'agrarian struggles' is meant to convey that they involve not only peasants but others as well. He further divides post-independence

agrarian struggles into two categories: 'movements launched by the newly emerged proprietary classes comprising rich farmers, viable sections of the middle peasant proprietors and streamlined landlords and movements launched by various sections of the agrarian poor in which the agrarian proletariat have been acquiring central importance'. Gail Omvedt classifies struggles into old and new, the former as peasants' and the latter as farmers' movements. Different scholars use different classificatory systems, depending upon the period and issues involved. However, there was no unified agrarian structure throughout the country, either under the princely states or British territory during the colonial period. Similarly, though a centralized political authority and capitalist mode of production have become driving forces in post-independence India, the agrarian structure has not yet evolved a unified pattern throughout the country. Gujarat, Maharashtra and Punjab have developed more intensive and widespread capitalist agriculture than Bihar, Orissa and Uttar Pradesh. The classification also varies according to one's theoretical framework. Kathleen Gough (1974) classifies peasant revolts on the basis of their 'goals, ideology and methods of organization'. According to her, there were five types of peasant revolts:

- Restorative rebellions to drive out the British and restore earlier rulers and social relations
- Religious movements for the liberation of a region or an ethnic group, under a new form of government
- Social banditry
- Terrorist vengeance with the idea of meting out collective justice
- Mass insurrections for redressal of particular grievances

This classification, though useful, is nevertheless unsatisfactory. It is based on the apparent goals of the revolts, rather than on the classes of the peasants involved and the strategies that they adopted in attaining their goals. It also ignores some important peasant movements which were linked to the nationalist movement in some way or the other.

Protest movements based on caste or religious identity and consciousness, but basically, a response generated by the emergence of capitalist mode of production and hence, directed against repressive social and cultural practices. Secular movements arose, but rejected caste identity and consciousness and appealed to the 'rationality' and 'brotherhood' of man.

The peasants revolted against exploitation and oppression when their economic condition deteriorated. These changes may be classified under three heads:

- Deterioration of their economic condition due to price rise, famine, etc.
- Structural changes, which cause an increase in the exploitation of peasants, consequently deteriorating their condition.
- Rising aspirations of peasants to improve their condition.

Most of these studies on the peasantry, carried out during the pre- or post-independence periods, assert that at a given point of time when the peasants revolted, their economic condition was deteriorating. L Natarajan, in his study on the 1875 Maratha uprising, observes that 'meanwhile the conditions of farmers were deteriorating rapidly, cotton prices, which had sky-rocketed during the American Civil War in the 'sixties had fallen into a deep slump. Together with this, all other agricultural prices had started to fall rapidly. There was a general agricultural repression. Farmers' cash income suffered a disastrous blow.

The rise in prices of inferior food grains consumed by tenants and agricultural labourers was one of the factors underlying agrarian unrest in north India during 1918-22. Kapil Kumar observes, 'Another important factor responsible for tensions in the rural society of Oudh was the rise in prices of essential commodities, especially during the war period' (1984: 58). The peasants of Kheda, in Gujarat, joined the Satyagraha in 1918 because of their deteriorating condition during World War I. The Kharif crop of 1917 had failed and prices of various commodities, including wages of labourers increased (Hardiman 1981a). Deteriorating conditions were an important factor for the Telangana (1946-51) and Tebhaga (1946-47) movements in Andhra and West Bengal. A series of revolts by agricultural labourers and tenants in the late 1960s and 1970s of this century were also parodies due to the rise in prices of essential commodities.

However, some scholars feel that the relationship between high prices and the peasant struggle do not have a significant correlation; at most, a relationship between the two can be 'established in very general terms'. In fact, Sunil Sen goes further and argues that, 'There is evidence to show that the peasants, living in scattered villages, often rose in struggle when the situation appeared to be favourable; they hardly embarked on a revolution when their misery was at its most acute'. However, Henningham does not seem to support Sunil Sen's position. He warns against 'simple minded economic determinism' and stresses the intervention of organization and ideology in launching and sustaining peasant movements.

The modern history of India would be characterized by uninterrupted turmoil, instead of consisting of long periods of relative quiet, punctuated by outbursts of popular fury and generally by short lived agitation over particular issues. In addition to economic deprivation, the eruption of subaltern groups into political action required suitable occasion and the articulation of a moral justification in terms of their consciousness. The studies on peasant movements in the post-independence period overemphasized the so-called 'objective conditions' and ignored subjective consciousness and the intervention of political parties in organizing the peasants.

Famine was almost a regular feature of rural India in the 18th and 19th centuries, and it has continued to be so to some extent, even after independence, though it is now called 'drought' and not famine. Poor people live in conditions resembling famine, as they are unable to buy food which is, at times, scarce and expensive. Some scholars believe that Indian peasants did not revolt against authority even at the time of severe crises in which their very survival was at stake.

It is sad to note the political capacity of our people despite terrible sufferings of the masses and the mass-deaths of workers and peasants and the outbreaks of cholera and other epidemics. In the wake of starvation and consumption of even dead fellow men (cannibalism), no real and effective mass protest was organized by anyone or any organization against the inhuman state of things.

While analysing the Bengal famine of 1943-44, Paul Greenough (1982) argues that due to 'reciprocity' between peasant proprietors and labourers, the former accept the moral responsibility to help the poor in times of hardship and distress. Though this relationship breaks during a famine, the starving peasants do not revolt because of their docile character.

Begar, Veth or Vethi (i.e., forced labour) was widely prevalent till independence. It is still prevalent, though in different forms. While discussing various peasant movements in Rajasthan between 1897 and 1941, Surana informs us that Begar was performed by peasants, including the members of the upper castes, for the rulers of Mewar. The agricultural labourers and members of the lower castes were compelled to do all kinds of jobs, including supplying water to the ruler's family, constructing buildings, roads, dams, carrying dead and wounded soldiers to their destination during and after war, etc.

The persons doing Begar were very often beaten, they were not given adequate food, women doing the Begar were insulted and molested, there was no consideration of rough weather and no time limit was fixed for it. Carts and animals were demanded to carry loads from one place to the other. Terrible atrocities were attached to the system. So much so; that a few persons died in the process.

During the peasant movement in Oudh (1919-22), the peasants took a pledge that they would not work as labourers without payment and those who violated the pledge experienced social boycott. The poor peasants and labourers of Telengana revolted against the Begar system. The poor Rajputs of Banaskantha in Gujarat launched a movement against forced labour in the early 1950s. This system continued in eastern India in the late 1960s against which the peasants fought. This is popularly known as the Naxalite movement.

The landlords or rulers imposed various kinds of taxes on peasants to meet the expenses of royal families. These taxes were customary and new taxes were invented as and when the rulers required more money. Their requirements varied and included all kinds of unnecessary needs. In one district in Uttar Pradesh, the landlord imposed a cess called 'gramophoning' when his son desired to buy a gramophone. Such indiscriminate imposition of taxes was a contributory factor in the Oudh revolt (Kumar 1984) and the peasant movements in Mewar between 1897 and 1915. Excessive taxation imposed by the Nizam was also one of the causes of the Telengana movement. Besides taxes, raising the land rent by the landlords was one of the factors in the peasant revolts in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh and in some parts of Andhra Pradesh in the early 19th century. Eviction of tenants as cultivators by moneylenders, landlords or government officers, was one of the causes for widespread disturbances in the last century.

In the 1870s, as a result of the East India Company's auctioning land for the collection of land revenue, government officers and traders became the owners of land in Bihar and Bengal. The new owners raised the rent and they evicted cultivators to get more rent; the widespread rebellion in 1857 was due to the collusion between British officers and moneylenders, which allowed the urban traders-cum-moneylenders to usurp land.

Leaders are responsible for translating objective causes into subjective consciousness and mobilizing peasants. It is the contention of some scholars that peasants by themselves cannot lead any revolutionary movement. Shanin (1972) argues that conventional peasant struggles can never presume an authentically political nature except if they are taken over by leaders who belong to the social fraternity that is politically more developed than the peasants themselves. Kapil Kumar concludes from his study on the peasant revolt in Uttar Pradesh that, 'the peasant leadership on its own part, failed to coherently articulate the demand for the abolition of feudalism. Their lack of a clear cut ideology failed them when they needed it most, in the face of a crisis. Jacques Pouchepadass observes that the educated intelligentsia provided leadership to most of the peasant movements, during the nationalist period. Their role was significant in the Champaran movement.

The rebellion was not caused by urban intellectuals, as they were not even able to agitate the peasants 'from the top'. However, this time, the annoyed peasants themselves invited intellectuals, so as to broaden and intensify the extent of their movement. This mediation also helped the local agitation to develop into a cross-district agitation and even spread to an extent into the adjacent indigo districts. More importantly, this mediation gave rise to a sweeping shift in the purpose of the movement. The agitation transformed from intermittent eruptions of aggression against individual planters or industrial units. It turned into a worldwide challenge of the Champaran indigo question.

Partha Chatterjee also points out that 'the middle-class intelligentia which had lost its ties of material interest with the land, provided organized cadres of the new parties of mass mobilization. Their intention provided a radical edge to the anti-landlord demands of the tenancy. However, it has continued to display ambivalence towards the progressive historical potentiality of the new contradiction.

By and large, studies on the peasant insurgence ignore the organizational aspects of the movements: the organization which formulates programmes and takes decisions, brings about effective coordination between the units, etc. Most of the studies give an impression that the peasant agitations were spontaneous, and they did not have any organized structure.

Naxalbari Movement

The Naxal movement in India has a history of nearly four decades. States having lopsided economic development and poor in human development are the worst affected ones. The movement focused on the following:

- The central issues

- Violent character of this movement

- Its social and economic structure

- Proper approach to tackle this problem from the perspective of Governance

- Internal security problem that needed to be addressed on priority

- Recent trends in the Naxal movement in India

- Addressing of terror merely as law and order problem or a wider perspective to look into the movement; and lastly

- Formulation of remedies as policy guidelines for the state, administrators and other agencies.

Here we view the problem from a human rights perspective, where, not merely the police, paramilitary personnel or Salwa udum activists but also the Naxal groups have violated the basic tenets of the right to live, natural rights and human right.

The Naxal movement traces its ideology to the Chinese leader Mao Tse Tung's idea of organized peasant rebellion This rebellion rejects parliamentary democracy and believes in capturing political power through prolonged armed struggle, based on guerrilla warfare by building bases in rural and remote areas and transforming them first into guerrilla zones and then, as liberated zones. The eventual objective is to install a Naxal/Maoist government. In Maoist thought, political power comes from the barrel of the gun and peasantry can be mobilized to undertake an armed struggle involving guerrilla warfare.

The term, Naxalism, originated from Naxalbari, a small village in West Bengal where Charu Majumdar, Kanu Sanyal and Jangam Santhal organized a violent uprising in 1967 and tried to develop a revolutionary opposition against the official CPI (M) leadership. They organized the All India Coordination Committee of Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR) and broke away from CPI(M). Uprisings were organized in several parts of the country. In 1969, the AICCCR gave birth to the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist). Practically all Naxalite groups trace their origin to the CPI(ML). However, the Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) evolved out of the Dakshin Desh-group. MCC later fused with People's War Group to form the Communist Party of India (Maoist).

2.2.1 British Policies in Colonial India

The Permanent Settlement of 1793 introduced by Lord Cornwallis, the then Governor General of India, brought the western feudal relationship in India which was based on private ownership of land. On the other hand, in India, since ages there was a communal ownership of land wherein land did not belong to a king, a feudal lord or any individual, but to the village community. The haphazard and complex land relations, accumulation of vast tracts of lands in the hands of a few, were the result of the British policies in order to create a landlord class. This landlord class was created so that it could act as a reactionary element against

the people and a support base for the interest of British Raj in India. However, the absentee landlordism further exposed the people to severe exploitation at the hands of the intermediaries of the Zamindars.

Policies in Independent India

After 1947, the Government of Independent India abolished the Zamindari Act of 1948 and introduced a new and modified one in 1954. Similar other legislations were passed, still the feudal elements manipulated and laws could not be implemented in a large part of the country, especially in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The lopsided development created backward and underdeveloped areas, which are today the nodal centre of Naxal activities. In Uttar Pradesh the Zamindars were permitted to retain land that were declared to be under their personal cultivation, without properly and loosely defining the term 'personal cultivation', which gave the scope to Zamindars to retain most of their land. However the Kumarappa Committee on Agrarian Reforms had specified that only those who put in a minimum amount of physical labour and participate in actual agricultural operations could be said to be performing personal cultivation. The draft bills were prolonged indefinitely to suit the interest of the feudal. After enactment of the law, the Judiciary was used to the defer implementation of the land ceiling laws.

Issues in Underdeveloped Areas

Dalits and Adivasis form one out of four parts of India's population. Out of this part, Dalits comprise 16 per cent and Adivasis, 8 per cent. The majority of them live in rural areas. It is interesting to look into the issues which are the life blood for extremism in such tribal and dalit-dominated backward areas. The various commissions and reports, such as: National Commission on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; The Government of India Report of the Expert Group on Prevention of Alienation of Tribal Land and its Restoration, 2004; Report of An Expert Group to Planning Commission on Development and Challenges in Extremist Affected Areas 2008; and also various Civil Rights Group's report have identified a number of issues and problems which have been the trigger for people's mobilization towards violence and left extremism.

India has a long history of moneylenders exploiting the people during the pre-colonial period. The issue of usury, land alienation and widespread displacement due to various big infrastructure projects, viz., big dams, mining, roads, etc., had caused mammoth protests in contemporary India, in the form of ecological movements. Issues pertaining to forest, insecure tenancy, imperfect market conditions, limited employment opportunities, political marginalization, illiteracy, human rights violation, poor health and nutrition, loss of tribal rights and command over resources, administrative failure in implementation of protective regulation, etc., are the various causes of grievances on the part of the dalits and tribals of rural India. In recent times, in order to establish Naxal control over common property, such as minor irrigation sources, rivers and sandbanks etc., has become a major agenda of struggle against the feudal and mafia groups.

It has been observed that the growth model adopted since independence has provoked the existing dissatisfaction among discarded sections of society, since this is insensitive to the needs and concerns of the poor causing displacement, destroying social organizations, ethnic character and resource base and has caused numerous disputes crippling their communal harmony and making them more susceptible to exploitation.

Grievances on wages, equal wages for equal work for men and women, better working conditions, homestead land, etc., are more or less common demands of the rural folk throughout the country. Issues of corruption in village panchayats and block offices, where money intended for relief to the rural poor or for the benefit of small and middle peasants is siphoned off by corrupt officials in league with powerful landlords and other groups, are also important in unrest and mobilization towards extremism. One of the Naxal leaders has indeed expressed her justifications to resort to violence, 'We have been suffering for generations. We are the one who slog in the fields to feed the people of this country, but in exchange we get hunger and humiliation. If we cannot get rid of those who are responsible for this situation, we will never find a release from this. We must remove them.' However, despite such inherent anguish and disappointment from the state and its elitist policies, violence can have no takers.

It has been observed that some of the district courts in areas controlled by the Naxalites witnessed a drop in criminal cases. The district court at Palamu in Bihar recorded just 1,600 cases in 1997 against 2,400 the previous year. More people are interested to approach Naxalite courts where the sentences vary from imposition of fine and public lashing to chopping off limbs and death sentence. These 'Jan adalats' even settle domestic problems including Muslim divorce and maintenance. However, such practices cannot be allowed to continue, since they are against the rules of governance, human rights and the rule of law.

Although Naxalites have addressed some issues of poor governance in a few areas, for example, distributed government lands among poor, helped scheduled tribes to occupy forest lands, helped in increase of wages for bidi workers and tendu leaf gatherers, also checked begging or forced labour, opened schools and constelled check dams, roads and health centers in rural areas, the methods used for doing these were illegal, criminal, violent and objectionable. Not only this, such measures are required for their very survival and having their root among these deprived people. According to the police, the Naxalites collect at least ₹100 crore a year from government offices and contractors of tendu leaves, katha, coal, bauxite and timber. They use the money for purchasing arms and ammunition and expansion of their network.

The issue of violation of human rights has surfaced time and again. In its 1996-97 report that the National Human Rights Commission stated that the evidence on record did not show in that any of the cases any prior attempt was made by the police to arrest the deceased persons. The report observed that in none of these encounters, police personnel receive any injury. In addition to this, no attempt was made to ascertain the identity of police officers who fired the bullets that caused the deaths and that no attempt was made to investigate

the circumstances under which the police opened fire. The report concluded that the Commission felt it necessary to conclude that the procedure followed by the police was opposed to law.

The targeted violence by Naxals estimated to have killed at least 460 people in the first half of 2006. This estimate provided by New Delhi based Asian Centre for Human Rights (ACHR), indicated that the total fatalities includes 90 security personnel, 189 suspected Naxalites and 181 civilians in the Naxal affected states during January - June 2006.

Human Rights Violation

By 1995, mass organizations in the Dandakaranya region, which received the various streams of Bengali refugees from East Pakistan after the partition of India, swelled to a membership of 60,000 and latest sources show the membership has crossed 150 thousand. These members are the avowed supporters of Naxalites. Merely in 2005, in the reported 380 incidents of attack, the people killed were 165. Today, the Naxal Movement is active in about 125 districts, spreading over 12 states. According to a recent estimate Maoist activity has spread to 231 of the 626 districts in the country. According to the Union Home Ministry's sources, 11 areas out of 40 districts are the most sensitive.

On 1 July 2001, nine left wing extremist outfits active in India, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh formed an umbrella organization, the Coordination Committees of Maoist Parties and Organizations (CCOMPOSA), with a purpose to unify and coordinate the activities of the Maoist parties and organizations in South Asia. At the fourth conference of the Coordination Committee of the Maoist Parties and organizations of South Asia (CCOMPOSA) in August 2006 held in Nepal, the Maoists of the South Asian countries passed the resolution to advance the armed struggle for the seizure of power in the respective countries. They became successful in their endeavour in Nepal. Linkages between the Nepalese Maoists and their Indian counterparts are a cause of concern for India because it shares a 1,690 km porous border with Nepal. All these South Asian Maoist organizations and parties are also members of an international organization called the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM).

Internal security is in constant threat due to ideological, strategic and organizational linkages between the CPI-Maoist and the CPN-Maoist and misuse by terrorist outfits. The evidence of linkages are also shown in the annual report of the Directorate of Revenue Intelligence of India for the year 2004-05, which states that arms belonging to Naxalites are finding their way to the underworld. India's intelligence agencies have evidence to prove that external Naxalite agencies are providing Indian Naxalites with sophisticated weaponry and know-how for making and using impoverished explosive devices. The cache of weapons and ammunition seized from them by the police are the evidence of this.

Maoists have established specialized scientific divisions, which engage information technology specialists on monthly payroll to put together strategies to develop more powerful explosives, intercept governmental communication and

get the newest update on methods of guerrilla combat. The specialists also draw maps of several government infrastructures and drafts of places of detention. Maoists are equipped with the expertise to set up treacherous landmines. Their scientific wing is equipped with the most modern technology. They have computers, laptops and professionals and they also possess the technology to intercept wireless messages of police, decode them and pass it on to their red squad.

Ample and continuous financial resources are required for the survival of Naxalite groups with such a vast base of cadres and for running the armed movement. They know the thick dense forests that sprawl from north Bihar, around Nepal to north Kerala, passing through Jharkhand, West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, like the back of their hands. They have plotted this extensive belt of forest as the red corridor with plans to convert it into a liberated Maoist Zone. They have control over teakwood and timber trade in the forests of Vidarbha region in Maharashtra and they have almost complete control over forest product marketing. Besides, they have set a parallel administrative system in the tribal dominated pockets of Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, wherefrom they collect all taxes from people. Even, in many parts of Orissa, they undertake large-scale marijuana cultivation and illegal trading to generate revenue for their survival and operations. Now, with an aim to have a greater control over the national economy, the Naxals have eyed upon the iron ore mines. Chhattisgarh and Orissa have most of the iron ore mines that are easy approachable from the Red Corridor boundaries.

The USA has designated the Communist Party of India (Maoist), a group of concern. In 2005, Naxalite violence had claimed 669 lives including those of 153 police personnel in 1594 incidents as against 556 casualties in 1533 incidents in 2004. The quantum of Naxal violence has shown marginal increase of about 4 per cent in 2005, over 2004, while resultant casualties have however gone up by 18.1 per cent.

In Orissa a recently issued white paper on the state of law and order in the state, the government came out with the following figures: out of 30 districts within the state, 14 were under Naxal operations. Infectious diseases have been the order of the day, since decades, with high infant mortality rates. Nevertheless, in spite of the fact that the state is struck by poverty, unexpectedly, not even five per cent of the populations have access to subsidized food.

According to government sources, 76 districts in the 9 states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand, Odisha, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal are badly affected by violence, though in varying degrees. Karnataka, Tamil Nadu feature in the Naxalite affected map. Kerala can be considered a targeted state, as no serious incidents were reported in the last few years. Extremists came out in the open when they kidnapped 14 daily wage labourers from Pudamal village of Sambalpur on 8 February 2005 and demanded one lakh as ransom. This depicts the fast changing character of the Maoist. The ideological group is being converted to a mafia and criminal group.

In July 2005, the Director General of Police Chhattisgarh, Mr. O. P Rathore, said that more than 40, 000 square miles spread over 10 out of the 16 districts of the state was under the operational sphere of the Naxalites.

National Human Rights Commission has observed serious human rights violation by Naxalites, in its report on Chhattisgarh in the following words: 'Whenever any villager tried to question their conduct or raise his voice, he was silenced forever. In some of the massacres, many innocent victims were killed by the Naxalites in the most despicable manner, including repeated stabbing and slitting of the victims' throats in front of other hostages or villagers after trial in so-called Jan Adalats. However, Commission has also indicted Salwa udum for the human rights violation as Salwa udum activists are engaged in beating up and forcing the people to join them in rallies and processions.

Orissa is in all probability, the only state affected by narco-terrorism within the mode of operation of Left wing extremists. The local media has frequently focused on Naxals being more and more active in the growth, agriculture and smuggling of marijuana. Out-of-the-way areas of Malkangiri and Redhakhol have huge plantations of marijuana owned by the Naxal groups.

A Naxalite who has given himself up recapitulates thirty years of Naxal Movement in Chhattisgarh as follows: 'For 25 years, they have been here. Earlier they would sweet-talk promising to stop exploitation of Adivasis; they said they would form the government. They made fools of us. They harass us after the police ask questions; they even take away our young girls. Then, they began to kill. They claim to hold jan adalats before doing out punishments or execution orders, but I never saw one.'

Among the various affected states, Kerala in recent time has faced the problem of left extremism. The State police are expecting 'direct action' from Left extremist groups, similar to the one which was carried out by 'Porattam' at the Kerala Nodal office of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) consultancy in April 2002. That was a reaction to the economic policies pursued by the State Government. Police sources said that the participants of 'Porattam', who carried out the attack at the ADB consultancy office had close links with the 'Ayyankali Pada', which became notorious when it held hostage the then Palakkad District Collector on 4 October 1996. They are very dissimilar to dedicated Naxalite groups which make use of guerrilla tactics to conduct terrorist attacks and such groups have a highly committed cadre drawn from among intellectuals, impressionable youth Dalits, Adivasis and labourers in Kerala. In 2008 the People's March magazine, which is suspected to be the unofficial mouthpiece of the CPI-Maoist, has been banned by the Ernakulam district administration in Kerala.

Salwa udum or anti-Naxal movement initiated by the government has so far not acted as a very credible and long lasting solution. Over 300 people have been killed by Naxalites in Chhattisgarh in the aftermath of the Salwa udum campaign. We need a remedy which can treat the roots of the problem.

Modifications are required in Land Acquisition Act and also effective implementation of protective laws in favour of Schedule Castes and Schedule Tribes. There is need for extension of Panchayati Raj and equally important are the policies of negotiations, engagements and talks. The toughest obstacle to overcome is to blend a flawless policing policy with a well-synchronized, receptive and comprehensive national approach, to deal with the complaints of the sections of the unemployed and the poor.

As per the Union Home Ministry's statistics, the Ministry sanctioned ₹ 200.14 lakh for Security Related Expenditure (SRE) during the year 2005-06. For the same period it had also released ₹ 500 lakh, as advance, under the head of SREs. Naxalism is an inter-state problem and the states need to adopt a collective response to combat it. The states are required to improve effective and sustained police action against Naxalites and their infrastructure. The states from where Naxal activity and Naxal violence is reported should have a different approach with special focus on accelerated socio-economic development of the backward areas and regular interaction with NGOs, intelligentsia, civil society groups, etc., to minimize over ground support for Naxalite ideology and activity.

There should be a significant involvement of mass media for bringing to fore the futility of Naxal violence, damage to life and property as its consequences and growth plans of the government in the concerned belts, so that people retain faith and confidence in the system of governance. Competent officers are needed to be stationed with a consistent term in the Naxal affected areas. They should be more entrusted and flexible to perform better and boost government authority in these territories. There is also a need to have an effectual surrender and rehabilitation plans for Naxalites and parallel incentives which can help them return to the conventional way of life.

The other areas of attention should be: allocation of land to those deprived of land as a component of the prompt realization of the land reforms, ensure progress of physical infrastructure like roads, communication, power, etc. and provide service prospects to the youth in these regions. Since on the whole, the remedial activities by the concerned states pertaining to Naxalites killed, arrested, surrendered and weapons confiscated from them has revealed much better results in 2005, there is a pressing need to additionally develop and reinforce police response by the states. This can be done by enhancing actionable intelligence network and division methods and consolidating their police forces.

There is need to modernize the police force in terms of modern weaponry, latest communication equipment, mobility and other infrastructure. The insurance scheme for police personnel and community policing can further help if implemented on a committed level. For the purpose of incrementing the efforts of the states to respond effectively to Naxalite violence, positioning of central paramilitary forces is being carried out on a long-term basis. However, there is a need to have a proper coordination between the police and paramilitary forces.

The Central Government has allocated monetary assistance of ₹ 2,475 crore for 55 Naxal affected areas in the nine states of Andhra Pradesh, Bihar,

Chhattisgarh, Orissa, Jharkhand, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. This assistance comes under the Backward Districts Initiative (BDI) scheme of the Rashtriya Sam Vikas Yojana (RSVY). In this scheme, an amount of ₹ 12 crore annually has been allocated to every district for a time period of three years so that they can bridge the crucial gaps in physical and social development, in the Naxal affected areas. The Planning Commission has been asked to bring in other Naxal-affected areas under their Scheme of Backward Regions Grant Funds (BRGF), for which a sum of ₹ 5,000 crore was fixed from the fiscal year (2005-06) onwards. However, the proper utilization of these funds and grants has to be looked into, for development of the affected districts.

In order to address the areas of disaffection among the tribal areas, the government has introduced the Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2005, in Parliament on 13 December 2005. Further, to facilitate social and physical infrastructure in the forest areas, Ministry of Environment and Forests has, as requested by the Ministry of Home Affairs, released a common sanction to permit such infrastructure by making use of up to one hectare of forest land for non-forest purposes. However, making a protective legislature and implementing are two different things. We have enough protective legislation in our country but due to poor implementation the problem has reached a chronic level.

If land reforms are taken up as the main concern and the landless and the underprivileged in the Naxalite zones are allotted additional land, this would go a long way in dealing with the expansion facet of the Naxal problem. Instructions have been given to the states to focus more on in this domain for speeding up projects of development and generate job prospects in the Naxal influenced regions with additional focus on creation of material infrastructure in terms of roads, communication, power as also social infrastructure like schools, hospitals, etc.

The tensions must be contextualized in terms of social, economic and political backgrounds. The people's right to livelihood and a dignified and honourable existence must be brought back to the agenda. The State has to adhere strictly to the Rule of Law. The right to protest, even peacefully, must be recognized by the authorities, who are instead inclined to meet even non-violent agitations with severe repression. What is surprising given this is not the fact of unrest itself, but the State's failure to draw the right conclusions from it.

2.2.2 Labour and Trade Union Movements

In the earlier centuries, jute and cotton textiles and plantations absorbed the largest number of wage labour in India. As early as 1874 Sasipada Banerjee, a Brahmo social reformer started philanthropic and educational work among the jute mill workers of Calcutta. However, his education was about how to be good workers. The first campaign against the slavish condition of labour in the tea plantation of Assam was started by Bengali intellectuals like Dwaraka Nath Ganguli in the 1980s.

However, the first attempt at organizing industrial workers with shorter working hours (as stipulated by the Factory Acts of 1881 and 1891) took place in Bombay in the 1880s. Twenty-five important strikes have been recorded in Bombay and Madras between 1882 and 1890 and several big strikes in Bombay and Madras from 1892-93 and 1901. 'A new note of militancy was evident among Calcutta jute workers', writes Sumit Sarkar. By the middle of the 1890s, labour was becoming restless though no trade union did yet emerge. The swadeshi agitation in Bengal following the partition decision gave a boost to strikes in the Bengal industries owned by British capitalists. The first political strike took place in 1908 in Bombay, following the arrest of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Two major strikes took place immediately after World War I: one at Ahmedabad textiles in 1918 in the settlement of which Gandhi had a role and the other, at Bombay textiles in 1919 which encompassed the entire textile worker population. The strike spread to the clerks of mercantile houses, dock labourers and railway engineering workers. The post-war inflation had been the primary cause of these strikes. In this strike, the Home Rule League of Annie Besant played an active role.

The Home Rule League helped in development of the first trade union in the country, in April 1918, at the Madras Labour Union. The establishment of trade unions picked momentum by November 1920, when the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) met in Bombay. 125 trade unions had come into being.

The formation of the All India Trade Union Congress was necessitated by the foundation of the International Labour Organization that gave representation to trade unions of different countries. Lala Lajpat Rai became its first chairman and Dewan Chaman Lal was its first secretary. Though almost all liberal politicians (including Annie Besant. Motilal Nehru. Vitthalbhai Patel and Mohammad Ali Jinnah) attended the first conference. Gandhi totally boycotted it and his Ahmedabad Majdoor Mahajan remained outside its fold forever. This could be much due to Gandhi's dislike for liberal politicians, as his distrust in the concept of class conflict. It was a few years later that the Congress organizationally took command of the AITUC. The official Congress history, by Sitaramayya, does not mention the foundation of AITUC.

However, then the ILO was not promoting class conflicts. Its aim was conflict resolution between workers and employers. Reviewing the second session of the AITUC, M.N. Roy noted in 1922 that most of the important unions were headed by English skilled workers, indirectly connected with the government or humanitarian reformists, without any concept of class struggle by opportunist nationalist politicians.

Indian communists could penetrate the field of organized trade unions only in 1927. In 1928, the AITUC affiliated itself with the league against imperialism. In 1929, Jawaharlal Nehru became the president of AITUC and S.A. Dange was appointed its general secretary. In 1931, under the impact of sectarianism, the communists led by B. T. Ranadive left the AITUC and formed the Red Trade Union Congress. They returned in 1935.

Moderate leaders like N.M. Joshi had walked out of the AITUC before the communists. They also returned to the AITUC fold in 1938. During the Quit India movement, when most of the nationalist and socialist Congress leaders were in jail, the communists' grip over the AITUC became firm. In May 1947, the Congress walked out of the AITUC and formed the Indian National Trade Union Congress.

Labour militancy in the inter-war period has two waves; in 1928-29, with the early shadow of the Great Depression falling on India and in 1937-38, before the Second World War began. The first wave began with the workers' strike in the Tata industries at Jamshedpur, only to be defeated. This passed on to the Southern Railways, where the strike was crushed and came to a peak in the Bombay textile strike. The Meerut conspiracy case against the communists was partly a result of British panic over the strikes. It certainly stemmed the tide of labour movement. Besides, Gandhiji's Civil Disobedience movement had no place for labour agitation. As a result, the labour activity fell sharply. It also resulted in a temporary split in the AITUC with the formation of the Red Trade Union Congress in 1931. It revived in1937-38, partly being encouraged by the popular ministries coming to office in the provinces. But then, the beginning of the war crushed activism by means of the Defence of India Rules. Soon, the labour scene got confused with the difference between communists and other nationalists.

2.2.3 Autonomy Movements in Assam (Karbi-Dimasa and Bodo Movements)

In the past, North-East India has been characterized by movements for the affirmation of national or ethnic distinctiveness. These types of movements have shown significant differences in the field of essential immediate goals and in the adoption of different strategies. In Assam, committee such as the Bodos, Karbis and Dimasa have resorted to political agitations for achieving autonomous territorial existence. Different strategies have been adopted by these movements. These movements have also differed at different stages of confrontation with the Indian state. The Hill-State movement and the Karbi-Dimasa movement have been excellent in the use of peaceful and democratic methods of agitation. The Assam Movement was also largely non-violent. The Nagas and the Mizos organized armed confrontation against the might of the Indian army. The Bodo agitation was marked by incidents of violence and arson. Affirmation of identity for them implies benefits such as reservation of jobs, scholarships and extension of constitutional safeguards.

Let us now examine some important movements for autonomy in Assam:

Karbi-Dimasa Movement

An analysis of the principle and practice of autonomy in India as an exercise in self-governance and in addressing the issue of polyethnicity reveals that the foremost category of politics of self-governance in India has been the territorial

and administrative planning for delegation of power that often takes place within the agenda of the constitution.

The Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, as a legacy of the British policy of creating separate administrative blocks for different administrative styles within a particular framework, provides for Autonomous Councils for the hill districts of Assam. In this context, the Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council warrants an analysis from socio-political and administrative perspectives, set against a backdrop of historical evolution.

Background

After the Yandaboo Treaty of 24 February 1826 and the subsequent British occupation of Assam, the British initiated a process of providing for separate administrative arrangements for the hill areas of the region. Starting from 1874, all backward regions of British India, which essentially meant the hill areas, came to be administered under the Scheduled District Act 1874. These areas were kept out of the purview of general administration.

In 1919 the Scheduled District Act 1874 was repealed and all backward areas came to administered under the Government of India Act 1919. As per Section 52-A of the Government of India Act 1919, the Governor-General-in-Council was empowered to declare any area of British India as a 'Backward Tract'.

On 3 January 1921, Governor-General-in-Council acting under Section 52-A of Government of India Act 1919, declared the following areas as 'Backward Tracts'- 1. Garo hills, 2. British parts of Khasi and Jaintia hills (excluding Shillong Municipality and Cantonment), 3. Mikir hills (of Cachar District), 4. Naga hills, 5. Lushai hills, 6. Sadiya Frontier Tract, 7. Balipara Frontier Tract 8. Lakhimpur Frontier tract.

The Simon Commission reviewed the constitutional status of the hill areas of Assam. The Commission recommended that the 'backward tracts' be divided into two categories: (1) Excluded Area and (2) Partially Excluded Area. The White paper of 1933 regarding India's constitutional reforms accepted the report of the Simon Commission including its recommendations for dividing the 'backward tracts' into 'excluded and partially excluded areas'. Subsequently, the Government of India Act 1935 was enacted on the basis of the White Paper whereby the 'backward tracts' henceforth came to be divided into 'excluded and partially excluded areas.'

The Order-in-Council of 3 March 1935, declared the following areas as Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas:

Excluded Areas: Naga Hills, Lushai Hills District and North-East Frontier (Sadiya,Balipara and Lakhimpur) areas and North Cachar Hills.

Partially Excluded Areas: Mikir Hills District (of Nowgong and Sibsagar districts), Garo Hills, British parts of Khasi and Jaintiya Hills (excluding Shillong Minicipality and Cantonment areas).

Accordingly, till the dawn of independence, the tribal areas of North-East India were divided into two categories: Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas, with the Mikir Hills being a Partially Excluded Area.

In the run-up to India's independence, the Constituent Assembly earnestly took up the issue of Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas and their future status. Acting on the recommendations of Cabinet Mission, a sub-committee headed by Gopinath Bordoloi was called the North-East Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Areas Committee, more popularly known as the 'Bordoloi Committee.'

The Bordoloi Committee recommended that the hill areas be divided into two parts:

(i) Autonomous Areas

(ii) Non-Autonomous Areas

In the light of the above recommendations of the Bordoloi Committee, the Constitution of India, under the Sixth Schedule [Articles 244(2) and 275(1)], made special provisions as to the Administration of Tribal Areas in the States of Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram. The Sixth Schedule (para.20) of the Constitution, originally divided the tribal areas of Assam into Part A and Part B. North Cachar Hills District and Mikir Hills District were included in Part A.

Autonomous State Demand Committee

With the commencement of the Constitution on 26th January, 1950, steps were taken to constitute District Councils in all the six Hill districts of Assam. Under paragraph 2 of the Sixth Schedule to the Indian Constitution, the Government of Assam framed the Assam Autonomous District (Constitution of District Councils) Rules 1951. Accordingly, the Autonomous District Council of Karbi Anglong was constituted on 23.06.1952 with its headquarters at Diphu.

The State Reorganisation Commission was constituted in 1954 by the Government of India under the Chairmanship of Fazl Ali. From all the hill districts of Assam (other than Naga Hills) demands were made for the making of an independent hill State. In the year 1970 Meghalaya was created out of Assam. Assurances were given to the two hill districts of Karbi Anglong and N.C.Hills for granting more entrusted functions to the District Councils within the stipulations of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. However, it was felt by the leaders of the two districts that such assurances were not being fulfilled.

Thus an Autonomous State Demand Committee was constituted to safeguard the language, culture and tradition of the hill people of North Cachar Hills and Karbi Anglong even as it raised the demand for an autonomous State for Karbi Anglong and N.C.Hills under Art.244(A) of the Indian Constitution.

Accordingly, the struggle for an autonomous State within the State of Assam was launched in pursuance of Art.244(A) of the Indian Constitution as a means of securing administrative and political autonomy to the fullest extent possible. A series of bandhs were organized by the Karbi Anglong Autonomous State Demand Committee over a period of time. It observed a Karbi Anglong

State demand day on 17 June, 1986. The ASDC claimed to have observed a parallel Independence Day Programme on 15 August 1986 to fulfil the demand for the creation of an autonomous state. Protest marches, prayer meetings, etc., were organized in different parts of the district even as demands were raised for constituting an Autonomous State within Assam under Article 244-A of the Constitution comprising the two hill districts.

In an effort to prevent further reorganization and division of the State of Assam while at the same finding a solution within the framework of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, a Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the Autonomous State Demand Committee, Karbi Students' Association, North Cachar Hills Students' Federation, Dimasa Students' Union on the one hand and the Assam government on the other on April 1,1995, in the presence of the Union Home Minister. This led to the enhancement of the powers and functions of the Autonomous District Council of Karbi Anglong in terms of as many as thirty subjects/departments. Henceforth, the Autonomous District Council of Karbi Anglong was renamed as Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council.

Bodo Movement

Tracing the genesis of the movement for a separate Bodoland, Kokrajhar sub-division of erstwhile Goalpara district and Udalguri in Darrang district formed the cradle of the movement. As early as 1905, Guru Kalicharan Brahma from Kokrajhar, a disciple of Shibnarayan Parmhangsha, introduced the Brahma religion to the Bodo society with a view to unite the various Bodo groups under one religion with one God. This reformist movement had a far-reaching effect on the Bodo society. This brought the Bodo community into wider contact with the outside world and gradually generated a level of consciousness among them in terms of their ethnic identity. Yet the Bodo resurgence found its feet after independence with the language issue weighing on the minds of the Bodo elites. The formation of the Bodo Sahitya Sabha (BSS) at Basugoan, near Kokrajhar, on November 16, 1952 was to give a new dimension to the Bodo resurgence. Immediately after its inaugural meeting, the BSS presented a memorandum to the then Chief Minister of Assam, Mr. Bishnu Ram Medhi, seeking Bodo as the medium of instruction in Bodo areas. Initially, the government did not bother and in 1956 offered to introduce a Bodo primer, which was rejected by the BSS.

In 1966, the Bodo language was recognized up to the secondary stage of education in Assam. But the Assam Government did not take appropriate steps to implement this scheme. Dissatisfaction soon arose and the BSS took to agitation once again which reached its peak in 1968. It was sorted out later when the government and the BSS signed an accord envisaging a time-bound programme for the introduction of the Bodo medium. This phase of the agitation was triggered by the introduction of the Assam Official Languages Act (1960), making Assamese the sole official language of the State. Subsequently, the Assam Government granted the Bodo language the status of an associate official language in the Kokrajhar district and Udalguri sub-division. Meanwhile, the younger generation of tribal activists formed the Plains Tribal Council of Assam

(PTCA) at Kokrajhar on February 27, 1967, under the presidentship of Modoram Brahma. It demanded a political unit in the entire northern tract of Assam for the plains tribal of Assam, in response to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's proposal of January 13, 1967 to reorganize Assam on a federal basis. Influenced by the formation of the All Parties Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC) by the leaders of the hill tribes demanding separation from Assam, the leaders of the plains tribes in Assam demanded an autonomous region within Assam, with safeguards under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, to be known as *Udayachal*, so that the tribals could protect their land adequately, stop economic exploitation of the tribals by non-tribals, conserve their traditional culture and what is best in them, bring an end to political domination over non-tribals, and grow according to their genius.

In the late nineteen seventies, the PTCA leaders downgraded their earlier demand for a Union Territory to that for an Autonomous Region, leading to a split in the party, with the PTCA (Progressive) headed by Binoy Khungur Basumatary reviving the demand for separation from Assam. Meanwhile, since 1979, the Bodos had become actively involved in the anti-migrants Assam Agitation that saw the Bodos actively participating in it, with Upendranath Brahma carrying the mantle. However, when the AGP government came to power in the State after the agitation, the Bodo leaders including Upendranath Brahma were denied berths in the cabinet. At the same time, the spectacular mobilization achieved by the AASU leaders and the efficacy of their methods caught the attention of the Bodos, particularly the youth.

The accession of Upendranath Brahma to the presidentship of the All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) marked the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the Bodos. By early 1987, the ABSU completed its preparations for launching of a mass movement demanding a separate state for the Bodos to be known as the Bodoland. On March 2, 1987, the ABSU, under the presidentship of Upendranath Brahma formally declared the starting of a democratic and peaceful Gandhian mass movement for the creation of a separate state of Bodoland outside Assam on the north bank of the river Brahmaputra. The ABSU created a political organization, the Bodo Peoples' Action Committee (BPAC), to spearhead the movement. The ABSU/BPAC movement began with the slogan 'Divide Assam 50-50'. The focus on ethnic identity was sharper this time than in the previous *Udayachal* movement of the seventies, which had demanded a homeland for all the plains tribes in Assam. The Bodoland movement attempted to forge a 'larger Bodo nationality.'

After its initial phase, the Bodoland Movement came to be accompanied by outbursts of violence by the Bodo militants. The BodoVolunteer Force or the ABSU (VF) emerged as the militant wing to conduct an armed struggle. Dr. Phukan Chandra Bodo and later, Premsingh Brahma, were in-charge of this wing and were designated as chairman. The Bodo Volunteer Force actively participated in the movement. 'Quit notices' to the non-Bodo population were served to create a homogeneous Bodo population area. The state's response to this violent movement was the use of force through the army and other paramilitary forces. Accordingly, the ABSU movement exhibited two contradictory trends very clearly: non-violent protests through organizing mass rallies, processions, protest rallies, hunger strike,

road blockade, etc. and the other trend was violent in nature, with the ABSU (VF) carrying out an armed struggle including such activities such as bomb blasts at public places, dacoity to collect money and arms, firing on security personnel, etc.

After quite a few years of violent demonstrations, the Government of India and the Government of Assam signed an agreement with some key Bodo organizations. The bipartite Bodo Accord of 20 February 1993 provided for the creation of the Bodo land Autonomous Council (BAC). The treaty was not successful because a few of its fundamental requirements were not implemented practically and rigorous internal fighting between the Bodo groups and their leaderships made it impracticable to accomplish consistency within the BAC. Within five years after signing the accord, not a single election took place for the Bodo land Autonomous Council (the beginning functioning period of the council lost power long back). No accurate border line was drawn, denoting the sovereign tribal areas (consisting of the contiguous geographical areas between the rivers Sankosh and Mazbat).

Meanwhile, subsequent to the Accord, a section of the Volunteer Force declined to lay down arms as they disapproved of the scheme laid down by the Accord with the result that they formed the Bodo Liberation Tigers Force or BLTF to continue to fight for greater political autonomy. Subsequently, the struggle was beginning to turn aggressively exclusivist in nature. In fact, by 1986, with the formation of the Bodo Security Force (BdSF) which is now known as the National Democratic Front of Assam (NDFB), a militant movement running parallel to political efforts had already begun to take root.

The Bodoland Accord soon collapsed and violence erupted in Bodo areas. The scale of violence escalated as the movement progressed. Attacks on school buildings, markets, public buildings and bridges paralyzed normal life in the affected area. Bodo militants began an ethnic cleansing campaign in the proposed Bodoland area through targeted violence, extortions, kidnappings, etc. They attacked school buildings, bazaars, public buildings, railway stations, roads, bridges, etc., to pressurize the central as well as the state governments. Many innocent lives were lost in bomb attacks on buses, markets and public places. Large-scale violence was witnessed in the May 1996 Bodo-Adivasi clashes, which carried on for over two weeks. A second wave of attacks in May 1998 resulted in further distress migration. The spate of violence led to the displacement of some 70,000 people. Many people, inclusive of women and children were killed and thousands lost their homes in the spate of violence and counter-violence. Communities, both tribal and non-tribal, suffered police atrocities even as the ethnic divide deepened sharply.

The large-scale violence took a heavy toll not only in terms of killings, carnage and devastation of public and private property and forced exodus but also on further features of public life. This phase of the movement finally ended with the Memorandum of Settlement with the Bodo Liberation Tigers Force (BLTF) on February 10, 2003, and the establishment of an autonomous self-governing body to be known as the Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) within the State of Assam and to provide Constitutional protection under the Sixth Schedule of

the Constitution of India to the said Autonomous Body. It may be noted here that the tribal areas in Assam, Meghalaya, Tripura and Mizoram are specified in the Table appended to the Sixth Schedule (para. 20) in the Constitution. The tribal areas of Assam included the North Cachar Hills District and the Karbi Anglong District. Accordingly, the Sixth Schedule was applicable only to the hill areas of Assam. Accordingly, the Sixth Schedule was amended in the Bodo case as the community in question was basically a tribal group inhabiting the plains of the State. The region falling within the BTC jurisdiction is called the Bodo Territorial Area Districts (BTAD). The Council has the benefit of autonomy and the charge of departments specified in the Memorandum of Settlement on Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC), 2003. However, it is not in charge of the district administration.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Differentiate between social change and social movements.
2. How has A.R. Desai classified colonial India?
3. Name the five types of Peasant revolts according to Kathleen Gough.
4. What marked the Bodo agitation?

2.3 CHANGING NATURE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: OLD SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social movements are basically a type of group action which often make up of informal and large groups of people or organisations whose primary emphasis remains on specific social or political issues. Owing to this, in other words, these people and/or organisations carry out, resist or undergo a social change. The spread and dominance of education coupled with an increased ease of mobility of the labour force owing to proliferating industrialisation and urbanisation during the nineteenth century gave rise to Modern Western social movements. The relative economic independence, education and the freedom of expression which pervade in the modern Western world are all arguably responsible for the numerous social movements of the present-day. There is another critical perspective for the development of New Social Movements. Some are of the opinion that in the last century or so, some New Social Movements came about merely to oppose Western colonialism. For example, the Mau Mau in Kenya. Anyhow, it remains a widely accept fact that social movements largely remain connected with the democratic political systems. On several occasions a number of social movements have been involved in the growth of ideals of democracy in nations. However, these new social movements have flourished more after the process of democratization. These have also been the focus of popular global dissent over the last two hundred years or so.

The study of Political Science will be incomplete without the study of the New Social Movements as unlike the old-school or Traditional Social Movements the New School Movements are extremely participative and have a strong programme of actions. The emergence of the phenomenon of the New School Movements can be traced back to the post World War II period when in its end emerged a few new states in the Third World. In these new states, there was a greater demand for power distribution and political participation as they were formed with extraordinary expectations. However, it was no surprise than many new nations fell short of measuring up to the demands of its people and this may be construed as a causal reason for the appearance of the New Social Movements. During the post-war period, social deprivation was rampant and widespread despite significant betterment of conditions. Ironically over fifty per cent of the children in the developing world had not been inoculated against infectious diseases. Even to this day two-thirds of rural areas around the developing countries are still without clean drinking water and hygienic living conditions and corruption has been on an upswing too in these societies. In several countries socio-politico issues of authoritarianism and over centralization, lack of administrative capabilities along with a lax tax administration, etc. have proved to be a nurturing breeding ground for corruption. All these factors promoted the cause of social protest in the states. Hence a large number of new social movements originated from the under privileged section of the globe.

Charles Tilly defines social movements as a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people make collective claims on others. For Tilly, social movements are a major vehicle for ordinary people's participation in public politics. Sidney Tarrow defines a social movement as collective challenges by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interactions with elites, opponents and authorities. He specifically distinguishes social movements from political parties and advocacy groups. New social movements emerge around new scopes and range of politics. The environment, the rights, and role of women, health, food and nutrition, education, shelter and housing, the dispensation of justice, communications and the dissemination of information, culture and lifestyle, the achievement of peace and disarmament none of which were considered to be subject matter for politics in which ordinary people were involved, are major concerns for the new movements. They have brought to the fore conflicts over productive resources that were hitherto neglected or were peripheral to the concerns of political organizations. If the scene of the "traditional' class struggle was the field and the factory, the ecology movements represent a new kind of class struggle, one over natural resources like forests and water Likewise, the women's movement has insistently questioned the downgrading of certain forms of work on sexual grounds, both in the work place and within the household, and the barriers to the entry of women in many professions.

New social movements are distinctive in so far as they work outside the traditional party system. Much of their membership and force is the reflection of people's disappointment and frustration with and their search for alternatives to

the political process, political parties and the state. The new social movements in the West are predominantly middle-class based. This class composition of the social movements reflects the changing stratification of society from more to less bipolar forms. In the third world, social movements are predominantly popular among working class. This class stratum has more bases in the Third World and its members are much more absolutely and relatively subject to deprivation and injustice which mobilizes them in and through social movements. Moreover, the international and national burden of the economic crisis falls so heavily on the already low-income people as to pose- serious threats to their physical and economic survival and cultural identity. Therefore, they must mobilize to defend themselves through social movements in the absence of the availability or possibility of existing social and political institutions to defend them. These popular social movements and organizations are instruments and expressions of people's, struggle against exploitation and oppression.

'These popular movements have some middle-class leadership of middleclass intelligentsia, professionals, teachers, priests, etc. who offer their services as leaders, organizers or advisers to these community and other Third World social movements. In the process of initiating, organizing and directing the people' movements, these outside intellectuals become an organic part of the oppressed and exploited masses and do not exist outside the common people. They are called 'organic intellectuals1 because; they get organically allied with the common people in their ideological leanings and practical action

How Social Groups Function – Methodology

The new movements have evolved an effective methodology of working with the disadvantaged sections of society which in turn has helped them to grow as an alternative agency of social change. This is a methodology of critical intervention, creative action and participatory mobilization. These groups make a critical intervention in the sense that they offer a critique of the micro mechanisms of domination and exploitation in which their clients, i.e., the underdogs in a locality, are involved. To achieve this end these groups have devised a strategy of creative action, which comprises of theatre workshops and street plays among other things. Theatre workshop and street plays serve as an important medium not only for conscientising clients but also for sensitizing the participants to the problems at hand.

All this leads to participatory mobilization in which these groups organize their clients to defy unjust norms, to resist exploitation and oppression and to fight a militant though non-violent battle for their rights. Another aspect of the methodology of these action groups is the measure of openness, innovative spirit and experimental strategies that these groups employ. Another component of their methodology is participatory research. The experiences and experiments undertaken by the social activists who at once combine both the roles of catalyst and analyst are producing a new social science. These new social movements do not believe in a rigid hierarchy. Their organizational structure is horizontal in nature. As these organizations do not have a rigid hierarchy, the concept of the

leader and the led does not exist. The prominent members of these organizations prefer to call themselves organizers and not leaders. They represent a rejection of the unified, disciplined and militarized party machine, oriented toward seizure of the state and enforcement of a single ideological line.

The experiments of the New Social Movements prepare us for future desirable societies in the various ways that they manifest the true nature of crises of our contemporary world. As a result, these experiments and people's movements transcend not just the state power, but also the new existing civil societies. These New Social Movements become more humane and responsive to human sufferings in the process of transforming the state itself with a significant moral vision. The new social movements in the Third World show a rare sensitivity to the heterogeneity of the sources and structures of exploitation and oppression.

These movements have acted as agents of change in the fields of political, economic and social development as they are able to raise peoples' consciousness especially amongst the socially deprived classes and inspire them to rise against and dismantle their present social arrangement. These social experiments give rise to alternative economic development strategies by bringing the economically backward classes together in self-reliant development project.

Civil Society and New Movements

The assertions of the New Social Movements are overtly connected with the concepts of a civil society in the contemporary world. The thrust of many of the New Social Movements ought to be against the private property based market capitalists instead of the state, but, these movements lay emphasis on those groups and sections in highly state-dominated societies so they may be equipped to fight for their rights and for democratic autonomy. These New Social Movements work on civil society in two ways. Firstly, they strive to provide protection to civil society from the clutches of a centralizing state. In other words, these movements are defensive. Secondly, the New Social Movements are assertive in nature and strive to bring about changes in civil society from the inside.

Growth of Social Movements

The mid eighteenth century was a time when social movements were connected with bringing about broader socio-economic changes in the English society. These movements included proletarianization, political representation and market capitalization. It was the editor of the newspaper *The North Briton*, John Wilkes, around whom the first mass social movement catalysed. It was he, who vociferously attacked Lord Bute's administration and the terms of peace which the new government accepted in the 1963 Treaty of Paris at the end of The Seven Years War. John was charged with sedition and as arrested after a warrant was issued against him, which he termed as an unlawful episode. However, the justice ruled in favour of Wilkes and as a result of this, he became a figurehead to the burgeoning sovereignty movement among the middle-class English society. Post this, Wilkes stood for the Parliamentary seat but was later imprisoned in

1768 which resulted in a social uprising where people from all quarters took to the streets. This social uprising was the first ever sustained social movement, one that involved public demonstrations and meetings, pamphleteering and petitioning marches. This social uprising as a result of Wilkes' imprisonment was an extra-parliamentary agitation aimed at arriving at consensual constitutional arrangements in order to rectify the faults in governance. As agitators took to the streets in London, the authorities were compelled to concede to their demands. As a result, Wilkes was reinstated to his position in the Parliament and general warrants were declared unconstitutional and the freedom of the press was extended to covering Parliamentary debates.

Post this, there were other political movements too that emerged in the late eighteen hundred's. These included the uprisings around the American and the French revolutions and the British abolitionist movement against slavery. After Britain's victory in the Napoleonic Wars, the country entered a phase of social upheavals which was characterised by an ever increasing maturity of the use of social movements and special interest associations. The first mass movement of the burgeoning middle class which strove for political reforms between the years 1838 and 1848 along with the People's Charter of 1838 as its manifesto was Chartism. The Chartists demanded the implementation of the secret ballot and universal suffrage.

It was the German Sociologist, Lorenz von Stein, who for the first time introduced to scholarly discussions, the term 'social movements,' in his book called '*Socialist and Communist Movements since the Third French Revolution*' (1848). The formation of the social democratic parties and organisations along with the communist parties in the late nineteenth century are owed to the labour and socialist movements of the times. After Britain's victory in World War II in the year 1945, the country witnessed a phase changes and radical reforms. It is during this period that the so called 'New Social Movements' emerged in the form of movements for women's rights, gay rights, civil rights, peace and the environment. These movements also led to the formation of the green parties and organisations influenced by the new left. With fast paced globalisation the potential for the emergence of new type of social movement is latent.

Nature of New Social Movements

The modern social movements comprise of a complex network of actors and interactions in a structured fashion involving a three step strategy which included:

• Diagnosis

• Prognosis

• Motivation

The aims and objectives of the actors who organise social movements must be made crystal clear by way of the process of 'diagnosis,' i.e., putting into words what's wrong with the society. The question then is to figure out ways to rectify the wrongs in the society. The next obvious issue is to figure out the peoples' contribution to effect the changes by the process of 'motivation.' This is done

in specific narratives or interpretive packages aimed at authorities, movement participants, supporters and at the public at large. The people at the helm of social movements perform critical roles in the process by giving meaning to events, situations and social practices. Besides these they act as agents of change alongside other actors such as the government agencies and the media as well. It is expected that these social changes alter the existing power structures and dwell on the values of freedom, equality and justice by adding new paradigms to them. In other words, these New Social Movements strive to affect those at the grassroots level by bringing about apolitical societal transformation. The actors of New Social Movements do not have the will for holding state power. This is called 'de-politicisation' of the social realm. It is important to note that the New Social Movements are not only social in nature but also have economic and political dimensions too. Furthermore, it is also imperative to add that such movements may not necessarily involve the grassroots level.

There are several reasons which have been attributed for the rise of new social movements. These include democracy, mass education, communication technology, urbanisation and industrialisation. They are briefly discussed hereunder:

- **Democracy**: Social movements benefitted greatly with the spread of democracy and political rights. Social movements became much easier owing to the peoples' freedom to right to speech, right to organize freely sans any state imposed curbs. Letting people discuss issues freely led to the development of forums of free expression.

- **Mass education**: Social movements received greater impetus owing to the en masse education of people as several movements were born at educational institutions such as universities as education unified and bound people together.

- **Communication technologies**: The development of social movements got a great impetus with the development of new communication technologies. These make creation and activation of social activities easier as it became to reach out to the larger masses by way of pamphlets in the mid eighteenth century. In more recent times it is the newspaper, the radio and the television media and the internet today that aid the spread of new social movements.

- **Urbanisation**: This led to a marked increase in the size of cities where people migrated from the surrounding countryside. This migration and resettlement led to increased interactions among people of similar interests. People met freely, organised and gathered to address common issues. Thus, these new urban areas proved to augur well for the development of New Social Movements.

- **Industrialization**: The process of industrialization which gathered large masses of workers in the same region explains why many of those early social movements addressed matters such as economic wellbeing, important to the worker class.

The Gandhian principles of action offer an alternate structure by underlining social harmony, nonviolence, ethical and moral values of action and discarding the Euro-centric view of development and more precisely the Western science and technology. It is possible to differentiate two distinct theories of the Gandhian approach to social action – Constructivist and Sarvodaite. While the constructivist approach have encouraged development oriented social action groups, the Sarvodaite approach have enthused struggle oriented social action groups. The Constructivists have faith in the concept of self-sufficiency of villages which can be achieved by greater prosperity which in turn can be attained by implementing various developmental programmes. They consider the state as their associate in this work and believe that the state can be instrumental in the upliftment of the grassroots level people. A combined effort is thus always desirable. They are regarded as efforts to open alternate political spaces outside the normal arena of party and government, though not outside the state. Somewhat these new systems of organisation and uprising are destined to revitalise the state and to make it once again a tool of liberation from unfair structures in which the disadvantaged and poor are confined.

The influence of Gandhi on the New Social Movements has been noteworthy. Gandhian impacts can be traced to several significant civic endeavours, movements and organisation around third world liberation, international solidarity, peace and nonviolence, environment and democracy. The impact of Gandhian and popular uprisings in India on other societies is of global attention. The independence struggle of India set an example for the whole of the colonised world. The dominant question in the struggles was the means especially the role of armed struggles. Gandhi talked about these issues in his book Inswaraj in 1909 adopting extremely strong views against violence and for ahimsa. Inspired by his encounters with Satyagraha in South Africa, he was able to sketch the basic elements of the active nonviolent struggles. The notions and practices of the support groups stimulated by Gandhi for the Independence of India, acted as a model for forthcoming solidarity movements for the transition of South Africa from apartheid to democracy. The Gandhian freedom struggle based on the principles of nonviolence encouraged several Europeans and involved them in various support action events.

Post Second World War and India's Independence, the success of the Gandhian approaches to nonviolence and ahimsa found their way into the European corridors of politics and social movements. There was a participation of masses in the new popular movements owing to four Gandhian and Indian inspirations which were being emulated on a large scale. These four inspirations were:

- Intervention by direct nonviolent interventions and conflicts.
- Boycott against despotic rules.
- Public support for constructive programmes to provide humanitarian support.
- Long marches or Padyatras connected to direct actions.

Liberal Approach

The liberal approach views the new social movements as a part of the larger freedom project. The individual and his groups demand larger autonomy and liberty. According to the liberal approach most of the modern social movements are directed to claim for rights and social goods. The target of the movements are the state which is being criticized for being ineffective or unattentive to citizen needs. Democracy is another focal point of these movements. The demand is for better deliberations and democratic environments. The liberal thinkers argue that these movements are a sign of the ineffectiveness in the democratic mechanism. It can be well settled with effective institutional structures. Many of these modern movements are thus seem to be reformative demands.

Marxist view

Marxism as an ideology and theory of social change has had an immense impact on the practice and the analysis of social movements. Marxism arose from an analysis of movements structured by conflicts between industrial workers and their capitalist employers in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century a variety of neo-Marxist theories have been developed that have opened themselves to adding questions of race, gender, environment, and other issues to an analysis centred in political economic conditions. Marxist approaches have been and remain influential ways of understanding the role of political economy and class differences as key forces in many historical and current social movements, and they continue to challenge approaches that are limited by their inability to imagine serious alternatives to consumer capitalist social structures.

Postmodernism and social movement

In the eighteenth century, the Age of Enlightenment ushered in new ways of thinking in Europe and America. Enlightenment thinkers such as John Locke, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine and Voltaire sought to discard irrationality, superstition, and inherited dogmas with reason, science and rationality, and believed that systematic thinking should be applied to all spheres of human activity.

Since then, many important intellectuals have accepted the basic values of the Enlightenment. These values represent "modernity" and form the basis of the rationalist scientific-technological outlook and the each-citizen-is-equal principles that lie at the foundation of the Western democracies. The Constitution of India, adopted in 1950, lies very much in the Enlightenment tradition. Postmodernists denounces Enlightenment's claim to universality. Postmodernists – like Ashis Nandy - hold that acceptance of Enlightenment ideas represents a "colonization of the mind". They reject the idea that the spread of rationality and scientific temper are emancipatory, and instead argue for the preservation of "local knowledge systems" embedded in "traditional cosmologies", religions, and traditional practices of agriculture, medicine, etc. The Postmodernists views new social movements as an arena of new identities against the fundamentals of enlightenment. To them many of these movements were attempts to break out

from the colonialization of mind and a trial to new emancipation. It happens in two directions. Firstly, many of these movements are locally organized to attend the immediate issues of the community. Secondly it misses the universality in ideology and action.

Features of Social Movements

A key feature of a social movement is that it extends over a long period of time. We can understand it with the help of a simple contemporary example: people may damage a truck and thrash its driver when the truck has run over a pedestrian. This is a standalone incident of protest and as this flare-up is only transient and hence cannot be termed as a social movement which requires continued en masse action over a considerable period of time. Such actions are very often directed against the state often demanding policy and practice change within the state. As a collective action executed with some degree of organisation manifest themselves in a social movement, disorganised and spontaneous protests cannot be considered social movements. In case of an organised movement, there may be a leader who defines as to how members should relate to each other and carry out orders. Besides these, actors of social movements also have clear-cut but common ideologies and objectives coupled with a certain general orientation to bring about desired change. These ideologies, objectives and desired changes may change with the evolution of the movement.

Just as social movements strive to bring about changes in the existing pattern of society or political set-up, counter movements often spring in defence of maintaining a status quo. There are several instances in history when such counter movements had arisen. One such instance pertains to the formation of the Brahmo Samaj by Raja Rammohan Roy who had campaigned against the Sati tradition whilst the defenders of the Sati tradition laid the formation of the Dharma Sabha and petitioned the British to legislate in favour of the Sati tradition. Another example of a counter movement uprising could be the protests which started when social reformers demanded the right to education for girls. The protesters maintained that educating the women would be disastrous for the Indian society. Similarly, when reformers canvassed for widow remarriage, they faced mass social ostracisation. Again, when children of so called lower caste people enrolled in schools, the higher caste parents of other children withdrew their wards from the schools. In recent times, the peasant movements have also been stifled in a brutal manner. Such movements that have formerly excluded the Dalits have also been invited retaliation. Similarly, the proposition for the introduction of caste based reservation in institutions of higher education has also come under attack from counter movements.

What all these examples suggest is the fact that social movements cannot change the society very easily. As they are in disagreement with not just the entrenched values but also the interests of the people at large, there is bound to be grave resistance and opposition. However, change do take place over an extended period of time.

Theories of Social Movements

It has been observed that social conflicts arise when members of a social group feel that all others around them are better off than they. This phenomenon is called the Theory of Relative Deprivation. Such conflicts are very likely to result in successful collective protests. The Theory of Relative Deprivation stresses on the fact that anger and hatred can be used to instigate a social movement. A major negative aspect of this theory is that it necessitates the perception of deprivation to exist for collective action to take place. However, it is also seen that social movements do not arise in all instances where people feel deprived, thus, evolving the sentiment that deprivation alone is not a sufficient reason in itself for a social movement.

In order to arrive at a common ideology and a collective strategy, it is imperative to address the grievances adequately in order to ensure a sustained collective mobilisation. This clearly signifies that there is no automatic causal relationship between relative deprivation and collective action. Other factors like effective organisation and superlative leadership and equally important.

Mancur Olson in his book *The Logic of Collective Action* puts forth his argument that rational individual actors pursuing their self-interests aggregate in the form of a social movement. According to him, a person joins a social movement only when his/her personal agendas are met and will participate only when the gains overshadow the risks involved. This rationale is based on the notion of the utility-maximizing individual.

Rejecting Olson's theory of *The Logic of Collective Action*, Zald and McCarthy proposed the Resource Mobilisation Theory and argued that it was the ability to mobilise different types of resources and means that made a social movement successful. They further added that if a movement could summon-up resources such as astute leadership and organisational capacity along with superlative communication facilities and can use them within the available political opportunity structure, it is more likely to be effective. However, critics argue that resources alone cannot limit a social movement as it can create new resources such as identities and symbols. History also bears testimony to the fact that several poor people's movements did not get struck down due to scarcity of resources. In fact, even with a starting material and resource crunch and limited organisational base, social movements have been able to generate their own resources through the process of struggle.

It is also true that collective action is not always the result of social conflicts. Hence for such actions to take place, a social group must continually believe themselves to be an oppressed lot. This has to be led by an organisation, leadership and a clear ideology. But the truth is that very often social uprisings do not follow this pattern. People often clearly understand how they're being subjected to exploitation but are often unable to protest against their exploitation via overt political mobilisation.

Reformist, Redemptive, Revolutionary Social Movements

There are several types of social movements and they can broadly be divided as under:

- Redemptive or Transformatory Movements
- Reformist Movements
- Revolutionary Movements

A Redemptive Movement is one that endeavours to bring about changes in the actions and personal consciousness of all individual members of the community. For example, Narayana Guru led the Ezhava community in Kerala in order to change their social practices.

When a social movement strives to bring about a change in the prevailing social and political practices it is called a Reformist Movement. An example of this type of movement are the movement in the 1960s for the reorganisation of Indian states according to languages spoken by people in those areas. The Right to Information campaign is an example of yet another Reformist Movement but from more contemporary times.

When social movements attempt to radically change the society and attempt to seize power they are called Revolutionary Movements. The Bolshevik revolution in Russia that deposed the Tsar to create a communist state and the Naxalite movement in India that seeks to remove oppressive landlords and state officials can be described as revolutionary movements. When trying to classify social movements in terms of this typology, most of them are seen to have a mix of Redemptive, Reformist and Revolutionary elements. The orientation of social movements may also shift over time. For example, a revolutionary movement may evolve into a reformist movement. A movement may start from a phase of mass mobilisation and collective protest to become more institutionalised. Sociologists have called this a move towards 'social movement organisations'. How one may classify social movements is a matter of ones' perception and interpretation which differ from individual to individual. For example, the imperialist British viewed the Mangal Pandey led struggle as a mutiny or a rebellion. However, the same for Indians was the First War of Independence. A mutiny is an act of defiance against legitimate authority, i.e., the British rule. A struggle for independence is a challenge to the very legitimacy of British rule. This shows how people attach different meanings to social movements.

Another Way of Classifying: Old and New

For a large part of the twentieth century, social movements were classified based on class, such as the Working Class Movement, The Peasant Movement or the Anti-Colonial Movement, etc. While Class Based Movements inspired people to unite and fight for their rights, the Anti-Colonial Movements inspired people for national liberation struggles. Thus, in the last 100 years, the movements having the widest reach and effect have been those that pertained to class struggles and national liberation struggles. For example, the Workers' Movements in Europe gave rise to the International Communist Movement. This movement led to

major societal reforms besides establishing a communist regime in the Soviet Union, China and Cuba.

In Western Europe, the rights of workers were protected with the formation of welfare states which offered universal healthcare, education in capitalist nations because of political pressure from the communist and socialist movements. History bears testimony to the fact that the movements against colonialism have been as effective as the movements against capitalism. Social movements have continually targeted both capitalist and colonialist exploitation as capitalism and colonialism have usually been interlinked through forms of imperialism. This essentially means that nationalist movements have mobilised against rule by a foreign power as well as against the dominance of foreign capital.

In the years following the Second World War, many new nation states came into being as a result of national movements in countries like India, Egypt, Indonesia and several others. In the 1960s and 1970s also many social movements had occurred. It was during this time that the USA engaged in war against Communist guerrillas in the former French colony of Vietnam. In Europe, Paris had become the center of a Students' Movement that was joined by the Workers' Parties in a series of strikes protesting against the war. On the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, in the USA, Martin Luthar King led the Civil Rights Movement and Malcolm X led the Black Power movement. The anti-war movement was joined in by many thousands of students who were being compulsorily drafted by the government to go fight in Vietnam. The women's movement and the environmental movement also gained strength during this time of social ferment. It was difficult to classify the members of these so-called 'New Social Movements' as belonging to the same class or even nation. Participants of these movements shared identities as students, Blacks, women or environmentalists instead of sharing mere class identities.

Distinguishing the New Social Movement from the Old Social Movement

From the discussion so far, it is observed that the historical contexts in which social movements took place were all different. There was a time when nationalist movements were overthrowing the colonial oppressors while the Working Class Movements in the capitalist West were struggling and wresting for better living conditions, social security, free schooling and health security from the state. This was also a time when the socialist movements were establishing new kinds of states and societies.

The central goal of the Old School Movements was the reorganisation of power relations and functioned within the framework of political parties. During India's Freedom Straggle, the Indian National Congress led the freedom movement and China's communist party led the Chinese Revolution. In today's times some believe that the 'old' class-based political action led by trade unions and workers' parties is on the decline. Others argued that in the affluent West with its welfare state, issues of class-based exploitation and inequality were no longer central concerns. Thus, it can be inferred that the New Social Movements were about quality-of-life issues such as a clean environment and

not about changing the distribution of power in society. Speaking about the Old Social Movements, political scientist Rajni Kothari attributes the surge of social movements in India in the 1970s to the peoples' growing dissatisfaction with parliamentary democracy. Kothari's contention was that the elites had captured the institution of the state and as a result of this, the electoral representation by political parties is no longer useful for the poor to get their voices heard. As a result, people who are left out of the benefits of the formal political system tend to join non-party political formations or social movements so as to put pressure on the state machinery from the outside.

Distinction between 'Old' and 'New' Social Movements

The Old and New Social Movements may be distinguished on the basis of certain elements which are discussed as under:

1. **Location:** The Old Social Movements typically revolved around politics and political parties, whereas, the New Social Movements have transcended these political limits and have become autonomous in nature.

2. **Aims:** Old Social Movements aim at securing political representation, legislative political reform and rights associated with citizenship in the political community, whereas the New Social Movements want to defend civil society against political power and redefine culture and lifestyle in civil society rather than pursuing legislative change through the state.

3. **Organisation:** The Old Social Movements are characterised by formal and hierarchal internal structures while the New Social Movements are characterised as being informal or unstructured organisations rather than structures of authority.

4. **Medium of change**: Old Social Movements are oriented towards political institutions through which change can be achieved. The New Social Movements go for newer and more innovative forms of direct action. They work on new redefinition of meaning and symbolic representation in culture rather than change through political apparatus. Rootes, Christopher (1999) notes that, "New Social Movements which emerged from the student movements of the late 1960s, it is environmental movements which have had most enduring influence on politics and which have undergone the most wide-ranging institutionalization in terms both of the professionalization of their activities and of the regularization of their access to policy-makers" (Rootes, Christopher 1999: 1). Nepal, Padam (2009) argues that, "the new social movements in India emerged because of the failure of the established oppositional forces in India's national politics, especially the left, and more particularly after the smashing of the Naxal movement, in giving direction and providing organization to the activity of the subaltern, marginal groups in the period characterized by the failure of the National Project and one-party dominance" (Nepal, Padam 2009: 98). The new social movements, including the environmental movements in India are studied in at least two different ways in India. In this context Nepal, Padam (2009) has pointed out: First, the leftist

perspective which looks at the environmental movement as a displaced form of class struggle, and having its roots in the class-divided Indian society. The second perspective looks at the new social movements as struggles against the centralized state. This perspective although acknowledges the movement as a byproduct of class exploitation, yet it focuses on particular, issue-specific nature of the new social movements... a new social movement including the environmental movement has a dual aspect: general aspect in the sense that predominantly it represents a movement against omnipotent nature of the modern state to which the certain class of people fall a prey; and a particularistic aspect of addressing a specific, localized issue concerning a particular social category like the women's issue, an environmental issue, issue of displacement of a tribal population from its natural habitation, etc. (Nepal, Padam 2009: 98-99).

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

5. State an example of the new social movement.
6. How has Charles Tilly defined social movements?
7. State the key feature of a social movement.

2.4 SUMMARY

- The economic policies of the British had a negative influence on the Indian peasants. The British Government used to safeguard landlords and money lenders. They oppressed and took undue advantage of the peasants. This caused the peasants to rise in revolt against this injustice on a large number of occasions.

- The peasants in Bengal fashioned their union and collectively rose against the pressure of cultivating indigo.

- The rise of the Naxalbaris was triggered by the fact that although the United Front ruled the state, land reforms were still inadequate. Its sustenance was encouraged by division and caste conflicts and the sense of extreme anxiety due to the dominant economic and social conditions.

- In the past, India's rural areas had been extremely uncared. Before independence foreign rulers of British India, in collusion with their autonomous counterparts, i.e., heads of princely states, used to seize large chunks of hard-earned earnings of ill fated farmers, accumulated from their cultivation, in the form of lagaan (rent).

- Even though India has been independent since 65 years, the rate of development is sluggish and disproportionate. Developmental work is limited to big/metropolitan cities. Villages are still underdeveloped and backward.

- One of the foremost analyst and active member of social movements in India, Sanjay Sangvi, acknowledged their chief agendas as 'Movements

of landless, unorganized labour in rural and urban areas, adivasis, dalits, displaced people, peasants, urban poor, small entrepreneurs and unemployed youth took up the issues of livelihood, opportunities, dignity and development.'

- United Liberation Front of Assam is a nationalist group of Assam, among a large number of other similar groups in North-East India. It endevours to set up an independent Assam through an armed struggle.

- The official movement for an independent state of Bodoland began on 2nd March 1987. It was led by Upendranath Brahma of the All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU).

- The Karbis, with the help of Dimasas and other tribes of the North Cachar Hills district, launched a movement in the 1980s and 1990s for the implementation of Article 244(a) with the intention to form a separate political unit for the Karbis and the Dimasas. This was known as the Karbi-Dimasa Movement.

- The Bodo plain tribals who inhabit the north bank of the Brahmaputra river in Kokrajhar and Darrang districts of Assam launched a movement spearheaded by a student organization, the All Bodo Students Union (ABSU). The ABSU led the agitation for a separate homeland for the Bodos within the Indian union.

- Social movements are basically a type of group action which often make up of informal and large groups of people or organisations whose primary emphasis remains on specific social or political issues.

- Charles Tilly defines social movements as a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people make collective claims on others. For Tilly, social movements are a major vehicle for ordinary people's participation in public politics.

- New social movements are distinctive in so far as they work outside the traditional party system. Much of their membership and force is the reflection of people's disappointment and frustration with and their search for alternatives to the political process, political parties and the state.

- When social movements attempt to radically change the society and attempt to seize power they are called Revolutionary Movements. The Bolshevik revolution in Russia that deposed the Tsar to create a communist state and the Naxalite movement in India that seeks to remove oppressive landlords and state officials can be described as revolutionary movements.

2.5 KEY TERMS

- **New social movements:** The term new social movements (NSMs) is a theory of social movements that attempts to explain the plethora of new movements that have come up in various western societies roughly since the mid-1960s.

- **All Bodo Students' Union**: All Bodo Students' Union (ABSU) is a students organization (non-political) formed on February 15, 1967 in the Bodoland region of Assam, India.

- **Karbis:** The Karbis, mentioned as the Mikir in the Constitution Order of the Government of India, are one of the major ethnic groups in North-East India, especially in the hill areas of Assam.

2.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. It is important to distinguish between social change in general and social movements. Social change is continuous and ongoing. The broad historical processes of social change are the sum total of countless individual and collective actions gathered across time and space. Social movements are directed towards some specific goals. It involves long and continuous social effort and action by people.

2. A.R. Desai (1986) classifies colonial India into ryotwari areas under British territory, zamindari areas under princely authority and tribal zones.

3. Kathleen Gough (1974) classifies peasant revolts on the basis of their 'goals, ideology and methods of organization'. According to her, there were five types of peasant revolts:

   - Restorative rebellions to drive out the British and restore earlier rulers and social relations

   - Religious movements for the liberation of a region or an ethnic group, under a new form of government

   - Social banditry

   - Terrorist vengeance with the idea of meting out collective justice

   - Mass insurrections for redressal of particular grievances

4. The Bodo agitation was marked by incidents of violence and arson. Affirmation of identity for them implies benefits such as reservation of jobs, scholarships and extension of constitutional safeguards.

5. The Mau Mau in Kenya is an example of the new social movement.

6. Charles Tilly defines social movements as a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people make collective claims on others. For Tilly, social movements are a major vehicle for ordinary people's participation in public politics.

7. A key feature of a social movement is that it extends over a long period of time. We can understand it with the help of a simple contemporary example: people may damage a truck and thrash its driver when the truck has run over a pedestrian.

2.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. State the main features of the Naxalbari movement.
2. Write a short note on the Karbi-Dimasa Movement.
3. State the excluded areas of the Karbi-Dimasa Movement.
4. State the policies of India in brief.
5. Write a short note on the liberal and Marxist approaches of social movements.

Long-Answer Questions

1. Describe the issues faced by peasants in underdeveloped areas.
2. Discuss the various aspects of Labour and Trade Union Movements.
3. Write a note on the autonomy movements in Assam.
4. Explain the various movements associated with the Karbi and the Dimasa tribes.
5. Analyse the difference between the old and new social movements.

2.8 FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 3   SOCIAL MOVEMENTS OF INDIA

Structure

3.0 INTRODUCTION

From the early 1970s new forms of social mobilisation began in India. They gained a variety of names such as social movement, people's movement, popular movements, etc. These movements emerged and highlighted some of the major issues such as gender and environment.

Most well-known movements in the country are Chipko movement, Save Silent Valley, Narmada Bachao Andolan, Koel Karo, Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha, Jhola Aandolan chutmarika (fighting polythene), Appiko movement, Save Kudremukh, Lok Satta Movement, Swadhyay Movement, etc. In this unit, some of these major social movements have been discussed in detail with special reference to the social movements in northeast India.

3.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Discuss ecological and environmental movements
- Explain the Chipko Movement
- Explain the Narmada Bachao Andolan
- Describe some of the social movements in Northeast India

3.2 MAJOR SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

There have been several times in history when people have come together in large numbers to protest against an injustice or support a cause, and created history. Some of such movements are discussed below.

Ecological and Environmental Movements

The United Nations Conference on Human Environment, Stockholm, 1972 paved the way for a number of studies and reports on the condition of the environment and its effect on the present and future generations. It expressed concern to protect and improve the environment for present and future generations. The development of 'green politics' or 'eco-greens' or the 'green movement' in Germany and North America in the early 1980s boosted the formation of the 'green network' and the 'green movement' throughout the world, including India.

A number of action groups, research institutes, documentation centres have been established to study and mobilize public opinion on environmental issues. By now, the material on the environmental situation in general and in certain sectors such as air, land, forest, water, marine resources, etc., have proliferated in different forms from popular literature to 'scientific' studies. The reports on India's environment published by the Centre for Science and Environment provide valuable material not only on various aspects of the environment but also people's resistance and struggles. The media also frequently reports on struggles of the people at the local level on the issues of land, water, marine resources, forest products, etc. However, systematic analytical researchbased monographs on environmental movements are few and far between.

More often than not, the struggles of the people on the issues of their livelihood and access to forest and other natural resources are coined as 'environmental movements'. Historical studies on peasant movements mainly focus on the agrarian relationship between different classes of landowners. Studies on the struggles over forest resources are treated as tribal movements. Guha and Gadgil rightly observe, 'The agrarian history of British India has focused almost exclusively on social relations around land and conflicts over distribution of its produce, to the neglect of the ecological context of agriculture for example, fishing, forests, grazing land and irrigation and of state intervention in these spheres'.

Among the few important studies focusing on one' of the important themes of the movements are those on the Chipko movement by Ramachandra Guha and Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) by Amita Baviskar. Both the authors, however, do not want their studies to be treated as mainly on environmental movements. Guha calls his study on peasant resistance focusing on the ecological dimension. It is a study on the ecological history of the region linking 'environmental changes with changing and competing human perceptions of the "uses" of nature'. The study is focused on the structures of dominance and the idioms of social protest. He analyses ecological changes and peasant resistance

in the Himalayas in the wider comparative framework. Baviskar studied the tribals of Madhya Pradesh, focusing on their relationship with nature and their conflicts over state-sponsored 'development'. She interrogated the theoretical positions of the environmental movements which assert that the 'development' paradigm of the dominant elite, followed by the Indian state, is environmentally destructive. These movements claim that their critique 'is writ large in the actions of those marginalized by development-indigenous people who have, in the past, lived in harmony with nature, combining reverence for nature with sustainable management of resources. Because of their cultural ties with nature, indigenous people are exemplary stewards of the land'. She analysed the socio-cultural life of the tribals and their resistance to 'development'. She also probed into the question: Given the problematic nature of tribal resource use, how accurately are the lives of tribal people represented by intellectuals in the environmental movement who speak on their behalf?

Guha and Gadgil provide a very valuable overview delineating conflict over forest produce, forest land and pasture land in different parts of colonial India. They discuss the resistance of hunt-gatherers and shifting or *jhum* cultivators to the state intervention in settled cultivation. Forest dwellers launched *satyagrahas* during the 1930s against the forest departments on the issue of encroachment of land. Similar confrontations increased during the post-independence period. Shiva and Bandopadhyaya inform us that about three centuries back the Vishnois of Khejri village in Rajasthan sacrificed more than 200 lives in a passive resistance to the felling of green trees by the royal forces from Jodhpur. There were similar instances in which farmers and forest-dwelling communities resisted the destruction of forest resources. These evidences show a wide range of conflict between the authorities, particularly the forest department and the communities residing in the forests. Shiva and Bandopadhyaya argue that 'these conflicts may not always take the form of people's ecology movements that hold the possibility of resolving these conflicts in just manner. They may also get distorted to take the form of other social conflicts like communal politics, which may not hold the possibility of resolution of the material conflicts'.

Forest struggles may be divided into two; those that were a reprise to direct commercial exploitation and those that were a response to commercial exploitation legitimized as 'scientific forestry'. The dominant strata use scientific forestry as a political weapon to legitimize overexploitation of resources for profit. There is conflict between the profitability and survival imperatives. The latter is being challenged by the action groups supporting the poor by reinterpreting science for public interest.

Baviskar analyses the development policy and performance of the Indian state. She finds that poor people's ability to control and gainfully use natural resources has declined in the last five decades of the development policies. She argues that the model of development, established since independence, has fundamentally altered the way in which different social groups use and have access to natural resources. The changes wrought by the independent state have

created conflicts over competing claims to the environment. These conflicts range from the incessant battle between the forest department and local communities, to the war, raging between mechanized trawls and traditional fishing boats in India's coastal waters, to the controversy over the Dunkel Draft and rights to genetic resources. These claims are not merely for a greater share of the goods, but involve different ways of valuing and using nature for profit or survival, or some combination of the two. They also involve different world views one driven by the desire to dominate and exploit nature and humanity, the other moved by empathy, and respect, sometimes reverence, for the two.

Broadly speaking, the theme of the man-nature relationship is central to environmental movements. Guha and Gadgil define the environmental movement as organized social activity consciously directed towards promoting sustainable use of natural resources, halting environmental degradation or bringing about environmental restoration. In the west, environmental movements focus on consumption, productive use of natural resources and conservation or protection of natural resources. In India, the movements are based on use and alternative use of, as well as control over natural resources. Jayanta Bandopadhyaya and Vandana Shiva observe that ecology movements in independent India have increased against 'predatory exploitation of natural resources to feed the process development' which is dominated by market forces.

Such a process has threatened the survival of the poor and powerless. They argue that 'the ecology movements in India are the expression of protests against the destruction of the two vital economics of natural processes and survival from the anarchy of development based on market economy. These movements have unfolded the contradictions between India and its three economies: those revolving around the market, the household, and nature'.

Harsh Sethi classifies the struggles into three categories broadly under their ideological approach to the issue of environment. One, the struggles which operate in the domain of political economy, raises the issue of rights and distribution of resources. Second, the movements confined to a response to environmental problems and seeking solutions within existing socio-economic frameworks and technological innovations. They seek legal and policy-based shifts in the pattern of resource use. Third, some environmental movements reject the dominant development paradigm and 'seek to alter the very classification of both man and nature relationship'.

Guha and Gadgil classify movements on the basis of the participants. According to them there are three categories of members: 'omnivores, ecosystem people and ecological refugees'. In this multiplicity of movements, one may discern seven major strands. Two of these are exclusively focused on nature conservation, one on aesthetic/recreational/scientific grounds and the others on the basis of cultural or religious traditions.

A third strand confines itself to the technological perspective focusing on the efficiency of resource use. According to them the question of equity is the dominant concern of the environmental movements in present day India. They are concerned with 'environmentalism' related to the poor. In terms

of their ideology there are four strands within these movements. They are: 'crusading Gandhians, ecological Marxists, appropriate technologists, scientific conservation and wilderness enthusiasts'. According to the crusading Gandhians, eastern society, unlike the west, is primarily non-materialist. They are against industrial growth brought by the colonial rule. They frequently cite Hindu scriptures as exemplifying a 'traditional' reverence for nature and life forms.

Harsh Sethi divides the environmental struggles into two categories:

1. **Rest-based:** Forest policy, use of forest resources, etc.

2. **Land use:** Industrialization and loss of agriculture land, indiscriminate popularization chemical inputs resulting in degradation of land and water logging, exploitation of mineral resources:

  (i) Against big dams involving the problem of involuntary displacement of tribals and non-tribals, residing in the upstream of the river, environmental degradation, including destruction of forests;

  (ii) Against pollution created by industries and

  (iii) Against overexploitation of marine resources.

Andharia and Sengupta divide the contemporary environmental movements into five categories. They identify the issues around which these movements are launched. They also give a few examples of the groups involved in the struggles. According to them environmental issues are related with the nature of development. And the development agenda in India is closely related to international political economy. Therefore, both cannot be studied separately. One can see from the table that environmental movements raise a variety of issues both in rural and urban areas related to forest, agriculture, industrial pollution, nuclear tests, tourism, etc. There are a number of non-government organizations (NGOs) who protest against environmental degradation and hazards. Besides pressurizing the political authorities and dominant groups such as industrialists, planners, etc., they also campaign for creating awareness among people on the issues of environment. Organizations like the Kerala People's Science Movement (KPSM) try to demystify the science created by a dominant group of scientists. It advocates sustainable development. The KPSM organizes *padyatras* to develop consciousness for a people-oriented environment. Several other groups also follow the same strategy. They disseminate literature related to pollution, land degradation, loss of natural resources, etc. Occasionally some groups resort to public interest litigation in the courts to stop certain government and private projects which adversely affect not only the health and other aspects of the people but also the livelihood of the marginalized groups.

In struggles around the issues of forest resources and their use, the main participants have been the tribals and other peasant communities depending on forest resources for their survival. They resist state intervention which impinges on their rights and control over resources. The forms of resistance and occasional confrontations vary from outmigration to evasion of responsibilities, robberies to

murders. According to Guha, in the traditional system it is considered that it was the responsibility of the rulers to protect the customary rights and interests of his subjects. When the ruler fails to do so or impinges on the rights of the people, the resistance and revolt are 'traditionally sanctioned by custom'. In Tehri Garhwal, the mechanism of social protest 'drew heavily on the indigenous tradition of resistance known as *dhandak.* Yet, for all its distinctiveness, the *dhandak* is a representative of a type of rebellion that was widely prevalent in pre-industrial and pre-capitalist monarchies'. When the traditional custom of resistance does not remain effective with the changed reality, people resort to confrontation.

Popular Movements in India

Some of the popular movements in India are:

1. Chipko Movement

In many ways, the Chipko movement has and will sustain the iconic status that it had acquired for mainly two reasons. First was its grassroots approach and second, the links that it was able to establish between the local environmental concerns of the villagers with the larger environmental discourse.

Chipko, although referred to as a movement, is actually a collective of several smaller movements that took place in the early 1970s against commercial forestry. Chipko did not begin as a conservation movement but primarily as an economic struggle, the roots of which lay in rural and peasant protests against commercial forestry during the British Raj. Post Independence, a network of roads snaked into the hill areas of Uttarakhand, in the name of 'development'. These roads, armies of labourers, forest officials and contractors from outside are those whose work led to the methodical denudation of the region's forest.

The unusually heavy rains of 1970 had precipitated one of the most devastating floods in the country. In the Alakananda valley, water flooded nearly 100 square kilometres of land, washed away 6 metal bridges, 10 kilometres of motor roads, 24 buses and several other vehicles. Apart from this, houses collapsed, paddy crops were destroyed. The huge loss of life and property in this flood marked a turning point in the understanding of ecology in the region. The relationship between deforestation, landslides and floods were being explored in the region. It was observed that some of the villages most affected by the floods were directly below forests where felling operations had taken place. This cause was subsequently taken up by the Dashauli Gram Swarajya Sangh, a cooperative Sangh set up in Chamoli District and Chandi Prasad Bhatt, a prominent local activist. On 27 March 1973, Bhatt vowed to 'hug the trees' to stop the felling, which was followed by a huge protest gathering in April the same year at Mandal, forcing the Symonds Company contractor to beat a hasty retreat. In 1974, the State forest movement marked trees for felling at Peng-Murrenda forest, near Reni Village in Joshimath. In a singular display of courage and determination, hundreds of women in Reni, led by 50-year-old Gauri Devi, drove out the labourers of the contractor.

Chipko was largely a series of protests in the region by different groups and villages. Its significance lay in the fact that it was the case of poor and deprived villagers fighting the might of industry as well as the government through non-violent means. The movement received good media coverage, though erratic and stereotyped. In fact, the media's coverage of the andolan is a sore point with the people in the region.

In one of the articles on Chipko in the environmental magazine, *Down to Earth*, Shamsher Singh Bisht, a Chipko activist is quoted as saying that the main reason for the failure of the movement is the role that the media played. Most of the reports on Chipko missed out on the real concerns and demands of the local people. The media resorted to artificial dramatization of Chipko's image. The locals were trying to point out that their lives were so intertwined with the forests that they alone should have the right to manage the forest resources and products. Bhatt's idea of hugging trees to protect them was a powerful concept and it translated into an easily identifiable icon of protest to save the earth. The actual act of hugging came to be a media-propagated myth through media-primed shots of women embracing trees. The concept and the icon were lapped up by the media, especially the international media. Globally, the concern for and the understanding of the environment was growing around the time Chipko happened. The global concern and understanding was mostly related to the idea of conservation than rights of communities. It influenced the transformation of Chipko from a struggle to control local resource use to a national movement with a conservationist and economic bearing.

Concurrently, the national and international media too gave greater emphasis on to the conservationist element in Chipko and the local reality receded to the background. Further, the national media gave more importance to the conservationist strand in the movement by focusing on the conservationist, Sunderlal Bahuguna and gave him a legendary status, than on the movement as such. There were though a few journalists, like Anil Agarwal, then a science correspondent with the *Indian Express*, who went beyond the concept and icon and focused on the appalling tales of these villages and astutely introduced all the larger issues Chipko stood for economics of environment and the nature of development in India's hill regions.

2. Save Silent Valley

Save Silent Valley was a social movement the purpose of which was to safeguard the Silent valley, an evergreen, hot and humid forest in the Palakkad district of Kerala. This movement began in 1973 with the purpose of protecting the Silent Valley Reserve Forest from being destroyed by a hydroelectric project. This valley was officially named as Silent Valley National Park in 1985.

3. Narmada Bachao Andolan

The Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) is a grass-root level movement that celebrated 21 years of existence in November 2006. It was formed to fight against the environmental, social and cultural damage that the Narmada Valley

Developmental Project (NVDP) has caused. The NVDP proposal consists of 30 large dams, 135 medium dams, 3,000 small dams on the river Narmada and its over four tributaries and threatens the life and livelihood of the 22 million inhabitants of the Narmada basin. The Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP), the largest dam, alone will submerge 245 villages, 19 in Gujarat, 33 in Maharashtra and 193 in Madhya Pradesh. According to NBA, 250,000 people will be affected by the SSP.

The government sources claim that the SSP would irrigate more than 1.8 million hectares of land and solve the water crisis in the drought-prone areas of Kutch and Saurashtra. The NBA responds by saying that these are exaggerated and the actual benefits are much less than what is projected. The NBA also argued that in the whole process of the NVDP, the riparian rights of the people who live in the valley, including the tribals and peasants were not taken into consideration. In addition to this are the woes of those who have been displaced by the dam construction that has been resumed by the court order in the year 2000. The projected figure of 15,000 affected families in Maharashtra, though promised rehabilitation, is yet to materialize.

The NBA has taken up a lot of issues related to the riparian rights of the people. NBAs is a politics that is a complex articulation of land rights, environmental degradation, economies of large dams and also the effects of these on the local communities. The fact that the process of development right from its origin, plan and management of resources is seen as a prerogative of the State is the basic point of opposition for the movement. The movement emphasizes that the people have the right to control their own forest, land, water and other natural resources. The movement thus is a deep-rooted critique of the development paradigm. NBA is committed to nonviolent means of protest and believes that nonviolence is the only path for a social movement.

NBA has relied heavily on the media to popularize their struggles and issues and the mainstream national media has been an important part of their campaigns. Leaders and activists of the movement often write in various newspapers and publications. NBA also communicates through frequent press releases giving the status of the struggle from time to time. The media is also informed about the several mass agitations and other programmes and activities.

For communicating with the people of the valley, the NBA depends on other forms of media like songs, leaflets, posters, audio cassettes, etc. Though the NBA and the NVDP have been discussed quite widely in national and regional newspapers and the visual media, many of the issues discussed earlier with environmental reporting are relevant here too. The media's interest in events rather than processes has seriously affected the NBA reporting in various ways. A movement like NBA, with its issues of displacement and the development paradigm that caused this, are equally important. But the media generally does not sustain its focus on long-term processes and gives space only when there are mass actions such as rallies or a dharna in the national capital. Of the 435 stories on the Sardar Sarovar Project in 2006, including those in English dailies,

TV; periodicals and Internet news sites, more than 75 per cent of the stories are when devastating events like floods happen. The rest happen to be around mass actions like rallies and dharnas. The handful of well-researched writings is either specialist columns in newspapers or Internet news sites.

The media often links issues and movements to the leaders and activists who are involved in them. One reason could be that these leaders are the ones who become the most visible while bringing to the notice of the world the needs and problems affecting the struggle. The media finds a face for the movement in Medha Patkar, making the NBA look like a single handed task, whereas in reality, it is a multitiered movement, consisting of adivasis, Dalits, Hindu peasants and also various middle-class activists and supporters. The movement is influenced by both community and activists. The decision-making body has two main groups: the full-time activists as well as community representatives from every village. In terms of projecting the leaders, the media often makes movements seem like individual struggles. On the flip side, often protests and rallies that do not include the respective leaders are not given adequate coverage. For instance, on 17 December 2005, the police lathicharged hundreds of protestors in Badhwani, Madhya Pradesh outside the collector's office. This got little coverage, none in the mainstream national media. During the Satyagraha staged by NBA in April 2006, the event got covered extensively when film actor Aamir Khan visited the pandal to express his solidarity with the displaced people of the valley.

In the 1980s, voices were raised by the Narmada Bachao Andolan activists against the Sardar Sarovar dam construction on the Narmada River. This led to large-scale displacement of adivasis who were neither relocated to a proper area nor granted proper compensation. Besides, the dam was causing serious environmental hazards. Why did no political party take up the issue? Or, for example, in the 1980s itself, we saw women from various strata of the society raising their voices against violence perpetrated against them. Why did no political party take up the issues they raised or why did they just pay lip service to their cause?

Democracy is largely understood as popular sovereignty where people have control over the decisions made by the State. Since it is not practically possible for the people in the modern democratic societies to participate in the decision-making process of the State directly, they do so through representatives. This representation gets its institutional form in political parties and it is through political parties that the people wish to articulate and represent their demands. But when political parties become ineffective in representing the interests of the people, we see the emergence of social movements (SMS)

4. Koel Karo

South Koel River flows across the states of Jharkhand and Odisha, in India. It has its source on the Ranchi plateau, a few miles east of Ranchi and is adjacent to the Belsiangar and Singbum Rivers. The Koel gets its water from three streams in Jharkhand, namely the North Karo, South Karo and Koina. The South Koel enters Odisha and merges with the Sankh River at Vedavyas near Rourkela.

Here it is called Brahmani. People are protesting against the construction of a 710 megawatts power project on the Koel and Karo river.

5. Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha

Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha (Chhattisgarh Liberation Front) is a political party in the state of Chhattisgarh. On the 3 March 1977, the Chhattisgarh Mines Shramik Sangh (Chhattisgarh Mines Workers' Union) was established by Shankar Guha Niyogi. In 1982, CMSS formed CMM as their political front. CMM was created to struggle for establishing the cultural identity of the province and for supporting workers and farmers. CMM called for social campaigns, for instance, in protest of excessive use of alcohol and organized social missions, such as a workers' sponsored hospital.

6. Jhola Aandolan (fighting polythene)

This is a movement that was started to protect the nature, save water, create greenery, reduce the use of polythene and promote eco-friendly products.

7. Appiko movement

The Appiko movement was an activist movement that was aimed at environmental conservation in India. The Chipko movement (Hug-the-Trees Movement) in Uttarakhand, in the Himalayas, was an inspiration for the villagers of the Uttara Kannada district of Karnataka state in southern India. This motivated them to begin a similar movement to conserve their forests. In September 1983, Panduranga Hegde headed a movement comprising men, women and children of Salkani who embraced the trees of the Kalase forest. The regional expression for 'hugging' in Kannada is *appiko*.) Appiko movement brought about a new consciousness throughout the entire southern India.

8. Lok Satta Movement

Lok Satta is an impartial movement for self-governing transformations in India. This movement was headed by Dr. Jayaprakash Narayan, an ex IAS officer and a distinguished campaigner from Andhra Pradesh. The movement began in 1996 with the setting up of Lok Satta, a non-governmental association. In 2006, the movement changed into Lok Satta Party.

9. Swadhyay Movement

This was a movement that was started single handedly by Pandurang Shastri Athavle, a young scholar in his early twenties. This movement aimed at spreading a silent revolution that was focused on transforming mankind both, culturally and socially.

10. Karnataka Rajya Rayot Sangha

Karnataka Rajya Rayot Sangha, also referred to as KRRS or the Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha, is a peasant's movement. M. D. Nanjundaswamy was the president of the movement. This movement hit the headlines for its resistance against KFC outlets in Bangalore, in the 1990s. They are the vanguards in

the fight against multinational companies that try to sell seeds, for instance, Monsanto Company.

These movements, for the most part, dissociated themselves from political parties, or tried to blend with the philosophies of political parties. Still, a large number of them embedded or got inspired by the principles of Mahatma Gandhi, a range of shades of environmentalism or gender politics, or socialism.

The latest of social movements is 'Campaign against corruption', April 2011, headed by a group of social activists—Anna Hazare, Arvind Kejriwal, Swami Agnivesh, Kiran Bedi and Baba Ramdev. Some days ago, Anna Hazare, a Gandhian began a fast till death at Jantar Mantar, the heart of New Delhi. He demanded endorsement and implementation of the long awaited Jan Lokpal Bill. This movement was supported by the common people and media. This created a buzz when political leaders were not allowed to share the platform with social activists. This movement is a milestone in the history of the Constitution of independent India. It has forced the government to take in 5 non-official members in the Jan Lokpal Bill design committee. Generally only ministers are given the membership of any legislation design committee. Even as passing of the law and its activation by Lokpals and Lokayuktas (ombudsmen) will take some more time to be actually functional, this movement has definitely highlighted corruption as a key social issue in India.

Few of the leaders who have gained popularity in these types of movements are Sunderlal Bahuguna, Medha Patkar, Baba Amte, Vandana Shiva, Vijaypal Baghel, etc.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Define environmental movements.
2. How would you divide forest movements?
3. According to Shamsher Singh Bhisht, a Chipko activist, what was the main reason for the failure of the Chipko Movement?

3.3 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN NORTHEAST INDIA

Let us discuss the major social movements in northeast India.

3.3.1 Assam Movement

The Assam Movement became apparent as a social movement only in the middle of 1979. The genesis of the Assam Movement can be traced to the Mongoldoi by-elections. After the death of Hiralal Patowary, the Janata Party MP, in March 1979, the Mangoldoi parliamentary seat became vacant. As a result, the process of holding a by-election to the Lok Sabha commenced.

However, when the revision of electoral rolls started, numerous complaints were registered challenging the authenticity of citizenship of a large number of

persons, most of whom had already received or exercised their constitutional rights to franchise. The increased number of foreigners terrified both the majority and minority in Assam. As a result, people of Assam became increasingly apprehensive about the issue of foreign nationals. Subsequently, this issue no longer remained confined to the Mangoldoi constituency only, but spread to the whole of Assam.

It is necessary to mention here that the permit system between India and Pakistan was scrapped and passport system was introduced from October 15, 1952. The Indian Passport Act administers entry into India from Pakistan. In 1950, there was large scale immigration to Assam from East Pakistan which produced a grim situation in Assam. To check this unrestrained large scale entry of foreigners, the Parliament enacted the Immigrants (Expulsion From Assam) Act, 1950. This Act gave power to the central and the state governments to expel and drive out any person who came to the state secretly and illegally. The main objective of the central government was to check the entry of foreigners into the state. The state government enacted this legislation to safeguard the interests of the natives of Assam. However, the state government fell short of implementing the law effectively. It was a serious lapse on the part of the state government to have overlooked such a significant piece of legislation. The steps of the state government should have been directed towards restraining the entry of foreigners into the state. Instead, the state government did not act swiftly and its indifferent reaction made the situation more serious. Finally, a turning point reached when the students were forced to persuade the state government to act according to the provisions of law and check the unrestrained flow of foreign nationals into Assam.

The All Assam Students' Union, in association with the press successfully mobilized public opinion among the people of Assam to achieve the objective that the by-election to the Mangoldoi constituency should be delayed till the names of all foreign nationals were removed from the electoral rolls. They also insisted on the detection and banishment of foreign nationals from Assam. In addition, they easily persuaded a large section of the Assamese about the unlawful inclusion of names of foreign nationals in the electoral rolls in all other constituencies. In other words, they were successful in spreading the issue to the Assamese people and in organizing them for a struggle to safeguard their distinctiveness. The leadership of the movement gave a call for a 12 hour Assam *bandh* on 8th June 1979. The response to the *bandh* was entirely peaceful in the Brahmaputra Valley. Besides, this *bandh* had given the required confidence to the leadership. Notably, this was the commencement of a dynamic phase of protest actions and mass mobilizations. However, the Mangoldoi bye-election did not take place as the Janata government at the centre collapsed and preparation for all bye-elections to the Lok-Sabha had to be cancelled on 22nd August 1979.

The leadership of the movement continued their protests in various forms. After having successfully prevented the holding of elections in 12 Lok Sabha seats, the next significant protest action was the blockade of crude oil in Assam. This massive protest started when thousands of supporters of the movement on

27th December 1979 moved into diverse oil installations and refineries in Assam and discontinued the flow of crude oil outside Assam which led to the stoppage of the functioning of Barauni refinery in Bihar. The district administration supported by police gave instructions for the dispersal of picketers at Duliajan, the headquarters of Oil India Limited, on 18th January 1980. When the picketers declined to leave, the police was forced to use tear gas and then fired to disperse the picketers. In this police firing, four persons were killed and many were injured. The leadership of the movement expressed their grief over the death of four persons and declared them as martyrs of the movement.

It is to be noted here that the oil blockage received an overwhelming response. The supporters picketed the oil installations day and night. The successful blockade also highlighted the fury and annoyance of average Asamiya against the centre for discriminating against the state in the matter of industrialization. As a result, the oil-blockade put tremdous pressure on the centre to think seriously about the movement and to look for a solution. Also to note, this was the most important pressure that the leadership exerted on the central government with the help of mass support.

In the mid-term poll held in early January 1980, the Congress party won unanimously with more than two-thirds majority in the Lok Sabha and formed a new government at the centre under the Prime Ministership of Mrs Indira Gandhi. Once the central government was formed, the AASU proposed a written memorandum to the Prime Minister on 2nd February 1980, in which they conveyed their views on various issues and their demands and even put forward a solution to the Assam deadlock. The demands of AASU and AAGSP (All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad) are given below:

- Foreign nationals must be identified and expelled from India.
- Names of foreign nationals must be deleted from the electoral rolls before holding any election in Assam. Also inclusion of names of foreign nationals in electoral rolls in future should be made unfeasible with the assistance of requisite and robust election machinery.
- Patrolling of Indian borders with its neighbouring countries should be done rigorously to check infiltration.
- Identity cards with photographs fixed should be issued to Indian voters living in Assam for authenticity purpose.
- Necessary protection to the local people of the North Eastern region should be provided in the subsequent 15-20 years under the Indian Constitution.
- The government of Assam should be given the power to decline any (citizenship) certificate issued by the district authorities of West Bengal and Tripura.
- Last but not the least, power to grant citizenship certificate delegated to the state governments, should be taken back by the central government from the state governments, so that those foreigners who are identified

and expelled from Assam do not come back with citizenship certificates issued by other states.

The mass movement was organized on the lines of Gandhian principles of nonviolence, democracy and secularism. The people of Assam ardently supported the students in this movement. The people organized a peaceful march to the oil pumping station at Narengi in Guwahati. However, there were some minor incidents of violence but that was the work of those who were against the movement. The mass movement was organized on a large scale. The people of Assam and the leaders of the movement had to endure severe hardships in conducting this peaceful combat. Many people lost their lives and some had to undergo extreme physical abuse. Students lost an entire academic year. Hence, one can surmise that the government failed to understand the needs, demands and aspirations of the people of Assam. As a result, the Government of India enacted several laws to suppress the voice of the people participating in the mass movement. The AASU and AAGSP launched a mass movement in which people from diverse caste, creed and religion participated whole-heartedly.

A Memorandum of Understanding, generally known as the Assam Accord 1985, was signed between the Government of India and the leadership of the movement in New Delhi on 15th August 1985. The signing of the Assam Accord, 1985, was responded positively by the people of Assam. Some of the provisions of the Assam Accord, 1985 are mentioned below:

- Both the parties agreed upon a mutually acceptable year as the deadline or target for identifying foreign nationals in Assam.

- The year 1966 was accepted as the target year for identifying foreigners and 1971 was distinguished as the target year for expelling foreign nationals from Assam.

- It was accepted by both the parties that those who entered Assam between 1st January 1966 and 24th March 1971 would be identified, permitted to stay in Assam and defranchised for 10 years. After this period, the right to vote would be given to them once again. In addition, those who crossed the international border after 24th March 1971 would be expelled.

- Apart from this, the Government at the Centre accepted to offer constitutional, legislative and administrative safeguards to secure, shelter and promote the cultural, social, linguistic identity and traditions of the people of Assam.

- The central government also agreed to increase patrolling across the border and to check future infiltration by building physical barriers such as walls and barbed-wire fencing.

- The Government of India also accepted to pull out the cases of disciplinary actions against its employees for their participation in the movement and relaxed the age limit of candidates from Assam for all UPSC conducted examinations.

- The central government gave its consent to build a new Indian Institute of Technology (IIT) and a refinery in the private sector in Assam. It also agreed to request the Election Commission to make sure the groundwork of a just electoral roll.

Therefore, the Assam Movement culminated in the signing of the Assam Accord, 1985.

3.3.2 Nupi-lan (Women's War of Manipur, 1939 AD)

During the initial part of 1939 major non-Manipuri traders from outside Manipur and some of the resident rice mill owners began to buy local paddy in large quantities and sold it outside Manipur. This resulted in the sudden disappearance of rice from the markets and consequently, rising costs. The locals of Manipur experienced many problems, especially poor women who were forced to sell off their belongings to buy paddy.

On 12 December 1939, thousands of women from Imphal and other adjoining rural areas carried out a protest march from the Khwairamban market to the State Secretariat stressing on their demand to put an end to the export of rice. The Secretariat was crowded with women. Mr. T. A. Sharpe, the then President of the British Manipur Secretariat, communicated his powerlessness to grant their demands because Maharaja Churachand (the ruler of Manipur from 1891 till 1941) was away to Nabadweep on a pilgrimage.

He said that only the Maharaja has the supreme power to approve of such a demand. His laid-back response annoyed the women even more and the demonstration turned more intense. In that situation, Mr. Sharpe agreed to send a telegram to the Maharaja in Nabadweep in order to get his consent.

By the time the telegram was sent, the number of women had already reached more than fifteen thousand.

Once he had sent the telegraphic message, Mr. Sharpe was about to leave. However, the women were adamant that he should stay back and wait for the reply from the Maharaja. He said that he wanted to go for his lunch. This angered the women, who began to shout that they had been starving since the past two days and that Mr. Sharpe should get a flavour of what the women have suffered.

The intensity of their slogans became stronger. When the news of Mr. Sharpe's arrest at the Telegraph office got circulated, the commandant of the 4th Assam Rifles Major Bulfield and Civil Surgeon Major P.H. Cummins came to look into the situation. Both of them were let into the premises. However, they were not allowed to leave it. From the Cantonment boundary Post at the Kangla Complex, where the Union Jack flew high atop a large iron shaft, the situation was being watched by the army.

At 2 PM, troops were summoned and a platoon of the 4th Assam Rifles, led by a British commanding officer started to disperse the crowd. Some of the women were pushed out of the balcony and many were hauled into a nearby pond into the freezing water. Others were crushed, physically assaulted or attacked

with bayonets. The injured lay on their backs with their clothes soaked with blood all over until 10.30 PM.

In spite of all this, they did not give in and stayed there till the wee hours of the morning of the cold December. Only after the civil and military officers gave them their word that the army was pulling back from the scene, did they agree to end their protest.

Thus, the women emerged victorious in the end. In the morning that followed, a telegram came from the Maharaja, which ordered all exports of rice to be stopped with immediate effect. This struggle of the Manipuri women is known as 'Nupi-Lan' (Women's War) and December 12 has been declared a state holiday, as a tribute to this gallant episode.

3.3.3 Meira Paibi Movement

Meira Paibi is women's fraternity and one of the major working class human rights agitations in Manipur. It consists of almost the whole of mature Meitei female population of all Meitei towns and villages. It is the overseer of civil rights violations at the community level, initiating and engaging in campaigns against rights violations, such as arbitrary detention, cordon and search operations, and torture, committed by the security personnel of the federal government of India.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

4. When was the Assam Accord signed between the Government of India and the leadership of the Assam Movement in New Delhi?

5. Name the two main organizations which spearheaded the Assam Movement?

6. Which year was earmarked as the target year for expelling foreign nationals from Assam under the Assam Accord of 1985?

7. Who was the ruler of Manipur from 1891 till 1941?

8. What is Meira Paibi?

3.4 SUMMARY

- The environmental movement, an expression that comprises preservation and green politics, is a broad scientific, social and political movement for dealing with environment-related problems.

- Environmentalists promote the ongoing organization of resources and preservation of the environment through revolution in public policies and individual attitudes. In its acknowledgement of humankind as a contributor in (not enemy of) ecosystems, the movement focuses on environmental science, wellbeing and human rights.

- The regional framework and particulars of the cultural environment of India's North East are distinctly evident in their social movements.

- Social movements of the North East can be segregated on the basis of the following topics: conceptual issues; women's movements; youth movements; social awakening and revivalism; religious movements; educational movements.

- The Assam Movement is an outcome of Assamese nationalism. The supposed desertion and economic abuse by the Indian state are the major causes of the intensification of this breakaway movement. Both the involved parties are disinclined to negotiate on the distribution of power and as a result, the common people of Assam are bearing the brunt of the consequences.

- The Nupi Lan, which began as a movement by Manipuri women to protest against the economic policies and monopolies of the Maharaja and the Traders, gradually transformed into a movement to bring about changes in the constitution and administration of Manipur.

- Meira Paibi is women's organization and one of the biggest human rights movements for waged people in Manipur.

3.5 KEY TERMS

- **Jhum cultivation**: It is the process of growing crops by first clearing the land of trees and vegetation and burning them thereafter. The burnt soil contains potash which increases the nutrient content of the soil.

- **Meira Paibi**: It is a women's social movement in the Indian state of Manipur. Referred to as the 'guardians of civil society', Meira Paibi dates to 1977 in Kakching, Thoubal district.

- **Jan Lokpal Bill**: The Jan Lokpal Bill, also referred to as the Citizen's Bill, is an anti-corruption bill drawn up by civil society activists in India seeking the appointment of a Jan Lokpal, an independent body to investigate corruption cases.

3.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. The struggles of the people on the issues of their livelihood and access to forest and other natural resources are coined as 'environmental movements'.

2. Forest struggles may be divided into two; those that were a reprise to direct commercial exploitation and those that were a response to commercial exploitation legitimized as 'scientific forestry'.

3. In one of the articles on Chipko in the environmental magazine, *Down to Earth*, Shamsher Singh Bhisht, a Chipko activist is quoted as saying that the main reason for the failure of the movement is the role that the media played.

4. The Assam Accord was signed between the Government of India and the leadership of the Assam Movement in New Delhi on 15 August 1985.

5. The two main organizations which spearheaded the Assam Movement were AASU and AAGSP.

6. The year 1971 was earmarked as the target year for expelling foreign nationals from Assam under the Assam Accord of 1985.

7. Maharaja Churachand was the ruler of Manipur from 1891 till 1941.

8. Meira Paibi is a women's fraternity and one of the major working class human rights agitations in Manipur.

3.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. Name some of the popular movements of India.
2. Name some social activists of the recent times in India.
3. How is public opinion being mobilized on environmental issues?
4. How can forest struggles be classified?
5. How does Harsh Sethi divide environmental struggles?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Write a note on ecological and environmental movements.
2. Describe the happenings in the Narmada Bachao Andolan.
3. What are the salient features of the Assam Movement?
4. Trace the emergence of Nupi-lan.

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NOTES

UNIT 4 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS OF THE WORLD

Structure

4.0 INTRODUCTION

An interdisciplinary research into the theories of social movements, within social sciences, usually seeks to elucidate the reason for the occurrence of social mobilization and the varieties in which it manifests, as well as possible social, cultural, and political outcome. More lately, social movements have been studied under the discipline of contentious politics.

The Marxist theory of movement argues for an ontological conception of social movements and highlights an array of concepts for the analysis of composite action of prevalent and secondary groups. Marxism is a theory that originates from and was fashioned for social movements. This unit discusses Gramsci's, Louis Althusser's and Nicos Poulantzas' post-Marxist perspectives on social movements.

In this unit, we also learn about Max Weber's perspective on social movements and also a bit about post-Weberian perspectives on social movements. Weber also acknowledged quite a few factors that mediated people's response to inequality. If the authority of the people in power was regarded as rightful by those over whom they had power, then disputes were less severe. This unit also highlights the contemporary social movements and their politics.

4.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Explain Marxist and post-Marxist social movements
- Analyse Weberian and post-Weberian social movements

• Discuss structural-functional social movements

• Describe the contemporary social movements and their politics

4.2 MAJOR SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN THE WORLD AND THEIR IMPACT ON INDIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Before the Renaissance, most people lived on large estates, called manors. The lord of the manor controlled the lives of the people who had to submit to the lord completely. The king and the feudal lords owned most of the land. People who served were called serfs. The peasants led a miserable life. They were forced to do all the work and were heavily burdened with taxes. People owed their loyalty to their immediate overlord and the king practically had no control over the lords. This system was called Feudalism. The medieval church also had grown into a powerful institution, acting as another powerful landlord. These little communities contained within their boundaries nearly all that they needed. As a result, there was little trade or commerce. People used the barter system for exchange of goods. This period is often referred to as the European 'Dark Ages'.

Feudalism gradually gave way to a system, which facilitated the growth of flourishing towns and commercial centres all over Europe resulting in tumultuous changes in society. This period is called the Renaissance*.*

End of Feudalism

The Holy Wars or the Crusades brought the Europeans in contact with the Arabs. The Arabs were the most progressive people at that time. Contact with them helped spread new knowledge to Europe. Trade with the Arabs was encouraged, which helped European traders to become wealthy. There was great demand for Eastern goods in the European markets. New trade centres came up in Italy and other countries. However, the sea routes to South-East Asian countries were under the control of the Arabs and the Turks. In AD 1453, the Turks captured Constantinople, the Byzantine capital, which was a great seat of learning. Scholars fled to Italy with the ancient manuscripts of Greece and Rome. Here, under the patronage of wealthy merchants of the Italian cities like Florence, Venice and Turin they were given refuge and encouraged to pursue their learning.

The importance and power of the manor started declining with the growth of trade and commerce; because, besides the landlords, the merchants also became wealthy. They started supporting the kings and princes, became more influential in society and took control of large estates as well. The princes, with the support they received, organized large armies and became powerful enough to establish their own laws and control the disobedient feudal lords more effectively. People from the manors gradually freed themselves from the bondage of serving the landlords and started to pursue different professions and occupations. They began to question their old beliefs and their conditions, which marked the beginning of the Renaissance period in Europe. Almost everything was questioned.

Renaissance and Modernization

The reawakening of interest in the study of ancient classics generated a spirit of enquiry. This movement came to be known as Renaissance, which means 'rebirth' or 'revival'. The movement started in Italy around the fifteenth century AD and soon spread to the whole of Europe. Its impact was first felt on literature. Human existence on earth itself became the focus of study.

Knowledge was pursued to understand human affairs and find solutions to human problems. This new attitude was called 'Humanism'. Authors like Shakespeare and Milton wrote on various aspects of life. Scholars like Dante and Thomas More wrote about the society. Renaissance scholars like Francesco Petrarch and Giovanni Boccaccio, both Italians, wrote in their national language. This was different from the earlier times when gods and other religious themes were the only important subjects of study for all scholars.

The Renaissance also gave rise to new art forms. Inspired by the spirit of humanism, the artists produced paintings which were natural and realistic. They studied the human form along with its expressions and movements. They saw in it grace and perfection. Leonardo da Vinci, Michelangelo and Raphael were the greatest artists of this period. Leonardo was a genius. He was a painter, scientist, philosopher and a poet and is regarded as the symbol of the Renaissance spirit, where the human form and secular themes became the focus of paintings and sculptures.

The Last Supper and *Mona Lisa* are his masterpieces. Michelangelo is famous for his paintings of the Sistine Chapel at the Vatican (*Creation of Adam, Fall of Man, Last Judgement*). He was also a great sculptor and an architect. These painters also observed the beauty and harmony of nature. Sculpture was also inspired by the grace of the human form. Greek and Roman art greatly influenced the sculptors. It was the first time that free standing figures were made. The Renaissance Movement also reawakened the spirit of scientific inquiry, which means to accept something only after experimentation and observation. Scientific experiments and observations led to new discoveries, which often challenged established Church beliefs. One must remember that as Christianity had continued to spread throughout the world, the Church had become both popular and wealthy. Education and learning were confined to the four walls of the Church.

Copernicus, a Polish astronomer, proved that the earth revolves around the sun. This new heliocentric theory shattered an old Christian belief that the earth was the centre of the universe.

Forty years later, Galileo, who invented the telescope, also proved that the theory of Copernicus was correct. But the Church refused to accept this. Sir Isaac Newton proved that all heavenly bodies move according to the law of gravitation. Other areas of science like medicine, chemistry, and the physical sciences also underwent a revolution. In medicine, the human anatomy was studied in depth. William Harvey discovered the circulation of blood.

About this time John Gutenberg and Caster of Germany invented the printing press and books became cheap and easily available. This helped to spread the new knowledge. Earlier the only books available were in handwritten manuscripts which were very rare in circulation. Therefore knowledge was limited to a very few people. The Church resisted the spread of the new knowledge because it would weaken its influence on common people. But scholars went on with their work in spite of being declared heretics. They could do so because of the support they got from enlightened rulers.

Enlightenment—Movement of New Thoughts

Is the surface of the earth flat or is it a sphere? If it were flat people would fall off from the edge!

Where is the edge of the earth? These were some of the questions which the geographical explorers had in their minds when they set off for a voyage on the unknown seas. The only way to find out was to prove whatever was told. Only a sea voyage could provide the answer.

When the Turks captured Constantinople in AD 1453, the traditional land trade routes to the East came under their control. But there was great demand for Asian goods such as spices, indigo, and textiles in the European market. Since many European cities thrived on this trade with the East, European rulers and wealthy merchants in Portugal and Spain (like Henry the navigator, King of Portugal) began to finance new sea routes to the East. Maps were chalked out and the invention of the mariner's compass helped to make navigation easier. The discovery of these sea routes changed the course of world history.

In AD 1488, Bartholomew Diaz sailed down the west coast of Africa and reached its southern tip, which he named the Cape of Good Hope. Sailing in the same direction, Vasco da Gama successfully reached Calicut in AD 1498. In AD 1499 Amerigo Vespucci discovered America.

Magellan, sailing westwards and went round the world. However, the English, the French and the Dutch, who carved vast colonial empires for themselves in different parts of the world, left behind the Portuguese and the Spanish, who were pioneers in the field of explorations.

Industrial Revolution

By the 17th century, the economic relationships in society were changing so rapidly that the new system which emerged had nothing similar to the former system. Technological inventions led to the setting up of new and big machinery, which could produce goods at a much faster rate than manual labour would do earlier. The implications of this were so widespread that change in the technological set up spearheaded a revolution in the entire society in Europe, generally referred to as the Industrial Revolution. The medieval period in Europe was an age of feudalism. Agriculture was the main occupation and everybody was associated with land directly or indirectly. Artisans and craftsmen produced goods manually with the help of a few simple tools. Every village had its own blacksmiths, carpenters and weavers, winepress and bakery. Needs were few

and simple and villages were self-sufficient. Gradually, the demand for goods increased with a corresponding increase in population. The old methods of production were too slow and inadequate to meet the demands.

This gave a stimulus for trying out various experiments to increase the production. As a result, machines were invented and industrial and machine-manufactured goods replaced handmade goods. The 'factory system' of production began to develop in the 18th century. Thus, the onslaught of inventions during the 18th and 19th centuries led to the mechanization of different industries resulting in a great increase in industrial production and consequent comprehensive social change. This phenomenon has come to be known as the Industrial Revolution.

Machines replaced manual labour as they could produce more in less time. The use of new technology to produce in bulk for a larger market beyond the boundaries of one's village or town was also an outcome of the Industrial Revolution.

The Industrial Revolution began to sweep over England in the 18th century. This revolution transformed the society as people moved from the countryside to towns in order to work in factories. Practically speaking, two events made the revolution possible. First, Abraham Darby discovered coke in 1709 as a better fuel than charcoal for smelting iron. The invention of improved steam power to pump water out of coal mines (1698) was very important. Along with this, a series of inventions took place in England, which revolutionized the textile industry. James Hargreaves' spinning jenny (1764), and Richard Arkwright's spinning frame powered by water made it possible to increase production of cloth tremendously. There were improvements in the iron and coal industries too. Mining became safer with the invention of the water pump to draw out water from the mines, while Davy's safety lamp provided safety to the miners while working inside the mines.

To facilitate quicker movement of goods and workers, new and faster means of transport and communications were introduced. Roads and bridges were also constructed. The invention of the steam locomotive by George Stephenson is a landmark in the field of transportation. Now, raw material could be brought from all parts of the world. As the demand for goods increased, the cottage industries could not meet the growing needs of the consumers. A new class of people emerged who established factories which produced goods in bulk using new machines. Improved means of transport helped factory owners in the collection of cheap raw materials from distant places and even overseas. The goods were produced in bulk and distributed all over. The use of machines helped in cutting the cost. Factory owners were concerned mainly with profit and did not care for the welfare of the artisans and factory workers. The workers gained little from the Industrial Revolution.

The French Revolution (1789–1795)

During the War of American Independence many French soldiers had fought against the British as volunteers supporting the fight for democracy in America.

They were greatly influenced by the life force, which they had witnessed in America. They spread these ideas far and wide and a revolution broke out in France in 1789, a landmark in European history. This revolution changed the social, political, economic life of France and affected the course of world history. In the 18th century France was a feudal society under the authority of the monarch. It was divided into three classes or estates namely, the clergy, the nobility and the commoners who formed 95 per cent of the population. The first two classes lived in luxury and did not have to bear the burden of taxation. The commoners were underprivileged. Even the rich middle class, consisting of merchants and factory-owners fell into this category. They had wealth but no political rights. They had to pay heavy taxes and resented the privileges enjoyed by the aristocrats. The workers and the peasants who suffered as a result of the then existing social system wanted to change it. French philosophers like Voltaire and Rousseau inspired people with revolutionary ideas of liberty and equality. The evils of the autocratic king, Louis XVI, his ambitious wife, Marie Antoinette, the clergy and the nobility were highlighted. The king and his wife managed to empty the treasury with their pleasure loving and extravagant lifestyle. The rich were exempted from taxes while the poor were driven to desperation with heavier taxation.

People were motivated and decided to revolt against every injustice. The common masses gathered in thousands on the streets of Paris and on July 14, 1789 broke open the state prison at Bastille. Bastille, the symbol of monarchy, was overthrown. The fall of the Bastille was a victory of the French people, who rose up against the old order. The years of bloodshed, however, later led to the emergence of a dictator, who made himself emperor—Napoleon Bonaparte. The king and queen were executed.

The National Assembly, represented by the people of the third estate, adopted the famous 'Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen'. It declared that men are born free, have equal rights and are equal in the eyes of the law. The French monarchy was abolished and France became a republic with liberty, equality and fraternity as its guiding principles. A constitutional monarchy was established in France in 1791 but it was not successful.

France between 1789 and 1799 went through turmoil due to lack of efficient governance. It clearly showed that even if monarchy was overthrown, it takes a long time to bring back normalcy in a country. Around this time Napoleon rose in the ranks of the army to the position of First Consul, the highest official in the country. Through his military strategies he won many territories for France and he soon declared himself an emperor in December 1804. France became a powerful nation in Europe under Napoleon. But this time it was more of a constitutional monarchy than an autocratic system.

Development of Democracy in America

After having established itself as a Democratic country in 1789, USA marched towards economic progress. The states in the north developed large manufacturing units and were looking forward to becoming a strong industrial economy. There

was growth of towns and cities with the introduction of railways and construction of canals. On the other hand, the states in the south had large plantations of cash crops which formed the basis of their economy. Most people were involved in either cotton or sugar plantations. The regions were predominantly rural in character. It exchanged raw materials for industrial goods.

Meanwhile, Europe was in the initial stage of the Industrial Revolution. Textile factories required bales of cotton, which was being supplied by the planters of the southern states. The demand for cotton grew and with that the demand for labour also increased. In those days slaves were brought from Africa, transported in ships under harsh conditions and made to work in misery. They were not given any wages. They were auctioned in public like any other property. They had to live in unhygienic conditions, were poorly fed and suffered from various diseases. The cotton plantation was based on the practice of slavery without which the economy would not have run. Hence, they were in favour of slavery and wanted to spread it further.

However, the northern states wanted to abolish the slave trade. Slavery was looked upon as an evil. These states believed in liberal ideas. Even in the British Empire slavery was abolished by the middle of the 19th century. The northern states began the anti-slavery movement. This anti-slavery feeling was further strengthened by Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* which portrayed the ugly side of slavery. This threatened the southern states as cotton plantation economy was based largely on these slaves.

Secondly, the southern states wanted to remain as individual states and demanded for power to take their own decision. The northern states on the other hand decided to remain as one nation. The USA has a federal government at the centre and is a union of 50 states.

Next, Abraham Lincoln who had spoken against slavery was selected as a candidate for President for the Republican Party of USA in 1860. This further widened the gap between the northern and southern states.

Finally, when Abraham Lincoln became the President in AD 1860, the southern states seceded from the union. The 11 states established a new nation called the Confederate States of America. Jefferson Davis became its President.

Civil War

The secession of the southern states ultimately led to the outbreak of the civil war on April 12 1861 which ended in 1865. A civil war is a war between members of the same society. The issue of slavery affected presidential elections in the 1850s and 1860s in USA. Abraham Lincoln, who became the President of America in 1860, was from the north and had come to power with the aim of abolishing slavery in USA. Slavery was considered to be a blotch in the American society as its constitution considered everybody of equal status. The states in the North, or the Federal Union led by President Lincoln, fought the war not only to abolish slavery but also to establish that no state can secede from the union, whatever the issue might be.

The American Civil War (1861–65), a bitterly fought war, also introduced some elements of modern warfare. A musket was replaced by a rifle and early machine guns; armoured steam powered ships were some of the weapons which began to be used. Submarines and even balloons (to observe movement of enemies) were also used. Communication and transport systems were also being advanced this time. Telegraph was used extensively and for the first time in the history of warfare, the steam boat and the railroad steam engine was used. Most of this war was fought in the southern states and almost 600,000 men were killed and many others wounded.

The battle at Gettysburg was the bloodiest. Almost 50,000 soldiers were killed in three days of fighting in July 1863. In 1863 he was invited to deliver a speech at the national cemetery at Gettysburg. Lincoln spoke about the survival of a nation dedicated to freedom. This speech has become famous in history as the Gettysburg speech where he issued the Emancipation Proclamation and abolished slavery in the south. Henceforth the federal troops marched on to the southern states, and by April 1865, Robert Lee surrendered to Union general, Ulysses Grant.

Effects of the Civil War

The federalists went about restoring the Union after the civil war was over. They started the process of repealing the acts of secession, and also accepted them as part of the union. The 13th amendment of the Constitution, which sought to abolish slavery, was finally adopted in 1865. The country was reunited but, many new problems emerged.

The states defined citizenship and sought to prevent any state from showing unfairness towards any class of citizens. But the southern states lay in ruins, so the successors of Abraham Lincoln adopted policies to reconstruct the economy of the south. As a result, the next ten years in American history is known as the 'reconstruction' period.

Asia—New Awakening

China

China has undergone a change in the direction of private capitalism, but in a very different way from nations of Eastern Europe. Firstly, the 'Communist' Party has remained in control, and secondly, there has been no introduction of any form of parliamentary democracy or multi-party system.

The economic changes in China can be dated from 1978, and it is useful to divide them into changes in industry and those in agriculture. It should be borne in mind that even today China is a predominantly agricultural country and most of the population lives in villages rather than towns or cities. However, the population living in urban areas is now growing, with many workers from the countryside migrating to cities.

Starting in 1980, parallel changes were introduced in industry. While state-owned industries remain dominant, they are run on a much less centralized basis, with a lot more managerial control. Private companies have been encouraged, and overseas investment has been invited in at ever-increasing rates (enticed by the prospects of masses of cheap labour).

The growth in the private sector is unsurprising, given that nearly half of state owned enterprises make a loss. A number of Special Economic Zones have been set up to attract foreign investment, with favourable tax and trade regulations. China is second only to the U.S.A. in terms of attracting overseas investment—£16 billion was invested in 1994. Over 20 cities now have stock exchanges, with over 200,000 people working in the security and capital market sectors.

Corruption has been endemic, with many top government and Party officials (and, in particular, members of their families) implicated. There can, of course, be no doubt, that China is a class-divided society. While 70 million people live below the official poverty line, earning less than 300 yuan per year, there are one million people who have assets of over one million yuan.

Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolution refers to a series of political upheavals that occurred in 1917 and led to the establishment of the Soviet Union, which would be involved in official government issues until 1991. The Russian Revolution wasn't a simple process. In fact, it took the Bolshevik party several attempts before they finally got control of the government.

The first step of the revolution was overthrowing Tsar Nicholas II of Russia, exiling the family to Siberia, and eventually killing all members of the Romanov family. The Russian revolution started in February 1917 and was a direct result of the disastrous socio-economic conditions the Russian people were living in. Deplorable working conditions and overcrowding led to social unrest, and the strain of World War I only furthered the turmoil.

The beginnings of the Russian Revolution did not have a specific goal. On 23 February 1917, workers simply took to the streets of Petrograd to complain about shortages of food. In a matter of days, most local shops and factories had shut down to join the protest. Soldiers and police officers eventually joined the protest, and all attempts to restore civil order were crushed. On the first few days of March 1917, Nicholas II abdicated and was quickly replaced by a Provisional Government put together by the Duma Socialist Party.

By October 1917, raising concerns over the future of the country resulted in a second Russian revolution. Led by Vladimir Lenin and the Bolshevik party, this resulted in the overthrowing of the Russian Provisional Government. Civil war followed, but it was clear that the Bolsheviks were there to stay. Nonetheless, millions of people tried to keep the Russian revolution alive by fighting ardently to overthrow the Communist government.

4.2.1 Marxist and Post-Marxist Social Movements

The studies of social movements in India with the Marxist perspective have analysed caste and politics, modes of production, class relations and access to resources and opportunities. It applied the Marxist approach, with certain modifications, to the study of social change. In analysing the emergence of the new class structure, he found the role of the Indian tradition immensely useful. The Indian tradition is both a resilient and an adaptive cultural force. Tradition is a conserving force; it brings about adjustment by easing tensions and conflicts.

The Marxian analysis of society has brought a revolutionary change in the field of social movements. Marxism lays emphasis on economic and social factors. It does not see any basic' conflict in man's self-interest and social interest. Man cannot be studied in isolation from social circumstances. He should be understood in the totality of his social relations. It supports revolutionary politics. Politics before revolution is necessary for the working class to capture the State power. Lenin regarded politics as a study of relations between classes that are engaged in power struggle. He formulated the idea that the first stage of worker's revolution is the capture of the State power. Without capturing the State power, the working class cannot emancipate itself, society cannot be classless and the socialist aims and objectives cannot be achieved. After the revolution, Lenin said, 'The task of administering the State, which now confronts the Soviet Government, has the special feature that probably features for the first time in the history of civilized nations. It deals pre-eminently with economics rather than with politics. Marxism lays emphasis on economic factor or materialism. It challenges all liberal values and beliefs and its views of politics are diametrically opposed to the liberal view of politics. The important features of the Marxian doctrine are the materialistic interpretation of history, the theory of Class struggle and the Marxian theory of withering away of the State. The Marxian society is based on the concept of the classless society, free from exploitation and injustice. In such a society there is no necessity of the State and the State is abolished or withers away.

Harold Laski (a British Marxist, political theorist, economist, author, and lecturer) observes, 'The Marxian philosophy of history (materialistic interpretation of history) is the instance where the primary motive force in social changes is the system of economic production, at any given time. To its needs, all other forms of social efforts will adjust themselves, consciously or unconsciously. Law, religion, politics, philosophy, all these are born of the reaction upon the human mind of the methods by which men wrest from nature the necessary means of life'. Engels writes, 'The State is nothing but organized collective power of the possessing classes, the land owners and the capitalists as again the exploited classes, the peasants and the workers'. Marxism believes that the State is basically a bad institution and it is a great burden on the entire society. Thus, Marx was against the State and sought its ultimate and complete abolition.

The two views of politics, the liberal and the Marxist, are opposed to each other. On one hand, the liberal view politics is a state activity for the promotion and development of a common good in society. On the other hand, Marxists regard politics as a mere form of perpetual class struggle between two antagonistic classes. The main difference between two views is that according to the liberal view, politics is there to resolve conflict, maintain order and justice, serve the common good of the whole society and safeguard the rights and liberties of individuals. According to the Marxian view, politics is a reflection of class struggle and it is used by the rich for the exploitation of the poor. In short, if liberalism is said to be a thesis, Marxism presents its antithesis.

When we come to the Marxist perspectives of state, we find that Marxism categorically rejects the liberal view of the state. The rejection is based upon the Marxist view of society as a class society—a society where the interests of different classes are fundamentally opposite and always at odds. The state in such a society, instead of being the common trustee of the whole society, becomes an essential means of class domination. Marxism claims that the purpose of the state is to safeguard the existing order and to suppress the resistance of other classes. The emergence of the state consisted in the formation of a special public authority having army, police, prisons and various other institutions of coercion. In a society based on private possession of the means of production, the state is always an instrument of exploitation, a dictatorship of a special kind for the suppression of the exploited masses. Marxism regards the state as an institution whose function is to maintain and defend class domination and exploitation. The task of Marxist theory of revolution, which Marx held to be the inevitable outcome of the class struggle, is to establish a new society based upon a new economic order. This will be done by the proletariat, by controlling the state power. The object of proletarian revolution is not to establish class rule but to abolish private property, to reconstruct the economic system on the socialist basis and to establish a classless society.

The Marxian approach to social analysis is primarily associated with the name of Karl Marx. Karl Marx is regarded as one of the greatest political thinkers of all times. His writings had tremendous impact on the study of political science. The Marxian approach rejects all liberal tenets, values and beliefs and attaches great importance to the material conditions of life, specially the mode of production. Marx is of the opinion that historical changes are due to material conditions. Ideas are not the motivating factor in human history. Rather, they are only the products of material conditions of society. Thus, the real motivating factor in historical change is matter or mode of producing material things. Hence the central idea of this approach is the concept of the mode of production or economic factor. Some of the basic tenets of the Marxian approach may be discussed as follows:

1. Firstly, the Marxian approach holds that the political system cannot be studied without the economic system. It is the economic sub-structure which determines the political, ethical, cultural, religious, psychological and ideological superstructure of society. The State is

viewed as a dependent element of a total social process in which the principal moving forces are those which originate from a particular mode of production.

2. Secondly, the Marxian approach regards that the mode of production contains within it the elements of class struggle. Politics is viewed in terms of specific articulation of class struggle by the Marxists. It cannot resolve the class conflict. 'The history of hitherto society is the history of class struggle.'

3. Thirdly, the Marxian approach does not give any importance to individuals. Unlike the liberals, Marxists argue that 'society does not consist of individuals, but expresses the sum of interrelations and relations within which these individuals stand.

4. Fourthly, the Marxian approach supports 'the conflict model', rather than 'the consensus model', in politics and society. It believes in conflict or sudden change. It advocates revolution as the only way to get rid of mankind from inhumanity, inequality and exploitation. Hence it upholds revolutionary methods in politics as it results in emancipation of the working class.

5. Lastly, the Marxian approach concludes that, 'conflict is inherent in the class system, incapable of a solution within that system'. It aims at the establishment of a classless society, as only in a classless society the State and politics 'will wither away'.

The Marxian approach is not free from criticism. It attaches undue importance to economic factors. It focuses very little and superficial attention to psychological and other factors. Its idea of classless society and withering away of the State is a utopian concept. Notwithstanding the above criticisms, the Marxian approach of political analysis is of great significance as it serves as a starting point or a guide to inquiry. The Theory of Conflict and the Theory of Alienation are two important contributions of the Marxian analysis. Thus, the Marxist approach to the study of political science stands as a class in itself. It is totally different from the liberal approach. In fact, Marxism makes use of the state for building a new socialist society.

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels are the main architects of the dialectical-historical approach. The four phases of social change in there scheme are: the Asiatic, the ancient, the feudal and the modern bourgeoisie as modes of production. Initially, Karl Marx thought of India as a static, historical and primeval social formation. However, it was wrong to think of India as fixed and stationary. Marx revised his views later on. According to Yogendra Singh (1973), Marx mentioned five stages of social differentiation:

- The tribal community with undivided land and agriculture in common;
- Disintegration of the tribal community and its transformation into family communities with loss of common property;

- Shares fixed by inheritance rights or the degree of kinship, thus creating inequality (tribal wars further increased this inequality);

- Transformation of inequality, based on kinship, into inequality based on possession as expressed by actual cultivation; and

- A system of periodic distribution of communal land.

A.R. Desai (1966), while analysing the social background of nationalism in India, finds the Marxist approach quite appropriate and fruitful. Class-based inequalities and contradictions, according to Desai, determine the nature of social change and development. The emergence of nationalism in India is the product of the material conditions created by British colonialism.

The essence of the Marxist and the neo-Marxist views on social change is evolutionary change in human society with class and class contradictions as focal points of observation. Domination and subjugation, rich and poor, powerful and weak people (groups, societies and nations) are the main dichotomies in Marxian studies. The capitalistic world has produced social relations in this form.

Louis Dumont (1970), while advocating the cognitive historical approach, emphasizes on change as an adaptive or transformative process in the traditional ideo structure. Cultural or ideational change is a precondition to bring about change in social structure. Another approach to social change has been suggested by Gunnar Myrdal (1968). Myrdal's institutional approach highlights the non-economic factors as obstacles in economic development. He observes that the attitudes towards life, work and institutions must be changed to ensure economic development in the desired direction.

Today, the studies of social change need to make a sharp turn towards the understanding of some very basic aspects of society, namely:

- Nature of resources
- Distributive processes
- Creation of new infrastructures and institutional mechanisms
- Educational system
- Polity
- State
- Land relations
- Mechanisms of exploitation
- Wages and levels of living

With a comparative focus considering time, people and context, it is necessary to know at the levels at which social change and mobility are taking place. Bourgeoisification and proletarianization as processes of structural change, downward and upward mobility, migration and education, need to be studied on a priority basis. A study of these aspects is more important than that of pollution, purity, commensality and connubiality.

Yogendra Singh (1973) has attempted an 'integrated approach' to analyse social movements in India. His emphasis is on the sources of change, cultural structure (little and great traditions) and social structure (micro-structure and macro-structure). Singh analyses heterogenetic changes at the level of cultural structure. Islamic revolution and primary westernization (little tradition) and secondary Islamic impact and secondary westernization or modernization, are discussed at the cultural level. At the level of social structure, role differentiation, new legitimation at the micro level and political innovations, new structures of elite, bureaucracy and industry at the macro level are important aspects.

At the level of cultural structure, sanskritization or traditionalization (little tradition) and cultural renaissance (great tradition) are referred to as orthogenetic changes. At the level of social structure, pattern, recurrence, compulsive migration or population shift at the micro level, and elite circulation, succession of kings, rise and fall of cities and trade centres at the macro level are the main aspects of structural studies. Singh explains causation of social change within and without the social system or tradition. His integrated view strives at a balance between the sources of changes, cultural and social structures and within them between micro and macro levels of actual social change.

In this section we see a reference pertaining to a nebulous and ad hoc concept of globalization. Globalization literally implies a world without boundaries, allowing free movement of people, goods and services. Such a situation of the world market has become possible after disintegration of the USSR and the East Europe and liberalization of communism in China. The developed countries, particularly the USA, have assumed leadership of the globalization movement by forging change in the Communist countries including Russia and China. Now, America is invading the markets of these countries, particularly China and India, and outsourcing their trained manpower for the American market and industry. This process affected the indigenous production, consumption patterns and markets. It created a new middle class of consumers with high salaries and perks. At the moment, only a small section of our society is associated with this process. Conformity and change are universal phenomena. Change in the system and change of the system are also universally observed, but change of the system is a rare occurrence. However, change in the system is continuous and existent in almost all societies at all times. Change is a broad concept. It includes both progression and regression. Evolution, revolution, development, progress and social movements all can be called as the concepts of social change. A study of social change takes into consideration causes and consequences, their nature and differential impact on various sections of society.

We have discussed various approaches to understand structural and cultural change. Our analysis shows that cultural change has been over-emphasized, and several areas in which structural change has occurred, have been left out. A study of continuity of traditional forms of social inequality, emergence of new inequalities, and the interaction between the two could explain the nature of resources and their distributive mechanisms in the Indian society.

State and Societal Revolution in Capitalist Society

The class domination in the capitalist states is perpetuated primarily through three kinds of functions: political, techno-economic and ideological. The political functions are mainly coercive and repressive and are embodied in law, police, military, judiciary, etc. The state is always a major participant in the class struggle. It resolves and contains conflicts and also defines the terms on which conflicts occur in order to help a particular class. The so-called law and order is applied to a particular class. Another important function of the state is to protect the interests of property from depredation. While the state may appear to be independent of class struggle, the order it maintains and the order it serves is the order of the capitalist class. Although the, state performs a number of welfare functions like health, education, etc, yet these activities do not tamper with the fundamental principle of capitalist property. The state assumes that profits are legitimate and ownership of the means of production is justified. Major economic decisions are still in the hands of private individuals. In matters of wages, prices, profits, the prerogative remains with the management. The ideological functions are not directly performed by the state. They are performed by religion, education, family, legal system, trade unions, means of communication such as press, radio, TV, culture, literature, arts, etc. However, the state remains the ultimate sanctioning agency of these activities. As a result, these agencies express the power of the dominant class. On the whole, all these functions are political because their purpose is to maintain the unity of the capitalist society, based upon class domination. From the point of view of subordinate classes; the functions of the state help in the perpetuation of class division, class struggle and capitalist exploitation and alienation. Such a situation can be changed only through revolution and the establishment of a socialist state and society.

Marxism makes use of the institution of state for building a socialist society. The state, established after the revolution by the proletariat, will also be a class state but the whole purpose would be to abolish classes and class conflict and with the abolition of classes to wither away itself. The functions of the state in the socialist society will be:

1. Establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat (DP)

2. Destruction of the capitalist mode of production

3. Establishment of a socialist mode of production and socialist society

4. To wither away

The first task after the revolution will be establishment of dictatorship of the proletariat so that the power of the state could be utilized to suppress the bourgeois class, reorganize the economy, alter people's psychology and go over to the communist society. Secondly*,* the aim of the Marxist theory of revolution and DP is to expropriate the expropriators, to end class division and class struggle. For this, the citadels of capitalism will have to be attacked. So the task of the DP will be to smash the capitalist system. It is necessary to strip the bourgeoisie of its property because so long as it controls the productive process,

it remains the ruling class. Those capitalists who put up struggle must be killed, imprisoned or exiled; those who surrender join the proletariat. As Marx wrote, 'with the changes in economic foundation, the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. Only if private property is abolished at the root, can law and politics, religion, philosophy and literature–the whole pattern of the capitalist culture be changed. All these functions will be performed by DP. Political repression and dictatorship will be necessary during this period because as Marx wrote, 'we are dealing with a society not as it has developed on its own but as it emerges from the capitalist society and which is in every aspect tainted economically, morally, intellectually with the hereditary disease of the old society from those womb it is emerging'. The task of the socialist revolution is to destroy private property and place the productive process from private control to the public control.

Thirdly, the socialist state is concerned with the establishment of a socialist society. This will be achieved through economic and socio-cultural transformation. At economic level, it will mean the establishment of a socialist mode of production by concentrating all means of manufacturing in the hands of the state, centralization of credit in the hands of the state, centralization of the means of communication and transport, extension of factories and instruments of production, establishment of industrial armies, increase in production through planned economy, and equal obligation of all to work. Labour will be rewarded according to work. Differences in wealth will exist but they will not lead to exploitation. At socio-cultural level, the socialist society will be achieved by imparting scientific education which will be combined with industrial production. Also the proletarian state will establish social equality which will be devoid of discriminations based upon caste, region, language, religion or nationality. In the new society, higher level of cultural, spiritual and communal needs would grow in importance. In short, the purpose of DP is to extend and complete the socialist revolution, build an entirely different economic and social system, freeing the society of its exploiting classes, rear a new force of intelligentsia and work a revolution in peoples' mind.

Fourthly, with the end of class division and class struggle, the state will enter a new phase of development. It will create prerequisites for its own withering away. As the society becomes equalitarian, there will be no ruling class as there will be no private property. Coercion and power will cease to exist. Everyone will now be worker and society will constitute a single class which means no class at all. With the end of class struggle, the dominant role of the state will come to an end.

In short, the function of DP is to abolish the class struggle and build a socialist economy, society and culturally march towards communism and create conditions for its own withering away. While classical Marxism focused on economic theory and politics of class struggle, post-war Marxism has been more concerned with the problems of superstructure, culture, art, aesthetics, ideology, etc. Marxist writers have written extensively on the nature of capitalist society and state, the problem of socialist transformation, problems of bureaucracy and

authoritarianism, etc. This contemporary Marxism is represented by Karl Korsch, Georg Lukács, Gramsci, Caudwell, Thomson, Frankfurt School, Structuralist Marxism, New Left, Eurocommunism, etc.

4.2.2 Post-Marxist Theories

Let us analyse the post-Marxist theories.

1. Gramsci's post-Marxist perspective on social movement

Gramsci, a noted Italian Post-Marxist, viewed the state as 'an entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules'. Gramsci's views pose the state as a key to understanding the acceptance by the subordinate classes of a class society. This acceptance is the result of the capitalist class 'hegemony' and the state as an ideological apparatus which helps to legitimize this hegemony as a part of it. This hegemony is a synthesis of consent and coercion and it is located in the state in the form of political, hegemony. In building a consensus for· capitalist development, a crucial responsibility is placed on intellectuals for this legitimation. They function both, inside and outside the state. Hence, according to Gramsci, the principle feature of the state is not economic but hegemonic. Revolutionary politics is a struggle against hegemonic rule, including development, as part of that struggle, of a counter hegemony based upon working class, values and culture.

2. Louis Althusser's post-Marxist structural perspective on social movement

The structuralism of Louis Althusser and early writings of Nicos Poulantzas consider the form of capitalist state, as determined by the class relations inherent in the capitalist mode of production. Making a distinction between 'repressive state apparatus' and 'ideological state apparatus', he said that the class nature of the state is structured by economic relations, outside the state. The ideological apparatuses such as trade unions, churches, schools, etc., are the important sites of class struggle. At one and the same time, state is relatively autonomous from the economic relations in order to fulfill its class role and also the site where the dominant capitalist groups organize competitive factions of the capitalist class into class unity (hegemony). Here the state and politics are that of the dominant class, in establishing and maintaining its hegemony over subordinate groups; the dominant fraction of the ruling group through the state must create and extend capitalist hegemony over an inherently antagonistic working class. The state and politics are crucial factors for hegemonic rule.

3. Nicos Poulantzas' post-Marxist perspective on social movements

Nicos Poulantzas, another Marxist writer argues that the capitalist state itself is an arena of class conflict and that whereas the state is shaped by social class relations, it is also contested and is, therefore, the product of class struggle within the society. Politics is not simply the organization of class power through the state by dominant capitalist class groups and the use of that power to manipulate

and repress subordinate groups, it is also the site of organized conflicts by mass movements to influence state politics, gain control of the state apparatus, as well as control of the political apparatus outside the state. He views the state as the product of the fundamental character of the capitalist society, i.e., class struggle and hence a class state. However, it is a state that necessarily includes the demands of the working class. The capitalist state, rather than independent from the dominant capitalist class is relatively autonomous from it. This means that the dominant class is a conscious class and attempts to influence and control the state as an object of its socio-economic power; but at the same time, because of the existence of class struggle, the state must appear to be autonomous from the dominant class power in order to retain its legitimacy as a class state. The state must appear independent of the capitalist class and each worker must appear to have the same political power as each individual capitalist. Even as the relative autonomy of the state is necessary for its legitimacy as an authority above class struggle, the autonomy creates a contradiction of bringing the class struggle into the political apparatus and creates a possibility of subordinate classes and groups taking over the state apparatus, thereby interfering with the class reproduction fabric of the capitalist state. In this class struggle view, class relations both, inside and outside the state merge from struggle for material gains and are shaped by them. Such relations describe the nature of society and the role of the state in it.

Thus, in recent theories of the state, according to Marxist writers, it is the state and not the mode of production that should and will be the principal focus of struggle. This is not simply the result of a worldwide tendency for the state to become increasingly involved in the economy. The primacy of politics is reflected as much in the reality of the Soviet experience and of the capitalist hegemony, as the relative absence of a theory of state in traditional Marxism. Moreover, the Marxist theory of state has moved increasingly towards the position that political struggle, for the transition to socialism must essentially be democratic in the sense of counting on the experience of parliamentary and electoral struggles with social movements, workers' control and other forms of direct democracy. Extending democracy into new forms and breaking the capitalist social relations through them is a dramatic change from the traditional Marxist-Leninist 'smash the state' strategy. It reflects the post-war history. These theories represent a significant step towards revising the class perspective of the state.

4.2.3 Weberian and Post-Weberian Social Movements

Max Weber, a distinguished scholar, was born in 1864 in Germany—in that part of the country, which was then in Prussia, the land which perplexed and haunted him all his life. He passed away in June 1920—two years after the end of the First Great War, at the age of fifty-six. This was when he was about to enter the golden phase of his career. Anyway, his reputation has grown steadily since his death and his name today is much more widely known than ever in his lifetime. Weber wrote in German and his works were not known to the English-speaking and English-knowing world. Under Nazi persecution, several German scholars fled from Hitler's Germany and settled down in the US. These immigrant

scholars familiarized the world with Weber's writings but that happened after the end of the Second World War. In 1946 the Oxford University Press published Gerth and Mills' translation from Max Weber; Essays in sociology and a year later followed Henderson and Parson's translation, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*. With the availability of these works, Weber's reputation as a scholar began to rise.

Weber explains that, in no case does it refer to an objectively correct meaning or one which is true in some meta-physical sense. To repel false allegations that the term of social action was value-laden, Weber proposed the term 'non meaningful behaviour, defined as 'reactive behaviour to which no subjective meaning is attached', to include all forms of human action, a term which admittedly covered a large range of social action.

According to Max Weber*, 'Action is social in so far as, by virtue of the subjective meaning attached to it by acting individual (individuals), it takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course'.

In his attempt to identify precisely and analyse what he considered the matrix of meaningful action within human behaviour, Weber coined the concept 'social relationship', to describe patterned human interaction, which is intentional, meaningful and symbolic. One more thing that went a long way in Weber's concept of social action is the behavioural complex. The behavioural complex or matrix fall into one of the following four types in Weber's work:

1. Week rational action or rational action in relation to a goal

The action determines the goal and his means, purely in terms of their efficiency to attain the goal.

2. Rational action or rational action in relation to a value

Here, means are chosen for their efficiency but the goals are determined by value. The action of a captain who goes down with the sinking ship or that of a gentleman who allows himself to be killed, rather than field in a war are examples of this.

3. Affective or emotional action

Here emotion or impulse determines the ends and means of action, as in the case of a mother who slaps her child, or a player who throws a punch at a partner in a game.

4. Traditional actions

Where both ends and means are determined by custom, rituals, ceremonies and practices of tradition of all in this category.

Thus, a blind imitation devoid of any understanding of the nature of act being imitated is no social action. It can be termed as social action only if there exists some understanding of what is being done, a social action is the result. Max Weber was of the opinion that a correct casual interpretation of a concrete cause of action is arrived at, when the overt action and the motives have both

been correctly apprehended and at the same time their relation has become meaningfully comprehensible.

Individual is the unit of study. Max Weber holds that individual is the unit of sociological study. 'Interpretive sociology considers the individual and his action as the basic unit. In this approach, the individual is also the upper limit and carrier of meaningful conduct, in general for sociology. Concepts like state, association, feudalism and the like designate certain categories of human interaction. Hence, it is the task for sociology to reduce the concepts to understandable action; that is without exception to the action of participating individuals (men)'. Thus according to Max Weber the term social action implies action of individuals which are somehow influenced, guided or determined by the action of other individuals.

Characteristics of Social Action and Movement

Max Weber attempted an indepth analysis of the concept of social action. The following characteristics can be deduced of his concept of social action and movements.

1. It may be influenced by an action of past, present or future

A social action is a result or a modification of some action of other individuals in the society. But the modifying action need not necessarily be contemporaneous with the modified action. In other words it may not be happening at the same time or just before in order to influence the action of an individual. Indeed such an action may be a past occurrence or even an expected action in the future. Thus it may be pointed out that a social action is a result or a modification of some action of some other individual; but the casual or modifying action may be an occurrence of past, present or future depending upon the circumstances and other factors.

2. It presupposes the existence of other individual's action

According to Weber, a social action is a result of some action by some individual. This points out that there can be no social action in isolation. In other words, an individual living in complete wilderness, removed from all interpersonal contacts, cannot exert a social action. Social action excludes contemplation and meditation of a recluse.

3. Subjective Meaning

A social action should have a subjective meaning for its doer. Thus for instance, if two people collide accidentally and without any motive whatsoever, the collision will not be a social action. On the other hand, if a notorious smuggler causes a collision of a truck with a police jeep resulting in injuries or death, then such a collision would be a case of social action.

The classification of social movement is important because of following reasons:

1. Weber conceives sociology as a comprehensive science of social action. The typology of actions is therefore the most abstract level of the conceptual system applicable to the social field. The classification of types of domination, e.g., rational domination, traditional domination and charismatic domination, depends on the previous classification, on an even higher level of abstraction, of the four types of action.

2. Sociology is also a comprehensive science of social action. Comprehension implies an understanding of the meaning man gives to his conduct. Pareto judges true logic of actions in terms of the knowledge of the observer, but Weber's aim is to understand the meaning each man gives to his own conduct, so that it becomes essential to the comprehension of subjective meanings to proceed to a classification of types of conduct, as an introduction to understand the intelligible structure of behaviour.

3. The classification of types of action to a certain extent governs the Weberian interpretation of contemporary era. For, according to Max Weber, the prime characteristic of the world we live in is rationalization. The rationalization characteristic of modern societies is expressed by a widening of the sphere of Zweckrational actions, actions rational in relation to goods. Economic enterprise is rational, so is the control of the state by bureaucracy. Society, as a whole, is inclined towards a Zweckrational organization and the philosophical, existential, human problem is to define that sector of society in which another type of action can and should exist.

4. This classification of types of action may be correlated with what constitutes the heart of Weber's philosophical thought; namely the relations of solidarity or independence between science and politics. Max Weber was of the opinion that a paradoxically positive relationship existed between ascetic religious belief and economic enterprise. In his Protestant ethic and spirit of capitalism, Weber sought to demonstrate that economic factors do not represent a constant and independent variable to which all others stand independent. The concept of social organization was treated along with the concept of social class. He regards economic factor important in social organization but considers other social factors as also relevant. In his concept of social organization, Weber makes clear the concept of 'power'. 'The power', he says, 'is that situation of an individual or individuals in which they can experience and apprehend their goals and easily achieve them.'

The relevance of this protestant ethic to the spirit of capitalism lies in the rationalization of action which it introduces. The merger of economic and religious behaviour, thus, created a situation in which economic success signified religious worth and provided motive for the growth of capitalism.

Post-Weberian

Talcott Parsons' aim was nothing less than to provide a conceptual structure for the whole of sociology that would also serve to integrate all social sciences. Social movement exists only where there is a differentiation of social role positions and a consciousness of the same. He defined a social system as the systems of interaction comprising plurality of actors, occupying statuses and enacting normatively prescribed roles.

This was to be achieved by a fusion of the study of individual action and analysis of colossal social systems. His preliminary point is the theory of social action, the vital trait of which is the relationship between performers and characteristics of their surroundings, social and natural, to which they give meaning. In addition to this, he recommends that social interface, in which actors have to note the actions, desires and goals of others, should be the focal point of investigation. In these exchanges, customs and principles are significant as they standardize and envisage how others behave. Socialization makes sure that individuals absorb culture and values as they grow up. Parsons considers that personality and social systems complement each other. Though in his analysis, the latter eventually establishes the former.

Parsons remarks that social interaction is very organized in nature. Therefore, he chose to use the concept social system. The term that closes the gap between social action and social system is that of pattern variables. He explains these as the fundamental dilemmas that face actors. Social systems can be depicted by a blend of solutions presented for this quandary. There are four groups of dilemmas:

1. Particularism versus universalism

Actors have to make a decision whether to judge a person by universal criteria (universalism) or criteria exclusive to that individual (particularism).

2. Performance versus quality

Actors have to come to a decision as to whether they should judge people by their doings (performance) or on the basis of their personal traits (qualities).

3. Affective neutrality versus affectivity

Actors can either get into a relationship for objective purposes, i.e., keeping their feelings out of the relation (affective neutrality), or on the basis of their emotions (affectivity).

4. Specificity versus diffuseness

In every circumstance, actors have to make a choice whether they need to engage with others completely, [over a broad range of activity (diffuseness)] or on certain grounds and organized goals (specificity).

These design variables configure any interactive system. These types of systems, nevertheless, also have specific needs of their own which need to

be fulfilled, as required by both, the relationship of the social system with its surroundings and by the internal operations of the system. These functional needs belong to four categories (known as AGIL):

1. Adaptation: the need to connect with the environment by taking resources from it

2. Goal attainment: the setting of goals for the system

3. Integration: the upholding of internal order

4. Latency or pattern maintenance: the creation of adequate enthusiasm to execute tasks

For the purpose of fulfilling all these functional requirements, actions are divided into groups or sub-systems. At the very basic level, for instance, the cultural sub-system carries out the work of integration. All these sub-systems consecutively also encounter the same four functional needs and consequently, each subsystem can be divided into four sub-sub-systems. In the social system as a whole, for example, the economy performs the function of adaptation. Theoretically speaking, there is no limit to how systems can be subdivided and Parsons gives a detailed description of the structure of the economy and the relations between it and the other sub-systems of the social system.

The Parson's Theory on social movement is based on his conception of social action. Social action has a subjective meaning and motivation. Social movement is determined by two factors, i.e., 'orientation' of the actor and 'expectations' that others have from him. The actor's orientation comprises of motivational and value orientation. Motivation is the urge to do something. This can be broken down into cognitive, cathartic and evaluated action, corresponding to beliefs, sentiments and morals. Value orientation supplies norms or standards of action; internalized, they are need disposition with actors; institutionalized, they are cultural value standards. The blend of need dispositions with value standards is crucial to the integration of the social system.

To capture the systemic features of culture, social movement and personality, Parsons introduces the notions of functional requisites. Such requisites pertain not only to internal problems of the action components but also to their articulation with one another. He views integration within and among action systems as a basic survival requisite.

Parsons is concerned with the integration within the social system itself and between the social system and cultural system, on the one hand and between the Social system and the personality system on the other. In order that such integration occurs, at least the following two functional requisites must be met:

1. A social movement must have a sufficient proportion of its component actors, adequately motivated to act in accordance with the requirements of its role in the system.

2. Social movements must avoid commitment to cultural patterns, which either fails to define a minimum order or which places impossible demands on the people and thereby generates deviance and conflict.

1. How did Lenin regard politics?

2. What was Marx's view of the State?

3. What did Karl Marx think of India?

4. When and where was Max Weber born?

5. Why did Weber coin the term 'social relationship'?

6. What was Talcott Parsons' aim?

4.3 CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THEIR POLITICS

The social movements of modern times very often pose challenges to the governing authorities, on behalf of civilians from all walks of life, in order to change the existing social or political orders so as to stem a decline or perhaps even to restore something desirable that was lost. The modern social movements formulate their ideologies and action strategies in a rather revealing offering of evolutionary and often revolutionary alternatives to the prevailing socio-cultural structure. It can thus be said that a social movement are mode of collective action which involve a significantly large number of men and women from diverse sections of the society which are led by individuals who act as leaders and the rest as followers and act as organisations of varying degrees of spontaneous structuration.

Modernism has given rise to at least two overarching systemic institutions of foundational importance in politics and economy, namely, the national state and political economy of capitalism and or socialism. George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831) was the foremost modern classical theorist of politics and Karl Marx (1818-1883) was the foremost modern classical theorist of economics. However, the first to interpret both the state and capitalism was the neo-classicist Max Weber (1884-1920). It was Weber who strove to understand more systematically the concepts of not just politics and economics but also the society as such. It is in the realms of the state, the economy and the civil society that the theories of social movements develop around the overarching modern structural formations. As the state and church dissociated from one another during the eighteenth century, it was observed that in the modern West, religion slowly being overshadowed by the populist secular political and economic ideologies.

By the first half of the nineteenth century, as a representative democracy had developed in the West and since there was a proliferation of industrial capitalism in the latter half of the same century, the rise in the effects of social movements on the polity and economy of the times became more overt and recurrent. The social movements in the initial phase of modernity in the West were more concerned with two things. First, forming a responsible and a representative government and second, were those that were concerned with

societal equality, increased economic production and distribution and exchange along with economic and social security for people at large. In the hindsight of the contemporary theoretical discourse of what have come to be called 'New Social Movements' (NSMs), the foregoing movements, by implication, may be treated as 'Old Social Movements' (OSMs).

Nelson A. Pichardo (1997: 411) dwells on the theories of the New Social Movements as being recent deployments that stress upon elements of macro and micro history of social movements. He remarks further:

On the macro level, the New Social Movements paradigm concentrates on the relationship between the rise of contemporary social movements and the larger economic structure, and the role of culture in such movements. On the micro level, the paradigm is concerned with how issues of identity and personal behaviour are bound up in social movements. The New Social Movements paradigm offers a historically specific vision of social movements as associated with new forms of middle class radicalism. It represents a distinctive view of social movements and of the larger socio-political environment, of how individuals fit into, respond to, and change the system.

In order to analyse the contemporary forms of reductionism inherent in New Social Movements, theories came into being while responding to limitations of classical Marxism. The two types of reductionism in question were:

- Economic reductionism which was driving out the cultural and political factors, and
- Class reductionism fixating it on the two fundamental classes of workers and capitalists in a capitalist economy to the exclusion categories of ethnicity and religion.

In response to classical Marxism's class and economic reductionism, certain themes have seemingly emerged in the New Social Movements.

Firstly, the New Social Movement theories strove to emphasize at the cost of the civil society and state along with the realm of culture as prime domains of collective action by overstressing the economic structure of capitalism, even more so than that of Marx's political economy ideologies. For the Old School Movements, capitalism was the focal point, whereas for the New School Movement theories emphasize on the fact that the state is the seat for capturing 'historicity' which is defined as the capability to develop technologies and systems of knowledge to intercede in the making of history.

Secondly, the rejection of the Marxist pronouncement on structural determinacy by the New Social Movement theories and their stressing the processes that endorse autonomy and self-determination as strategies for maximising influence and power of the civil society and cultural factors.

Thirdly, the post-modernist values such as quality of life, gender equality, sexuality, ecology, aesthetics, freedom and such like are privileged by the 'New Social Movement theories in many of their collective action which is contrary to the acquisitive resources and values.

Fourthly, it is recognised by the New Social Movement theories that several underlying social networks which are in a state of flux often undergrid collective action instead of taking on the forms of centralised organisations which form the basis for fruitful collective mobilisation.

Fifthly, the New Social Movement theories surpass the societal model of totality as prevalent during the industrial age and instead function based on a model societal totality that is conscious and aware of the emergence of an advanced capitalist, modernist or the post-industrial society in which the technology of communication and information has attained its critical mass.

The New Social Movements have by now expanded considerably and produced a huge corpus of literature. A large number of issues have been assessed in great detail by numerous theorists in several countries in the West, the locus classicus of this new kind of collective action. To name a few prominent among these theorists, we have Manual Castells in Spain, Alain Touraine in France, Alberto Melucci in Italy, Claus Offe in Germany and Jurgen Habermas in Germany, again (Buechler 1995; Pichardo 1997). The middleclass dominates in all the New Social Movement theories despite the fact that the importance attached to of this group in the expansion and emergence of these movements varies. At the systemic level, some form of post-industrial societies is also recurrent in these theories. The factors of class-struggle during the phase of rapid industrialisation with its focus on the working class bourgeoisie also looms large in the Old Social Movements among the New Social Movement theorists. In case of the New Social Movements the middleclass emerges as the equivalent of the working-class of the Old Social Movements.

Habermas has proposed a two pronged elaborate theory of modern social structure. He does so on the one hand, by comparing and contrasting between a politico-economic system governed by the media of money and power and, other the hand, the lifeworld which is still regulated by normative consensus. Whereas the system follows an instrumental logic that detaches the media of money and power from responsibility and accountability, by and large, the lifeworld follows communicative rationality requiring that norms and actions be habitually justifiable through discussion and debate, dialogue and deliberation. The problem for Habermas is that in modern society (he does not believe in postmodernism as a category and prefers the postulation of advanced modernity) the system imperatives and logic intrude on the lifeworld in the form of 'colonisation'. The result is that the media of money and power come to regulate not only economic and political transactions but also those concerning identity formation, normative values, and other forms of symbolic reproduction traditionally associated with the lifeworld (Buechler 1995). Given this conception of social structure, Habermas locates NSMs at the seams of the systems and the lifeworlds.

This location leads him to identify two features of these movements. First, the NSMs, as a result, have purely defensive character rather than a broader transformative or revolutionary role. Modernity has brought about a more or less just and equitable equilibrium that may occasionally be disturbed by the intrusion

of the system into the lifeworld. In such an eventuality the NSMs can defend the lifeworld against the colonising intrusion of the system and sustain the role of normative consensus rooted in communicative rationality that has been evolving within this sphere throughout the process of societal modernization (Buechler 1995). Second, the conflicts in which the NSMs engage are less about material reproduction and more about cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialisation. The NSMs bring with them a new or alternative politics concerned with quality of life, projects of self-realisation, and goals of participation and identity formation. Many of these movements are united around the critique of economic growth as the central ideological foundation, with ecology and peace movements playing the central role. Because these are not traditional distributional struggles, Habermas implies that they cannot be channelled by political parties or allayed by material compensation (Buechler 1995).

Old and New Social Movements in India Over the years, especially post-independence, India has stood witness to a whole array of social movements involving women, Adivasis, Dalits and peasants etc. In her book called Reinventing Revolution, author and sociologist Gail Omvedt mentions that even to this day social inequality and unequal distribution of resources still continue to be pertinent elements in these contemporary movements. The Peasant Movements in India have mobilised for better prices for their produce and protested against the removal of agricultural subsidies. The Dalit movements have also taken precedence in that they've collectively acted to against their own exploitation at the hands of the upper-caste landowners and moneylenders. The Women's Movement has constantly strived to uplift the social status of women in India and raised their voice against gender based discrimination in diverse spheres of life including the workplace and their very homes. It becomes important, at this juncture, to mention that the New Social Movements are neither about 'old' issues of economic equality nor are they organised along class lines alone, nor are they structured along class lines either. Nowadays, it is the aspirations of people, their cultural anxieties and their identity politics that go a long way in creating social movements and occur in ways that are very different to trace to class-based inequality. Often, these social movements unite participants across class boundaries. For instance, the women's movement includes urban, middle-class feminists as well as poor peasant women. The regional movements for separate statehood bring together different groups of people who do not share homogeneous class identities. In a social movement, questions of social inequality can occur alongside other, equally important, issues.

Despite the fact that there are major socio-cultural and historical differences between the West and India, yet, the New Social Theories are partially relevant to them both. Realistically speaking, the Indian society is in a phase of transition from bring a traditional orthodox one to a modern one, at least vicariously or even schizophrenically. The personalities of Indians, by and large, are full of examples that illustrate their transitory nature. For example, Gandhi is interpreted as displaying elements of tradition, modernity and postmodernity at the same time.

NOTES

Besides there are no countries in the world which are completely isolated from the modernity's demonstration effect.

Moreover, no country of the world is fully insulated from the demonstration effects of modernity or advanced modernity, especially in the age of globalisation. Simulated modernity is also evident in metropolitan cities and the world-wide web or internet. Gail Omvedt (1994) postulates that the new social movements are making appearance in India in the context of the overall crisis of political and economic systems and ideologies. The collapse of state socialist societies and the crisis of Marxism spells the failure of what has been hitherto the hegemonic ideology of liberation or the primary historical response to the exploitation of the capitalist system. The neoliberal ideologies that came in the wake of the failure of Marxism does not offer any solution, and the resultant vacuum is ought to be filled by nationalist, ethnic, communal and religious fundamentalist forces. There is a growing concern about environmental, social justice, and gender equity, and other neglected issues by the new social movements. However, this counter-hegemonic force is still weak. Rajni Kothari (1984) in his reflections on the people's movements and grassroots politics in India delineates the trend of what he calls 'the non-party political process', presumably in the Gandhian and unconventional traditions, and locates it in the larger context of the declining role the state in social transformation in India and so-called democracy being undermined by corruption, criminalisation, and repression and depolticisation of large masses of people with precarious livelihood conditions. It is in this context that the phenomenon of non-party political formations, distinct from governing and opposition parties, on the one hand, and from non-political voluntary agencies working on various development schemes, on the other, are emerging in a number of grassroots movements launched by non-traditional left. The examples are Chipko movement in U. P. Himalayan districts (now Uttarakhand), the miners' struggles in Chhattisgarh, the Ryot Coolie Sangham in Andhra Pradesh, the Satyagraha led by the peasants in Kankapura in Karnataka against the mining and export of granite, the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha. In these grassroots movements, 'the struggle is not limited to economic and political demands but is extended to cover ecological, cultural and educational issues. Nor is it limited to the external enemy as it includes a sustained and long drawn out campaign against more pervasive sources of economic and cultural ruin such as drunkenness, despoilation of the environment and insanitary habits, reminding one of the original conception of Swarajya as a struggle for liberation not just from alien rule but also from internal decay' (Kothari 1984: 220).

The New Social Movements in India have been theorised as 'micro-movements' by D. L. Sheth who views them as ushering in the 'new politics' which set the tone for the emergence of alternative politics to the existing patterns. He considers these micro-movements as cautious rejoinders to the neoliberal model of market democracy and the vertical alignment of the Indian state with the global economic and political powers. Social and political movements at the proletarian level have proven to be an important counterbalancing process and force that makes new provincial and national level alliances for the purpose of countering the state's policies of globalisation.

Most Recent New Social Movements in India

India Against Corruption (IAC) led by Anna Hazare is the most recent new social movement in India today. The Spring of 2011 witnessed the launch of this movement in the wake of the heady Arab Spring of the same year noticeable for a wave of democratic movements through much of West Asia. The non-party, extra-parliamentary IAC campaign led an important crusade against corruption across all levels especially in India's politics, bureaucracy and economy, made out a case for electoral and party system reforms, besides making a plea for incorporation of a strong dose of direct democratic devices into the model of parliamentary federal democracy under the Indian Constitution since 1950. This movement consequently got split (in September 2012) into (a) the parent non-party movement under Anna Hazare, and (b) the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP) led by Arvind Kejriwal. The elders led by Anna wished to keep the non-party political character of the movement, while the younger cohorts led by Kejriwal parted company to form a new political party as a vehicle of alternative politics turning its back to the prevailing features of corrupt, criminalised, and non-participatory 'high command'-dominated party politics. In the just concluded round of Assembly elections in five states in November-December 2013, the AAP made a spectacular debut in Delhi surging to became the second largest party with 28 seats in a House of 70, reducing the ruling Indian National Congress to just 8 seats and curbing the rise of the Bharatiya Janata Party at 31. The party is setting a new trend of internal party democracy, transparency of fund-raising, and exemplary commitment to political morality even though no existing law requires it to do so. No other party has been doing so. It has brought in a fresh morning breeze of a new brand of an alternative politics as well as demanding a strong dose of direct democracy reminiscent of the Gandhian vision Gram Swaraj (M.P. Singh 2013).

A number of social movements differing in nature and method but having substantially shared ideologies have emerged in India in recent times. The following are some of the shared characteristics of these Indian social movements.

- They all assert that they represent the common masses at the grassroots level.
- Most of these social movements are against the shortcomings of globalisation.
- Most of these social movements claim to fight the oppression of Adivasis and Dalits.
- Most of these social movements claim to be fighting for the protection of the environment and are averse to the state, large corporations and even international funding agencies such as the World Bank, etc.
- Most of these social movements disapprove of the corporate West and mainstream industrialisation.

• Most of these social movements are averse to accepting universally accepted indices such as GDP, child mortality rate, literacy rate, life expectancy etc. Instead, they favour locally accepted standards.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

7. What were the social movements in the initial phase of modernity in the West concerned with?

8. Name any four shared characteristics of the Indian social movements.

4.4 SUMMARY

• Marxism and social movements is the first unrelenting engagement between social movement theory and Marxist moves toward combined action.

• Post-Marxism has two linked, but different uses: (i) the socio-economic situation of Eastern Europe, particularly in the ex-soviet republics after the fall of Soviet Union and (ii) the prediction of the philosophers and social theorists establishing their postulations upon Karl Marx's work and Marxism proper, thus, forging ahead of conventional Marxism.

• Acquired from Karl Marx, Marxism is a belief and theory of social change that has had tremendous affect on the practice and analysis of social movements.

• Weber interpreted things in terms of sociology. One of his fundamental assertions was that an intricate social act (like a social movement or sweeping historical change) could be understood in such a way that it makes sense to an individual member of it.

• Max Weber attempted an in-depth analysis of the concept of social action. The following characteristics can be deduced of his concept of social action and movements.

   o It may be influenced by an action of past, present or future

   o It presupposes the existence of other individual's action

   o Subjective meaning

• Parsons introduced a theory of social evolution and a sturdy elucidation of the drives and instructions of world history.

• Structural functionalism, or merely functionalism, is a structure for developing a theory that views society as an intricate system, the components of which function together to promote cohesion and stability.

• This style visualizes society through a macro-level orientation, which is an expanded focus on the social structures that outline the entire society and believe that the evolution of society is like that of organisms. This approach considers both, social structure and social functions.

- The social movements of modern times very often pose challenges to the governing authorities, on behalf of civilians from all walks of life, in order to change the existing social or political orders so as to stem a decline or perhaps even to restore something desirable that was lost.

- The modern social movements formulate their ideologies and action strategies in a rather revealing offering of evolutionary and often revolutionary alternatives to the prevailing socio-cultural structure.

- The New Social Movements in India have been theorised as 'micro-movements' by D. L. Sheth who views them as ushering in the 'new politics' which set the tone for the emergence of alternative politics to the existing patterns.

- Despite the fact that there are major socio-cultural and historical differences between the West and India, yet, the New Social Theories are partially relevant to them both.

- Realistically speaking, the Indian society is in a phase of transition from bring a traditional orthodox one to a modern one, at least vicariously or even schizophrenically.

4.5 KEY TERMS

- **Social system**: The systems of interaction comprising plurality of actors, occupying statuses and enacting normatively prescribed roles

- **Social action**: A result or a modification of some action of other individuals in the-society

- **Social relationship**: Patterned human interaction, which is intentional, meaningful and symbolic

- **Revolutionary politics**: A struggle against hegemonic rule, including development, as part of that struggle, of a counter hegemony based upon working class, values and culture

4.6 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Lenin regarded politics as a study of relations between classes that are engaged in power struggle. He formulated the idea that the first stage of worker's revolution is the capture of the State power.

2. Marx was against the State and sought its ultimate and complete abolition.

3. Initially, Karl Marx thought of India as a static, historical and primeval social formation. However, it was wrong to think of India as fixed and stationary. Marx revised his views later on.

4. Max Weber, a distinguished scholar, was born in 1864 in Germany—in that part of it which was then in Prussia.

5. Weber coined the concept 'social relationship', to describe patterned human interaction, which is intentional, meaningful and symbolic.

6. Talcott Parsons' aim was nothing less than to provide a conceptual structure for the whole of sociology that would also serve to integrate all social sciences.

7. The social movements in the initial phase of modernity in the West were more concerned with two things. First, forming a responsible and a representative government and second, were those that were concerned with societal equality, increased economic production and distribution and exchange along with economic and social security for people at large.

8. Four shared characteristics of the Indian social movements are:

   • They all assert that they represent the common masses at the grassroots level.

   • Most of these social movements are against the shortcomings of globalisation.

   • Most of these social movements claim to fight the oppression of Adivasis and Dalits.

   • Most of these social movements claim to be fighting for the protection of the environment and are averse to the state, large corporations and even international funding agencies such as the World Bank etc.

4.7 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. How does Marxism emphasize on economic and social factors?

2. What did Harold Laski write about Marxism?

3. According to Yogendra Singh (1973), Marx mentioned five stages of social differentiation. What are these?

4. What are some basic aspects of society that any study of social change needs to focus on?

5. How does a social action have a subjective meaning for its doer?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain the Marxist theory for social movements.

2. Discuss state and societal revolution in capitalist society.

3. Write a detailed account on different post-Marxist theories.

4. List and explain Weber's reasons for classifying social movements.

5. Paraphrase structural-functional social movements.

6. Discuss the contemporary social movements and their impact on politics.

4.8 FURTHER READING

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