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SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

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SYLLABI-BOOK MAPPING TABLE
Social Movements in India

BLOCK V: IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Unit 13: Impact of Globalization on social movements

Unit 14: Social Movements and Social change

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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.

A reform movement is a kind of social movement that aims at making a gradual change in certain aspects of society, rather than rapid or fundamental changes. A reform movement is distinguished from more radical social movements, such as revolutionary movements. Supremacy of the brahmans in the Vedic period created unrest in the society and kshatriya reacted against the brahmanical domination. The vaishyas wanted to improve their social position with the increase in their economic position due to the growth of trade. All This led to the emergence of two important socio-religious movements in India in the period between 7th and 5th centuries BC. The Bhakti movement originated in ancient Tamil Nadu and began to spread to the north during the late medieval ages when north India was under Islamic rule. The Islamic rulers were pressing public to convert religion from Hindu to Islam. The Bhakti movement had its own importance to save Hinduism. The 19th Century India witnessed a strong wave of reformation activities in religion and society. There were attempts made by the educated young Indians to end the evils and abuses in religion and society.

This book, *Social Movements in India* has been designed keeping in mind the self-instruction mode (SIM) format and follows a simple pattern, wherein each unit of the book begins with the Introduction followed by the Objectives for the topic. The content is then presented in a simple and easy-to-understand manner, and is interspersed with Check Your Progress questions to reinforce the student's understanding of the topic. A list of Self Assessment Questions and Exercises is also provided at the end of each unit. The Summary and Key Words further act as useful tools for students and are meant for effective recapitulation of the text.

BLOCK - I
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS CONCEPT AND DEFINITION, APPROACHES

UNIT 1 OVERVIEW OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Structure

1.0 Introduction
1.1 Objectives
1.2 Social Movements: Concept, Nature and Definitions
    1.2.1 Social Movement Organizations and Leadership
    1.2.2 Categories of Social Movements
    1.2.3 Stages of Social Movements
    1.2.4 Types (Typologies) of Social Movements
1.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
1.4 Summary
1.5 Key Words
1.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
1.7 Further Readings

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 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able:

- Explain the concept and definition of social movements
- Discuss the nature of social movements
- Explain the typologies of social movements

1.2 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: CONCEPT, NATURE AND DEFINITIONS

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 19th century societies.

Definitions of Social Movement

The concept of social movement gained momentum in the 19th 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, 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:

(i) **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.

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

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

(iv) **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. Al-Qaeda that assumes a role of an organizing body for many of loosely attached organizations and individuals, opposed to the American policies, is yet another example of an SMO.

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.

1.2.2 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 behavior. 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. You will learn more about the approaches of social movements in the next unit.

1.2.3 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.

1.2.4 Types (Typologies) of Social Movements

Social movements are of several types, such as:

(i) **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.

(ii) **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.

(iii) **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.

(iv) **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.

(v) **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:

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

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

 (iii) **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.

 (iv) **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.

Check Your Progress

1. When did the concept of social movement gain momentum in Europe?

2. What does social movement depend on, in the modern world?

3. What is a social association?

4. How are social movements classified on the basis of issues?

1.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The concept of social movement gained momentum in the 19th century in Europe.

2. In the modern world, social movement largely depends upon the traits of different interest groups and their ideological make up for the pursuit of particular goals.

3. A social association is an organized group of persons following the customs of society.

4. On the issue of basis, social movements are classified into the following types:

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

1.4 SUMMARY

- 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).

- The concept of social movement gained momentum in the 19th 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- Classification of social movements on the basis of quality of change they try to attain, Classification of social movements on the basis of issues, Classification of social movements on the basis of participants,

1.5   KEY WORDS

- **Social movement:** It is a consciously organized and planned activity of individuals having common interests.
- **Social movement organization (which is widely used in its abbreviated form as SMO):** It is an organized structured constituent of social movement (SM).

1.6   SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. What are the four basic elements of social movements?
2. Distinguish between social and political movements.
3. List the characteristics of social movements.

Long Answer Questions

1. Discuss the nature of Social Movement
2. Explain the classification of Social Movements.
3. Differentiate between social movements, social institutions and social associations.

1.7   FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 2 APPROACHES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Structure

2.0 Introduction
2.1 Objectives
2.2 Approches to Study Social Movements
    2.2.1 Significance of Social Movements
    2.2.2 Phases of Social Movements
2.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
2.4 Summary
2.5 Key Words
2.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
2.7 Further Readings

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Social movements have been studied from varied perspectives. There are many causes for social movements. The approaches to social movements study the cause and effect of these social movements. In this unit, you will learn about the approaches of social movements, its causes, significance and different phases.

2.1 OBJECTIVES

- Explain the causes of social movements
- Discuss the approaches to study social movements
- Describe the significance of social movements
- Recall the phases of social movements

2.2 APPROCHES TO STUDY 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.

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.

2.2.1 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.

2.2.2 Phases of Social Movements

Social movements are 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.

Check Your Progress

1. Why do social movements survive?

2. On what account do subaltern scholars criticize the traditional Marxists?

2.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. 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.

2. 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.

2.4 SUMMARY

- 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.

- Approaches to study social movements usually follow either a Marxist or non-Marxist framework for analysis.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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'.

- 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.

- Social movements are have a life cycle. Social movements are created, they grow, they achieve successes or failures and eventually dissolve and cease to exist.

- 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.

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2.5 KEY WORDS

- **Marxist scholars:** They 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.

- **Gandhian approach:** In the context of social movements, 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'.

2.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. What are the various causes of social movements?
2. Write a short note on the subaltern theorists and Marxist historians in social movements.
3. List some of the Liberal scholars who have opined on mass movements.

Long Answer Questions

1. Explain the phases and significance of social movements.
2. Describe the different approaches to study social movements.

2.7 FURTHER READINGS

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BLOCK - II
ROLE AND THEORIES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT

UNIT 3 ROLE OF SOCIAL REFORM MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

Structure

3.0 INTRODUCTION

The previous unit familiarized you with the concept of a social movement. The interest of the sociologists in the study of social reform is a comparatively recent phenomenon. For a considerable period of time, it was almost an exclusive preserve of the historians. Most sociologists saw a reform movement as a unique historical event that was incapable of any generalization. Since sociology is a science and since science generalizes, a reform movement was more or less out of the purview of sociology. It is only recently that the sociologists have begun to realize the inadequacies of their orientation of generalization. As a result, social movements carried out by individuals in historical period have begun to attract the attention of sociologists. This does not, however, mean that sociologists have given up their attempts at generalization. They would still like to generalize but now their generalizations are based on comparative analyses of historical events and processes.

This unit discusses the various aspects of socio-religious movements led by the Hindu and the Muslim reformers in modern India, especially during the eighteenth and twentieth centuries. A drastic contrast existed between eighteenth and twentieth century India. On one side, India had a traditional culture and society, and on the other hand, it possessed a society which was excited at emerging as a new nation. The nineteenth century initiated a transformation in the religious, social, economic, political, and cultural spheres. The impact of the British Rule influenced the administration, legislation, trade, network of communications, industrialization and urbanization in India, affecting not only society as a whole, but also the traditional pattern of life. British scholars, educators and missionaries also influenced the cultural field while Indian reformers consciously reacted to the new situation and advocated deliberate changes in the social and religious attitudes and customs.

The reform movements in India, which included the Brahmo Samaj movement, the Prarthana Samaj movement, the Arya Samaj movement, the Aligarh movement and the Ahmadiya movement, became closely conjoined to a political movement, and consequently sought to influence political authority, administration and legislation. This political movement eventually became an all-India nationalist movement. Previously social reforms were interwoven with religious motivation and improvement, whereas in the nineteenth century, the relationship of the two concept theories fluctuated, and sometimes secular and rationalistic motives became the decisive factors.

3.1 OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you should be able to:

- Identify and discuss the elements in social reform movements
- Recall how women have been the focus of social reforms in India
- Discuss the nature and contributions of Hindu reform movements in India
- Assess the role of Muslim reform movements in India

3.2 SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

The major effect of national awakening in the nineteenth century was seen in the field of social reform. The newly educated gentry increasingly revolted against rigid social conventions and outdated customs. They could no longer tolerate irrational and dehumanizing social practices. They were inspired by the humanistic ideals of social equality and egalitarianism.

Nearly all the religious reformers contributed to the social reform movement. This was because the backward features of Indian society, such as the caste system and inequality of sexes, had religious sanctions in the past. In addition, certain

other organizations, such as the Social Conference, the Servants of India Society and the Christian Missionaries, worked actively for social reforms. In the twentieth century, especially after 1919, the national movement became the main agency of social reform.

Objectives of social reforms movements

The social reform movements tried to maintain two objectives:

- Emancipation of women and extension of equal rights to them
- Removal of caste rigidities and in particular the abolition of untouchability

3.2.1 Women as the Focus of Social Reforms

India has an ancient tradition of giving women a status equal to that of men. But over centuries social values got distorted and women came to be more and more repressed. They became victims of social vices, such as enforced widowhood, child marriage and sati. The condition of upper class women was worse than that of peasant women since the latter worked actively in the fields and thus enjoyed relatively greater freedom of movement.

The right of women to inherit property was generally inequitable – Hindu women had no right to property. However in Islam, a daughter could inherit half the amount of property that the son inherited. The Indian women were entirely financially dependent on men. They were denied even the benefits of education.

The nineteenth century witnessed the first strings for change in the status of women. The socio-religious reformers were influenced by the status the Indian women enjoyed in the Vedic society as well as by the impact of liberal Western philosophy. They were also convinced that national upliftment and progress were not possible without women's emancipation. Ultimately, the nationalist movement and the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi created the climate conducive to bring about, to some extent, the desired change in the status of women.

In the nineteenth century, the efforts of the social reformers were mainly directed towards spreading education among women, encouraging widow remarriage, preventing child marriage, decrying purdah, campaigning against polygamy and encouraging middle class women to take up employment. As a result of concerted efforts of enlightened reformers, social legislation was initiated for the abolition of sati, legalization of widow remarriage and the banning of female infanticide.

The Civil Marriage Act of 1872 made marriage secular; raised the age of marriage of girls to fourteen years and accepted widow remarriage as well as inter-caste marriage. It also banned polygamy. The Property Act of 1874 widened the concept of streedhan to include earnings by women.

A major effort was made to promote education among women in the nineteenth century. The efforts of several voluntary Indian organizations, Christian missionaries and the government (after the Woods Despatch of 1854) encouraged

women education. Another important development was the birth of several independent women's movements. Enlightened men had worked for the upliftment of women till the early twentieth century. Many women leaders, such as Sister Nivedita, Annie Besant and Margaret Cousin, fought for the rights of women. In 1923, the Women's Indian Association was formed. The All India Women Conference (1927) is even today an important organization for actively safeguarding the rights of women.

With the spreading of education among women, efforts were made to train nurses to serve the poor, sick and the distressed. The Pune Seva Sadan started by Ramabai Ranade opened branches in different parts of the country to train nurses and midwives. Similar work was done by the Sewa Sadan Society started by Behramjee Malbari.

3.2.2 Elimination of Untouchability through Social Reforms

The caste system was not only humiliating and inhuman but was also a cause of social disintegration. The castes were carefully graded into a hierarchy of statuses. The untouchables suffered from discrimination and restrictions. Even their touch was considered impure and their very shadow was avoided by those who considered themselves to be upper-caste. There were severe restrictions on their dress, food and place of residence. They could drink and use water only from wells and tanks that were specifically reserved for them. They were not allowed to enter temples. Their children could not attend a school with children of caste Hindus; they were considered suitable only for menial jobs.

The caste system proved a major obstacle in the growth of unity, national feelings and the spread of democracy. Even Muslims, Christians and Sikhs have practised untouchability, though in a less virulent form. A number of forces diluted the rigorous caste system during the British rule. The spreading of English education, introduction of modern industries, greater mobility due to the railways and buses and growing urbanization made it difficult to prevent contact among persons of different castes, especially in the cities. Restrictions regarding eating and drinking water during travel were relaxed. The modern commerce and industry opened new fields of activity for all. A Brahmin or an upper caste merchant would hardly miss the opportunity of trading in skins or shoes. In rural India, free sale of land unsettled the caste balance. Close connections between caste and vocation could hardly continue in a modern industrial society.

The growth of modern democracy and rationalist ideas in the nineteenth century also undermined the caste system. Many social and religious reformers raised their voice against it. The Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramkrishna mission and the Theosophical Society condemned the inhuman practice of untouchability.

Yet another factor which weakened the caste system was the growth of the national movement. People's participation, public demonstrations and meetings

and satyagraha struggles softened caste consciousness. As caste system was antithetical to liberty and equality, the Indian National Congress opposed it and fought for equal civic rights and freedom for all individuals without any discrimination.

Gandhiji, throughout his life, emphasized the need for abolition of untouchability through his public activities. In 1932, he founded the All India Harijan Sangh. He firmly believed that even if his campaign against untouchability might not succeed fully, yet it would certainly bring about a greater awareness about the inhumanity involved in the practice of untouchability and a change of heart among the caste Hindus.

The growth of consciousness among the lower castes with the spread of education and awakening also contributed to the weakening of the caste system. The lower castes became conscious of their basic human rights and began to assert themselves. They gradually built up a powerful movement against their customary exploitation by the higher castes. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was in the forefront of this struggle. He launched a movement to improve the socio-economic conditions of the lower castes. Numerous satyagraha movements were launched all over India by the depressed classes against the ban on their entry into temples and such other restrictions.

The British government was afraid of rousing the hostility of the orthodox sections of the Indian society and was not interested in the political or social progress of India. Thus, no appreciable improvement in the social status of the depressed castes was possible. The struggle against untouchability gathered momentum only after India became independent.

Check Your Progress

1. What is the role of the Civil Marriage Act of 1872?
2. Who founded the All India Harijan Sangh?
3. Who started the Pune Seva Sadan?

3.3 HINDU REFORM MOVEMENTS

The second half of the nineteenth century was marked by a strong wave of reforming activities in religion and society. There was a general recognition of the existing evils and abuses in society and religion. But as usual, the reforming zeal followed diverse channels. Some were lured by the western ideas to follow an extreme radical policy, and this naturally provoked a strong reaction among the orthodox sections of society. Between these two extremes were moderate reformers, who wanted to introduce reforms more cautiously.

Let us discuss the important Hindu reform movements in the nineteenth century.

3.3.1 Raja Ram Mohan Roy and the Brahmo Samaj

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, the pioneer of religious reform, was the first advocate of social reconstruction and introduction of western education in modern India. He was the father of constitutional agitation in India. Raja Ram Mohan Roy headed the intellectual movement generally known as the Indian Renaissance or the re-establishment of the glory of the ancient Indian culture. When he came onto the stage of Indian history, ancient Indian values had slowly given way to formalism in the religious and social life of the people. Religion had assumed the shape of either extreme asceticism or excessive ritualism. It was perhaps the darkest age in modern Indian history, an age in which an old society and polity had crumbled and no new one had yet been built in its place. India then essentially required a religion with a wholesome basis and practicability.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was essentially a democrat and a humanist. In his religious, philosophical and social outlook, he was deeply influenced by the monotheism and anti-idolatry of Islam and Sufism, the ethical teachings of Christianity, and the liberal and national doctrines of the West. He made efforts to assimilate the highest elements of Islam, Christianity and modern nationalism or humanism, and transform them into a single creed which found support in the ancient Upanishad philosophy. He was immensely influenced by the cultural values as preserved in the scriptures of the three main religions, namely, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. He felt that unless these values were revived and the Hindu society was purged of all the dirt and filth spread in the name of custom and traditions, the Hindus as a race would be annihilated. Love of all men, irrespective of caste and creed and equality of all, regardless of sex were the fundamental doctrines of Hinduism. He felt that the revival of these values would not only bring a new life among the Hindus but would also guide the human race on the path of peace and universal fraternity. This is the reason why Ram Mohan Roy translated various sacred texts and reinterpreted them to defend his stand on religious and social problems. He declared, 'In order to indicate my own faith, and that of our forefathers, I have been endeavouring to convince my own countrymen of the true meaning of our sacred books.'

Ram Mohan Roy vehemently attacked the orthodox Hindu customs. His attack was not due to any narrow sectarian bias but was guided by his desire to free Hinduism of all the superstitions and priest-craft created during the centuries of ignorance. He declared that in its purity, Hinduism could be marked by its difference from the other religions. Against polytheism, he stated that there was one God for all religions and humanity. He was guided by national and socio-ethical considerations in his conception of religion. He desired that everyone should evaluate the rational character of religious doctrines and abjure those doctrines that fail the rational test. His strongest faith in monotheism was motivated by the effort to unite mankind for a better life. He asserted that the irrational elements, superstitions and polytheism were the roots of religious bigotry and differences.

In order to realize his ideal, Ram Mohan Roy laid the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj on 20 August 1828. He was strongly influenced by Islam and Christianity and rejected polytheism and idolatry. He preached that the Brahma (God) should be worshipped in His pure form. He wanted the Brahmo Samaj to be a movement and an instrument for ideological revolution and religious reforms. Bepin Chandra Pal made this point clear in Ram Mohan Roy's centenary celebration speech in 1933 – 'The mission of the Samaj was not just to remove the degradations and disabilities imposed by caste. Its real mission was positive the realization of God in every human being.'

Apart from being a religious reform movement, the Brahmo Samaj did not exclude the objective of social reform from its bounds. Under Ram Mohan Roy's leadership, the Samaj launched an attack on the evils of Hindu society and challenged their propagation in the name of religion and social customs. The teachings of the Samaj were acclaimed by a large number of educated people in Bengal and outside.

Some of the social evils which Ram Mohan Roy wanted to root out from the Hindu society were the burning of widows, selling of female children, polygamy and all the inhuman practices which accentuated the sufferings of women in the name of religious sanctity. He stoutly opposed the practice of sati. In support of his stand, he gave arguments from the Vedas, Upanishads and the Bhagavad-Gita. According to him, the Hindu religion only prescribed a pure and pious life for widows. Their self immolation was never supported by the Vedas. Despite stiff opposition from the Dharmasabha, Ram Mohan Roy was successful in getting a law passed in 1829 against the practice of sati.

According to Ram Mohan Roy, the most important cause of women's miserable condition was polygamy that was prevalent among the rich people. The victims of polygamy were left with only three alternatives – to burn themselves, to lead an immoral life, or to suffer misery and insults in the house of the deceased husband. Usually, the victims opted for the first alternative. Ram Mohan Roy condemned polygamy on the basis of the shastras.

After his death in 1833, the Brahmo Samaj was divided into three bodies – the Adi Brahmo Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj of India founded by Keshav Chandra Sen and the Sadharan Brahmo Samaja of Pandit Shiv Nathe Shastri. The Brahmo Samaj was weakened by internal dissensions in the second half of the nineteenth century. Moreover, its influence was confined mostly to urban educated groups. Yet it had a decisive influence on the intellectual, social, cultural and political life of Bengal and the rest of India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

3.3.2 The Prarthana Samaj

The Prarthana Samaj was started with the aim of reforming Hindu religious thought and practice in the light of modern knowledge. It preached the worship of one God and tried to free religion of caste orthodoxy and priestly domination. Two of its great leaders were R.G. Bhandarkar and Mahadev Govind Ranade. This movement was much influenced by the Brahmo Samaj. Its activities also spread to

south India as a result of the efforts of the Telugu reformer, Veeresalingam. One of the greatest rationalist thinkers of modern India, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, also lived and worked in Maharastra at this time. Agarkar was an advocate of the power of human reason. He sharply criticized any blind dependence on tradition or false glorification of India's past.

3.3.3 Ramakrishna Mission and Swami Vivekananda

Ramakrishna Paramahamsa (1834-1886) was a saintly person who sought religious salvation in the traditional ways of renunciation, meditation and devotion. In his search for religious truths or the realization of God, he lived with Muslims and Christians mystics. He emphasized that there were many roads to God and salvation and that service of man was the service of God, for man was the embodiment of God.

Ramakrishna Paramahamsa had a tremendous influence on the Hindus. He was a saint who popularized Vedantic philosophy, mysticism and the path of devotion to God. His greatest disciple was Swami Vivekananda (1861-1902). He believed in reviving all the best traditions of Hinduism and not merely the Vedas. After Ramakrishna's death, Vivekananda founded the Ramakrishna Mission to propagate the teachings of his master. The mission established several educational institutions in the country. During Vivekananda's tour of America, he argued that the religion of Vedanta was a religion that everyone could adhere to, irrespective of one's religious affinities. Although Vivekananda was deeply interested in religion, yet he also sought to improve various aspects of social and national life. He argued that the state should not neglect its citizens as that amounted to a sin. He was concerned with the conditions in which the Indian people lived. He was fascinated by the way the western countries had managed to become economically prosperous and he was appreciative of the way women were perceived there. The philosophies that Vivekananda expounded were dynamic and nationalistic oriented. He encouraged the youth through his philosophies so that they were instilled with a feeling of national pride and patriotism.

It was Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902), who popularized Ramakrishna's religious message and who tried to put it in a form that would suit the needs of the contemporary Indian society. Vivekananda condemned the caste system and the current Hindu emphasis on rituals, ceremonies and superstition and urged the people to imbibe the spirit of liberty, equality and free thinking. In 1896, Vivekananda founded the Ramakrishna Mission to carry on the humanitarian relief work. The Mission contributed to social progress by leading to the opening of schools, hospitals, dispensaries, orphanages, libraries, etc. It thus laid emphasis not on personal salvation but on social good or social service.

3.3.4 Swami Dayananda Saraswati and the Arya Samaj

The Arya Samaj, founded in 1875 by Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883), undertook the task of reforming the Hindu religion in North India. Swami Dayananda

believed that selfish and ignorant priests had perverted Hindu religion with the aid of the Puranas which he said were full of false teachings. For his own inspiration, Swami Dayanand went to the Vedas which he regarded as infallible, being the inspired word of God and as the source of all knowledge. He rejected all later religious thoughts if they conflicted with the Vedas. This total dependence on the Vedas and their infallibility meant that human reason was not to be the final deciding factor. He believed that every person had the right to have a direct access to God. The Arya Samaj defines religion in the following terms – 'Religion is a belief in the existence of a supernatural ruling power, the creator and controller of the universe who has given to man a spiritual nature which continues to exist after the death of the body.' The Arya Samaj considers religion as a way of life. It claims that their religion offers us a philosophy of life for this world as well as for the life hereafter.

Swami Dayananda was opposed to idolatry, religious rituals and priesthood. He favoured the study of the western sciences. The Arya Samajists were vigorous advocates of social reform and actually worked to improve the condition of women and to spread education among them. They fought the evils of untouchability and the rigidities of the hereditary caste system. Thus, they were advocates of social equality and promoted social solidarity and consolidation. They also inculcated a spirit of self-respect and self-reliance among the people.

One of the Arya Samaj's main objectives was to prevent the conversions of Hindus to other religions. Swami Dayananda undercut the barriers of orthodox Hinduism by initiating the Shuddhi movement by which the non-Hindus and untouchables could be connected to Hinduism. It denoted performing a hawan or yajna in order to recite Vedic mantras. The Shuddhi movement was intended to unite India nationally, socially and religiously. Unfortunately, the Arya Samaj's revivalist tendency such as the Shuddhi movement ended up raising communal feelings among various religious groups.

Dayananda was most uncompromising crusader against the worship of the images of different gods and goddess which split the people into numerous sects and considered it the cause of not only individual and social degradation but even of the downfall of the country. Arya Samaj took particular care to prohibit certain religious practices and criticized certain religious beliefs which Dayananda considered to be false, irrational and anti-social or even anti-God. For example, he condemned shradh or tarpan for the dead which is performed by the Hindus to feed the Brahmins in the hope that the donated food would satisfy the hunger of their dead ancestors. According to him, real shradh means respecting and supporting living parents and keeping them happy. His main concern had always been to liberate the people from the self-imposed slavery of the religious superstitions and social taboos.

3.3.5 The Theosophical Society

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, India saw another religious movement known as the Theosophical movement. It was in the United States of America that

Madama H.P. Balvatsky and Colonel H.S. Olcott laid the foundation of the Theosophical society in 1875. Its object was to promote the study of esoteric religious philosophies of the East. In 1879, Balvatsky and Olcott came to India and established a society at Adyar, near Madras in 1886. But the success of the Theosophical Movement was due to Mrs Annie Besant who joined the society in 1889. The Theosophical Movement aimed at the quest of the Hindu spiritual wisdom. The society also promoted the education of all sections of the people. It established a central Hindu school at Benaras in 1898 which later developed into a college and ultimately into the Benares Hindu University in 1915.

Check Your Progress

4. When did Raja Ram Mohan Roy start the Brahmo Sabha?
5. Who was Swami Vivekananda's guru?
6. Who founded the Arya Samaj?

3.4 MUSLIM, PARSEE AND SIKH REFORM MOVEMENTS

The national awakening among the Indian Muslims took place at a slower rate than among the Hindus. The anti-Muslim policy of the British made the Muslims avoid any contact with the new culture and education which the British introduced in India. They avoided coming under the influence of modern education and preferred to be associated with orthodox Islamic education. The impoverishment of the Muslims during the process of the British conquest of India took place at a rapid rate. It was only by the end of the nineteenth century that the Muslims began to take to modern education. Gradually, an intelligentsia trained in modern education came into being. A section of that intelligentsia steadily built up a nationalist outlook.

Inspite of the relative inertia of the Muslims, from the point of view of their development on nationalist lines, a number of religious revivalist and reform movements among them sprang up in due course of time.

Aligarh Movement

The first national awakening among the Muslims founded expression in a movement which aimed at making the Indian Muslims politically conscious and spreading modern education among them. Sayyid Ahmad Khan was the founder of the movement. He had such collaborators as the poet Khwaja Altaf Hussain Ali, Maulvi Nazir Ahmad and Maulvi Shibli Numani. The liberal social reform and cultural movement founded by Sayyid Ahmad Khan is known as the Aligarh movement because it was at Aligarh that the Mohammedan Anglo-oriented College was established in 1875. This college developed into the Aligarh University in 1890. Khan's progressive social ideas were propagated through his magazine Tandhibut-

Akhlagu (Improvement of manners and morals). He advocated the removal of purdah. He stressed on the education of women. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan believed in religious toleration as he felt an underlying unity of practical morality to be present in all religions. However, he warned the Indians against political involvement for he felt that they were not mature enough as yet to govern themselves.

An All-India Muslim educational conference was also organized. The Aligarh movement aimed at spreading western education among the Muslims without weakening their allegiance to Islam. The religious education reinforced the secular education which was imparted in the educational institutions that it started. The second task it undertook was to introduce social reforms in the Muslim society.

The following were the characteristics of the Aligarh Movement:

- It aimed at evolving a distinct social and cultural community among the Indian Muslims more or less on modern lines.
- It condemned polygamy and the social ban on widow remarriage which, though permitted by Islam, had crept in among some sections of the Muslims who were recent converts from Hinduism.
- It was based on a liberal interpretation of the Quran.
- It tried to harmonize Islam with the modern liberal culture and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan condemned the institution of slavery and described it as un-Islamic.

Ahmadiya Movement

The Ahmadiya Movement, founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in 1889, was more or less based on liberal principles. It described itself as the standard bearer of Mohammedan Renaissance. It based itself, like the Brahmo Samaj, on the principles of a universal religion of all humanity. The following are its key features:

- It opposed Jehad or the sacred war against non-Muslims.
- It stood for fraternal relations among all peoples.
- It spread western liberal education among the Indian Muslims.
- It started a network of schools and colleges for this purpose and published periodicals and books, both in English and vernaculars.
- It suffered from the limitations of mysticism.
- It represented an effort on the part of Islam to assimilate the principles of western liberalism.

Muhammad Iqbal

One of the greatest poets of modern India, Iqbal (1876-1938) also profoundly influenced the philosophical and religious outlook of the younger generation of Muslims as well as the Hindus through his poetry. Like Swami Vivekananda, he emphasized the need for constant change and ceaseless activity and condemned

resignation, contemplation and quiet contentment. He urged the adoption of a dynamic outlook that would help change the world. Condemning ritualism and a too worldly attitude, he urged men to work for and achieve happiness in this world of the living. In his earlier poetry, he extolled patriotism, though later he encouraged Muslim separatism.

3.4.1 Religious Reforms among the Parsees

The religious reforms among the Parsees began in Bombay in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1851, the Rehnumai Mazdayasan Sabha or the Religious Reform Association was started by Naoroji Furdonzi, Dadabhai Nauroji, S.S. Bengalee and others. It campaigned against the entrenched orthodoxy in the religious field and initiated the modernization of Parsee social customs regarding the education of women, marriage and the social position of women in general. In the course of time, the Parsees became the most westernized section of the Indian society.

3.4.2 Religious Reforms among the Sikhs

The religious reforms among the Sikhs began at the end of the nineteenth century with the starting of Khalsa College in Amritsar. But the reform efforts gained momentum only after 1920 when the Akali movement rose in Punjab. The main aim of Akalis was to purify the management of gurudwaras or the Sikh shrines. These gurudwaras had been richly endowed with land and money by devout Sikhs. But they had come to be managed autocratically by corrupt and selfish mahants. The masses led by the Akalis started a powerful struggle (satyagraha) against the mahants in 1921 and the government which used to aid them. The Akalis soon forced the government to pass a new Sikh Gurudwara Act in 1922 which was later amended in 1925. Sometimes with the help of this Act, but mostly through direct action, the Sikhs gradually turned out the corrupt mahants of the gurudwaras, even though hundreds of lives had to be sacrificed in the process.

3.5 IMPACT OF THE RELIGIOUS REFORM MOVEMENTS

The religious reform movements helped many Indians to come to terms with the modern world. In fact, they arose to recast the old religions into a new modern world to suit the needs of the new social groups of society. Thus, pride in the past did not prevent Indians from accepting the essential superiority of the modern world in general and modern science in particular. As a result of a new outlook, many Indians began to acquire a modern, worldly, secular and national outlook in place of a narrow one dominated by considerations of caste and religion, though the latter tendency by no means came to an end. Moreover, people began to think in terms of promoting their physical and cultural welfare in the world in place of passively accepting their lot and waiting for improvement life after death. These

movements also ended India's cultural and intellectual isolation from rest of the world and enabled Indians to share in the stream of the world ideas.

However, the two negative aspects of the reform movements may also be noted. Firstly, all of them catered to the needs of the small percentage of the population, the urban middle and upper classes. The second limitation which later became a negative factor was the tendency to look backwards, an appeal to past greatness and a reliance on scriptural authority. Appeals to past greatness created false pride and smugness while the habit of finding a 'Golden Age' in the past acted as a check on the full acceptance of modern science and hampered the efforts to improve the present. But most of all, these tendencies tended to divide Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Parsees as also the high caste Hindus from the low caste Hindus. Any overemphasis on religion in a country containing many religions was bound to have a divisive effect. Moreover, the reforms put a one-sided emphasis on the religious and philosophical aspects of the cultural heritage. These aspects were, moreover, not a common heritage of all the people. On the other hand, the branches like music, science and technology, etc. in which all sections of people had contributed equally, were not sufficiently emphasized. The Hindu reforms invariably confined their praise of the Indian past to its ancient period. These reforms looked upon the medieval period as essentially an era of decadence. It was not only unhistorical but also socially and psychically harmful. It tended to create the notion of two separate groups of people. As a result, the past became the heritage of a few. To some extent the process of evolution of a composite culture that had been going on for centuries, received a check, though in other spheres national unification of the Indian people was accelerated. The evil aspects of the phenomenon became apparent when along with the rapid rise of national consciousness; communal consciousness had begun to rise among the middle classes. Many other factors were certainly responsible for the birth of communalism in modern times but undoubtedly, the nature of religious reform movements also contributed towards it.

Check Your Progress

7. Mention the movement whose main aim was to purify the management of gurudwaras or the Sikh shrines.

8. Which movement was founded by Sayyid Ahmad Khan?

3.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The Civil Marriage Act of 1872 made marriage secular; raised the age of marriage of girls to fourteen years and accepted widow remarriage as well as inter-caste marriage. It also banned polygamy. The Property Act of 1874 widened the concept of streedhan to include earnings by women.

2. Gandhiji, throughout his life, emphasized the need for abolition of untouchability through his public activities. In 1932, he founded the All India Harijan Sangh.

3. The Pune Seva Sadan started by Ramabai Ranade opened branches in different parts of the country to train nurses and midwives.

4. Ram Mohan Roy laid the foundation of the Brahmo Samaj on 20 August 1828.

5. Vivekananda was a disciple of Ramakrishna Paramahamsa.

6. The Arya Samaj, founded in 1875 by Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883).

7. It was the Akali movement whose main aim was to purify the management of gurudwaras or the Sikh shrines.

8. Sayyid Ahmad Khan founded the Aligarh Movement.

3.7 SUMMARY

- Voluntary efforts at social change are as important as some impersonal processes like industrialization and urbanization. It is, therefore, necessary to raise some sociologically relevant questions about the phenomenon of social reform movements.

- The nature of reform movements can be best understood in comparison with a revolt. In both of them a condition of dissatisfaction with the existing conditions of society exists. The nineteenth century initiated this process of transformation in the religious, social, economic, political, and cultural spheres.

- The impact of the British Raj influenced administration, legislation, trade, network of communications, industrialization and urbanization in India, affecting not only society as a whole, but also the traditional patterns of life.

- British scholars, educators and missionaries also impacted the cultural field.

- The reformers consciously reacted to the new situation and advocated deliberate changes in social and religious attitudes and customs.

- The reformers had a great impact on nineteenth century India, but there were also other factors effecting change.

- The nineteenth century reform movement became closely conjoined to a political movement, and consequently sought to influence political authority, administration, and legislation.

- This political movement eventually became an all-India nationalist movement. The religious reform movements helped many Indians to come to terms with the modern world.

- In fact, they arose to recast the old religions into a new modern world to suit the needs of the new social groups of society.

- Thus, pride in the past did not prevent Indians from accepting the essential superiority of the modern world in general and modern science in particular.

- India has an ancient tradition of giving women a status equal to that of men. But over centuries social values got distorted and women came to be more and more repressed. They became victims of social vices, such as enforced widowhood, child marriage and sati. The condition of upper class women was worse than that of peasant women since the latter worked actively in the fields and thus enjoyed relatively greater freedom of movement.

- The nineteenth century witnessed the first strings for change in the status of women. The socio-religious reformers were influenced by the status the Indian women enjoyed in the Vedic society as well as by the impact of liberal Western philosophy. They were also convinced that national upliftment and progress were not possible without women's emancipation. Ultimately, the nationalist movement and the efforts of Mahatma Gandhi created the climate conducive to bring about, to some extent, the desired change in the status of women.

- The caste system was not only humiliating and inhuman but was also a cause of social disintegration. The castes were carefully graded into a hierarchy of statuses. The untouchables suffered from discrimination and restrictions.

- Many social and religious reformers raised their voice against it. The Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramkrishna mission and the Theosophical Society condemned the inhuman practice of untouchability.

- The second half of the nineteenth century was marked by a strong wave of reforming activities in religion and society. There was a general recognition of the existing evils and abuses in society and religion. But as usual, the reforming zeal followed diverse channels. Some were lured by the western ideas to follow an extreme radical policy, and this naturally provoked a strong reaction among the orthodox sections of society. Between these two extremes were moderate reformers, who wanted to introduce reforms more cautiously.

- The national awakening among the Indian Muslims took place at a slower rate than among the Hindus. The anti-Muslim policy of the British made the Muslims avoid any contact with the new culture and education which the British introduced in India. They avoided coming under the influence of modern education and preferred to be associated with orthodox Islamic education. The impoverishment of the Muslims during the process of the British conquest of India took place at a rapid rate. It was only by the end of the nineteenth century that the Muslims began to take to modern education.

Gradually, an intelligentsia trained in modern education came into being. A section of that intelligentsia steadily built up a nationalist outlook.

- Inspite of the relative inertia of the Muslims, from the point of view of their development on nationalist lines, a number of religious revivalist and reform movements among them sprang up in due course of time.

- The religious reform movements helped many Indians to come to terms with the modern world. In fact, they arose to recast the old religions into a new modern world to suit the needs of the new social groups of society. Thus, pride in the past did not prevent Indians from accepting the essential superiority of the modern world in general and modern science in particular. As a result of a new outlook, many Indians began to acquire a modern, worldly, secular and national outlook in place of a narrow one dominated by considerations of caste and religion, though the latter tendency by no means came to an end.

3.8   KEY WORDS

- **Monotheism:** It is the doctrine or belief that there is only one God.

- **Idolatry:** It is worship of idols.

- **Sufism:** It refers to the beliefs and practices of an ascetic, retiring, and mystical sect in Islam.

- **Polytheism:** It is the worship of or belief in more than one god.

- **Covenant:** It is a binding agreement.

- **Pantheist**: It is belief in and worship of all gods.

3.9   SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the Muslim reform movements.
2. What were the important Parsee and Sikh Reform Movements in India?
3. Briefly explain the two negative aspects of the reform movements.

Long Answer Questions

1. Discuss the elimination of untouchability through social reforms.
2. How have women become the focus of social reforms.
3. Describe the hindu reform movements.

3.10 FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 4 THEORIES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS - I

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 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. Other regulatory factors that he visualized were expensive social mobility and cheap of class difference. The structural-functional approach on social movement is closely related to the system analysis, as we will study in this unit. In this unit, you will learn about the theories of emergence of social movements.

4.1   OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the Marxist Theory of social movements
- Describe the state and societal revolution in capitalist society
- Explain the post-Marxist theories of social movements
- Assess the Weberian and post-Weberian social movements
- Discuss the structural-functional social movements

4.2   MARXIST AND POST-MARXIST SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In this section, you will learn about the Marxist and post-Marxist theory of social movements.

4.2.1 Marxist Theory

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 preeminently 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 inter-relations 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.

4.2.2 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.

4.3.3 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.

Check Your Progress

1. How did Lenin regard politics?
2. What was Marx's view of the State?
3. What did Karl Marx think of India?

4.3 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.

4.3.1 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.

4.3.2 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.

4.4 STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The structural-functional approach on social movement is closely related to system analysis. As a concept, it is not entirely new in political science. Its origin can be traced back to the days of Plato and Aristotle. In the first half of the 20th century, the structural-functional approach was applied in anthropology and sociology. Radcliffe Brown and B. Malinowski were the two anthropologists who employed this approach in their investigations. In sociology this approach was first applied by Talcott Parsons.

Gabriel A. Almond, a noted American political scientist, first applied this analysis in political science. The concepts of structures and functions are central to structural-functional analysis. The structural-functional approach seeks to discover

the functions which an organism or a system must perform in order to exist or to remain in operation. According to A.R. Ball, structural-functionalism is a means of explaining the basic functions performed by political structures in the political system and it is a tool of investigation. It has introduced a new conceptual tool in the study of political science.

The main theme of its analysis is, 'What functions are performed by what structures under what conditions?'. A political system has several structures. They perform different functions. It is necessary that the system should perform its functions in such a way that it keeps on working in a smooth way.

Structures are patterned behaviour and refer to those arrangements within the system, which perform functions. A function is the relevant consequence of activity. Relevance is traced to a system of which, the activity generating unit is an integral part. In short, attempts are made to identify the important structures and then seek to discover the functions of those identified structures. The structural-functional analysis aims at measuring the amount of change at the structural level that a system can accommodate, without affecting its capacity of fulfilling its basic functional requisites.

The structural-functional approach was first applied in political science by Gabriel Almond and James S. Colman for the study of developing countries. In 1966, Almond and Powell in their book, *Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach*, explained the concept of structural-functional analysis in detail. James Coleman, David Apter and Lucian Pye, are other notable exponents of this analysis. Almond defines a political system as 'the system of interactions to be found in all independent societies which performs the functions of integration and adaption by means of employment, or threat of employment, of more or less legitimate physical compulsion'.

Though political systems vary from each other, yet they have some common properties. The following are some common properties of a political system:

- It is structural in nature.
- There are some common functions which are being performed in all systems.
- The structures within a political system perform more than one function. It means that the structures are multi-functional.
- All political and social systems are mixed. This means that all political systems combine both, modern and traditional elements.

According to Almond, a political system has three properties:

(i) Comprehensiveness, (ii) Interdependence and (iii) Existence of boundaries. Comprehensiveness, according to Almond means that a political system includes all interactions of both, the input and the output sides which affect the use, or threat of use of physical coercion. According to Almond, **interdependence** means that a change in one sector of interactions produces similar changes in other sectors.

Every political system has a boundary. It means that there are points where other systems end and the political system begins. The political system is an open system. It is a unit that affects the environment and is affected by the environment. According to Almond, every political system performs two sets of basic functions, viz., input and output.

Input functions are performed by non-governmental sub-systems including the general environment. According to Almond, there are four input functions. They are:

1. Political socialization and recruitment

2. Interest articulation

3. Interest aggregation

4. Political communication

Input functions link the political system to the non-governmental sub-system in a society such as, family, schools, colleges, pressure groups, etc. Output functions are entirely governmental. These functions are equivalent to the task of the three branches of government—legislative, executive and judiciary. There are three output functions:

1. Rule making

2. Rule application

3. Rule adjudication

Gabriel Almond is of the view that while various functions are universal, the style of their performance differs. Almond measures this style on four dimensions: (i) manifest latent (ii) specific diffuse (iii) general particular and (iv) instrumental affective.

If a human body is a system, it has various organs such as heart, eyes, head, etc. All of them are interdependent and they perform their functions which cannot but affect other organs of the system. Similarly pressure groups, political parties, legislature, executive, etc., are interdependent and perform functions of conversion of inputs into outputs. Almond views input functions as political and output functions as governmental in nature.

In his later writings, Almond made a few changes in his approach, because of the influence of David Easton. He elaborates his framework in order to accommodate the process of adaptation and change. The concept of capabilities is introduced to measure the extent to which the political system can cope with input effectively. Nevertheless, the structural-functional analysis of Almond suffers from the following defects:

- Almond does not clearly define a system. His definition of the system is faulty, because he is unable to clarify what he means by independent societies.

- Almond's structural-functional approach is based on the western political system. As it excludes non-western political experiences, it is bound to fail when applied to traditional and non-western societies.

Check Your Progress

4. When and where was Max Weber born?

5. Why did Weber coin the term social relationship?

6. What was Talcott Parsons' aim?

4.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

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 pat-terned 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.

4.6 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 characte-ristics 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.

4.7 KEY WORDS

- **Globalization:** It literally implies a world without boundaries, allowing free movement of people, goods and services.

- **Revolutionary politics:** It is a struggle against hegemonic rule, including development, as part of that struggle, of a counter hegemony based upon working class, values and culture.

- **Social relationship**: It is a concept to describe patterned human interaction, which is intentional, meaningful and symbolic

- **Social system:** It is defined as the systems of interaction comprising plurality of actors, occupying statuses and enacting normatively prescribed roles.

4.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. How does Marxism emphasize on economic and social factors?

2. What are Harold Laski's view on 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 on 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.

4.9 FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 5   THEORIES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS - II

Structure

5.0   INTRODUCTION

There have been various attempts to understand what is reason behind the success and failure of social movements. These theories try to assign the cause and effect to the process of social movements. In this unit, you will learn about two major theories explaining the causes of social movements: the resource mobilization theory and the relative deprivation theory. You will also also learn about the major components of the social movements.

5.1   OBJECTIVES

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

- Explain the relative deprivation theory

- Describe the resource mobilization theory

- Discuss the components of social movements

5.2   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.

5.2.1 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 analyze 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 collectivity 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.

5.2.2 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.

5.2.3 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:

(i) **Structural conduciveness:** It examines a particular situation in a society and explains whether or not the existing structure allows movements to occur.

(ii) **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.

(iii) **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.

(iv) **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.

(v) **Mobilization of the participants:** It refers to the actual social movement, activity that finally occurs, the mobilization of the participants.

(vi) **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.

Check Your Progress

1. Who introduced the theory of relative deprivation theory?
2. What does the resource mobilization theory explain?
3. State the major determinants of success or failure of social movements.

5.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The theory of relative deprivation was introduced by the American scholar, Denton Morrison, who has also guided some studies on agitations and mass movements.
2. The resource mobilization theory explains protests and movements of revolt.
3. Leadership, organization and tactics are the major determinants of success or failure of social movements.

5.4 SUMMARY

- 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 analyze revolutionary movements

- **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.

- 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.

- There are six primary factors that act as the determinants of a particular social movement: Structural conduciveness, Structural strain, Creation of a generalized belief, Circumstances, and Mobilization of the participants Application of social controls:

- The social movements are generally characterized by the following components:

    o Collective goal

    o Common ideology or widely accepted programme

    o Collective action

    o Minimal degree of organization

    o Leadership

5.5 KEY WORDS

- **Relative deprivation:** It refers to the gap between expectations and realizations.

- **Deprivation theorists:** It refers to the theorists who believe in the relative deprivation theory; according to which people take action for social change in order to acquire something (for example, opportunities, status, or wealth) that others possess and which they believe they should have, too.

5.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. How do deprivation theorists view social movements?
2. List the limitations of the Relative Deprivation Theory.

Long Answer Questions

1. Explain the two sociological theories, namely the Relative Deprivation Theory and the Resource Mobilization Theory, which deal with the causes and outcomes of social movements.

2. Describe the determinants and components of social movements.

5.7 FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 6 POLITICAL PROCESS THEORY

Structure

6.0   INTRODUCTION

There have been numerous theorists who have tried to understand the reasons why a social movement starts, how it gains momentum and what happens to it next. Different theorists consider varied elements crucial to making a sustainable social movement. You have already learnt about some of the theories of social movements in the previous units including the resource mobilization and deprivation theory. In this unit, we continue the discussion on the origins of social movements by explaining the political process, structural strain and new social movements theory.

6.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the concept of Political Process Theory
- Explain the Structural Strain Theory
- Describe the New Social Movement Theory

6.2   POLITICAL PROCESS THEORY

Political process theory also known as political opportunity theory emphasizes on the importance of conditions, actions and mindsets required to make any social movement successful in achieving the desired goals. This theory advocates that there should be political opportunities before a movement can achieve its pre-defined objectives. If political opportunities are present then attempts can be made to bring change in political processes and its structure.

Political process theory was developed in U.S. in 1970s and 1980s and credit was given to sociologist Douglas McAdam for first developing this theory after the intense work on Black Civil Rights Movement. It is considered as the fundamental theory of social movements to bring the change in the society. Before the evolution of this theory the members of social movements were considered as the deviants rather than political actors. Many key points of political process theory are similar to the resource mobilization theory as both the theories lay emphasis on the availability of necessary resources. But political process theory also emphasizes on very important component of social structure i.e. political opportunities. The basic assumption of this theory was that for making any social movement successful, there is need of enthusiastic environment and access to essential resources.

There are three important component of formation any social movement. These components are:

i. **Insurgent Consciousness:** Insurgent Consciousness refers to the collective sense against the unfair actions. People in the society may feel that injustice is happening with them related to certain issues and they are not satisfied with the system. This feeling of restlessness helps in motivating the members of the social movement to work collectively with great force.

ii. **Organizational strength:** For the strength of any social movement, two components are vital: one is strong leadership and other is availability of required resources. As also mentioned in the resource mobilization theory that for shaping the social movement, resources play very important role.

iii. **Political Opportunities:** If the political system is pregnable, then there is chance for challenge the system and bring the social change. The vulnerability of any political system may be due to failure of repression strategies, political pluralism and disunity among powerful members of society or elite class etc.

Political Process theory argues that for the successful occurrence of social movement, the emergence of all three above mentioned components are important. For example, if there is intense insurgent consciousness but no availability of resources for the mobilization of the movement then the movement will breakdown shortly. In other case if there is insurgent consciousness and essential resources available but political opportunities are missing then again it is difficult to make social movement active for the longer time.

Components of PPT

There are some other key components of political process theory as suggested by many sociologists:

- **Political opportunities:** As already discussed above that political opportunities are very important component of social movement for brining social change in the society.

- **Mobilizing structures:** There may be already existing structures/ organizations in the society who also wants to bring the change in the society and participate along with the members of social movement for the common issues. These organizations may be student organizations or non-profitable organizations (NGOs) etc. These organizations may help in mobilizing the movement by contributing through social networking, increasing potential members in the movements and by proving better leadership for the success of movement.

- **Framing processes:** These processes are needed for the clear description of issues or problems faced by the members of movement and how a change can be brought up for the solution of the problem. The framing processes are important in the sense that it elaborates the ideological aspect of the social movement. This role must be done by the leaders of the society.

- **Protest cycles:** Protests are important aspects of any prolonged social movement. Through protest, leaders of movement can easily express their ideology to the common people and can describe relevance of the issues raised by the movement for the purpose of awareness. It increases the scope of association of new members in the movement.

- **Contentious repertoires:** Contentious debates, rallies, strikes or protests are different means by which movement claims its active status and validates the issues raised by the members of the movement.

Criticism of the Political Process Theory

The criticism of the political process theory was mainly raised for negligence of movement culture. Later on, this theory was modified by McAdam. He made the modification of three major aspects: role of culture in social movements, changing focus of movement and international context of social movement.

Check Your Progress

1. When and who developed the political process theory?
2. Give examples of factors which claim the active status of social movements and validates issues raised by it.

6.3 NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORIES

There was a different wave of social movement in the 1960s and 1970s. The anti-war movement, women's movement, and environmental movements were coming in focus of attention and gained strength from the society.

In the old social movements, political parties were in the mainframe and distribution of power was the main concerns in society. In New social movements, there were issues related to the quality of life of members of society. Impact of globalization on the functioning of new social movement was also very prominent

legal issues, environmental and health concerns for having international scope. For these problems, the solutions in the new social movements are not class-based. For example, women movement against gender discrimination includes women from the urban, middle as well as poor classes.

New Social Movement Theory developed initially in Europe with a greater emphasis on issues related to values, collective identity rather than developing ideologies. The New Social Movement theorists discuss that the movements of the post-war era differ from the movements of the earlier period and fails to fit in the model of Marxism. New Social Movements (NSMs) theory of social movements attempts to explain the surfeit of new movements that have come up in various western societies roughly since the post-industrial economy which are claimed to depart significantly from the conventional social movement paradigm (Pichardo 1997).

The NSM theory emphasizes that the movement after the post-industrial economy is different from earlier class-based movements and the rise of the post-industrial economy has given emphasis on the new wave of new social movement theories. The main difference is in the issues for which movements have started, as the new movements focus on the quality of life like human rights, environmental issues, etc.

The emphasis on material values has lost their focus in new social movements and reflection of higher aesthetic, self-realization, original & creative needs are in objectives of new social movements. There is a shift from class-based interest to universal human values.

Offe had suggested various reasons for the emergence of new social movements. According to him, of bureaucratic capitalist social relations have been broadened and the adverse effect of capitalism is affecting more people than earlier.

For example, where women have started doing jobs, the concept of equality of wages emerged. The old political system which was based on the class couldn't accommodate and represent the cross-class demands of feminism and environmentalism.

Marxism and New Social Movement Theory

Marxism emphasized on class-based social movements and ignored the transformation of culture. According to traditional Marxism, all new concepts of social movements were irrelevant. From this point of view, it has no way of accounting for movements that centres on the defense and construction of identity. According to this approach, the new social movements are self-indulgent and not helpful in bringing change as per the societal needs. The new social movements have confronted the Marxist conception of power. Domination exercised by the upper class or the capitalist class on the working class is the primary concern to exercise the power. The new social movements theory has claimed that power

can be exercised on the exploited group in various ways, involving not only class but caste, gender, race, religion, nationality and so on.

The Main Principles of New Social Movement Theory

The supporters of new social movement theory claim that collective action is about culture. There are significant elements in both the context and the substance of cultural emphases of new forces. In new social movements, more weightage is being given to cultural elements than the old social movements. Second, these cultural concerns are increasingly framed in terms not only of general social values and norms but also of the definition and maintenance of identities for individuals. Kauffman observes, "Nothing distinguishes contemporary social movement politics from those of the nineteenth and early twentieth century more than politics of identity that have developed over the last twenty or 50 years".

Social movements after the post-industrial economy were considered as the new social movements. Social movements are concerned about the benefits of a large group rather than the benefits of the individual. It means that social movements are not only participation oriented but power-oriented groups. To bring a social change collective actions are taken by keeping in view their socio-political implication at a large level. The occurrence of social movements is possible in a democratic environment where people have opportunities to raise their voice to bring or resist social change. The social movements where the aim is to bring change within the system are more common rather than the movements which aimed to bring change in the basic structure or goals of the system.

"New social movements, which began to emerge in the 1950s, include social movements that arise from the conflicts in post-industrial revolution society and economy. New social movements are a loosely connected group of collective actions that have displaced the traditional social movement of the proletarian revolution" (Buechler, 1993).

6.4 THE STRUCTURAL STRAIN THEORY

The structural strain theory was given by American Sociologist Neil Smelser in 1965. The theory emphasizes that for the growth of any emergent social movement depends on some factors. This theory advocates that there are six important factors which have a direct impact on the successful emergence of the social movement. It is very important that in a society if there is any problem, people must feel derivation of any kind because of that problem. This will promote anger and frustration or strain among the people and this will help the movement to emerge. Without reason, no social movement will survive and it is mandatory that social movement should address common problems or issues otherwise for individual reasons movement will die soon. There should be a strong belief that the solution of problems will easily be sought out through movements for the improvement of the social structure. One of the prominent conditions for the successful execution of social movement

is precipitating factors to ignite the behaviour of members of movement also plays an important role.

To encourage the development of social movement following six factors are of great importance:

Components of Social Movement
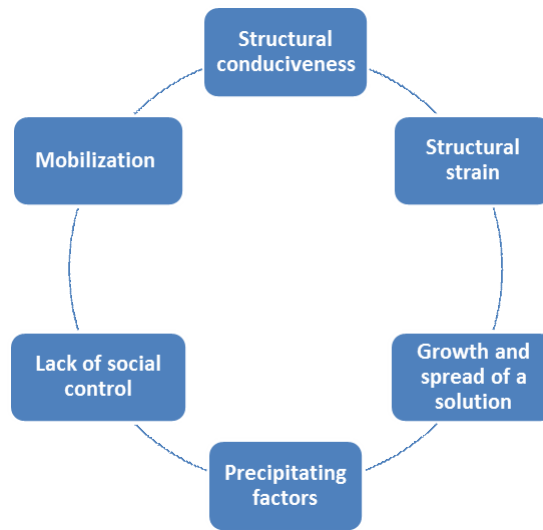
Fig. 6.1 Components of Social Movement

i. **Structural Conduciveness:** Structural conduciveness refers to factors that help in the realization of the existence of the problem. It is considered as the first determinant of collective behaviour. Any social factor that becomes the reason for collective behaviour is considered as part of structural conduciveness.

This condition occurs when there is awareness about the problem among people and they get the opportunity to act collectively. The structure of the society must be favourable for the emergence of any protest.

ii. **Structural Strain:** Structural strain refers to the expectations of members about the situation but they fail to fulfil those expectations. This situation causes tension or frustration or strain which is the second determinant of collective behaviour. Structural strain energizes the members to do certain activities which they generally never do. It means more the feeling of strain among participants, more will be the chances of their engagement in uncommon activities. There are many sources of strain like derivation, conflicts in values, discrepancies in incentives, unemployment, poverty and discrimination etc. Strain alone cannot work for the emergence of the social movement. It has to be compatible with structural conduciveness to increase the chance of movement to occur.

iii. **Growth and spread of a solution:** The third phase involves the expansion of generalized belief which provides a possible solution to the problems or

issues raised by the participants. At this stage, potential leaders clearly define the problem to justify the course of action with more logical and desirable facts. For the collective actions of all the participants, it is very important that generalized belief is being spread effectively. It helps in determining the next plan of action. When generalized belief formed among participants, there would be more chances of an outburst of collective behaviour.

iv. **Precipitating factors:** When there is compatibility between conduciveness & strain and generalized belief is spread among the participants, there is a need for a spark to ignite the event. For example, if in a society, people have a feeling of discrimination due to racial inequality and creating strain among participants then this type of situation gives rise to riot. Precipitating factors and generalized belief are so intertwined that it is hard to differentiate between these determinants. Some sociologists consider precipitating factors as the component of generalized belief.

v. **Lack of social control:** Lack of social control plays a vital role in the success of the movement. Status of social control agents is crucial to confirm the occurrence or removal of collective action. If social control is there, the occurrence of other determinants will be suppressed. Social control agents can stop the collective actions at any stage if the control is appropriate and effective. For example, in a society, media, police, authorities can control any collective action by reducing or removing structural conduciveness and strain to stop the formation of the movement.

vi. **Mobilization:** Mobilization is the final stage of the process of collective behaviour. When structural conduciveness, strain and generalized belief developed then last and most important factor is the mobilization of participants. The prominent leadership is required for the successful implementation of the process. Potential members suggest the acceptable behaviour of all the members in a movement. If people are mobilized and motivated to participate and contribute their time and or money, the movement will occur smoothly. Here leadership is an important determinant to transform the movement into large scale event. It is essential that potential leaders motivate the participants for collective behaviour. They have to keep in mind that how to capture the attention, what to convey to participants and how to deal with controlling factors. Once the movement commenced, the usefulness of leaders may be abolished.

Check Your Progress

3. Who developed the structural strain theory?
4. Mention the different sources of strain for social movements.
5. What are the factors of social control which may stop the formation of a social movement?

6.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Political process theory was developed in U.S. in 1970s and 1980s and credit was given to sociologist Douglas McAdam for first developing this theory after the intense work on Black Civil Rights Movement.

2. Contentious debates, rallies, strikes or protests are different means by which movement claims its active status and validates the issues raised by the members of the movement.

3. The structural strain theory was developed by American sociologist Neil Sinelser in 1965.

4. There are many sources of strain social movements like derivation, conflicts in values, discrepancies in incentives, unemployment, poverty and discrimination etc.

5. For example, in a society, media, police, authorities can control any collective action by reducing or removing structural conduciveness and strain to stop the formation of a social movement.

6.6 SUMMARY

- Political process theory also known as political opportunity theory emphasizes on the importance of conditions, actions and mindsets required to make any social movement successful in achieving the desired goals. This theory advocates that there should be political opportunities before a movement can achieve its pre-defined objectives. If political opportunities are present then attempts can be made to bring change in political processes and its structure.

- Political process theory was developed in U.S. in 1970s and 1980s and credit was given to sociologist Douglas McAdam for first developing this theory after the intense work on Black Civil Rights Movement. It is considered as the fundamental theory of social movements to bring the change in the society. Before the evolution of this theory the members of social movements were considered as the deviants rather than political actors.

- Many key points of political process theory are similar to the resource mobilization theory as both the theories lay emphasis on the availability of necessary resources. But political process theory also emphasizes on very important component of social structure i.e. political opportunities. The basic assumption of this theory was that for making any social movement successful, there is need of enthusiastic environment and access to essential resources.

- Political Process theory argues that for the successful occurrence of social movement, the emergence of all three above mentioned components are

important. For example, if there is intense insurgent consciousness but no availability of resources for the mobilization of the movement then the movement will breakdown shortly.

- The criticism of the political process theory was mainly raised for negligence of movement culture. Later on, this theory was modified by McAdam. He made the modification of three major aspects: role of culture in social movements, changing focus of movement and international context of social movement.

- There was a different wave of social movement in the 1960s and 1970s. The anti-war movement, women's movement, and environmental movements were coming in focus of attention and gained strength from the society.

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- New Social Movement Theory developed initially in Europe with a greater emphasis on issues related to values, collective identity rather than developing ideologies. The New Social Movement theorists discuss that the movements of the post-war era differ from the movements of the earlier period and fails to fit in the model of Marxism.

- The supporters of new social movement theory claim that collective action is about culture. There are significant elements in both the context and the substance of cultural emphases of new forces. In new social movements, more weightage is being given to cultural elements than the old social movements.

- The structural strain theory was given by American Sociologist Neil Smelser in 1965. The theory emphasizes that for the growth of any emergent social movement depends on some factors. This theory advocates that there are six important factors which have a direct impact on the successful emergence of the social movement. It is very important that in a society if there is any problem, people must feel derivation of any kind because of that problem. This will promote anger and frustration or strain among the people and this will help the movement to emerge.

6.7 KEY WORDS

- **Insurgent consciousness:** It refers to the collective sense against the unfair actions.

- **New Social Movements (NSMs) theory of social movements:** It attempts to explain the surfeit of new movements that have come up in various western societies roughly since the post-industrial economy which are claimed to depart significantly from the conventional social movement paradigm.

- **Structural conduciveness:** It refers to factors that help in the realization of the existence of the problem.

- **Structural strain:** It refers to the expectations of members about the situation but they fail to fulfil those expectations.

6.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. What are the three important components of the formation of any social movement?

2. What are the points of similarity and difference between the political process theory and the resource mobilization theory?

3. How is Marxism related to the New Social Movement theory?

Long Answer Questions

1. Discuss the main components of the political process theory.

2. Explain the main principles of the New Social Movement theory.

3. Describe the structural strain theory.

6.9 FURTHER READINGS

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BLOCK - III
MOVEMENTS OF THE DEPRIVED SECTIONS

UNIT 7 DEPRIVED SECTION AND SUBALTERN MOVEMENTS

Structure

7.0 INTRODUCTION

Every society has power dynamics defining the various relationships existing within its domain. These power relations always have a section of people in majority and minority and a section being powerful and others being marginalized. The deprived sections of the society refers to those marginalized communities in the society and the subaltern as a word has emerged in the post colonial times to refer to the non-central communities. Both these sections have similarity in the sense that they have been marginalized and therefore have not enjoyed the same benefits as those received by the powerful groups. It can also be said that apart from the absence of certain benefits, these groups have in fact faced discrimination and exploitation at the hands of the majoritarian or more powerful groups. In this unit, you will be introduced to the concept of deprived section and the subaltern movements. This will be a sort of an introductory unit and the majority of the important movements in the Indian context will be dealt in the forthcoming units.

7.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the different types of deprived sections

- Explain the nature of movements of deprived sections in India

- Interpret the meaning of subaltern movement

7.2 MOVEMENTS OF THE DEPRIVED SECTIONS-SUBALTERN MOVEMENT: MEANING AND IMPORTANCE

In our society, people are divided into different categories like upper class, middle class and lower class on the basis of economic status of the people. Earlier there was great disparity among social structure where one class enjoyed all benefits and other section was totally deprived from basic necessities. The term Deprived Group generally denotes that group of people who are socially, economically, politically and culturally ignored and doing struggle for getting access to resources to lead a successful life. Deprived Groups vary in different settings and also varies from culture to culture. Awareness about rights plays important role in the upliftment of these section to demand justice and respect in the family.

Types of Deprived sections: There is a broad classification of deprived sections such as social, economic, political. A brief discussion is given below:

    i. Socially Deprived Sections: Social deprivation is a process where people are socially neglected and discriminated and deprived from resources available in the society. For example, lower caste people in India have faced such deprivation from the ancient time. Socially deprived people have struggled a lot against the dominant group in India for their survival. There were lots of restrictions on these people regarding their participation in social activities.

    ii. Economically Deprived Groups: Economically deprived group is a group of people having poor economical status. These people are also exploited by the upper-class people. They get very nominal wages for their work and they are not allowed to raise their voice for justice.

    iii. Politically Deprived Groups: Political deprived groups are not allowed to participate in any planning and decision making for the welfare of society. In history we come to know about the politically deprived group such as women, disabled persons, migrants etc. In every society, lack of political empowerment creates negative impact on deprived group. For example, many times, we observed that women have very minimal participation in decision making. It is a man dominated area whether in politics, offices or any leadership concern. Same kind of deprivation can be seen with migrants and specially-abled persons etc.

Movements of Deprived Sections in India

Deprived groups are socially deprived and always neglected by the elite class of the society. During pre-independence period, there was a struggling phase for deprived people for their self-respect, self-identity and self-determination. These people were not allowed to fully utilize the opportunities to secure a quality life.

There were deprived groups for example, Dalit or other backward classes in the society, who had organized several movements in pre-independence and post-independence period for the social upliftment of their status. These Dalit movements challenged the discrimination and inequality on the basis of caste. There were several issues raised by these movements of deprived group such as self – respect, land dispute, harassment of women, forced labour, less payment for more work etc. Dr. Ambedkar was one of the leaders who worked a lot for underprivileged section of the society. He organized many mass movements for the welfare of scheduled caste people like "Mahar Dalit Movement". The nature of the task of the deprived people was cleaning and removing dead animals from houses, perform duties for upper class families etc. Through this movement, Dr. Ambedkar tried to raise the social status of people who were having extremely low status in the society.

Socially deprived groups had faced many issues related to self-dignity such as problem of untouchability. There were lots of efforts related to eradication of untouchability from the Indian society. For the social and cultural equality, The Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj, and other social groups worked very hard to decry this social evil. In 1923, Gandhi ji had established All India Harijans Sevak Sangh to provide residential school education for the upliftment of this deprived section.

In 1974, a Dalit Sanarsh Samiti was formed by students and other educated people of the society to work for the solution of many social evils. Initially, they organized protests and conventions to bring focus on problems of deprived people. Through this samiti, many issues or problems were taken on priority by organizing protests or dharnas to stop discrimination against the Dalit deprived group.

For the welfare of deprived women in India, many social movements and reforms took place. One of these efforts was establishment of Prathana Samaj in 1867. M.G. Ranade and R.G. Bhandarkar were the main leaders who played major role for the welfare of women status in India. In 1869 the Bombay Widow Reforms Association was formed for the welfare of widows and organize widow remarriages. These movements helped in improving the social status of women as well as bringing them equal to men to utilize all resources in the society. After this, another social organization, in 1875, the Arya Samaj was founded by Dayanand Saraswati. It promoted reform in the education of both men and women, caste system in India and exclusion of child marriage from the society. Later on, many schools were set up by the Arya Samaj for promotion of girl education.

7.2.1 Meaning of Subaltern

Originally, the word 'Subaltern' came from Italian word 'Subaterno'. The dictionary meaning is "inferior rank" or "junior officer". Now we use Subaltern word in many ways but originally, it was used for junior level officer who was supposed to follow all the orders of senior officer. In broad socio political context, it is used to denote subordinate classes, socially deprived with non- hegemonic in nature.

Subaltern, in post-colonial studies is used to denote the men and women who are socially, politically and geographically marginalized out of the mainstream power structure.

Subaltern Studies developed in India around 1982. It was a series of articles published by Oxford University Press in India. Its main aim was to recover and rewrite history for the underclass, for the voices that had been ignored earlier. The realization and autonomy of oppressed class is the base of subaltern studies. It was realized that in the history, appropriate representation was not given to the subordinate people who had contributed a lot in many social movements. After the emergence of subaltern studies from post colonialism, it was not considered only an intervention of south Asian historiography but it developed as vigorous postcolonial critique.

Check Your Progress

1. When was the All India Hariyans Sevak Sangh established by Gandhi?
2. Mention two main leaders who played a major role in the upliftment of women status in India.

7.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. In 1923, Gandhi ji established All India Harijans Sevak Sangh to provide residential school education for the upliftment of this deprived section.
2. M.G. Ranade and R.G. Bhandarkar were the two main leaders who played major role in the upliftment of women status in India.

7.4 SUMMARY

- In our society, people are divided into different categories like upper class, middle class and lower class on the basis of economic status of the people. Earlier there was great disparity among social structure where one class enjoyed all benefits and other section was totally deprived from basic necessities.

- The term Deprived Group generally denotes that group of people who are socially, economically, politically and culturally ignored and doing struggle for getting access to resources to lead a successful life. **Deprived Groups** vary in different settings and also varies from culture to culture. Awareness about rights plays important role in the upliftment of these section to demand justice and respect in the family.

- There is a broad classification of deprived sections such as social, economic, political

- Deprived groups are socially deprived and always neglected by the elite class of the society. During pre-independence period, there was a struggling phase for deprived people for their self-respect, self-identity and self-determination.

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- For the social and cultural equality, The Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj, and other social groups worked very hard to decry this social evil. In 1923, Gandhi ji had established All India Harijans Sevak Sangh to provide residential school education for the upliftment of this deprived section.

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NOTES

7.5 KEY WORDS

- **Deprived group:** It generally denotes that group of people who are socially, economically, politically and culturally ignored and doing struggle for getting access to resources to lead a successful life.

- **Subaltern:** In post-colonial studies, it is used to denote the men and women who are socially, politically and geographically marginalized out of the mainstream power structure.

7.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. What is a deprived section?
2. How is the word subaltern defined in different contexts? Trace its origin.

Long Answer Questions

1. Explain the types of deprived sections.
2. Describe the movements of deprived sections in India.

7.7 FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 8   DALIT AND TRIBAL SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN INDIA

Structure

8.0   INTRODUCTION

The Dalit movement has been considered as the most prominent and event-changing social movement in the history of Independent India. It is a caste struggle of lower class against the brahminical hegemony. The movement has been used as a front of organized political resistance against caste oppression in Hindu society. The origin of this movement can be traced to the colonial rule in India.

India's caste system allots individuals a certain hierarchical status in accordance with Hindu beliefs. Traditionally, there are four principal castes and one category of people who fall outside the caste system—the Dalits. As members of the lowest rank of Indian society, Dalits have been facing inequity at nearly every level: from access to education and medical facilities to restrictions on where they can live and what jobs they can have. The word 'Dalit', which literally means 'oppressed' or 'broken', is generally used to refer to people who were once known as 'untouchables', those belonging to castes outside the four-fold Hindu Varna system.

Tribe or *Adivasi* is an umbrella term for a heterogeneous set of ethnic and tribal groups claimed to be the aboriginal population of India. They comprise a substantial indigenous minority of the population of India. According to Oxford

Dictionary, 'A tribe is a group of people in a primitive or barbarious stage of development acknowledging the authority of a chief and usually regarding themselves as having a common ancestor.' The Constitution of India, Article 366 (25) defines Scheduled Tribes as 'such tribes or tribal communities or part of or groups within such tribes or tribal communities as are deemed under Article 342 to the scheduled Tribes (STs) for the purposes of this Constitution'. In Article 342, the procedure to be followed for specification of a scheduled tribe is prescribed.

The tribal movements in India were revolts against the state. Tribal movements were primarily directed at preserving the tribal identity which was thought to be in danger due to intrusion of external people. Such intrusions affected the social, political and geo-economical position of the tribes. These movements were mostly violent, isolated and frequent. Numerous uprisings of the tribals took place between 1770 and 1971 in India. The first uprising was the tribal movement of Bihar in 1772, which was followed by movements in states like Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Mizoram, Andaman and Nicobar Island, Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland. Some of the examples of the tribal movements that erupted in the nineteenth century are the revolts of the Mizo Tribes (1810), Kol Tribes (1795 and 1831), Mundas (1889), Khaso and Garo tribes (1829), Santhals (1853), Muria Gonds (1886), Nagas (1844 and 1879), Bhuiyas (1868) and Kondha tribes (1817) etc. These movements can be broadly divided into two parts i.e., movements of the frontier tribes and movements of the non-frontier tribes. Both the frontier and non-frontier tribal movements had different sets of causes. The Movements of frontier tribes were largely revivalist and tended to be political and secular. The movement of the non-frontier tribes, on the contrary, was usually against the 'outsiders' and the British administration. The leaders of the tribal movements before 1920 were from the lower class of the society. However, the period between 1920 and 1947 witnessed the transformation of tribal movements into a common mass movement with leaders also coming from non-tribal educated groups.

In this unit, you will learn about the important Dalit and Tribal movements in India.

8.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the major Dalit social movement in India
- Explain the critical Tribal social movement in India

8.2 DALIT SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

In this section you will learn about the major Dalit social movements in India which jolted the system and brought about important changes in India.

8.2.1 Mahad Satyagraha

Mahad Satyagraha can be considered as the starting point of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's movement for the Dalits. Mahad Satyagraha has been portrayed as a landmark of his political activism and his work for the betterment of Dalits in India. Dr. Ambedkar launched a social revolution on 20 March 1927 to remove the ban on the Dalits using the Chawdar tank in the Mahad town of Maharashtra. This movement showed a permanent solution to the problem of segregation among the social classes and societal stratification in India.

The Mahad Satyagraha of 1927 was started as a protest for 'access to water' to the untouchables. At that time, the untouchables or Dalits had limited or no access to public water resources. Thus, Dr. Ambedkar started the movement for the first time in the form of Mahad Satyaghaha. During the Satyagraha, some ten thousand people turned up to a meeting called by Ambedkar and they heard speeches on all the topics of the day, including a call for Mahar women to wear their saris in the style of high-caste women so as to avoid stigma.

The Movement

Thus, Ambedkar's natural radicalism produced his first stern confrontation with prevailing attitude of the upper caste Hindus or the so-called radical orthodox Hindus, apparently quite without premeditation. The Mahad municipality had previously declared its Chowdar water tank open to all people without discrimination, in a spirit of reform. But in reality, the tank remained closed to untouchables though not to people of other communities such as Christians or Muslims. Prompted by the heat of the day and a shortage of water, Ambedkar determined to lead a procession to the tank. He himself was the first to draw water. The orthodox Hindus were duly outraged and demanded the tank to be ritually purified. Under pressure, the municipal council was induced to reverse its commitment to non-discrimination.

Ambedkar's response was to prepare for more action adopting the technique of satyagraha for the grant of rights to the untouchables to access water from the public resources. In his own words, 'The so called caste-Hindus are bitterly opposed to the depressed class using a public tank not because they really believe that the water will be thereby spoiled or will evaporate but because they are afraid of losing their superiority of caste and of equality being established between the former and the latter. We are resorting to this satyagraha not because we believe that the water of this particular tank has any exceptional qualities, but to establish our natural rights as citizens and human beings.'

8.2.2 Republican Party of India

Soon after the death of Dr. Ambedkar, certain epoch-making events took place in the Dalit movement. One was the formation of the Republican Party of India and the other was the genesis of the Dalit Panther Movement.

Republican Party of India

The Republican Party of India (RPI) came into existence out of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation by changing the latter's name in October, 1957. After the death of Dr. Ambedkar, the founder of the party, N. Shivraj became its leader till his death in 1964. It held several sessions over a period of time. The first session of the RPI took place in Nagpur in October 1957; the second in 1959 at Aurangabad; the third in 1961 at Aligarh; the fourth in 1963 at Ahmedabad; the fifth in 1966 at Delhi; the sixth in 1969 at Nagpur and the seventh in 1975 at Pune.

The Republican Party accords acceptance to the fundamental tenets of the Indian Constitution such as justice, freedom, equality and brotherhood for the citizens of India. It aims to achieve these objectives through the medium of Parliamentary democracy.

Some of the objectives of the party, given below, reflect its interests in the Dalits of India:

- To organize the oppressed and others, in particular the Buddhists, the Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Classes
- To organize the small farmers, landless labourers, industrials workers, and other workers dependent on wage
- To work for ensuring justice for the minorities
- To fight against the atrocities committed on the Dalits and to get their disabilities removed

The Republican Party initially did some good work and tried to represent Dalits and get their problems resolved. The period from 3 October 1957 to 3 October 1959 is considered as the Golden Age for the Republican Party. During this period, its leaders concentrated their efforts on acceptance of the genuine demands of the Scheduled Castes, and when not successful, offered united protest. Its leaders like B.K. Gaikwad, B.C. Kamble, Shri Dighe, G.K. Mane, Hariharrao Sonule, Datta Katti, N. Shivraj, K.U. Parmar and B.D. Khobragade were elected to the Parliament in 1957, where they raised such issues.

The Republican Party worked on many fronts effectively, such as:

- It voiced the concern on the atrocities committed on Dalits and tried to make them conscious.
- It innovated the Samata Sainik Dal, founded by Dr. Ambedkar in 1928.
- It worked out a plan to establish a women's organization. In this context, an All India Women's Conference was organized on 2 October 1957 at Nagpur, under the presidentship of Smt. Shantabai Dani.
- It contributed to establishment of Dalit Sahitya Sangh, the first convention of which was held under the chairmanship of B.C. Kamble on 2 March, 1958 at Bombay.

- It also established the All India Republic Students Federation.

- It played an important role in forming workers organization. The Workers' All India Conference was held on 2 October 1957 in Nagpur where a resolution was passed in favour of the workers.

- It also worked to propagate the teaching of Lord Buddha. In this connection, a convention was organized on 3 October 1957 at Nagpur. It was inaugurated by Mahathero Chandramuni. Presided over by Bhaiya Saheb, son of Dr. Ambedkar, four resolutions were passed in this convention:

    (i) There should be reservation for the Neo-Buddhists in education and employment.

    (ii) The birth anniversaries of Lord Buddha and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar should be declared holidays.

    (iii) Land should be given where conversion to Buddhism took place for erection of the Buddha Vihara.

    (iv) The government should interfere and look into the atrocities perpetrated on Neo-Buddhists.

Significance of the movement

It is evident from the demands put forth by the Republican Party that the party kept the welfare of the Dalits as its central focus. It is also evident from the various satyagrahas that the party expressed its concern for social and political issues as also for economic issues. The Republican Party played an important role in generating awareness and registering protests whenever time demanded. Unfortunately, the tempo and the revolutionary zeal of the party leaders was discouraging as every leader was posing as a junior Ambedkar. In this competition, they failed to carry forward the momentum of the Dalit movement which led to the party's decline. Moreover, after Dr. Ambedkar's death, there was a clash of egos between B.C. Kamble and B.K. Gaikwad. As a result, Kamble dissociated from the parent party and formed his own group, taking away with him Babu Hardas Awale, D.T. Rupwate, A.C. Pawar and N. M. Kamble.

R.D. Bhandare, one of the important leaders of the party, also left the Republican Party and joined the Congress Party on 15 August 1965. Further, the RPL leadership formed an alliance with Congress and got their candidates fielded in the 1967 elections. By forming alliance with the Congress, the Republican Party lost its militant face and adopted a compromising attitude.

The decision of alignment with Congress was not fully endorsed by the entire leadership of the party. With this the party began to decline. In 1970, the Republican Party split into two factions with B.D. Khobragade and his followers moving away from the parent party. The other faction was led by B.K. Gaikwad. In April, 1974, the two groups talked over their differences and formed a fifteen-

member presidium. In October, 1974, at a convention at Nagpur, the party dissolved the presidium and elected B.D. Khobragade unanimously as its president. This again split the party into two groups; the Khobragade group and R.S. Gavai group. In the seventh session of the party in November 1975, R.S. Gavai was elected as the president of the party. The party was then divided into three factions. They were led by R.S. Gavai, B.D. Khobragade and B.C. Kamble. These were named after the name of the spliters though the nomenclature Republican Party of India remained common to them. The entire history of splits, reunions and renewed splits in RPU does not have an ideological basis, but they were caused because of a clash of personalities and personal and political ambitions. This led to participation of the Dalits in the various political activities of the Congress Party. In fact, the Party failed to recognize the root cause of the problem of the Dalits and the leaders made choices according to their political convenience. In this regard, Parvathamma points out that the Dalit politicians have nearly ceased to identify themselves with the cause of the Dalits. As do the caste Hindus in politics, the Dalits are also interested in enjoying the privileges associated with power. They have nearly no contacts with their community and are not concerned with their problems. Only they use every available opportunity on public platforms to talk about the plight of the Dalits. They use this as a banner to promote self-interests. They have shown no inclination to organize the Dalits or to do some educative and constructive work. The prevalence of such conditions and the suppressive conditions of the Dalits gave birth to the Dalit Panthers Movement in Maharashtra.

8.2.3 Dalit Panther Movement

The disintegration of the Republican Party of India created discontent among the Dalits and Dalits youth in particular. The Dalit youths came forward and took up the task of bringing all the Dalits on a single platform and mobilize them for the struggle for their civil rights and justice. This gave rise to the Dalit Panther Movement in 1972 in Maharashtra. It also demonstrated the fact that the lowest castes were not willing to accept indignities and their worst conditions without protest. This phenomenon represented both a generational change and the growing political awareness among the underprivileged sections of society. The Dalit Panther was formed in April, 1972 at Bombay with a manifesto to combat the growing atrocities on the Scheduled Castes in the rural areas. At a meeting organized on 9 July 1972 by Dalit youths at Siddharth Vihar in Bombay, the Dalit Panther Movement formally came into existence. Raja Dhale was elected as a President, Namdeo Dhasal as a Defence Minister and J.V. Pawar as a General Secretary.

The Nomenclature of the party

The term Dalit means 'oppressed'. The Dalit Panthers define the term 'Dalit' by applying a broader perspective. To Panthers, Dalit meant members of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, Neo-Buddhists, the working class, the landless and poor farmer, women and all those who are being exploited and neglected in the name of religion. The Panthers had developed hatred towards the word 'Untouchables' and

'Harijans'. They wanted to be identified as Dalits. The name 'Panther' was adopted from the Black Panthers of the United States of America. The name appealed to Namdeo Dhasal when he started collecting material from the American papers on the Negro's plight in the United States for his journal Vidroha (Revolt). Moreover, most of the Dalits leaders had read the literature on the Black Panther's leadership and were inspired by their struggles for equality and justice in America. Hence, the name Dalit Panthers Party was born.

The most fundamental factor responsible for the rise of the Dalit Panther Movement was the repression and terror under which the oppressed Scheduled Castes continued to live in the rural areas. The Dalits were in minority all over the country, more so in villages. The caste Hindus, therefore, found it easy to exploit them and also to harass their womenfolk. Even after their harassment, the rapists moved scot free. It meant the failure of the Act like Untouchability Offences Act of 1955, amended as 'Protection of Civil Rights' in 1976, and other constitutional guarantees and protection which were meant for safeguarding the interests of the Dalits.

The rising cases of atrocities on the Dalits, the apathetic outlook of the police and the administration towards these people, the ineffectiveness of the government's welfare measures and land reform schemes, had been factors responsible for generating a sense of dissatisfaction among the Dalits. Besides democratic decentralization and the green revolution left the masses of the Dalits excluded. Other political parties remained either indifferent to the Dalit problems or adopted an opportunistic posture.

Two incidents took place in Maharashtra in the middle of 1972, one at Brahmangaon and the other at Bavada. At Brahmangaon, two Dalit women were assaulted by caste Hindus for having fetched water from a common well. At Bavada village (in Poona District), the Hindus organized boycott of the Dalits because the latter had put up their own candidates against a caste Hindu Congress nominee for the Zuilla Parished elections. As the Congress nominee could not win the election, the Hindus began a collective boycott of the Dalits in that village. In addition, at Brahmangaon, one Dalit named Ramdas Naruavre, was sacrificed by caste Hindus to appease their God. According to Shanka Rao Kharat, 1100 untouchables got killed during 1967-70 by the caste Hindus. The incidents of rape, disallowing to fetch water from the community wells, humiliation and insult particularly in the rural area were all too common. Namdeo Dhasal, the leader of the Panthers, told that such tales of atrocities forced him and his friends to think of forming an organization which could resist the onslaught and protect their brothers and sisters. Therefore, the Dalit Panthers announced that the protective discrimination policy had not brought any real benefits for the Dalits as most of them living in villages still remained in miserable conditions. Some of the causes mentioned above like atrocities, increasing onslaught on the Dalits and the general situation remaining unfavourable to them, were the reasons for the Dalit youths to organize themselves and protest against their degraded status and injustice done to them by caste Hindus.

Achievements of the Dalit Panthers Movement

The following are some of the achievements of the Dalit Panthers Movement:

- The Dalit Panthers Movement provided courage to fight against the ghastly incidents perpetrated on the Dalits.
- They exploded the myth that the untouchables are mute and passive.
- They caused uproar against the unjust caste system.
- They acted as a check and balance against the power politics and Republican Party leaders.
- They initiated a debate on Dr. Ambedkar's ideology.
- They compelled the government to fill the backlog.
- They contributed significantly towards Dalit literature.
- They were able to create a counter culture and separate identity.
- They made popular the term 'Dalit', in preference to terms like Harijans and untouchables.
- They captured the imagination of the younger generation and projected a militant image through their tactics of confrontation.

Failures of Dalit Panthers Movement

The following are some of the failures of the Dalit Panthers Movement:

- There is a substantial gap between their goals and the efforts to achieve them.
- The Panthers lacked basic organizational infrastructure.
- The Panthers failed to link themselves with other parallel movements.
- Their programmes are inconsistent. In fact, the cadre building programme was totally neglected in Dalit Panthers movement.
- The Dalit Panthers also suffered from lack of funds that are necessary to build an effective organization.
- A sectarian and isolationist attitude alienated the Dalit Panthers from other Dalits such as Mangs, Chambhars, Dhors, Wadars, Holars, etc. These people viewed the Dalit Panthers with a feeling of suspicion and distrust.
- No solid efforts were made by the Panthers to understand the rural position of the Dalits; for example, the Dalits' relationship to the land.
- This movement mostly remained confined to urban areas like Bombay, Nasik, Poona, Aurangabad, Nagpur Sholapur, etc. Local leaders working in small towns and rural belts found it difficult to establish contacts with their urban based leaders. Therefore, there always remained lack of coordination among the Panther leaders.

- It has been noted that there is no link between the Dalit intellectuals and the Panthers.
- Many times the Dalit Panthers adopted a very passive way of protest.

8.3.4 Marathwada University Namantara Movement

Marathwada University Namantara movement was launched by the Dalits of Maharashtra. This movement was started by a group called Dalit Panthers. The aim of this movement was basically renaming the Marathwada University after Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, that is, renaming it as Dr. B. R. Ambedkar University.

Marathwada is an economically backward region of Maharashtra. The populace of this region is generally comprised of farmers. The percentage of the population engaged in farming in Marathwada is 82 per cent, which is 12 per cent more than the total farming population in the entire state of Maharashtra. Only about two out of 1,000 persons in Marathwada are engaged in industry while in Mumbai, 100 persons out of every 1,000 are working in industry. There was hardly any industrial activity during the 1970s in Marathwada. The population of the Dalits in Marathwada exceeded the Dalit population in the whole of Maharashtra by 5 per cent. The condition of this Dalit population was miserable and it is estimated that more than 90 per cent of these Dalits lived below poverty line. The general literacy rate in Marathwada was 35 per cent while the prevailing literacy rate among the Dalits was 19 per cent. Only the Mahar community, which was a part of the Dalits community, was a socially conscious community and had a relatively high literacy rate.

There was a major problem of unemployment in Marathwada. One can estimate the severity of the conditions by the fact that at least 2,000 young men came to Parbhani town looking for jobs but only 40 posts were to be filled up. There was no scope for the youths in farming or in industry. Thus, the main focus of the Dalit youth became education because they did not have lands and could not pursue farming and neither were any jobs available in the industrial sector.

The Marathwada Dalits marched with the Dalit Panthers, a social organization founded in 1972. As a result of this march, the Panthers managed to split the students' advisory committee. The meeting that the committee had with Vasantrao Patil, who was a political leader from Maharashtra, proved decisive in this split. Those who opposed the namantara move organized themselves under the name of 'Marathwada Vidyarthi Kriti Samiti'. This Samiti gave a call to the colleges in Marathwada to remain closed from 12 to 26 September 1977. The Samiti also organized a total Marathwada bandh on 19 September.

Marathwada University was a space associated with the historical exclusion of the Dalits. Thus, the Dalits wanted to convert it into a power centre. Because reservations were blamed for the presence of Dalits in the university and associated with the decline of academic standards, resistance to reservations became an important reason for the intensity of violence. Among urban and rural Dalits, they

also became an excuse to devalue broad-based position for the namantara position as merely instrumental. In contrast, as violence intensified, the university was being incorporated into an existing Dalit political symbology. It was possible that the rural Dalits did not fully understand the demands for namantara, but they definitely wanted to see a prominent institution named after their loved leader. And when the riots took place, the photos of Buddha and Ambedkar were destroyed. After this, the Dalit demand for namantara grew stronger. Ambedkar's name was semiotic currency for pro- and anti-namantara positions in the struggles over Dalits' mobility and right to self-representation of the post-colonial order.

The Namantara movement accelerated the symbolization of political figures and spatial logics. It also intensified political antagonisms and reflected them in transformations of caste sociality. Dalit's militancy produced violent repugnance in two registers: intensified ritualization of political violence, manifested in archaic forms of punishment; and crystallization of political antagonisms with substantial support from local state functionaries. This bifurcated structure of anti-Dalit violence, which enacted the recurrent tension between the ritual-archaic, intensified affiliations with symbolic form, whether new symbolizations of Dalit identity or ritual degradations of Dalit body. Understanding the relation between violence and politics and between political violence and symbolic politics embedded in material and spatial practices, enables us to move away from the resistant binarism of depicting the namantara movement as a matter of either class antagonism or purely symbolic politics.

As the Worli riots show, this bifurcation was vivid in the 1970s, as limited avenues for social mobility and economic advancement through the reservations regime produced class fractions in the Mahar Dalit community. These mapped onto other divisions between a universalist Dalit subject and an exclusivist Buddhist identity. These tensions seemed to become evident in a putative disconnect between the originators of the namantara demand and the victims who suffered in the violence.

The symbolizing and desymbolizing of key dimensions of Dalit experience and identity became politically consequential and materially significant in the 1970s. But the politicization of everyday life beyond the realm of formal politics was itself central to post-colonial Dalit identity. Although this was partly an effect of the state and of the emphatic particular identity of Dalits, new forms of public self-fashioning were added to the mix by the 1970s. As the reservations regime became conspicuous and highly conflictual space within formal politics, Dalit's representational practices produced new loci of conflict around ritual and socio-economic exclusion in daily life. The experientially inescapable visibility of Dalits was the result of the accelerated symbolization of Dalit identity and Dalit past. A more significant visibility came from the perception of Dalits as undeserving objects of government largesse whose additional claims upon the domain of representation had to be resisted at all cost.

As a consequence, violence became the hinge connecting the domain of formal politics and everyday life. As Dalits came to be stereotyped as militant,

injured people with an insatiable appetite for government recognition, any effort to establish identity for self or community became a potentially incendiary demand. In this milieu, Dalit politics, from the formation of panthers to the Namantara movement, enabled equivalent between political commemoration and political violence.

The Namantara issue remained unresolved until 1994, when the namavistar (name enlarging) agitation succeeded in renaming Marathwada University as Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University, satisfying Dalit and regional demands. There was a great deal of violence again, largely restricted to the districts of Beed, Osmanabad and Parbani.

Aurangabad's upper-caste intelligentsia, progressive on the other issues, resisted the namantara demand. They argued that in order to preserve the unique identity of Marathwada against the insensitivity of the Maharashtra state government, the depiction of Ambedkar as a Dalit icon and namantara as a casteist demand defined upper-caste resistance. Thus, violence spread into other areas of commercial agriculture in the districts of Aurangabad, Nanded, Parbani, etc. The brutal desecration of Dalit bodies, often by burning, was another distinctive feature of anti-namantara violence.

People offer tokens of remembrance to the people who devoted their lives till and after 14 January 1994 when Marathavada University was renamed as Baba Saheb Ambedkar Marathavada University. At present, 182 colleges are affiliated to this university and over the years, it has developed 13 different faculties which are Arts, Social Sciences, Science, Commerce, Fine Arts, Physical Education, Medicine, Engineering, Law Education, Ayurveda, Homeopathy and Management Science.

Check Your Progress

1. Which movement can be considered as the starting point of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's movement for the Dalits?

2. What was the important role played by the Republican Party with reference to Dalit social movements in India?

3. From where did the word Panther come in the Dalit Panthers movements?

8.3 TRIBAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

There have been several instances of tribal uprisings in India. The following sections deal with three of the most important tribal movements in India.

8.3.1 Bhil Movement

The Bhils of Rajasthan have fought against discrimination under various leaders such as Shri Gobind Guru, Sadguru Surmal Das, Shri Mama Baleshwar, Sant Devadas Latta, Shri Manikyalal Varma, Shri Motilal Tejawat and Shri Bhogilal

Pandya. However, one of the most popular movements was the one that was initiated by Shri Gobind Guru for a separate state of Bhilistan. The main reason behind this movement was to express displeasure against the denial and repression of their democratic rights. It was aimed at getting their rights and dignity back.

Gobind Guru, born in Basiagaon in a Banjara family, was one of the primary proponents of a separate state for communities which lived in western and Central India. He believed that the separate state would end their miseries and exploitation. Since he was a staunch follower of Arya Samaj, he created awareness among tribals against social evils such as delinquent behaviour, superstitions and addiction.

The movement angered the local rulers when one lakh tribals congregated on Mangarh hilltop in 1908. As a result, they attacked them when tribals were singing devotional songs. In this attack, more than 1500 tribals got killed and Gobind Guru was sentenced imprisonment of 10 years. This repression suppressed the desires of the tribals to have a separate state but it had a positive impact on them as it created social and political awareness among them.

8.3.2 Birsa Munda Movement

Before the arrival of the British, tribals depended largely on forest for their subsistence. They had rights on forest products such as firewood, fruits, honey, flowers, edible nuts, housing material and medical herbs. They also practiced fishing, hunting, basket making and weaving for their livelihood. These communities had their own chief and clan council who used to resolve their conflicts.

The British changed the land system in the tribal areas by creating a class of landlords and contractors. They also brought Brahmins and Rajputs to these areas so that they could perform their religious and military roles respectively. In turn, the British gave them zamindari rights.

The zamindars were considered dikus (outsiders) by tribals due to the introduction of land rents in their areas. When tribals did not have enough money to pay land rent, they had to borrow money from money-lenders. Thus, a class of money-lenders also came into being. This class exploited tribals by charging a high rate of interest. In place of clan council, a new legal system was forced upon tribals. Since tribals were not educated, they found it difficult to understand the new legal system. Moreover, they did not have enough money to pay fees to the lawyers.

The Forest policy (1884) of the British restrained the rights of tribals on the use of forest products. The rising prices of products worsened their condition. All the officials and clerks brought to tribal areas were non-natives. These new classes oppressed tribal people, and looked down upon them. Sometimes, tribals were physically assaulted by zamindars and money-lenders. In response to their oppression, they initiated a number of revolts and movements. The movement of Birsa Munda was one of this kind.

It was most popular movements of the Munda tribes of Singhbhum and Ranchi districts of the Chotanagpur region of Bihar. The movement was called so as it was led by Birsa Munda. He was popular amongst tribals due to his knowledge of Vaishnavism. He was a prophet and encouraged his followers to live in harmony with one another. He was against the government as well as missionaries. In 1895, he urged tribals to fight against their oppressors. The Mundas believed that the dikus and missionaries were responsible for their miseries. Therefore, they developed hatred towards them.

The Munda movement was aimed at attaining political and religious independence for the Mundas. The Mundas felt that they could achieve this independence only by driving out oppressors and the British or by killing them. As a part of the revolt, Birsa Munda announced Birsa Raj under which Mundas would obey only him and no one else. He encouraged Mundas not to pay rent to government.

This revolt took a violent turn on 24 December 1899. Tribals started this revolt a day before Christmas because they hated Christians and Europeans. They fought with their oppressors such as landowners, money-lenders, contractors and government official using their traditional weapons. They burnt their oppressors' houses, and killed a timber contractor, some constables and chaukidars. As a result, the government started counter attacking them with the help of search-and-beat operation. Soon, some leaders and tribals surrendered themselves.

Birsa Munda was arrested by the government and was sentenced to imprisonment for two years. However, he died of chronic dysentry soon after his arrest. Other arrested tribals were tried in a brutal manner and were sentenced to death. Thus, this movement ended in 1901.

However, this movement forced the government to change its policies. After some surveys, the government passed some Acts in favour of tribals. It inspired many tribals to continue fighting for their rights through revolts and movements. Birsa became a legend among a number of tribes. Later, the Indian National Congress evoked his name to get the support of tribals of this area.

8.3.3 Santhal Movement

The Santhals were a quiet unassuming people who worked under primitive agricultural conditions. Sir George Campbell paid tribute to them as being 'most industrious and even skilful clearers of the jungle and reclaimers of the soil'. With the establishment of the Permanent Zamindari Settlement (1793), the lands which they had cultivated for centuries were overnight turned over to the zamindars. This was followed by pressing demands for increased rents. The Santhals found these new arrangements disturbing. Being peace-loving by nature, they started retreating from the districts of Cuttack, Dhalbhum, Manbhum, Barabhum, Chhotanagpur, Palamau, Hazaribagh, Midnapur, Bankura and Birbhum. Hounded from their homelands, 'with great industry they cleared the forests in the plains skirting the

Rajmahal Hills and, bringing large tracts of land under cultivation, started life anew.' At that time this area was called Daman-e-Koh.

The Santhals' belief was that the land belongs to the one who first tilled it. If pressed beyond that, they would rather retreat further into the woods and make new reclamations in places where they would not be molested. Unfortunately, however, they have reached extreme limits of retreat, and now find themselves on the borders of the plains of the Ganges at the very place where the competition for land is keenest and where rack-rents are too high.

Their peaceful existence in the new settlements was not to remain undisturbed for long. The same class of zamindars who had hounded them out of their lands in their former districts was to harass them again soon. As long as the forest lands were not cleared, the zamindars kept themselves away. However, once the land was made suitable for cultivation, they were not slow in coming up to claim proprietorship of the soil and demand rents. 'Greedy Zamindars', reported the Calcutta Review of 1856, 'living near the borders of the Daman had begun for some time to cast a wistful eye on their lands.'

The Rajas of Maheshpur and Pakur were hated by the Santhals because they granted leases of Santhal villages to non-Santhal Bengali zamindars and moneylenders. The zamindars, the police, the revenue and court exercised a combined system of extortions, oppressive exactions, forcible dispossession of property, abuse and personal violence and a variety of petty tyrannies upon the timid and yielding Santhals.

A usurious interest on loans of money ranging from 50 to 500 per cent; false measures at the haut (weekly market) and the market; willful and uncharitable trespass by the rich by means of their untethered cattle, tattoos (small ponies), ponies and even elephants, on the growing crops of the poorer race; and such like illegalities have been prevalent. There have even been instances of the Santhals paying security for the good conduct of their oppressors; embarrassing pledges for debt also formed another mode of oppression. Thus, besides the zamindars, there were the moneylenders too.

The rates of interest as described above were incredibly high. The Santhal saw his crops, his cattle, even himself and family appropriated for debt which though ten times paid, remained an incubus upon him still.

Seeing the opportunity of good trade and profitable money-lending, many moira and bania families from the districts of Burdwan and Birbhum, and Bhojpuri and Bhatia families from Shahabad, Chaprah, Betiah and Arrah, had migrated to the Santhal areas. Barahait, the capital town of the hills, was reported in 1851 to be a substantial village with a large population and about fifty families of Bengali traders. Two markets were held there every week. The Santhals brought their produce to Barahait where the traders bought it at a price far below its true value. Large quantities of rice, bora, mustard and several other oil seeds were carried on bullock carts by the merchants to Jangipur on the Bhagirathi. From there on, they

were sent to Murshidabad and Calcutta. Much of the mustard was exported to England.

On top of this, there was also oppression from Europeans employed in railroad construction. The Calcutta Review of 1856 cites cases of forced abduction of two Santhal women, and even murder and some unjust acts of oppression such as taking kids, fowls, etc., without payment on the part of the Europeans employed on the line of the railroad.

The oppression by the zamindars, the moneylenders, traders and Europeans and the government officers had inflicted great sufferings on the Santhal peasantry. The peacefulness of the Santhals was taken for timidity. The extent of oppression was intensified as time went by. All this was causing great discontent.

The Pakur Record of the Calcutta Review of 1856 indicated that in 1854, some time before the actual start of the movement, the village committees of the Santhals seem to have begun in right earnest to cogitate what might be the proper course for them to pursue. When finally they took the road to open insurrection, it was forced on them by a long course of oppression silently and patiently submitted to by those unsophisticated people. As far as the government was concerned, it had learned nothing from earlier Santhal uprisings in 1811, 1820 and 1831.

The warnings of the seething discontent were given by the events in 1854. After consultation among themselves, the leading Santhals began by robbing the mahajans and the zamindars of their ill-earned wealth. These were well-merited reprisals for their unprovoked cruelties.

The feelings of the Santhal peasantry were forcefully expressed by Santhal Gocho when he was unjustly harassed by police. This was the warning of the coming storm. However, the apparent calm prevailing at the close of 1854 was taken to have been caused by cowardice on the part of the Santhals.

The repressive measures instituted by police only added fuel to the fire. Early in 1855, nearly six to seven thousand Santhals from Birbhum, Bankura, Chhotanagpur and Hazaribagh assembled for the purpose of avenging the punishment inflicted on their comrades in the last year. They complained that their comrades had been punished while nothing had been done to the mahajans whose exactions had compelled them to take the law into their own hands.

The decisions of this meeting were circulated to all the other Santhals by the symbol of a sal tree, which is still used as a sign of unity and for the purpose of passing the word around. As a result, a large gathering of over 10,000 Santhals representing 400 villages met at Bhagnadihi on the night of 30 June 1855. It was decided that the time had come for the Santhals to rise as one and get rid of the control exercised by their oppressors. On the instructions of the meeting, 'letters were then written by Kirta, Bhadoo, Sunno and Sidhu, addressed to Government, to the Commissioner, Collector and Magistrate of Birbhum, to the Darogas of Thanahs Dighee and Rajmahal and to several zamindars among others'. In their letters, the Santhal leaders declared their solid determination to get rid of the

oppression by the zamindars and the mahajans and to take possession of the country and set up a government of their own. Although the government remained deaf to the Santhals' warnings, other non-Santhals resident in the area threw their support behind the Santhal peasantry.

Thus, with hope in their hearts, a song on their lips and bows and arrows in their hands, the Santhal peasants raised the flag of open armed insurrection against the unholy trinity of their oppressors the zamindars, the mahajans and the government.

Seeing the strong demonstration of the outraged Santhals, the zamindar's agents, moneylenders and traders took to their heels. The insurgents were not slow to consolidate their early gains. Establishing full control over the area between Borio and Colgong, they started moving towards Bhagalpur and Rajmahal.

The government, still officially expressing innocent surprise at the insurrection, was making large-scale preparations to suppress it. All available police and military forces were being alerted for immediate action. Orders were also issued to the zamindars and darogas of the neighbouring paraganas to aid in suppressing the insurrection. The insurrection was spreading rapidly.

Like all popular insurrections, the technique of guerilla fighting and assembled battalions was combined by the insurgents. The appearance of the Santhal insurgents on the Indian arena was a novel experience. Here were the first people's armies, composed of rebellious peasants marching against their oppressors. It was a supreme tribute to their organization and voluntary discipline that, without any previous military training, such large numbers of persons, exceeding 10,000, assembled and disassembled at a very short notice.

The postal and railway communications between Bhagalpur and Rajmahal were completely severed. The insurgents were in control of the area lying between the two cities. The high road between Pirpainti and Sakriguli was in the hands of the insurgents. The government's panic was 'intense'. The situation was entirely out of control. The military was empowered 'to take all the measures considered necessary for the extirpation of the rebels'.

With this began the most brutal suppression of the rebellion. In spite of the brutality, the insurrection was spreading to Godda, Pakur, Maheshpur, Murshidabad and Birbhum. Isree Bhakt, Tilak Bhakt and Thootha Bhakht of Litiparu - who, despite their names indicating meek religious devotion, were notorious even amongst the Bhakts for devising and exercising inhuman cruelties on the debtors and making them pay for their crimes with their lives.

Now the Santhal forces were being helped by a large number of low-caste dikus (non-Santhals). With their ranks thus reinforced by a brotherly bond which cut across all lines of castes and religions, they marched to Sangrampur and from there on, under the combined leadership of Sidbu, Kanhu, Chand and Bhairab, laid siege to Pakur. They were successful in capturing it in three days. The government was now counter-attacking with full force. The zamindars and the

indigo-planters also threw their resources on the side of the government. Many of the zamindars in the Bhagalpur and neighbouring districts lent their elephants for service with the different detachments operating over the battle-front.

With all the forces thus assembled, the government moved with ruthlessness to suppress the insurrection. In all, thirty-six Santhal villages were destroyed. The Rajmahal Hills were drenched with the blood of the fighters. The Santhal peasantry, in the face of this annihilation of their villages, stood like granite rocks of courage defending their homes and hearths.

Despite the murderous repression, the Santhal insurgents, even by the middle of August, were still estimated to exceed 30,000 men in arms. Many of them were proceeding towards Monghyr into the village of Mulheapur. No repressive measures were regarded too drastic to be tried against the Santhals. Finally, in August, Mr A.C. Bidwell, commissioner of the Nadia Division, was appointed Special Commissioner to carry out the measures necessary for the entire suppression of the insurrection.

Despite their unflinching heroism, the Santhals were facing a hopeless task. The rest of India was quiet and the entire army of a mighty empire was moving against them. The number of troops engaged against them ran into tens of thousands. The apologists of this criminal suppression by the government loudly proclaimed the 'inhuman cruelty' displayed by the Santhals and justified the harsh punitive measures employed against them. In order to gauge the cruelty of the government towards the Santhals, one only has to compare the pent-up vengeance of the Santhals against the moneylenders, erupting with volcanic fury from the anger repressed for decades, with what the government did.

Out of a total of thirty to fifty thousand insurgents, fifteen to twenty-five thousand were murdered before the insurrection was finally suppressed. During those memorable days of July and August, the Rajmahal Hills surely saw an unprecedented blood-bath.

Kanhu and other leaders of the insurrection were captured by the third week of February 1856 near Operbandhoh, north-east of Jamatra and were executed.

The unanimous voice of the outraged humanity of the Santhals demanded peace and protection against their oppressors. The imperialists, however, wanted more bloodshed, more punishment, and more desolation. A large numbers of the Santhal peasants were taken hostages and prisoners. Others were sentenced to long-term imprisonments varying from seven to fourteen years. Witnesses against the prisoners were hard to obtain. This indicates the support they had among the population.

The Great Santhal Insurrection was thus cruelly suppressed. This was not the end of the oppressions against the Santhals, or in point of fact, against peasant in other parts of India. On the contrary, the oppression was intensified. And yet, the Santhal Insurrection was rightly successful in one important aspect. The Santhal

area, which had up to then been administratively broken up and merged into the neighbouring districts, was now reorganized into a separate entity known as the Santhal Paraganas. The Santhals had thus succeeded in forcing recognition of their special status as a national minority.

The din of the actual battles of the insurrection has died down. But its echoes have kept on vibrating through the years, growing louder and louder as more peasants from various places joined the fight against zamindari oppression. The clarion call that summoned the Santhals to battle on that fateful night of 30 June 1855 at Bagnadihi was to be heard in other parts of the country at the time of the Indigo Strike of 1860, the Pabna and Bogra Uprising of 1872, the Maratha Peasant Rising in Poona and Ahmednagar in 1875-76. It was finally to merge in the massive demand of the peasantry all over the country for an end to the oppression of the zamindars and moneylenders. The Santhal blood has etched this slogan in letters, bold and large. Glory to the immortal Santhals, who raised this slogan and showed the path to battle! The banner of militant struggle has since then passed from hand to hand over the length and the breadth of India.

Check Your Progress

4. Name some of the important leaders under whom the Bhils of Rajasthan fought against discrimination.

5. Why were the Rajas of Maheshpur and Pakur hated by the Santhals?

8.4 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Mahad Satyagraha can be considered as the starting point of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's movement for the Dalits.

2. The Republican Party played an important role in generating awareness and registering protests whenever time demanded with reference to Dalit social movements in India.

3. The name 'Panther' was adopted from the Black Panthers of the United States of America. The name appealed to Namdeo Dhasal when he started collecting material from the American papers on the Negro's plight in the United States for his journal Vidroha (Revolt). This is how the word 'Panther' came to be included in the Dalit Panther Movements.

4. The Bhils of Rajasthan have fought against discrimination under various leaders such as Shri Gobind Guru, Sadguru Surmal Das, Shri Mama Baleshwar, Sant Devadas Latta, Shri Manikyalal Varma, Shri Motilal Tejawat and Shri Bhogilal Pandya.

5. The Rajas of Maheshpur and Pakur were hated by the Santhals because they granted leases of Santhal villages to non-Santhal Bengali zamindars and moneylenders.

8.5 SUMMARY

- Mahad Satyagraha can be considered as the starting point of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's movement for the Dalits.

- Dr. Ambedkar launched a social revolution on 20 March 1927 to remove the ban on the Dalits using the Chawdar tank in the Mahad town of Maharashtra. This movement showed a permanent solution to the problem of segregation among the social classes and societal stratification in India.

- The Mahad municipality had previously declared its Chowdar water tank open to all people without discrimination, in a spirit of reform. But in reality, the tank remained closed to untouchables.

- Soon after the death of Dr. Ambedkar, certain epoch-making events took place in the Dalit movement. One was the formation of the Republican Party of India and the other was the genesis of the Dalit Panther Movement.

- The Republican Party of India came into existence out of the All India Scheduled Castes Federation by changing the latter's name in October, 1957. After the death of Dr. Ambedkar, the founder of the party, N. Shivraj became its leader till his death in 1964.

- The Republican Party played an important role in generating awareness and registering protests whenever time demanded.

- The disintegration of the Republican Party of India created discontent among the Dalits and Dalits youth in particular.

- The Dalit youths came forward and took up the task of bringing all the Dalits on a single platform and mobilize them for the struggle for their civil rights and justice. This gave rise to the Dalit Panther Movement in 1972 in Maharashtra.

- To Panthers, Dalit meant members of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, Neo-Buddhists, the working class, the landless and poor farmer, women and all those who are being exploited and neglected in the name of religion. The Panthers had developed hatred towards the word 'Untouchables' and 'Harijans'.

- The rising cases of atrocities on the Dalits, the apathetic outlook of the police and the administration towards these people, the ineffectiveness of the government's welfare measures and land reform schemes, had been factors responsible for generating a sense of dissatisfaction among the Dalits.

- Dalit literature gave a vivid expression to the sufferings of the downtrodden and their call for total changes. It emerged as a rebellion in the established Marathi literature. Thus, the Dalit poetry and stories have become an inseparable part of the Dalit protest against their oppression.

- Since its formation, the Panther organization was solely based on the ideology of Dr. Ambedkar and was quite radical in nature. But in later stages, at least a faction of the Panthers was found inclined to the leftist, especially the Marxist ideology. Namdeo Dhasal and a few of his supporters are firm believers in the Marxist ideology. This caused the split in the Dalit Panthers as early as in 1974.

- After the split in the organization in 1974, some Panthers united and continued the Dalit Panther Movement.

- The recent years witnessed a revival of the impression of the Dalit Panthers due to the opening of more branches in the northern part of the country. However, even today the movement is confined to the urban areas only and a large majority of the Dalit community concentrated in the rural areas remains untouched.

- The Dalit Panthers Movement has failed, if not totally, at least partially, in mobilizing the people at large owing to its organizational weakness and it has split into a number of factions in the course of time. Nevertheless, they have made the impression in Maharashtra that they want to continue the tradition of their struggle on different issues.

- Marathwada University Namantara movement was another landmark movement by the Dalits of Maharashtra. This movement was started by a group called Dalit Panthers. The aim of this movement was basically renaming the Marathwada University after Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, that is, renaming it as Dr. B. R. Ambedkar University.

- Marathwada is an economically backward region of Maharashtra. The populace of this region is generally comprised of farmers. There was a major problem of unemployment in Marathwada.

- Marathwada University was a space associated with the historical exclusion of the Dalits. Thus, the Dalits wanted to convert it into a power centre.

- It was possible that the rural Dalits did not fully understand the demands for namantara, but they definitely wanted to see a prominent institution named after their loved leader.

- The Namantara movement accelerated the symbolization of political figures and spatial logics. It also intensified political antagonisms and reflected them in transformations of caste sociality.

- The symbolizing and desymbolizing of key dimensions of Dalit experience and identity became politically consequential and materially significant in the 1970s. But the politicization of everyday life beyond the realm of formal politics was itself central to post-colonial Dalit identity.

- As Dalits came to be stereotyped as militant, injured people with an insatiable appetite for government recognition, any effort to establish identity for self or community became a potentially incendiary demand.

- The Namantara issue remained unresolved until 1994, when the namavistar (name enlarging) agitation succeeded in renaming Marathwada University as Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University, satisfying Dalit and regional demands.

- Aurangabad's upper-caste intelligentsia, progressive on the other issues, resisted the namantara demand.

- The brutal desecration of Dalit bodies, often by burning, was another distinctive feature of anti-namantara violence.

- At present, 182 colleges are affiliated to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University and over the years, it has developed 13 different faculties which are Arts, Social Sciences, Science, Commerce, Fine Arts, Physical Education, Medicine, Engineering, Law Education, Ayurveda, Homeopathy and Management Science.

- The Santhal rebellion did not begin on the spur of the moment as a result of sudden passion. The Santhals had made many attempts to present their grievances to the government but were rebuffed for various reasons and by various means.

- The tribal leadership of the Santhal, the Kol and the Munda rebellions came from religious leaders, or leaders who proclaimed themselves the incarnations of God.

- The Bhils of Rajasthan have fought against discrimination under various leaders such as Shri Gobind Guru, Sadguru Surmal Das, Shri Mama Baleshwar, Sant Devadas Latta, Shri Manikyalal Varma, Shri Motilal Tejawat and Shri Bhogilal Pandya.

- The Munda movement was aimed at attaining political and religious independence for the Mundas. The Mundas felt that they could achieve this independence only by driving out oppressors and the British or by killing them.

- The Santhals' belief was that the land belongs to the one who first tilled it. If pressed beyond that, they would rather retreat further into the woods and make new reclamations in places where they would not be molested.

- The Santhal Insurrection was successful in one important aspect. The Santhal area, which had up to then been administratively broken up and merged into the neighbouring districts, was now reorganized into a separate entity known as the Santhal Paraganas.

8.6   KEY WORDS

- **Radicalism:** It refers to the principles, desires, or practices of political radicals.

- **Presidium:** It refers to a special group delegated to consider some matter.

- **Ghettos:** It is a usually poor section of a city inhabited primarily by people of the same race, religion, or social background, often because of discrimination.

- **Hierarchy:** It is the categorsization of a group of people according to ability or status.

- **Symbology:** It is the study or interpretation of symbols or symbolism.

- **Antagonism:** It is refers to hostility that results in active resistance, opposition, or contentiousness.

- **Militancy:** It is the state or condition of being combative or disposed to fight

- **Repugnance:** It refers to extreme dislike or aversion.

- **Coterie:** It is a small, often select group of persons who associate with one another frequently.

- **Insurrection:** It is the act or an instance of open revolt against civil authority or a constituted government.

- **Reprisal:** It is retaliation for an injury with the intent of inflicting at least as much injury in return.

- **Ethnic groups:** It refers to people of the same race or nationality who share a distinctive culture.

8.7 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the Mahad Satyagraha.

2. What was the Marathwada University Namantara Movement?

3. Mention the important aims of the Birsa Munda Movement.

4. Briefly explain the Bhil Movement.

Long Answer Questions

1. Explain the role of the Republican Party of India in organizing Dalit social movements in India.

2. Describe the achievements and failures of Dalit Panthers Movement.

3. Examine the importance of Santhal Movement to the tribal movement in India.

8.8   FURTHER READINGS

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NOTES

UNIT 9   MOVEMENTS OF THE DISPLACED, CIVIL LIBERTIES & HUMAN RIGHTS

Structure

9.0   INTRODUCTION

Civil liberties and human rights are very important aspects of the social movements especially in the modern era. This has gained even more significance with the rise of democratic principles in different countries of the world. Even in the present times, there are many different uprisings in varied parts of the world for these basic civil liberties and rights. These types of social movements have a very deep and direct connection with the political set-up present in the State and this is why these assume a special significance. In this unit, you will learn about the civil liberty movements along with the human rights and movements of the displaced persons.

9.1   OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the concept of movement of displaced and project affected persons
- Explain the civil liberties movements
- Describe the human rights movements

9.2   CIVIL LIBERTIES MOVEMENTS

There is wide range of civil liberties that are essential for the existence of human beings. These are basic rights which give freedom from oppression. Civil liberties

incorporate some rights like liberty of freedom from unfair detention or arrest, liberty against punishment without trial, security related to private property, liberty to protest within the territory, freedom for having faith in any religion, liberty of expression and liberty of movement within the territory.

A person can enjoy liberty in an environment where there is respect for rights and that could be possible if there is democratic setup. Civil Liberties Movements are the important aspects of Human Rights. Depending upon the nature, civil rights movements may be considered as political movements as well as revolutionary movements.

The concept of civil rights in any clear form arose first out of the French Revolution. In their fight against the Bastille where countless men were made to suffer and die without justice and without law, except an order of the Government, the French gave to the world a concept of what no Government dare do to its citizens and what is the right of every man. "Men are born and live free and equal before law;" "The aim of all political association is the conservation of natural rights of man; these rights are liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression"; "Sovereignty resides in the nation. No group or individual dare exercise authority which does not emanate ex- pressly from the nation"; "Law is an expression of general will. All citizens are equally admissible to public employment and dignities"; "No man may be accused, arrested or detained out of the scope of the law and the prescribed forms"; "The free communication of ideas and opinion is a very precious right of man"; are a few of the articles laid down by the French Constitution of 1789. These statements of human rights are among the first points of departure for modern civilization in the regulation of relations between the citizen and the Government (Ram Manohar Lohia, 1936)

India has struggled hard to conquest her civil liberties. In pre-independence era, civil liberties movement in India was evolved against the dominance of British government. The most serious threat against the civil liberties in India was the Britishers' detention policy of the people by the authorities without having any trial. With the national movement, movement for civil liberties also gained momentum and many nationalist leaders opposed the decisions of British Government.

British Colonial Period and Civil Liberties

During the British colonial period, Indians were exploited and deprived from basic rights of justice, equality and dignity. People of India were suppressed by the authorities and nobody had the right to raise their voice during the initial period against the system. Later on, in the various freedom struggles or National movements the issues of civil liberties were given due importance in the Indian history. Now let us have some understanding about the struggle for civil liberties in India during Colonial Period:

- **Press Liberty:** Adam in 1823 issued an ordinance to put them on the publication of newspapers and periodicals without a license. Raja Ram

Mohan Roy along with his friends submitted the petition against the ordinance in Supreme Court in Calcutta. After the refusal of petition from the court, Raja Ram Mohan Roy put the matter in front of the British King. This petition was manifesto of press freedom and later in 1835, an ordinance was replaced by Press Law.

- **Ilbert Bill:** In 1883 Ilbert Bill was introduced by Viceroy Ripon to remove disparity in the field of criminal justice and tour law Indian judges to try British convicts at the district level. Europeans agitated against the bill in Britain and India whereas Indians welcomed the ordinance Bill and opposed any amendment in the bill. The original bill was being introduced after the amendment in 1884. The British government was exposed and it was enough to open the eyes of Indians about the pretentious concerns of British government towards Indians.

- **Amendment in police act 1861:** The British government brought an amendment to the Police Act 1861 to give arbitrary powers to the authorities or magistrate that if any area under the subject to the authority found to be disturbed area then additional force can be deployed and cost of such additional force shall be borne by the inhabitants of that area. Firoz Shah Mehta who was the member of Indian council, maharaja of Dhanbad and other leaders opposed the amendment as the violation of civil liberties.

- **Rowlatt Act 1919:** In February 1919, the Imperial Legislative Council passed the Rowlatt Act which gave power to the British government to put any suspected person behind the bar without trial and also to try them without jury. This law gave power to British government over Indians. Mahatma Gandhi and other potential leaders opposed this act and called movement against it. This led to the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre in 1919 and thereafter in 1920, the Non –Cooperation Movement.

- **Indian Civil Liberty Union:** The first human rights group in the country, the Civil Liberties Union was formed by Jawaharlal Nehru and some of his associates in the early 1930s with the aim of providing legal support to nationalists who were accused of mutiny against the colonial establishments. In 1936, Jawaharlal Nehru came forward to form the first civil liberties organization. The Indian Civil Liberties Union (ICLU) was formed in Bombay and Rabindranath Tagore was the president of this union. The Indian Civil Liberties Union was established with the view that government can be opposed for the cause of people's liberties. The concept of liberties and rights mentioned in our Indian Constitution was the result of certain movements (Haragopal and Bala-gopal 1998).

Check Your Progress

1. When and where did the concept of 'civil rights' originate?
2. What was the main objective of Rowlatt Act, 1919?

9.3 HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

Human rights are the rights inherent to all the human beings irrespective of caste, colour, creed sex nationality ethnicity religion etc. All the human rights are interconnected and interdependent. These rights include the right to life, right of liberty, freedom, right against exploitation, right of freedom of speech, freedom of expression and many more.

Basic Principles of Human Rights

- **Universal and inalienable:** The discussion on Human Rights in any conventions, declarations, summits and conferences always starts with its fundamental principle of universality of human rights. In the Universal Declaration on Human Rights in 1948, the main emphasis was given on this principle. It is the responsibility of the state to provide, protect and promote awareness about all human rights and cultural, economical and political freedom among people of concerned country.

- **Interdependent and indivisible:** All the human rights are interconnected and indivisible. Whether it is social cultural rights, social security, political and cultural rights, all are interdependent. One positive effect on any of the right can also affect the rest of the rights.

- **Equal and non-discriminatory:** Non-discrimination is another important aspect of human rights. All human beings should be treated equal by maintaining their dignity. We should not differentiate people on the basis of colour, sex, ethnicity, caste & class etc.

  According to United Nations, "All the principle applies to everyone in relation to all human rights and freedoms and it prohibits discrimination on the basis of a list of non-exhaustive categories such as sex, race, colour and so on. The principle of non-discrimination is complemented by the principle of equality, as stated in Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

- **Both Rights and Obligations:** Human rights are considered as both rights and obligations. States follow the international human rights law to respect, to protect and to fulfil human rights. Rights and obligation towards respect means states should not interfere in the experience and enjoyment of human rights. Obligation to protect means states should provide protect against abuse of human rights. States obligation towards fulfilment of human rights means that state must take action to fulfil the need of basic rights.

Consciousness of Human Rights during National Movement

The concept of civil liberties was not confined to the basic rights but it gradually became an important part of freedom struggle. There were prominent leaders

during that time like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Mahatma Gandhi who had taken the issue of civil liberties and human rights with special concern.

In the initial stage of the national movement, the concept of civil liberties and human rights was not a common issue. But with the speed of national movement, ideas of civil and human rights started reaching to the young revolutionaries and to the majority of people of India. Linkage of national movement and human rights motivated the people for raising their voice for civil liberties. After 1920, all across the nation, issues related to Human Rights were the major part of national movement. This awareness reinforced the national movement and motivated various sections like low caste people, peasants, women and young people to take up the questions of their rights.

Human Rights after Independence

While the constitution making process was underway in India, an international event of profound significance took place. In December 1948, United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). India was in process of developing the constitution and this declaration of human rights gave propulsion to the basic human rights in India. Declaration was successful in imparting an impression that countries like India realized the importance of framework of human rights as the part of constitution. It had given a vision to the makers of constitution in India to incorporate keys points of human rights along with basic requirements of national integrity and unity.

After the rigorous exercise of framing the constitution of India, the importance of human rights reflected in the constitution mainly through fundamental rights, directive principles of state policy and "The Preamble". In all these three major parts of the constitution, it was ensured that in a democratic setup, it is the first and foremost responsibility of the state to protect the basic rights of the citizens of India. In the preamble of Indian constitution all the values related to functionality of human rights have mentioned as justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. In the part III of Indian constitution there exists six fundamental rights such as right to equality, right to freedom, right against exploitation, right to religious freedom, cultural and educational rights and the right to constitutional remedies. Against the violation of any of the fundamental rights, there is a provision that the victim of exploitation can directly approach to the supreme court of India.

After the theoretical perspective of human rights, the main issue in front of Indian government was the functionality of the provision mentioned in the constitution. People who had shown their dissent regarding the functioning of democratic institutions emerged as radicals and moderates. The radicals, who would not rely on effectiveness of the democratic provisions to bring about any change in the socio-economic aspect of human life, they preferred the violent mode of expression of their objections. On the other hand, there were some groups in the form of associations and committees who believed in the non-violence mode

of transformation of society. The examples of such groups were Association for the Protection of Democratic Rights (APDR) and Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committee (APCLC).

The most dreadful attack on the soul of human rights in India was during the imposition of emergency in 1975. The repressive actions against the human rights during this period gave rise to formation of many associations or NGOs to take up the issues of violation of human rights such as formation of Peoples Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) and the People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL).

Later on it was felt by the government that regardless of various organizations, committees and commissions, there is need for a systematic set up to protect the human rights which not only protect but also play significant role in promoting awareness in the society regarding civil liberties and basic human rights. Along with National Human Right Commission, a number of various other commissions were set up to protect the rights of specific group like National Commission for Women, National Commission for minorities etc.

Issues and challenges of Human rights

In the recent years there has been an increase in number of cases of violence against the women in India. It is the alarming situation for the government that in the democratic country like India, women are not safe and there is violation of human rights of women regarding freedom to movement and liberty. The World report 2018 of Human Rights Watch (HRW) mentioned the on the status of Human Rights derisively that, women in India still face problems in reporting the sexual assaults or harassment openly. Besides these crimes against women, there is another issue of domestic violence prevailing in the society. This is the challenge in front of human rights commission as well as other organization to frame such policies or laws which helps to reduce crime against the women and their human rights.

Another issue against the human rights is terrorism. It is the serious violation of human rights and has negative impact on civil society. Under the impact of terrorism, it is very hard to experience the rights mentioned in our constitution. It has a direct influence on social and economic development of any country. It threatens the dignity of people and creates an environment to spread fear among the people and demolish human rights.

In United Nations, the security council, all member have recognized the destructive impact of terrorism. The best way to counter the terrorism is unity of countries against the activities related to terrorism in their territories. The destructive aim of terrorism give rise to many other problems like drug trafficking, money laundering etc. All of these have a direct impact on the enjoyment of fundamental human rights.

9.4 MOVEMENTS OF THE DISPLACED & PROJECT AFFECTED PERSONS

Development projects such as industries, power plants dams and mines and others are required for the development of a country. The common requirement of all these projects is the requirement of land for the construction of structure. This requirement of land is the biggest issue as it is difficult to displace the people who are residents of that area and generally people use land for agricultural or other uses. The people are generally badly affected by these projects because they use these lands for agriculture and livelihood. These persons are called Project Affected Persons (PAPs). Therefore people affected by land acquisition or loss of livelihood resources and are relocated come under the category of Project Affected Persons. The other term used in this concern is "beneficiaries", those who are getting benefits out the project construction.

Important Movements against the Projects in India

There were various movements happened in India because of the negative impact on displaced people because of the poor compensation, faulty rehabilitation policies and loss of income and other related issues.

- **Anti- Mulshi Hydroelectric dam**: Movement against the Mulshi Hydroelectric dam in 1927 is considered as the first struggle against the projects located in western India. The struggle was mainly against a great landmark in the history of displacement issues of habitats of the affected area. This project of the Tatas, affected approximately eleven thousand people who were mainly dependent on paddy fields.

- **The Silent Valley movement:** The Silent Valley movement in Kerala was the first successful anti-dam movement in India. In Silent Valley, an evergreen tropical forest in the Palakkad district of Kerala, India, there was displacement of large number of people from the land which was the only source of livelihood for the affected people. The construction of dam was opposed by several environmentalists and supported by many international organizations like WWF and IUCN, International Union for Conservation of Nature. Because of the unremitting agitation and pressure of people, government called off the hydroelectric project in 1983 and declared it as protect land.

- **Narmada Bachao Andolan:** India's largest west flowing river Narmada came into limelight in 1985 when a huge mass movement was started against the construction of Sardar Sarovar Dam on the river. There were issues related to rehabilitation of the people of the affected area and this project was opposed by the tribal people for the sake of their distinguished culture and traditions. This project was supported by World Bank but government faced issues related to the resettlement and rehabilitation of the native people

of the affected area. This project was not only confined to the agitation against construction of dam but also influenced Rathong Chu project in Sikkim.

The people from three states, Gujrat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh were affected by this project and around 41000 families are displaced out of which 50 percent are Adivasi. So, it is not only the agitation on displacement and rehabilitation but also against the cultural and traditional values of Adivasi families of the affected area.

- **Movement against Hirakud Dam Project:** With the decision of construction of Hirakund Dam on Mahanadi in Odisha, it was planned to displaced the some villages for the construction of dam and its reservoir. The people of the affected villages protested against the project as it was inconvenient to shift from their paternal land with poor compensation and sufferings. The government was aware of the agitation and merits of construction of dam were told to them but people were extremely worried about their rehabilitation. Irrespective of the large movement, the decision for the construction of dam was taken by the government.

On the basis of above discussion, it is clear that civil liberties and human rights are important aspects of human life. For the Project affected Persons, human rights-based approach need to be followed. In resettlement, due process must be applied. Adequate consultation and conversation with the affected community is essentially required. Proper impact assessment should be done so that consequences of eviction will be clear beforehand.

Check Your Progress

3. What does Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights say?

4. When did the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?

5. Mention the key sections of the Indian Constitution which reflects the importance of human rights.

6. Who comes under the ambit of Project Affected Persons?

9.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The concept of 'civil rights' originated in france at the time of French Revolution.

2. In February 1919, the Imperial Legislative Council passed the Rowlatt Act which gave power to the British government to put any suspected person behind the bar without trial and also to try them without jury.

3. The principle of non-discrimination is complemented by the principle of equality, as stated in Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights."

4. In December 1948, United Nations General Assembly adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).

5. After the rigorous exercise of framing the constitution of India, the importance of human rights reflected in the constitution mainly through fundamental rights, directive principles of state policy and "The Preamble".

6. People affected by land acquisition or loss of livelihood resources and are relocated come under the category of Project Affected Persons.

9.6 SUMMARY

- There is wide range of civil liberties that are essential for the existence of human beings. These are basic rights which give freedom from oppression. Civil liberties incorporate some rights like liberty of freedom from unfair detention or arrest, liberty against punishment without trial, security related to private property, liberty to protest within the territory, freedom for having faith in any religion, liberty of expression and liberty of movement within the territory.

- A person can enjoy liberty in an environment where there is respect for rights and that could be possible if there is democratic setup. Civil Liberties Movements are the important aspects of Human Rights. Depending upon the nature, civil rights movements may be considered as political movements as well as revolutionary movements.

- The concept of civil rights in any clear form arose first out of the French Revolution. In their fight against the Bastille where countless men were made to suffer and die without justice and without law, except an order of the Government, the French gave to the world a concept of what no Government dare do to its citizens and what is the right of every man.

- India has struggled hard to conquer her civil liberties. In pre-independence era, civil liberties movement in India was evolved against the dominance of British government. The most serious threat against the civil liberties in India was the Britishers' detention policy of the people by the authorities without having any trial. With the national movement, movement for civil liberties also gained momentum and many nationalist leaders opposed the decisions of British Government.

- Human rights are the rights inherent to all the human beings irrespective of caste, colour, creed sex nationality ethnicity religion etc. All the human rights are interconnected and interdependent. These rights include the right to life,

right of liberty, freedom, right against exploitation, right of freedom of speech, freedom of expression and many more.

- The concept of civil liberties was not confined to the basic rights but it gradually became an important part of freedom struggle. There were prominent leaders during that time like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Mahatma Gandhi who had taken the issue of civil liberties and human rights with special concern.

- After the rigorous exercise of framing the constitution of India, the importance of human rights reflected in the constitution mainly through fundamental rights, directive principles of state policy and "The Preamble". In all these three major parts of the constitution, it was ensured that in a democratic setup, it is the first and foremost responsibility of the state to protect the basic rights of the citizens of India.

- Development projects such as industries, power plants dams and mines and others are required for the development of a country. The common requirement of all these projects is the requirement of land for the construction of structure. This requirement of land is the biggest issue as it is difficult to displace the people who are residents of that area and generally people use land for agricultural or other uses.

- There were various movements happened in India because of the negative impact on displaced people because of the poor compensation, faulty rehabilitation policies and loss of income and other related issues.

9.7 KEY WORDS

- **Civil liberties:** It refers to the liberties that are essential for the existence of human beings. These are basic rights which give freedom from oppression.

- **Human rights:** It refers to the rights inherent to all the human beings irrespective of caste, colour, creed sex nationality ethnicity religion etc.

9.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Mention the important articles laid down by the French Constitution of 1789.
2. What is mentioned in the part II of the Indian Constitution?
3. Write a short note on the issue of terrorism while talking about human rights.
4. Briefly explain the first successful anti-damn movement in India.

Long Answer Questions

1. Discuss the important civil liberties movements launched during the British Colonial period.

2. Explain the basic principles of human rights and the Consciousness of Human Rights during National Movement.

3. Describe the important Movements organized against the Projects in India.

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BLOCK - IV
NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

UNIT 10 NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Structure

10.0 INTRODUCTION

Human society has been evolving since time immemorial. In different eras of history, the concern for social movements along with the methodology adopted has been different. This holds true even for social movements which have seen a marked different since the older times. Hence, there has been bifurcation of the social movements into old and new social movements. You have already been briefly introduced to the concept of new social movements in Unit 6. In this unit, you will study the concept in detail.

10.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the meaning of new social movements

- Describe the methodology of social movements

- Explain the nature of new social movements

10.2 MEANING OF NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social movements are basically a type of group action which often make up of informal and large groups of people or organizations 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.

10.2.1 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. 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.

10.2.2 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.

Check Your Progress

1. What is responsible for the numerous social movements of the present day?

2. When can the emergence of phenomenon of the New School of Movements be traced back to?

3. What is the effective methodology developed by the new social movements?

4. How does the New Social Movement work on civil society?

10.3 FEATURES AND 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.

10.3.1 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. Mention the three step strategy developed for modern social movements.

6. How do postmodernists view the new social movements?

7. State the central goal of the Old School Movements.

10.4 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. 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.

2. 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.

3. 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.

4. The 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.

5. The modern social movements comprise of a complex network of actors and interactions in a structured fashion involving a three step strategy which included the following three-step strategy:
   - Diagnosis
   - Prognosis
   - Motivation

6. 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.

7. The central goal of the Old School Movements was the reorganisation of power relations and functioning within the framework of political parties.

10.5 SUMMARY

- Social movements are basically a type of group action which often make up of informal and large groups of people or organizations 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

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

  o Diagnosis

  o Prognosis

  o Motivation

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- 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.

- There are several counts on which old and new social movements can be differentiated.

10.6 KEY WORDS

- **Third World:** It refers to the developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

- **Chartism:** It refers to the principles and practices of a body of 19th century English political reformers advocating better social and industrial conditions for the working classes.

- **Post modernist:** It is largely a reaction to the assumed certainty of scientific, or objective, efforts to explain reality.

10.7 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Explain the meaning and history of new social movements.
2. Write a short note on the Civil Society and New Movements.
3. Briefly explain the growth of new social movements.

Long Answer Questions

1. How do social groups function?
2. Assess the nature of New Social Movements.
3. Distinguish between the New Social Movement and the Old Social Movement.

10.8 FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 11 NEW TYPES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Structure

11.0 INTRODUCTION

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 various social movements of India like the Peasant movement, Feminist movement, Environment movement and the Youth movement.

11.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Discuss the important Peasant movements in India
- Explain the significance of major Feminist movements
- Describe the critical Environment movements
- Assess the concept of Youth movement

11.2 PEASANT MOVEMENT

Most of the studies on peasant movements in India have been published after the mid-1970s. The Chinese revolution and the series of agrarian movements in the Latin American countries led western political sociologists and anthropologists to initiate studies on peasant movements. In India, such intellectual stimulation on the one hand and the Naxalite movement in the late 1960s on the other, provided an impetus to Indian scholars to study various peasant movements. Barrington Moore Jr., in his celebrated work *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modem World* (1967), questions the revolutionary potential of the Indian peasantry. He observes that the landed upper classes and the peasants played an important role in the bourgeois revolutions leading to capitalist societies in England and France, the abortive bourgeois revolutions leading to fascism in Germany and Italy and the peasant revolutions leading to communism in Russia and China.

After five decades of independence nearly 63 per cent of the population still depends on agriculture for its livelihood, though industrial growth is significant. The agrarian structure has undergone a change from a feudal and semi feudal structure to a capitalist one. Agricultural production has increasingly become market oriented since the 1960s. Non-farm economic activities have expanded in the rural areas. In the process, not only has the rural-urban divide become blurred, but the nature of peasant society in terms of composition, classes/strata and consciousness has undergone considerable changes.

Those who depend on agriculture are differentiated in terms of their relationship with the ownership of land, such as, absentee landlords, supervisory

agriculturists, owner-cultivators, sharecroppers, tenants and landless labourers. In local parlance they are known as *kisans* or *kheduts*. **Kisan** is often translated as 'peasant' in the academic literature published in English. The term 'peasant' is ambiguous and used differently by different authors or variously by the same author in different studies. On the one hand, it is used for those agriculturists who are homogeneous, with small holdings operated mainly by family labour and on the other hand, it includes all those who depend on land including landless labourers, as well as supervisory agriculturists. To club together agricultural labourers and the peasantry raises some problems. An agricultural labourer in contemporary India is generally no-longer tied down to the same master, as was the case during the pre-colonial periods and in pre-capitalist agriculture. In capitalist agriculture, a vast majority of the labourers are not attached or bonded. The process of proletarianization of agricultural labourers has accelerated during the last few decades, and they are more dependent on 'wage labour while losing the extra-economic relations with their employers (old or new) which govern the conditions of their work and life.

Where do we place small and marginal farmers who also work as agricultural labourers? What about those agricultural labourers who have not become proletarian? It would be not only cumbersome but also mechanical and an oversimplification to treat agricultural labourers of the colonial period as peasants and those of the post-independence period as the proletariat. Moreover, as this monograph is concerned with mobilization, labourers are mobilized along with other peasants in many agrarian struggles. lrfan Habib argues that the history of agricultural labourers remains a part of peasant history. Most of the studies so far treat them as part of the peasantry. We use the term 'peasantry' in a broad sense, for convenience rather than out of conviction, to cover a large number of studies. In fact, our preference is to avoid the term 'peasant', which is not very useful in the analysis of agrarian relationships in the subcontinent. Since the mid-1980s, some scholars have begun to use the term 'farmer' instead of 'peasant'. The former are being distinguished by their market involvement as community producers and also, as purchasers of inputs. Nevertheless, peasant rebellions in pre-modern India were relatively rare and completely ineffective and where modernization impoverished the peasants, least as much as in China and over as long a period of time. The Indian peasant, according to Barrington Moore, is traditionally docile and passive.

It also finds that peasant rebellions 'look strangely absent in Indian history'. This situation is attributed to the peculiar Indian social structure, i.e., the caste system and village structure. Moore argues that cultivation was lackadaisical and inefficient over wide areas, partly due to the tax on farming, partly because of the peculiar structure of peasant society, organized through the caste system. In providing a framework for all social activity, quite literally from conception to the afterlife, at the local level of the village community, caste made the central government largely superfluous. Hence the peasant opposition was less likely to take the form of massive peasant rebellions that it had taken in China.

In the caste system, the individual's duty to the caste system was emphasized, not his rights within the society. The lower castes were taught to accept their place in the social order, so as to obtain a better position in the next life, through religious ceremonies and rituals. The leaders of the lower castes received commissions on the wages of labourers from their castes, as well as fines for any transgressions of caste regulations. His reading on caste and generalization thereon is more textual and empirical. However, Moore is often misquoted and misinterpreted many scholars. He does not say that there were no widespread and impressive peasant revolts against the ruling class in India. He does not dispute the thesis of the revolutionary potential of the peasantry as such. He seems to argue is that the revolutionary potential of a particular class hinges largely on the structure of power alignment and class alliances, in a given society, at a particular time.

Moore's contention regarding the passive and docile character of Indian peasants, however, has been challenged by Kathleen Gough, A.R. Desai, D.N. Dhanagare, Ranajit Guha and others. They argue that historians have overlooked a number of peasant rebellions before and during the British rule. Kathleen Gough argues that peasant revolts have been common during the last two centuries in every state of present-day India. She has counted 77 revolts, the smallest of which probably engaged several thousand peasants in active support or in combat. About 30 revolts must have affected several tens of thousands and about 12, several hundreds of thousands. Included in these revolts, is the 'Indian Mutiny' of 1857-58, in which vast bodies of peasants fought or otherwise worked to destroy British rule over an area of more than 500,000 square miles.

Kathleen disagrees with Moore regarding the obstructive role of caste in peasant uprisings. She argues that a number of movements were led by lower caste Hindus; therefore, it is an oversimplification to say that 'the caste system has seriously impeded peasant rebellion in times of trouble'. A.R. Desai also observes that, 'the Indian rural scene during the entire British period and thereafter has been bristling with protests, revolts and even large scale militant struggles involving hundreds of villages and lasting for years'. Ranajit Guha observes that agrarian disturbances of different forms and scales were endemic throughout the first three-quarters of the British rule, i.e., until the very end of the 19th century. There were no fewer than known instances of revolts during 117 years. The forms of resistance varied. Dhanagare argues that Moore's conclusion is not deduced from any systematic theory, but is only a reiteration of certain stereotypes of the Indian peasant and society and that his empirical generalizations are questionable. His thesis on the Indian peasantry, therefore, needs re-examination in the light of a more extensive survey of various peasant resistance movements and revolts in India.

The question of whether the caste system or the Hindu religion is an obstacle which prevents the exploited and poor peasants from being organized to struggle against the exploiters, has been discussed and empirically investigated by several scholars, considering that there were a number of peasant rebellions in India.

11.2.1 Peasant Movements in India

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:

   (i) Restorative rebellions to drive out the British and restore earlier rulers and social relations

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

 (iii) Social banditry

(iv) Terrorist vengeance with the idea of meting out collective justice

(v) 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. It divides the historical process of rural labour struggles, developing on class lines into three phases. These are:

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:

1. Deterioration of their economic condition due to price rise, famine, etc.

2. Structural changes, which cause an increase in the exploitation of peasants, consequently deteriorating their condition.

3. 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 inde-pendence. 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 'gramo-phoning' 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 govern-ment 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 auction-ing 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.

11.2.2 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).

11.2.3 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.

Check Your Progress

1. How are peasant movements in India classified?

2. Where does the Naxal movement traces its origin?

11.3 FEMINIST MOVEMENT

Women's movements are generally identity-oriented mobilizations seeking equality and social justice in a patriarchal society. They are broadly inclusive in the sense that they attempt to expand their social base by networking and bringing women together to struggle for common gender issues. The recruitment base of women's movements cuts across the boundaries of caste, class and community and sometimes even the boundaries of the states. There has been a growing interest in the status of women's conditions in general and in their struggles for equality and social justice in particular.

The ideology of feminism developed in the western world in the later part of the twentieth century. Later, it spread to other parts of the world. The Women's movement consists of events or actions tending to the gain of rights for women in order to heighten their status in the society along with the men. It includes campaigns and measures for reforms of women's issues, such as reproductive rights, domestic violence, equal pay, women's suffrage, sexual harassment and sexual violence.

The women movement has developed in three phases:

- The first phase revolved around the status of middle or upper-class white women, and involved suffrage and political equality.

- The second phase attempted to further combat social and cultural inequalities.

- The third phase of the movement includes a renewed campaign for women's greater influence in politics.

Aims and Objectives of Women' Movements

The main aims of the women's movements are to:

(i) Make women a self-conscious category

(ii) Generate a rational sensible attitude towards women

(iii) View women in a strong position

(iv) View women through their own perspectives

(v) Attain gender equality

Compared to the West, the tradition of women's demand for equality has been weak in India. Pandita Ramabai's struggle for the emancipation of women in nineteenth century Maharashtra is among the few exceptions. Women's revolt

against patriarchy may be seen in the poetic expressions of Meera Bai's devotional songs. The eighteenth century Radhilia Santvanam, written by a Tamil poetess Muddupalni, gives melancholic expression to the misery and woes of women in the male-dominated society in India. These instances highlight the passive and indirect expressions of defiance of and disenchantment with the patriarchal normative order of the Indian society. It may be recalled that in the nineteenth century West, women did express the feelings of revolt and wrote against male domination, but they failed to mobilize other women in an organized movement. In India, they could hardly stake a claim to equality, much less demand it. India was a colony and it had to win its independence.

The feminist ideology began to spread in India under the colonial influence and as a part of the nineteenth century Indian Renaissance. During the pre-independence period, women's movement revolved around some major issues like the spread of education, prohibition of child marriage, abolition of sati system and widow remarriage. The social reform movements modernized gendered relations in some upper caste families while dispossessing lower caste women of their rights in attempts to homogenize the women as a group renouncing caste and community specific practices and problems.

The women's writings of the eighteenth century suggest more disenchantment with patriarchy than active resistance to it and revolt against gender injustices. The involvements of women in the Bhakti Movement were actions generally of defiance of the male dominated world. The writings of the nineteenth century India describe the hopelessness of situations in which women found themselves. The consciousness of a feminist identity and awareness of erosion of womanhood did exist. But this awareness could not be expressed in the form of an open declaration of women's struggles for selfhood and survival.

The liberal egalitarian ideology under the British Raj created conditions for a social awakening among Indian women. Several women's associations came into existence both at regional and national levels. Banga Mahila Samaj and the Ladies Theosophical Society functioned at local levels to promote modern ideals for women. The important national organizations were: Bharat Mahila Parishad (1904), Bharat Stri Mahamandal (1909), Women's Indian Association (1917), National Council of Women in India (1925) and All India Women's Conference (1927) and Kasturba Gandhi National Memorial Trust. These organizations took up issues like women's education, abolition of evil social customs (purdah, child marriage, etc.), equality of rights and opportunities and women's suffrage. Some women leaders with the support of the Congress party, demanded right of franchise and representation in legislatures.

The status of women has been the central concern of many reform movements before and after independence. The leaders of the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj were concerned with issues like sati, widow remarriage, divorce, female education, purdah system, polygamy and dowry. Justice Ranade criticized child

marriages, polygamy, restrictions on remarriage of widows, and non-access to education. Raja Ram Mohan Roy played an important role in getting the sati system abolished. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar and Maharishi Karve pleaded for remarriage of widows. Gandhiji took interest in collective mobilization of women to fight for political freedom as well as for their social and political rights.

The social reform movement completely revolved around the women's issues. Women were in the front line on the agenda of the social reform movement. The reformers considered that women's emancipation was a must for national progress and a way to register India as a civilized and modern society. Pandita Ramabai was one of those very few women who actually critiqued perhaps Hindu patriarchy and casteism. The social reform movement proved instrumental in initiating these processes. The movement had brought to the fore issues that concerned and involved high-caste and upper-class women and sought change under the broad category of Hindu. The British rule had empowered the elite men enough to speak on behalf of the Hindu community.

Some scholars have examined the role of women in political independence movements at micro level, i.e., on regional basis. For example, Aparna Basu (1984) and Pravin Sheth (1979) studied their role in Gujarat; Raghavendra Rao (1983) in Karnataka; and Uma Rao (1984) in Uttar Pradesh. According to Govind Kelkar, women's role in the freedom movement was that of the 'helpers' rather than that of comrades. Ghanshyam Shah has referred to some scholars who have pointed out women's role in tribal, peasant and other movements in Bihar and Maharashtra. For example, Manoshi Mitra and Indra Munshi Saldanha have analysed women's militant role in tribal movements when women confronted authorities, wielding traditional weapons and maintaining lines of supplies to the rebels in their hidden places. Sunil Sen, Peter Custers, etc. have analysed their role in peasants' movements in Telangana, West Bengal and Maharashtra. Meera Velayudhan has analysed their role in communist led movement of coir workers in Kerala. Sen has pointed out women's participation in struggles launched by trade unions in iron ore mines in Madhya Pradesh.

11.3.1 Major Issues of the Women's Movement in India

Campaigns for amendments in existing laws and drafting of new legislations relating to:

- Rape, dowry murders, *sati* (widow-burning on husband's pyre)
- Regulation of sex detection and sex pre-selection tests
- Misrepresentation in the media
- Protests against harmful contraceptive dissemination and test trials
- Coercive population policy have marked the two decades of the movement

The demands of women's movements were as follows:

- Gender just laws (term used in the place of Uniform Civil Code)

- Right to matrimonial home

- Right to quality health care, sustenance, survival and livelihood

- Elimination of domestic, communal and social violence against women

- Access to education, employment and natural resources are the other major issues that the women's movement in India is grappling with. A steady opposition to structural adjustment programmes (SAP) and the New Economic Policy is also building up.

Various anti-dowry movements

There are various anti-dowry movements which were started and organized by Indian women. Some of them are as following:

1. **AIDWA:** The movement led by the All India Democratic Women's Association (AIDWA) of Tripura played a great role in the state regarding Anti-dowry movements. The vigorous campaigns by AIDWA committee along with active role of the government have been successful in lessening the dowry deaths in the state. The AIDWA also organizes several conventions to spread awareness regarding various women's issues

2. **AIWC:** The All India Women's Congress (AIWC) was the first all India women's organization that worked towards the elimination of the dowry system. Its charter clearly stated that national independence was its sacred and main agenda. It saw the participation by both bourgeois liberals and the Left, and it was formed around the same time that Mahatma Gandhi's called for the women's support on the freedom of India. Thus, not only was the AIWC associated with various women's movements in India, but also achieved this task along with fighting for freedom of the nation from colonial rule. This strengthened the women's movement and has remained a cherished tradition within the movement, a tradition that still exists and informs the movement through its highs and lows.

3. **NARS:** This movement (Nari Atma Raksha Samity i. e. NARS) was a left party oriented movement. Members of NARS were involved in the historic Tebhaga struggle. The women who were left-oriented participated and supported several working class and revolutionary peasant struggles in many parts of the country. The Telangana is one such example. Telangana was an event that illustrated to the Left parties how women could stand for what they believed in and how they were capable of affecting major changes in the society.

4. **Anti-Arrack:** The Anti-arrack movement in Andhra Pradesh was carried out by a group of inspired women who had started taking adult literacy classes. In 1992, these women organized an agitation to enforce the closing of the arrack (liquor) shops in their village. This movement was popularized by the mass media and the women of Andra Pradesh collectively opposed the auction of contracts to sell arrack. The press contributed to popularizing

this movement. The role of the Telegu daily, *Eenadu*, was especially noteworthy. However, the government lifted the ban on arrack in 1994 as the liquor sales had boosted the government's revenue in the past. This boosted the conviction of women in the state and gave them a new strength. They stood against the domestic violence committed by their alcoholic husbands.

11.3.2 Devadasi Movement

'Devadasi' literally means God's (Dev) female servant (Dasi). The Devadasi system is an ancient Indian sociological practice particularly in the southern states, for example, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, etc. In this system, young girls are 'married off', 'given away' in matrimony to God or local religious deity of the temple. Once sworn in as Devadasis, they are not allowed to marry, as they were supposedly married to the God. Devadasis generally served the people from the upper castes and classes, such as the priests, the inmates of the temple, the zamindars (local landlords) and other men of money and power in the town and village. The service given to these men was considered analogous to service of God.

The suffering became worse for these girls, as there was no escape from this heinous system as it was cloaked in the garb of religion. Thus, it can be considered as a sanctioned victimization and sexual exploitation of women, particularly the Dalit women of the lower class of untouchables. The Devadasi system targeted the socially and economically backward women, who were then sexually exploited. It is a case of sanctioning prostitution. It is a humiliating practice. This practice also deserves the label of being a fascist practice as it supports the illogical value system which considers certain castes as superior to certain other ones. Another exploitative feature of this practice is that the priest is at the centre of this sexual exploitation of women and can easily use his powerful position in such a fatalistic society as India to deceive the poor and simple village folk.

Genesis of Devadasi System

There have been different opinions about the genesis and growth of this atrocious system. While tracing the origin and the development of this intriguing system, many factors come into consideration. Factors such as religious sanction, unequal caste structure, the existence of a male dominated society and economic backwardness are chiefly responsible for the continuation of this phenomenon.

The Devadasi system was established as a clever ruse by the feudal lords and priests who devised an easy way to sleep with women. The priests held full control over the people in their villages and this practice was a result of a conspiracy between the feudal class and the priests (Brahmins). The latter, with their ideological and religious hold over the peasants and craftsmen, devised a means that gave prostitution their religious sanction. Poor, low-caste girls, initially sold at private auctions, were later dedicated to the temples. They were then initiated into prostitution.

There is a list put forward by the famous Indian scholar Jogan Shankar to determine the evolution of the Devadasi system. According to him, the following are the reasons which played a major role in supplanting the system with firm roots:

1. It developed as a substitute for human sacrifice.

2. It developed as a rite to ensure the fertility of the land and the increase of human being and animal population.

3. It developed as a part of phallic worship which existed in India from early Dravidian times.

4. It sprang from the custom of providing sexual hospitality for strangers.

5. It developed due to licentious worship offered by a people subservient to a degraded and vested interests of priestly class.

11.3.3 The Anti-Nautch

The leading social reformers of the nineteenth century started a social purity movement against the evil practice of Devadasis. The movement was commonly known as 'the Anti-Nautch Movement'. The word 'nautch' was anglicized form of the Hindi word 'nach' meaning dance. Nautch meant any form of public dancing by the females and the Devadasi dance was also known as 'Tanjore Nautch'. Hence, this movement against the reform of the Devadasi s was known as Anti-Nautch Movement.

This reform movement was basically aimed at

- elimination of the the Devadasi s,

- regainging their social space in the society, and

- reconfiguring them from being a morally-inferior fallen women to a dignified common woman in the society.

The Anti-Nautch Movement begins in south India as a struggle for the middle class to orient all female in the service of the home and nation. The Anti-Nautch movement reached its apex during the 1920s. Many Devadasi s were taken out of the temples and sent to urban rehabilitation centrers in order to domesticate them as a measure of the reforms. The Madras Legislative Assembly had initiated a legislative procedure to declare the Devadasi system as a criminal offence and forceful induction of young girls into the Devadasi system as a criminal act. In 1947, the Madras Devadasis (Prevention of Dedication) Act of 1947 was passed that criminalized the marriage of women to deities and outlawed the performance of dance in public by Devadasi s.

11.3.4 Dalit Women Movement

About 160 million Dalit constitute India's women population. They comprise about 16 per cent of India's total female population and 8 per cent of the total police women population. The Dalit women have been trying for decades to become a

part of the mainstream on the basis of their economic, political and cultural identity. The movement started because of their ideological isolation. Poverty, economic status and political breakdown led to the starting point of the Dalit women movements in India. Lack of education also encouraged them to initiate the movement. They have been severely suppressed and victimized by the upper class people. When one speaks of Dalit liberation, one recalls the name of Ruth Manorama, who was an active member of the National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights. In the Indian society, the Dalit women are facing a triple burden of caste, class and gender. They are a distinct social group. In the male dominated society, they suffer severe oppression not only through caste but also through gender differentiation.

The laws of Manu can be held responsible to a great degree for perpetuating their miserable states. Even the scriptures deny any kind of economic, political, social, educational, and personal means to the Dalits which could lead to their upliftment. In the field of education, the Dalit women are not allowed to study beyond a certain level and are victimized. They do not receive primary education despite the fact that the Constitution guarantees free education for all children under the age of fourteen. There are reports of atrocities being committed on Dalit women. The reasons behind the exploitation and victimization of the Dalit women at the places of education were a lack of educational resources especially in rural areas, privatization of schools, extreme poverty, demand for an increase in the dowry for educated girls, humiliation and bullying by the high caste students and teachers, etc. The Dalit women are a miserable lot and have to face new challenges every day. In case the Dalit women refuse to work, they are beaten, tortured and sometimes, even raped.

With the introduction of the democratic constitution and despite various social legislations, the Dalit women are still suffering and are exploited by the subject class. The Indian caste system is a crippling disease for the marginalized sections of the society. The feminists in India are highly involved and are battling for the betterment of the women. The Dalit women movement is an epoch making event in Tamil Nadu. It came in the wake of a realization by the Dalit women for the need of a separate movement for their welfare in order to protect their rights. About 30 districts of Tamil Nadu participated in this movement together and wanted to take this movement to the grassroot level. The movement was active in 16 districts. The Tamil Nadu women's forum is an initiative taken by the state government to make the Dalit women aware of their rights and give them justice. The Dalit Mahila Samiti is another committee which was set up for similar reasons and comprises over 1,700 Dalit women in the north Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. The members of this Samiti opposed patriarchy openly and challenged the rigid caste structure. These women were harassed by different sections of the society for standing for their rights.

The two political philosophers Mahatama Gandhi and B.R. Ambedkar had the greatest significant contribution to better the position of the Dalit women. They

struggled hard for the upliftment of the Dalit women in India. Gandhi called them Harijans. At the time of Independence, Gandhiji raised his voice emphasizing the value of all work and removed the indignity attached to impure work. Ambedkar also mobilized these oppressed people against caste discrimination. When India attained freedom, an annexure/schedule was added to the constitution which provided a list of these oppressed castes, and thus these classes came to be known as the scheduled classes.

Dalit women assertions have emerged at different parts in different regions of the states. And it was a combination of mass movements. The movement started against their caste oppression, electoral politics etc. Strong Dalit women movements took shape in several parts of southern and western India. It is worth noting that the National Federation of Dalit Women was set up in 1995. This Federation mobilized the Dalit women to address the caste question from their part.

The Federation posed the following concerns: (a) Dalit oppression and victimization at the hands of the upper caste people,(b) the exploitation of Dalit agricultural by upper caste land owners (c) Oppression of Dalit women by not only the upper caste men but also by the men of their own community. One of the most disturbing facts is that though the Dalit population constitutes approximately 16.2 per cent of the total Indian population, still their control over resources of the country is less than 5 per cent. Though there have been several attempts by the government to improve the social, political and economical conditions of the Dalit community, yet discrimination against the Dalit population, especially the Dalit women, prevail in the society. The lower castes were considered inferior because of the nature of work they performed in the society, and thus it was thought that an improvement in their nature of work would change things for them. The establishment of the Dalit Mahila Samiti (DMS) was one of the first steps taken towards the direction of improving the social, economical and political conditions of the Dalit women. This Samiti was active in several parts of north India. The Mahila Samkhya staff was made aware of the feminist movements that were happening outside the country so that they could follow the example of the western countries. The organizational structure of the Mahila Samkhya was very strong. This Samiti played a huge role in mobilizing the Dalit women across two sub regions of Chitrakot. There was another organization that shared the aims and objectives of the DMS. It was called Vanagana. It organized mass protests in different parts of the country. The principles of participation of Dalit women was followed by Vanagana and this ensured that the Dalit women's concerns always central to Vanagana's agenda settling process.

The main concern of Vanagana was the upliftment of the individual Dalit women and it sought to mobilize them. Times changed and the Dalit women challenged patriarchal norms as well as the caste structure. This strengthened them even more. The Dalit women learnt to stand for themselves and their rights. Vanagana was a women-centric organization.

The Dalit women became active agents of social change and began to acquire leadership qualities through their struggles. They actively sought the creation of new identities. Both Vanagana and Dalit Mahila Samiti have been Dalit women movements and had the following concerns: (a) to change caste equations in their area of operation,(b) to negotiate against all forms of violence against women and men, (c) to make sure that the benefits of government schemes announced under the new Dalit run regime was available to all and that power flows to all eligible Dalits, (d) to promote the leadership of local women.

The movement was marked by a collective zeal for social change. The formation of a separate Dalit Mahila Samiti has taken place with the successful entry of Dalits in formal electoral politics. Ms. Mayavati, a Dalit woman, served as the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh from 13 May 2007 – 7 March 2012. She is an immense source of pride for the Dalit community, because she had managed to fight all forms of oppression and attained a powerful position in the government. She is a representative of the Dalit community. The period 1990-93 was also marked by the issue of mass mobilization and strong actions by women. The agitations initiated from the village level. The forceful eviction of the Dalit families from their lands of residence led to these agitations. In the period 1990-95, there were several individual cases that were fought against the oppression of the Dalits. In the village of Suvargada, four sisters belonging to the Kol Tribals, claimed that 40 bighas of land should be in their name. A bania upper caste merchant captured the land and the women fought against him. In the year 1997, a landmark case against a Dalit-Kurmi woman was taken up by the Dalit women's group which later participated in the formalizing of DMS. They organized a silent rally in the town to ensure that the police acted upon the compliant. This was an early case of taking a public stand as a Dalit woman. The movement was the result of positive identity. Thus, several attempts have been made by the government, women groups, etc. for the betterment of the Dalit community.

Check Your Progress

3. Where and when did the ideology of feminism develop?

4. Name the first all India women's organization for elimination of the dowry system.

5. Who did devadasis generally serve?

6. Who faced triple burden of oppression in Indian society?

11.4 ENVIRONMENT AND YOUTH MOVEMENT

In this section, you will learn about two important recent social movement trends: the environment and youth movements in India.

11.4.1 Environment Movement

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 research-based 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 und 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 five 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:

- **Chipko movement:** This has been discussed in detail, in this unit.
- **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.
- **Narmada Bachao Andolan:** This has been discussed in detail, in this unit.
- **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.
- **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.
- **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.
- **Appiko movement:** The Appiko movement was a 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.

- **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.

- **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.

- **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.

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 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. 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.

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)

11.4.2 Youth Movement

Youth is the biggest resource for any country. They can play an important role in determining the direction and destiny of any country, but if they do not get the right direction for the channelization of energy, it can also be detrimental to the society. Many young people have the desire to do something towards their country. Youth has many expectations and aspirations from his own society, but when the same expectations and aspirations are not met then it takes the form of movement.

The energy which can be needed for any social movement is easily seen in the young people. Majority of the population in India is a young people, who can play an important role in social development. In India, there have been many such social movements since independence in which youth took part in the movement and contributed toward its success.

Youth Movement is an organized effort by the young people who are against the change or want to bring the desirable societal change. The singularity of the youth movements is demonstrated by the fact that in a very short time, they are

transformed into a large group and put their maximum efforts to mobilize the other people in the society.

When young people see that in every institution of the society whether it is educational, political or social, there is a wide gap between their word and actions then dissatisfaction arises within them and this dissatisfaction is the form of stimulus for occurrence of any youth movement. Indian youth have played a key role in social movement even before independence and after independence.

At present, the youth have become part of many agitations, which raise issues such as unemployment problem, political social and economic inequality, lack of opportunities, corruption and demand for proper education system etc.

Youth Movement and Social Change

There are some prominent characteristics of youth which becomes the contributing factors for their active participation in social movements. The main reason is related with the fact that youth have strong passion about future and always ready to fight for their rights. There is intrinsic motivation in youth which is taking them away from being passive and indifferent about the social issue. Psycho-social factors are also play dominant role related to participation of young people in social movement for sense of belongingness and self-expression. Sometimes students' agitation also take shape of social movement on broad level. There are some examples of students violation like Nav Nirman Andolan (Reconstruction Movement), 1974, Anti-Mandal Commission Protests, Anti-reservation Protests, 2006 and Anti–Sri Lanka Protests, 2013 etc.

There is a prominent factor in all youth movements in contemporary period that the participants of these movements are actively connected through social media and sharing their ideas and thoughts with each other and making the others aware of their social campaign. One of the good example of youth participation in social movement in India was in Anna Hazare's movement in 2011. This social movement was led by Anna Hazare but maximum participants were from youth population. Therefore, it is worth to conclude that for bringing any positive and constructive change in the society, Youth movements can play prominent role.

Check Your Progress

7. What was the Lok Satta Movement?

8. According to Shamsher Singh Bhisht, a Chipko activist, what was the main reason for the failure of the Chipko Movement?

9. What demonstrates the singularity of the youth movements?

10. Mention some of the issues for which the youth agitate.

11.5 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. 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.

2. The Naxal movement traces its ideology to the Chinese leader Mao Tse Tung's idea of organized peasant rebellion.

3. The ideology of feminism developed in the western world in the later part of the twentieth century.

4. The All India Women's Congress (AIWC) was the first all India women's organization that worked towards the elimination of the dowry system.

5. Devadasis generally served the people from the upper castes and classes, such as the priests, the inmates of the temple, the zamindars (local landlords) and other men of money and power in the town and village.

6. In the Indian society, the Dalit women are facing a triple burden of caste, class and gender.

7. 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.

8. 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. Most of the reports on Chipko missed out on the real concerns and demands of the local people.

9. The singularity of the youth movements is demonstrated by the fact that in a very short time, they are transformed into a large group and put their maximum efforts to mobilize the other people in the society.

10. At present, the youth have become part of many agitations, which raise issues such as unemployment problem, political social and economic inequality, lack of opportunities, corruption and demand for proper education system etc.

11.6 SUMMARY

- Most of the studies on peasant movements in India have been published after the mid-1970s. The Chinese revolution and the series of agrarian movements in the Latin American countries led western political sociologists and anthropologists to initiate studies on peasant movements. In India, such intellectual stimulation on the one hand and the Naxalite movement in the late 1960s on the other, provided an impetus to Indian scholars to study various 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.

- 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.

- 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 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.

- 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.

- Women's movements are generally identity-oriented mobilizations seeking equality and social justice in a patriarchal society. They are broadly inclusive in the sense that they attempt to expand their social base by networking and bringing women together to struggle for common gender issues. The recruitment base of women's movements cuts across the boundaries of caste, class and community and sometimes even the boundaries of the states. There has been a growing interest in the status of women's conditions in general and in their struggles for equality and social justice in particular.

- The liberal egalitarian ideology under the British Raj created conditions for a social awakening among Indian women. Several women's associations came into existence both at regional and national levels.

- There are various anti-dowry movements which were started and organized by Indian women.

- The leading social reformers of the nineteenth century started a social purity movement against the evil practice of Devadasis. The movement was commonly known as 'the Anti-Nautch Movement'.

- About 160 million Dalit constitute India's women population. They comprise about 16 per cent of India's total female population and 8 per cent of the total police women population. The Dalit women have been trying for decades to become a part of the mainstream on the basis of their economic, political and cultural identity.

- 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.

- Historical studies on peasant movements mainly focus on the agrarian relationship between different classes of landowners.

- Youth is the biggest resource for any country. They can play an important role in determining the direction and destiny of any country, but if they do not get the right direction for the channelization of energy, it can also be detrimental to the society. Many young people have the desire to do something towards their country. Youth has many expectations and aspirations from his own society, but when the same expectations and aspirations are not met then it takes the form of movement.

- At present, the youth have become part of many agitations, which raise issues such as unemployment problem, political social and economic inequality, lack of opportunities, corruption and demand for proper education system etc.

11.7 KEY WORDS

- **Kisan***:* It is often translated as 'peasant' in the academic literature published in English.

- **Women's movements:** These are generally identity-oriented mobilizations seeking equality and social justice in a patriarchal society.

- **Devadasi:** It literally means God's (Dev) female servant (Dasi). The Devadasi system is an ancient Indian sociological practice particularly in the southern states, for example, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, etc. In this system, young girls are 'married off', 'given away' in matrimony to God or local religious deity of the temple.

- **Nautch:** It meant any form of public dancing by the females and the Devadasi dance was also known as 'Tanjore Nautch'.
- **Environmental movements:** It refers to the struggles of the people on the issues of their livelihood and access to forest and other natural resources.
- **Youth Movement:** It is an organized effort by the young people who are against the change or want to bring the desirable societal change.

11.8 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short note on the origin and coverage of peasant movements.
2. What was the Naxalbari movement?
3. Write a short note on the major women and anti-dowry movements in India.
4. List some of the important environmental movements in India.
5. Briefly explain the significance of youth movements.

Long Answer Questions

1. Discuss the various peasant movements in India.
2. Explain the major women movements in India.
3. Describe the categorization of environment movements in India.
4. Assess the Chipko and Narmada Bachao Andolan.

11.9 FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 12 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND IMPLICATIONS

Structure

12.0 Introduction
12.1 Objectives
12.2 Overview of Social Movements
12.3 Socio-Political Implications
        12.3.1   Features of Socio-Political Impact of Movements
12.4 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
12.5 Summary
12.6 Key Words
12.7 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
12.8 Further Readings

12.0 INTRODUCTION

In a society people individually or jointly put efforts to bring some desirable changes in their lives. There are some issues which we cannot resolve individually and we need organized, well defined efforts. Such efforts are called social movements where people collectively work for the common goal. A social movement is not only to bring a change, sometimes it is to resist change in the society. You have already learnt about the concept of social movements in the earlier units. Some of those ideas will be recapitulated in the unit along with the discussion on the socio-political implications of social movements.

12.1 OBJECTIVES

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

* Discuss the concept of social movements
* Explain the socio-political implications

12.2 OVERVIEW OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

According to Anderson and Parker, Social movement is 'A form of dynamic pluralistic behaviour which progressively develops structure through time and aims at partial or complete modification of the social order.' Therefore, social movement is the effort by an association to achieve a common goal and bring uniformity in the social structure.

On the basis of nature of defined goals, social movements are of different types such as religious movements, revolutionary movements, reform movements etc.

Important Features of Social Movements

- Active participation of people who joined the movement is very important for the success of any social movement. Through active participation sense of belongingness can be developed among group members.

- Ideas or initiatives taken by any social movement become biding for all members to adopt and follow.

- Social movements can be classified as: organized or unorganized social movements.

- Peaceful or violent nature of movement can be there depending upon the goal of social movement.

- A successful social movement can lead to the new establishment in social structure, political order or economic sector depending upon the nature of particular social movement.

- In social movement, all participants share the same ideology; it means there is no scope for any individual action in the social movements. All decisions are the result of group efforts.

- The aim of a social movement is to bring change or resist change in already existing system in the society.

- Duration of the social movement is not certain as it may convert into social movement for longer period and can have shorter life.
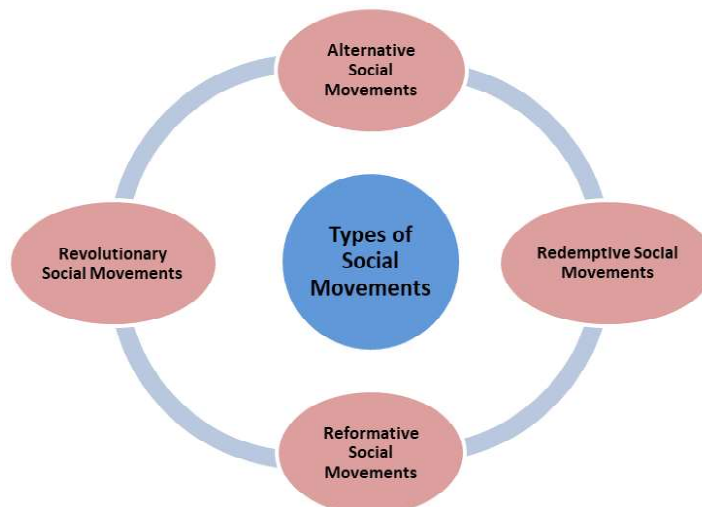
Types of Social Movements

American anthropologist David F. Aberele in 1966 gave an idea about four types of social movements on the basis of:

- Who is the movement attempting to change?

- How much change is being advocated?

The details of these movements are given below:

1. **Alternative Social Movements:** In sociology, those social movements which are organized for brining limited societal change are called alternative social movements. These movements are aimed to bring limited societal change therefore the target of such movements is limited to the selected part of population i.e. a selective small group. Specific behaviour of small group or individual is generally taken into consideration under such movements.

2. **Redemptive Social Movements:** A redemptive social movement is a kind of movement aimed to bring a radical change in social practices limited to selected part of the population or individual for personal transformation in actions of its individual members.

3. **Reformative Social Movements**: If the aim of social movement is to bring partial change in some parts of the system of the society without transforming it completely, it is called reformative social movement. For such kind of reformative movements, there is need of democratic atmosphere where people can raise their voice and feel free to criticize the existing system. The movements to abolish untouchability, dowry system, preserve wildlife etc., are reform movements.

4. **Revolutionary Movements**: A revolutionary movement is a specific social movement which aims to bring revolution in the society. These movements occur at broader level and tend to bring the rapid, precipitous and radical change. These movements flourish where reform is blocked so that revolution remains the only option with the people of society.

Life Cycle of a Social Movement

Every movement has to pass certain stages during its life cycle. From the starting point of the movement to the end point of success, there are many factors which need to be followed. Let us discuss the four stages of social movements' life cycle:
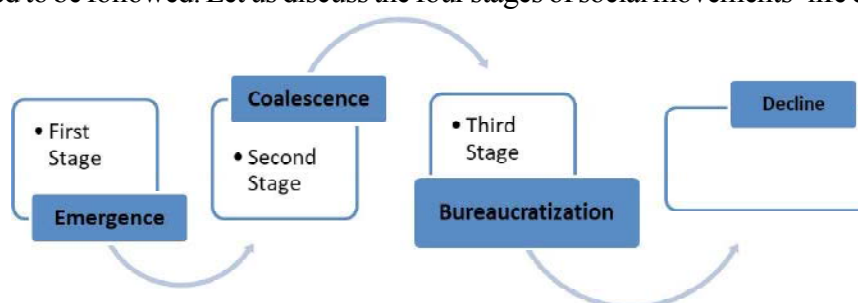

Fig. 12.1 *Life Cycle of a Social Movement*

Stage 1: Emergence

Emergence is the first stage of social movements which starts with the realization that there is a specific problem and solution of that problem is needed. At this stage, participants are not involved in taking actions to redress their problem. The

realization of problem comes from the issues of dissatisfaction of people and further knowledge gained about the problem. At the initial level, it may be possible that the participants may address the issues at their own level rather than any collective action. So, this stage is considered as the preliminary stage from where the movement will start.

Stage 2: Coalescence

Sometimes, people in the society raise their issues of unrest or injustice but they never come together to solve their problems. Then in such situation, movements never proceed from emergence stage to next stage where issues are not only discussed generally but more clearly defined sense of discontent. At this stage, plan of action regarding the actions to be taken further is planned and participants recruit more members and put collective efforts to get resources for the successful implication of the plan to get fruitful results. At this stage, demonstrations or rallies or other collective actions must be planned to appeal public for participation and get more media attention. Coalitions with other groups should be done so that maximum resources can be gained.

Stage 3: Bureaucratization

The next stage is bureaucratization which leads the movement to become a political force. Once the movement is established, there is requirement of more talented or skilled staff to carry the movement otherwise there are chances of dissolution of the movement at this stage. Role of organizers become so important as they have to build up the movement as well as they need to motivate the volunteers so that all should work to achieve the goals.

Stage 4: Decline

The last stage of life cycle of social movement is decline. Decline does not necessarily mean that movement is failed but it depends on the result of third stage of social movement. A social movement is considered to be a success or failure depending upon how far its goals are achieved. There are four different ways through which a social movement can decline:
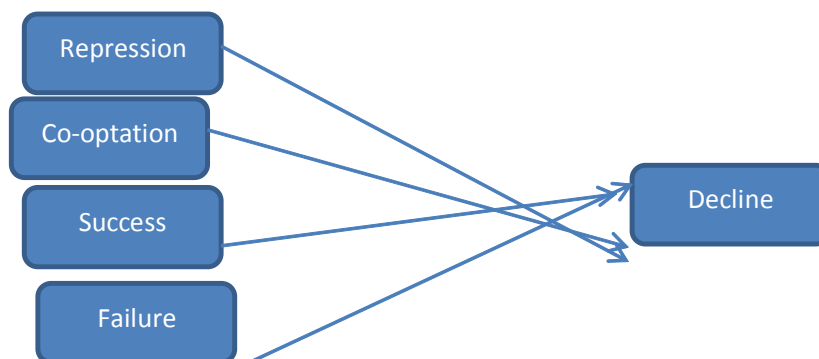

Fig. 12.2 Four Ways of Decline in a Social Movement

A social movement may decline through repression. Repression occurs when the higher authorities use strict actions to control the social movements. Authorities make difficult to execute the activities of movement by justifying that the activities are harmful for the society. New members may feel frightened to join because of the repressive actions of the government or authorities.

Movement can also decline because of co-optation. It occurs when movement leaders get associated with the authority that can also be paid off to redirect the activities of the movement.

If the movements have clear goals to be achieved then possibility of success is increased for any movement. The woman suffrage movement in 1848 is the relevant example for the success of social movement with very specific goal of right to vote for women.

Sometimes social movements fail because of strategic failings and inability of organizers to handle rapid expansion of the structure of movement.

Check Your Progress

1. State the aim of alternative social movements.

2. Mention examples of reformative social movements.

3. When does co-optation occur?

12.3 SOCIO-POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

India has witnessed many popular social movements which has given new direction to the socio-political changes in the society. There is a different classification of social movements such as freedom movements, peasant movements, workers movements, ecology movements, women movements and tribal movements. Following are some of the famous Indian social movements and their socio-political impact. Bear in mind, many of these movements have been studied in earlier units.

Freedom Movements: The story of Indian freedom struggle has an elongate history. There are some outstanding features of the freedom struggle of India.

- **Dandi March:** Dandi March was one of the most important movements in Indian history before the start of Civil Disobedience Movement. It began on 12th March 1930 and ended on 6th April 1930. Dandi March also known as Salt Satyagraha was launched under the effective leadership of Mahatma Gandhi with the huge public support. It was the movement against the exploitive salt tax imposed on India by the colonial government. This march worked as the catalyst for further struggle for Independence. In this movement breaking of salt laws became prominent issue whereas formation of Simon Commission, demand of dominion status and protest against the arrest of social revolutionaries are some other major issues of this social movement.

- **Swadeshi Movement:** Swadeshi Movement was started to remove British Empire by improving economic conditions of India and to promote swadeshi goods among people of India. Mahatma Gandhi had realized that the Indians are self-sufficient in terms of use and production of domestic products. People across the country came forward to boycott British Products and showed courage to express their views.

Ecological Movements: Ecological or Environmental Movements are mainly concerned with the conservation of natural resources for sustainable development and welfare of environment. There are many environment related social movements that took place in India. With the rapid growth and development, over exploitation of natural resources gave birth to many ecological movements. Here we are discussing two important ecological movements:

- **Chipko Movement:** The Chipko movement of 1973 was started from the village of Mandal in the upper Alakananda valley and gradually spread to many districts of the Uttar Pradesh. The government has allotted a plot in forest area to a company who wanted to log the trees for making sports goods. Earlier villagers had demanded the use of wood for agricultural tools and this demand was rejected by the government. Under the leadership of Chandi Prasad Bhatt villagers especially women formed a circle around the trees for preventing them being cut.

- **Narmada Bachao Andolan:** In 1985, there was a huge mass movement which was started against the construction of Sardar Sarovar Dam on the Narmada river. The major issues pointed out was the problem of large-scale rehabilitation of the people of the affected area and this project was opposed by the tribal people for the sake of their distinguished culture and traditions.

Anti-Corruption Movement: Under this category, we will discuss very famous movement of Jan Lokpal Bill.

A huge movement was started in India by Anna Hazare and his supporters against corruption. People from different parts of country, famous Bollywood stars, activists and media people gave their support to this social movement. Major point of this movement was that it was not supported by any political party. After the long hunger strike of Anna Hazaare, Govt. had accepted the idea of Jan Lokpal Bill. It is considered as new landmark in the history of Independent India.

Women Movements: The women's movements in India are based on a wide range of issues such as status of equality, against the exploitation and violence, patriarchy, etc. Over the years, numerous initiatives have been taken by the government and social activists related to various issues and problems of women. One of the major issue of rapes and sexual exploitation of women is still of great concern.

- **Nirbhaya Movement:** In 2012, a brutal gang rape case shuddered India and the world. The Nirbhaya Case, a horrific gang rape of 23-year-old

physiotherapy student by six men in Delhi was exploded into global view. The people across the nation showed their anger through protest on street and demanded death penalty for the convicts of the crime. Protest broke out across the country and demanded strong law against the rape and sexual assault against women. Govt. has taken serious steps by passing the criminal law amendment act 2013 on punishments for sexual assault.

Dalit Movements: In India various Dalit Movements have been launched on different issues related to the welfare of Dalits. The movements emerged for recognition of identity, struggle for equality and to obliterate exploitation. Satyashodhak movement was one of the examples of Dalit movement. In 1873, Mahatma Jyotirao Phule founded the truth-seeking society as Satyashodhak Samaj to redeem the shudras from the influence of Brahmin autocracy and to raise concern about equal social and religious rights for everyone. This movement's participation was open for all cast including Muslim, Jews and Mahars. This movement was aimed to spread rational thinking and the establishment of a social structure having equality, respect and justice for everyone without any caste barrier.

Tribal Movements: The tribals of India participated in anti-colonial movement against landlords or money lenders, Britishers. They had also participated in various movements which were linked with national movements. The main tribal movements in India were–Tamar revolt (1789-1832), Kherwar movement (1833), Santhal revolt of 1855, Birsa Munda's movement (1895-1901), Devi movement in Gujarat (1922-23), Tribal movement in Midnapur (1918-1924), Jitu Santhal's movement in Malda (1924-32), and Tribal Movement in Orissa and in Assam in the in nineteenth century.

- **Santhal Revolutionary Movement:** The Santhal revolutionary movement took place in 1855. Santhals are a tribal group concentrated mainly in Jharkhand, Bihar, Bengal and Odisha. This was considered as the first peasant movement of India. The introduction of permanent settlement or zamindari system by British East India company, a large area of Santhal tribe came under Britishers. Santhals lost their rights on land and became the labourers under zamindars. The exploitation of this tribe started by imposing cash payment system instead of barter system. There was deep sense of acrimony among the Santhals which took the shape of intensive revolutionary movement against the British East India company. In 1855, Santhals started revolution called "hul" which means movement of liberation. In this movement Santhals defected with the loss of around 20,000 their members but later Senthal Pargana Tenancy Act came into being for protection of land rights of tribal people from exploitation.

- **Munda Movement:** Birsa Munda was one of the famous tribal freedom fighter who fought against the alteration of tribal agrarian system into feudal state. The objective of Birsa was to attain political & religious freedom for Mundas. Because of the impact of Birsa Munda movement government had paid the attention towards land reforms to safeguard the tribal interests.

The Tenancy Act of 1903 and Chotanagpur Tenancy Act 1908 were passed to give recognition to the Mundari Khuntkatti system. Because of the power and unity against the exploitation of tribal people through his movement, colonial government was pressurized to form land laws for the tribals.

Peasant Movements: The movements against the excessive revenue on production and issues of redistribution of land from rich to poor were witnessed by India all through the British period. Tebhaga movement was one of the examples of peasant movements which was against the system of share cropping. In this system agriculture land was cultivated by "bhagadhar" (sharecroppers) and were supposed to hand over half of the harvested crops to "Jotedars". In this way Jotedars controlled over the local market and captured all money lending activities. In 1946 sharecroppers raised their voice against the system of share cropping. The movement was started by all India Kisan Sabha in which a large number of peasants participated from rural areas. Later government has passed the bill in favour of peasants in 1950.

Workers Movements: With the growth and development of factory industries in India, the class of workers came into the existence. At the initial stage, maximum people of laboring class were working in unorganized industries. In the late 19th century, the associations of workers were formed and they raised the issues of working class. In 1920, an attempt was made to form All India Trade Union Congress. After this, a large number of strikes took place such as strikes in textile mill Bombay, Jute Mill Calcutta and Ahmedabad textile mill strikes etc. In 1974, there was strike of railway workers for the demand of eight hours working day and a raise in pay scale. This strike lasted for 20 days and suppressed by the Goverment. But this was considered as an important strike because it challenged the might of Indian State by the actions of direct working class.

12.3.1 Features of Socio-Political Impact of Movements

There are always some dynamic elements in the social movements in the processes of change and reform, but the social and political implications are not easy to understand before the occurrence of movement. (Fernando 2012). There is a need of deeper understanding to find out the impact of social movements in a social system. The movements not only affect political and policy outcomes but also have some cultural implications.

Emergence of an ideology: Social movement helps in making people aware about various problems and issue prevailing in the society. When people become conscious about the common issues, then through collective actions an ideology emerges.

Transformation of society: Role of social movements is not only confined to bring change in the society but also to provide a platform to people to come share their ideas, experience the opportunity to come together and show their leadership qualities. Social movements spread awareness among people to practice their

rights for the enhancement of the dignity, respect of each human personality, increase freedom for spiritual quest and for investigation of truth.

Policy framework and amendment in laws: It is also important to address the fact that movements are not always attempted to create new policies, but rather sometimes are fighting to alter or replace entrenched unfavorable policies or defend favorable ones (Baumgartner & Mahoney 2005). For example, there are various laws and amendments done by the various Governments in the world as the impact of popular social movements like civil rights, non -cooperation movement, women suffrage & peasant movements etc. Horn (2013) argues that feminist and women's movements have been influential in developing and articulating important political frameworks and concepts to help deepen gendered understandings of social, political and economic life.

Development of democratic values: In the democratic countries like India, it is the right of the citizens that they can raise voice against corruption and show collective behaviour to demand transparency and accountability of their governments. The RTI movement in India is a prominent example of such a movement for transparent actions and corruption free society for sustainable development. This movement mobilized common people along with some thought leaders with effective strategies that they got success to put pressure on government for RTI legislation.

Opportunities to learn about emerging issues: Social movements provide information about relevant and early warning of emerging issues that are of great importance to maintain a social order. It is not always necessary that all individuals who have common issues work collectively to give shape to any social movement. But sometimes without being successful some movements spread awareness. They provide insights about alternative solutions to problems.

Check Your Progress

4. What were the main issues of the Dandi March?

5. Which Samaj was founded by Mahatma Jyotirao Phule in 1873?

6. Name the system whose recognition was possible after the passing of Tenacy Act 1903 and Chotanagpur Tenacy Act of 1908.

12.4 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Alternative social movements are aimed to bring limited societal change therefore the target of such movements limited to the selected part of population i.e. a selective small group.

2. Examples of Reformative Social include the movements to abolish untouchability, dowry system, preserve wildlife etc.

3. Movement can also decline because of co-optation. It occurs when movement leaders get associated with the authority that can also be paid off to redirect the activities of the movement.

4. . In the Dandi March movement breaking of salt laws became prominent issue whereas formation of Simon Commission, demand of dominion status and protest against the arrest of social revolutionaries are some other major issues of this social movement.

5. In 1873, Mahatma Jyotirao Phule founded the truth-seeking society as Satyashodhak Samaj to redeem the shudras from the influence of Brahmin autocracy and to raise concern about equal social and religious rights for everyone.

6. Tenancy Act of 1903 and Chotanagpur Tenancy Act 1908 were passed to give recognition to the Mundari Khuntkatti system.

12.5 SUMMARY

- According to Anderson and Parker, Social movement is 'A form of dynamic pluralistic behaviour which progressively develops structure through time and aims at partial or complete modification of the social order.' Therefore, social movement is the effort by an association to achieve a common goal and bring uniformity in the social structure.

- On the basis of nature of defined goals, social movements are of different types such as religious movements, revolutionary movements, reform movements etc.

- Some of the types of social movements include: Alternative Social Movements, Redemptive Social Movements, Reformative Social Movements and Revolutionary Movements.

- The stages of social movements: Stage 1: Emergence, Stage 2: Coalescence, Stage 3: Bureaucratization, and Stage 4: Decline.

- India has witnessed many popular social movements which has given new direction to the socio-political changes in the society. There is different classification of social movements such as freedom movements, peasant movements, workers movements, ecology movements, women movements and tribal movements.

- There are always some dynamic elements in the social movements in the processes of change and reform, but the social and political implications are not easy to understand before the occurrence of movement. (Fernando 2012). There is a need of deeper understanding to find out the impact of social movements in a social system. The movements not only affect political and policy outcomes but also have some cultural implications.

- Some of the socio-political implications of social movements include: Emergence of an ideology, Transformation of society, Policy framework and amendment in laws, Development of democratic values and Opportunities to learn about emerging issues.

12.6 KEY WORDS

- **Coalescence:** If two or more things coalesce, they come or grow together to form one thing or system.

- **Bureaucratization:** It refers to the combined organizational structure, procedures, protocols, and set of regulations in place to manage activity.

12.7 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. List the important features of social movements.
2. What are the different types of social movements?
3. Write a short note on the features of socio-political impact of social movements.

Long Answer Questions

1. Describe the life cycle of a social movement.
2. Examine some of the famous Indian social movements and their socio-political impact.

12.8 FURTHER READINGS

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**BLOCK - V
IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION AND
SOCIAL MOVEMENTS**

UNIT 13 GLOBALIZATION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Structure

13.0 Introduction
13.1 Objectives
13.2 Impact of Globalization on Social Movements
13.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
13.4 Summary
13.5 Key Words
13.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
13.7 Further Readings

13.0 INTRODUCTION

Globalization has been one of the dominant forces of the 21st century apart from information technology. It has given rise to the phenomenon of cosmopolitanism as well world as global village. And even though the lines of the society worldwide seem to be blurring with the rise of similar or universal issues, there are still very prominent regional concerns which are very characteristic of the local society. These make the social movements seem universal in some and uniquely local in many other dimensions. It is very interesting to see how globalization and social movements work together and this is the subject of this unit.

13.1 OBJECTIVES

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

* Discuss the meaning of globalization
* Describe the dimensions of globalization
* Explain the impact of globalization on social movements

13.2 IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION ON SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Globalization is a process by which the interconnection between different countries are developed through economic, social, political and cultural dimensions. By this

global process, there is more scope of cultural exchange and interaction among the people of different countries. Globalization supports the motion which is making the whole world globally interconnected that there is no limitation of time and space and the world appears to be smaller and distances shorter.

In the fast changing world, according to globalist, globalization has given opportunities to cross cultural interaction and availability of new resources for development through emergence of open market economy. With the help of global economy, there is increase in foreign direct investment and emergence of multinational companies in developing countries. On the other side Sceptics emphasize the negative impact of globalization by considering it as the other form of capitalism.

Definitions of Globalization

'Globalization can be thought of as a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation of the spatial organization of social relations and transactions' (David Held et al. 1999).

'Globalization refers to all those processes by which the peoples of the world are incorporated into a single world society, global society' (Martin Albrow, 1990)

Major Dimensions of Globalization

There are different dimensions of globalization. Let us discuss some of these here:

- **Economic dimension:** The economic dimension of globalization refers to an interconnectedness and increasing interdependence of different markets of any country to the world. Because of the intensification of economic interrelation, the interdependence inter-dependence of countries increases through world trade, joint investment, consumer markets and labor migration.

  The 'electronic economy' is another important factor of globalization. It is because of this dimension, that individual investors, fund investors are able to shift their funds internationally.

- **Political globalization:** Political globalization is a process in which political power, authority take place at the global level. The exclusivity of this dimension is marked by the shift of power from the national level into the global one. It is obscured in this process that whatever policy decision is taken at the global level makes an impact at the domestic level.

- **The technological dimension:** The communication revolution is an invention which has completely transformed the social structure in the postindustrial society. With the change in capitalist economy through technological development, the constraints of time and space has been removed. Now-a-days it is easy to interact and collaboratively involve in idea sharing globally with the advancement of information and communication technologies.

- **Cultural dimension:** Cultural dimension of globalization refers to the exchange of cultural practices between peoples of different countries. There are many ways that globalization affects culture. The current status of globalization, spiraling in the global flows of capital and information, is having an influence on local culture. This process provides new opportunities to many people across the world. Latest technology and communication has helped to integrate different cultures into each other.

- **The environmental dimension:** The Environmental dimension of globalization refers to the ecological system having a worldwide impact. If there is imbalance in the eco-system, it will have effects on global levels as well as local level.

- **Social dimension:** The social dimension of globalization refers to the impact of globalization on the life style of people, employability and working conditions. Issues are often raised about the negative impact of globalization on employment of people in small scale industries, working conditions, income and social protection.

Impact of Globalization on Human Rights Movements

There are many social and human rights organizations showing concerns on the impact of globalization on human rights. Globalization has not caused a wide gap between the "developing" countries and the developed countries. Inequalities are rising up due to the good opportunities available for the developed countries. There are two major aspects of globalization: one aspect is that globalization is increasing wealth by promoting world trade and second is that relationship between non-discrimination and human rights.

According to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, all persons are equal and nobody can be discriminated and restricted against the enjoyment of basic rights (Oloka-Onyango & Udagama, 1999).

The relationship between different components of globalization and human rights movements was a problematic aspect early on. Globalization had in the beginning through colonization stimulated the formation of bonded labour concept in market throughout the international level.

The focus of human right movements has been on civil rights torture. with the decreasing effect of the International Labour Organization as an effective voice and the devastation of unions in most industrialized societies have decline the concerns of human rights. Human rights can balance forces of globalization within a just international legal framework. Maintaining balance between globalization and protection of human rights should be a priority. Human rights are what make us human. They are the principles by which we create the sacred home for human dignity. Human rights are what reason requires and conscience commands.

Impact of Globalization on women's movement

Globalization is, on the whole positive for women, because it creates NGOs active in struggle for women's rights. There is more focus on women's rights because of globalization and the issues raised in any small part of a country related to exploitation of rights of women become the global issue. Whether it is Malala's initiative of global education or any other movement for their welfare, different organizations at international level support them in bringing the desirable change. Globalization has opened up ways for more companies as well as different international organizations into India. This provides opportunities for women along with men to become a larger part of the workforce. With new jobs for women, there are opportunities for good packages, which raises self-confidence and making women independent. This also promotes equality between the sexes for which women are struggling so long. Globalization has given power to deracinate the traditional attitude towards women so they can also experience equality with full dignity.

Impact of Globalization on environmental movements

The environmental movements need to be taken into consideration as a development within the context of the Globalization movement. The environmental movements are important component in the Globalization' movement. Sometimes it is also considered as the movement in favour of a global governing structure.

The development of the global environmental consciousness took place after the Stockholm Conference (1972) as it presented the environmental issues as a global problem and submitted for the international discourse for the solution of problems related with these issues. It is also argued that the globalization of the environment was facilitated in the 1970s by the international lending organizations, specifically the World Bank, which began incorporating environmental protection and sustainable development issues into their policies (Keck & Sikkink: 1998). At the International level, various organizations have taken up task for formation of policies for the protection of environment. Because of the role of globalization movement in bringing the social change, the globalization movement has influenced many environmental movements. The environmental movements being the part of globalization movement is the best solution for all the problems and challenges related to environment.

Globalization has effects on our lifestyle. It has promoted the use of technology, communication and innovation in various aspects. It has not only interconnected the people but also opened the channels of growth and development. However, globalization has created concerns such as its impact on environment. Let us know about the impact of globalization on our environment.

There is an increase in consumption of products which is creating pressure on ecological cycle. Increase in consumption is directly proportional to the increase in the production of goods. Before the emergence of the concept of globalization, people were consuming locally grown food but with wave of globalization there is

an increase in transportation for import and export of raw material and food. This is not only affecting local market but also increasing pollution in the environment. Another issue of environment with globalization is due to industrialization, various chemicals have polluted land which in result badly affecting the issue of agriculture land. On the other hand, because of globalization, we are also doing efforts in coordination and collaboration with other countries to take curative and preventive measures to save our environment.

Because of the globalization, issue of environmental concerns are getting globally recognition and people from all across the world join environmental movements globally for the sustainable development to maintain harmony with the environment. The survival of human being is totally dependent on environment therefore effective policies planning and implementation at global level will help for better condition to survive.

There are some other impact of globalization on several issues related to social structure of any nation. A brief description of positive impact is given below:

- Exposure to international platform for the economic growth of any country. It provides access to global markets means there is increase in demand as well as increase in production.

- There is a scope of global sourcing through which raw material can be accessed at low cost and helps in generating maximum profit.

- Provision for setting up production units in developing countries for effective cost management.

- Maximum scope for sharing technology and related knowledge between different countries.

- Creation of employment opportunities globally.

There are also several potential disadvantages of globalization, including the following:

- Small and local Producers may be affected by the demand of global branding of goods. This is called over standardization of products.

- There may be negative effects of increased number of multinational companies on local and small-scale companies.

- There is chance of increasing the gap between rich and poor nations. There may be more chances of structural unemployment.

- Interdependence of economic activities may lead to loss of the associated countries such as negative economic status of one country can affect the economic growth of other associated countries.

- Increased interdependency of countries because of globalization is also becoming threat to several environmental issues because of the large-scale production and distribution.

Check Your Progress

1. How do sceptics look at the process of globalization?

2. Define political globalization.

3. Name the event after which environmental issues were seen as a global problem.

13.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Sceptics emphasize the negative impact of globalization by considering it as the other form of capitalism.

2. Political globalization is a process in which political power, authority take place at the global level. The exclusivity of this dimension is marked by the shift of power from the national level into the global one. It is obscured in this process that whatever policy decision is taken at the global level makes an impact at the domestic level.

3. The development of the global environmental consciousness took place after the Stockholm Conference (1972) as it presented the environmental issues as a global problem and submitted for the international discourse for the solution of problems related with these issues.

13.4 SUMMARY

- Globalization supports the motion which is making the whole world globally interconnected that there is no limitation of time and space and the world appears to be smaller and distances shorter.

- There are different dimensions of globalization: Economic, Political, Technological, Cultural, Environmental and social.

- Human rights can balance forces of globalization within a just international legal framework. Maintaining balance between globalization and protection of human rights should be a priority.

- Globalization is, on the whole positive for women, because it creates NGOs active in struggle for women's rights. There is more focus on women's rights because of globalization and the issues raised in any small part of a country related to exploitation of rights of women become the global issue.

- The environmental movements need to be taken into consideration as a development within the context of the Globalization movement. The environmental movements are important component in the Globalization' movement. Sometimes it is also considered as the movement in favour of a global governing structure.

- Because of the globalization, issue of environmental concerns are getting globally recognition and people from all across the world join environmental movements globally for the sustainable development to maintain harmony with the environment.

13.5 KEY WORDS

- **Globalization:** It is a process by which the interconnection between different countries are developed through economic, social, political and cultural dimensions.
- **Post industrial society:** In sociology, the post-industrial society is the stage of society's development when the service sector generates more wealth than the manufacturing sector of the economy.

13.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. What is globalization? Mention its definitions.
2. Write a short note on the different dimensions of globalization.

Long Answer Questions

1. Examine the implication of globalization on different social movements.
2. Assess the concept of environment movement and globalization.

13.7 FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT 14 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Structure

14.0 Introduction
14.1 Objectives
14.2 Meaning and Factors of Social Change and Movements
    14.2.1 Theories of Social Change and Movements
    14.2.2 Concept of Social Change and Movement
    14.2.3 Physical Environment or Geographical Conditions
    14.2.4 Features of Social Change and Movement
14.3 Answers to Check Your Progress Questions
14.4 Summary
14.5 Key Words
14.6 Self Assessment Questions and Exercises
14.7 Further Readings

14.0 INTRODUCTION

A social movement is a structured and all in one activity for promoting or resisting one or more changes. Social change has undergone drastic transformations with time, in terms of behavior patterns and culture, inclusive of norms and values. A group will not come together to form a social movement except if there is a common belief that mutual action is a necessity to bring relative deprivation to an end. The success of a social movement, to a major extent, is mostly dependent on the effectiveness with which its resources are mobilized. Contemporary social movements have a tendency to be focused on not only economic issues, but also crossover to national borders. Initial promoters of the evolutionary theory of social change thought that society was moving ahead unavoidably in the direction of a higher state. Talcott Parsons, a prominent supporter of the Functionalist Theory, regarded society as being in a state of natural equilibrium or balance. Conflict theorists consider changes as significantly critical, because they are important in repairing social bias and inequalities. In this unit, we will discuss the social change that is caused by the social movements, which we had discussed in previous units. We will focus on the theories related to social change, geographical factors affecting social change, and features of social change.

14.1 OBJECTIVES

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

- Understand the different social movements
- Describe the theories of social changes
- Discuss the impact of the social movements and social changes

14.2 MEANING AND FACTORS OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND MOVEMENTS

'Social change' denotes modifications in the social order of a society or social group. In practice it means changes in the nature, social behaviors, 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 nonsocial (physical) environment.

14.2.1 Theories of Social Change and Movements

Over the years there are many theories, which have been developed by philosophers and sociologists alike. These are discussed in the following sections.

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 unilineal 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 emphasized the 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: Either from outside the society due to contact with other societies or 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.

14.2.2 Concept of Social Change and Movement

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:

I. **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.

II. 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.

III. Change in the distribution of rewards and possessions: These are the changes related to the quasi-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.

IV. 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.

14.2.3 Physical Environment or Geographical Conditions

When it comes to social change, social environment plays a bigger role than nonsocial environment (physical environment), except possibly over very long periods of time like glacial and interglacial time spans. Suppose we analyze 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 with large 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.

14.2.4 Features of Social Change and Movement

The features of social change are discussed below:

a) **Social change is universal:** Social change is inevitable. It is not only inevitable, it is also universal. It is found in every society. From primitive society to the post-industrial one, change is found everywhere. No society or culture remains static forever. Human beings changed themselves from nomads, food gatherers to agriculturists and later modern, industrial beings.

b) **Social change is continuous:** Right from the time mother earth came into being to the present times, society/life has been in a continuously changing mode. No society or people can be stopped from the influences of change. It is a never-ending process.

c) **Social change may produce chain reactions:** Change in one aspect of a system may lead to changes of varying degrees in other aspects of that system. According to Biesanz and Biesanz (1964), the change from hunting and food gathering to agriculture was a revolution in technology that led eventually to the development of civilization by making large and diversified societies possible. Similarly, the Protestant emphasis on Bible reading as a road to salvation led to a great rise in literacy. Further, introduction of the system of reservation for backward communities in Government institutions and offices in India has brought changes in their socio-economic status, interpersonal relationships and also in the social and economic structure of the country. Similarly, improvement in literacy in the country leads to economic independence of women which in turn brings changes in the whole notion of family, marriage and husband-wife ties.

d) **Social change may be planned or unplanned:** Change may occur with or without proper planning. People, government or any other agent may initiate change through plans or programs and may determine the degree and direction of change. The Government of India after Independence devised several socio-economic developmental programs to bring the country out of poverty and unemployment through the broader provision of Five Year Plans. In the 60 years of Independence, the country has seen phenomenal improvement in literacy, health, infrastructure and industry, and considerably managed to overcome poverty, hunger and unemployment problems. Apart from the planned social change, there can be changes which are unplanned and happen accidentally. Changes due to natural calamities like earthquakes, tsunamis, volcanic eruptions, etc., belong to this category.

e) **Social change is temporal and directional:** Change can be directional. It happens in a particular direction. In several instances, such direction is

planned, predetermined and is fixed ideally. Such changes are called as progress. However, change in general may happen in any direction. Similarly, the rate or tempo of change varies from time to time and place to place.

Some changes may take months and years while some may occur rapidly. Social change is temporal in the sense that it involves the factor of time. It denotes time sequence. It can be temporary or permanent. Time is an important component in the process of change.

f) **Social change is value-neutral:** The concept of social change is not value laden or judgmental. It doesn't advocate any good or desirable and bad or undesirable turn of events. It is an objective term which is neither moral nor immoral. It is ethically neutral.

Check Your Progress

1. What does 'social change' denote?
2. Which factor has been considered as a major factor in the fall of great civilizations?
3. Why did capitalism grow in the Western societies but not in the Eastern countries?

14.3 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. 'Social change' denotes modifications in the social order of a society or social group. In practice it means changes in the nature, social behaviors, social institutions or social relations of a society.

2. Environmental destruction has been considered as a major factor in the fall of great civilizations.

3. Capitalism grow in the Western societies but not in the Eastern countries because 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.

14.4 SUMMARY

- A social movement is a structured and all in one activity for promoting or resisting one or more changes. Social change has undergone drastic transformations with time, in terms of behavior patterns and culture, inclusive of norms and values.

- 'Social change' denotes modifications in the social order of a society or social group. In practice it means changes in the nature, social behaviors, social institutions or social relations of a society.

- 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.
- When it comes to social change, social environment plays a bigger role than nonsocial environment (physical environment), except possibly over very long periods of time like glacial and interglacial time spans.

14.5 KEY WORDS

- **Social change:** Any significant alteration over time in behaviour patterns and cultural values and norms.
- **Unilineal:** A 19th-century social theory about the evolution of societies and cultures, composed of many competing theories by various anthropologists and sociologists, who believed that Western culture is the contemporary pinnacle of social evolution

14.6 SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. How are the causes of social change categorized?
2. How can population change be considered as a social change?
3. Briefly explain the effect of attitudes and values on the social changes.

Long Answer Questions

1. Describe the different theories of social change developed over the years.
2. Explain the types of changes included in change in social structure.
3. Discuss the features of social change.

14.7 FURTHER READINGS

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