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FOUR YEAR BACHELOR'S DEGREE COURSE

(CBCS in Accordance with NEP 2020)

SEMESTER-VI

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

SOCIOLOGY

Surya Kumar Bhuyan School of Social Sciences

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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CONTENTS

UNIT 1:	**SOCIAL MOVEMENTS : AN INTRODUCTION** Meaning and stages of social movements; characteristics of social movement; Typology of social movement; Social movement and Social change.	**7-15**
UNIT 2:	**THEORIES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT** Relative Deprivation Theory, Structural-Functional Theory, Resource Mobilisation Theory,	**16-23**
UNIT 3:	**REVOLUTIONARY APPROACH TO SOCIAL MOVEMENT** Overview, Main Advocates, Perspectives, Issues	**24-33**
UNIT 4:	**RADICAL APPROACH TO SOCIAL MOVEMENT** Radical approach to social movements : overview, Issues and Perspectives	**34-45**
UNIT 5:	**LIBERAL APPROACH TO SOCIAL MOVEMENT** Overview of the Liberal approach, Main advocates of the liberal approach, Perspectives of the liberal approach, issues	**46-57**
UNIT 6:	**NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS** Overview of new social movements : Characteristics and Issues	**58-66**
UNIT 7:	**RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT** Religious movement in India : Emergence, The causes behind the rise of religious movements in India, Overview of the Religious movemens in India: Issues, consequences	**67-76**
UNIT 8:	**REFORM MOVEMENT** Emergence, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Prarthana Samaj and other key reform movements : Leadership, and the key concerns, Impact of reform movements in India	**77-86**
UNIT 9:	**TRIBAL MOVEMENT** Overview on Tribal Movement in India, Emergence, Issues, Leadership and Implications	**87-96**
UNIT 10:	**DALIT MOVEMENT** Conceptualizing the term 'Dalit', Dalit Movement : Emergence, Causes, Objectives, Dalit Movement : Issues, leadership and implications	**97-105**

UNIT11: WOMEN'S MOVEMENT **106-115**

Women's movement in India: emergence and development, Significant issues and Contribution by Individuals and organizations for the Revivification of Womens Movement in India, Women's Movement and role of legislations, Current initiatives towards the cause of women

UNIT 12: HUMAN RIGHTS **116-123**

Human Rights: emergence, Human rights movement in independent India, Issues of Human Rights in India

UNIT 13 ENVIRONMENT MOVEMENT **124-133**

Environment Movement : Emergence, Overview on Environment Movement in India, Prominent Environment Movements In India

UNIT 14: STUDENTS MOVEMENT **134-143**

Students' Movement : Emergence, Indian Independence: An Impetus to Student Movement, Issues, leadership and consequences of different student movements in India from pre-independence period upto the present

UNIT 15: IDENTITY MOVEMENT IN NORTHEAST INDIA **144-152**

Emergence of identity movement, Issues of identity movement, Implications of identity movement

COURSE INTRODUCTION

The course 'Social Movements' attempts to introduce to the learners the phenomenon of social movement, from a sociological perspective.

This course comprises of 15 units. The course attempts to provide a holistic understanding of the idea of social movements. It begins with a discussion on the basic theoretical approaches to understand social movements. Here, it highlights the Liberal, Revolutionary, Radical perspectives. It also emphasises on the idea of New Social Movements.

Further, the course progresses with special emphasis laid on particular kinds of social movements, with specific reference to the context of India. Here, discussions have been undertaken on the ideas of religious movements, reform movements, student movements, identity movements, women's movements, environment movements, tribal movements, dalit movement.

The different topics have been tried to be explained with relevant exemplifications.

BLOCK INTRODUCTION

This is a course on 'Social Movements', offered in the 6th semester of U.G Sociology programme of Krishna Kanta Handiqui State Open University. This block intends to provide the learners an understanding of the theoretical approaches to the study of social movements.

In this direction, Unit 1, titled "Social Movements : An Introduction" focuses on the meaning and typology of social movements, and it's relation with social change.

Unit 2, titled "Theories of social movement" highlights the Relative Deprivation theory, Structural Functional theory, and the Resource mobilisation theory.

Unit 3, titled "Revolutionary approach to social movement" provides the main overview, advocates and issues associated with the revolutionary approach to social movements.

Unit 4, titled "Radical approach to social movement" provides the main overview, advocates and issues associated with the radical approach to social movements.

Unit 5, titled "Liberal approach to social movement" provides the main overview, advocates and issues associated with the liberal approach to social movements.

Unit 6, titled "New social movements" introduces the concept of new social movements, it's issues, leadership and achievements.

Unit 7, titled "Religious movement" highlights the emergence, causes, and implications of religious movements in India, with the help of relevant examples.

Unit 8, titled "Reform movement" emphasises on the emergence, leadership and implications of some prominent reform movements of India.

Unit 9, titled "Tribal Movement" provides an overall understanding of tribal movements in India, with reference to their emergence, causes, issues, leadership and implications.

Unit 10, titled "Dalit movement" provides an overview of the dalit movemet in India, with reference to it's emergence, causes, leadership and implications.

Unti 11, titled “Women’s Movement” throws light on the emergence, issues, legislations and current trends of the women’s movement.

Unit 12, titled “Human Rights” highlights the idea of human rights from a social movement perspective, with reference to it’s emergence, issues associated, achievements and current trends.

Unit 13, titled “Environment Movement” highlights the environmental movement in India, the causes and issues associated, with reference to prominent environment movements in India.

Unit 14, titled “Students movement” throws light on the emergence, issues, leadership and current trends of student movements in India.

Unit 15, titled “Identity movement in North East India” emphasises on the emergence, issues and implications of the identity movement in North East India.

In order to make the text more interesting and informative, a section called LET US KNOW has been provided in the units. This section tries to provide some additional information regarding the content of the unit. Further, in order to enable the learners to continuously check their progress regarding the content, some questions have been put at the end of various sections of a unit with the heading CHECK YOUR PROGRESS. The answers to the questions of CHECK YOUR PROGRESS section have been provided at the end of each unit. In the end of each unit few Model Qustions of long and short type are provided in order to provide an idea of the question pattern to be expected in the examinations by the learners.

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UNIT 1: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS : AN INTRODUCTION

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives

1.2 Introduction

1.3 Meaning and Stages of Social Movement

1.4 Characteristics of Social Movement

1.5 Typology of Social Movement

1.6 Social Movement and Social Change

1.7 Let Us Sum Up

1.8 Further Reading

1.9 Answer to Check Your Progress

1.10 Model Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- Conceptualize the meaning and stages of a social movement
- Understand the features of social movement
- Figure out the types of social movement
- Know the relationship between social movement and social change.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

Social movements are a major force in the world. Sociologists try to analyse social movements that help us to understand both past and present societies, as well as to understand the changes and trends that may play out in the future. Social movements can be described as collective attempts to promote or resist change in society. In this unit, we shall know in details about social movement, it's definition, characteristics, etc.

1.3 MEANING AND STAGES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Social movements can be thought of as organized yet informal social entities that are engaged in an extra-institutional conflict that is oriented towards a goal. These goals can be either aimed at a specific and narrow policy or be more broadly aimed at cultural change.

Social movements aim to bring change in any public issue. According to Anthony Giddens (2012) social movement is a collective attempt to secure a common goal through action outside the sphere of established institutions. Charles Tilly (1978) defines it as a series of contentious performances, display and campaigns by which ordinary people make a collective claim on others. John D McCarthy defines a social movement as a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society, i.e. social movements are defined as nothing more than preference structures directed towards social change. Wilson (1973) defined social movements as a conscious, collective and organized attempt to bring about or resist large-scale change in the social order. A social movement is a collective action by the people which is directed towards changing of norms, values, and social relationships. They are purposeful, organized groups striving to work towards a common goal. According to Touraine (1992), the important functions of social movements are as follows:

- Mediation- Social movement gives people a chance to participate and express their ideas and play an active role in the process of social change.
- Pressure- Social movement stimulates the formation of organized groups that work in plans and policies that are implemented.

The following account highlights the important stages of a social movement.

One of the earliest scholars to study social movement processes was Herbert Blumer (1957). He identified four stages of social movements' lifecycle.

- Emergence,
- Coalescence,
- Bureaucratization, and
- Decline.

Stage 1: Emergence

The first stage of the social movement life cycle is known as the emergence, or, as described by Blumer, the "social ferment" stage. Within this stage, social movements are very preliminary and there is little to no organization. Potential movement participants may be unhappy with some policy or some social condition, but they have not taken any action to redress their grievances, or if they have, it is most likely individual action rather than collective action.

Stage 2: Coalescence

At this stage in the life cycle, social movements have over-come some obstacles which many never overcome. Often, social unrest or discontent passes without any organized system or wide-spread mobilization. For example, people in a community may complain to each other about a general injustice, but they do not come together to act on those complaints and the social movement does not progress to the next level. Coalescence or the "popular stage," is characterized by a more clearly defined sense of discontent.

Stage 3: Bureaucratization

The third stage is known as bureaucratization. This stage, defined by Blumer as "formalization," is characterized by higher levels of the organization and coalition-based strategies. In this stage, social movements have had some success in that they have raised awareness to a degree that a coordinated strategy is necessary across all of the Social Movement Organisations (SMO). Similarly, SMOs will come to rely on staff persons with specialized knowledge that can run the day-to-day operations of the organization and carry out movement goals. Social movements in this stage can no longer just rely on mass rallies or inspirational leaders to progress towards their goals and build constituencies; they must rely on trained staff to carry out the functions of organizations. In this phase, their political power is greater than in the previous stages in that they may have more regular access to political elites. For example- The gay rights movement is an example of a movement that has passed through this stage. The gay rights movement moved from agitation and demonstrations to having many formal organizations that now work toward the goals of the gay rights movement.

Stage 4: Decline

Finally, the last stage in the social movement life cycle is a decline, or "institutionalization." The decline does not necessarily mean failure for social movements though. Instead, Miller (1999) argues, there are four ways in which social movements can decline:

- Repression,
- Co-optation,
- Success, and
- Failure

a. Repression

The first way social movements can decline is through repression. Repression occurs when authorities, or agents acting on behalf of the authorities, use measures (sometimes violent) to control or destroy a social movement.

b. Co-optation

Movements can also decline, if their organizations are highly dependent on centralized authority or charismatic leadership, through co-optation. Co-optation occurs when movement leaders come to associate with authorities or moving targets more than with the social movement constituents.

c. Success

Not all social movements end in defeat through repression or co-optation; some decline because they are unsuccessful. Smaller, localized movements with very specific goals often have a better chance at outright success.

d. Failures

Social movements sometimes fail due to some unwanted reasons.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. What is meant by social movement?

.....

.....

Q2. Who has given the four stages of a social movement? Mention the stages.

.....

.....

Q3. Why is it necessary to study social movement?

.....

.....

1.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Social movement not only changes our societies but it also inspires other social movements to struggle for their rights. Some of its characteristics are as follows:

i. Sustained collective action- A social movement requires sustained collective action over time. Such action is often directed against the state and takes the form of demanding changes in state policy or practice. Spontaneous, disorganized protest cannot be called a social movement.

ii. Clear objectives and ideologies- Those participating in a social movement also have shared objectives and ideologies. Ideologies are an important component of a social movement.

iii. Organisation- Collective action must be marked by some degree of organisation. This organisation may include leadership and a structure that defines how members relate to each other, make decisions and carry them out.

iv. Distinct mode of protest- There is a distinct mode of protest of every social movement. For example- abolition of Sati has a different mode of protest, whereas the LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) community rights movement has its way of protesting.

v. Defined structure- Social movement involves sustained collective mobilization through either informal or formal organizations.

vi. Aims to bring change: Social movements are key forces of social change in the modern world. Generally, it is oriented towards a change of the existing system of relationship, values and norms.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q4. What are two important elements in forming an organisation?

.....

.....

Q5. What is the full form of LGBT?

.....

.....

1.5 TYPOLOGY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT

There is no single standard typology to classify social movements. As various scholars focus on different aspects of a social movement, different schemes of classification emerge.

Hence social movements can be classified in terms of several dimensions. They can be classified as:

- Redemptive or transformative: A redemptive social movement aims to bring about a change in the personal consciousness and actions of its members. For instance, people in the Ezhava community in Kerala were led by Narayana Guru to change their social practices.
- Reformist: Reformist social movements strive to change the existing social and political arrangements through gradual, incremental steps. The 1960s movement for the reorganization of Indian states based on language and the recent Right to Information campaign are examples of reformist movements.
- Revolutionary: Revolutionary social movements attempt to radically transform social relations, often by capturing state power. The Naxalite movement in India that seeks to remove oppressive landlords and state officials can be described as revolutionary movements. Social movement may shift over time such that it starts with, say, revolutionary objectives and becomes reformist. A movement may start from a phase of mass mobilization and collective protest to become more institutionalized.
- Resistance: Resistance movement is to resist the change that has already taken place in the society, for example, backward class movement. When this movement was initiated many people of upper castes opposed it.
- Utopian: The utopian movement seeks to create an ideal social system which can only be found in imagination and not in reality, for example- a socialist state.
- Migratory: Migratory movement occurs when a large number of people leave one country and settle at some other countries.
- New social movement: New social movements are those movements that occur in the western world after the post-industrial economy. These movements mainly talk about human rights issues, such as gay rights etc.

1.6 SOCIAL MOVEMENT AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Social movements are related to social change, although it cannot be said that it is the essential condition of social change. Rather, they operate through interpersonal factors and forces. Social change that results from a movement are reflected in the changes in the position, and through the impact on the society. Social movements are the products of social

structure, for example, a structural change occurs when there is a complete change of social system, such as the transformation of the capitalist to the socialist state. There are three levels of structural change through which the relationship could be understood - reform, transformation and revolution. Reform movements are identified with partial changes in the value system, for example, reformation in the education system. Various reforms were made to assure women's education. For example, Wood's Dispatch 1854.

Transformation movement aims at bringing middle-level structural changes in the traditional distribution of power such as the abolition of untouchability in 1950, thereby attacking the monopoly of upper caste in society.

Revolution is identified with radical changes in the totality of social and cultural system and is often associated with violence and conflict. Revolutionary movements are characterized by class conflict and associated with political parties and operated based on ideology and programme of action.

Social change may affect the characteristics of social conflict and collective action in different ways. It may facilitate the emergence of social groups with a specific structural location and potential specific interests. Thus the social movement is organized collective activities to bring change or resist change in an existing group or society. These keep changing and its effects are seen in a certain aspect of society. Whereas social change is a continuous process and its effects may be an economic, social, political or cultural aspect of society.

w CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q6. What is the three-level of structural change?

.....

.....

Q7. Write two differences between social change and social movement.

.....

.....

u 1.7 LET US SUM UP

- A social movement is a collective endeavour to promote change in any direction and by means. It requires a minimal degree of organization; it may range from partial to highly institutionalized and bureaucratic movement.

- According to Touraine, the important functions of social movements are as follows: Mediation- Social movement gives people a chance to participate and express his ideas and play an active role in the process of social change and Pressure- Social movement stimulates the formation of organized groups that work in plans and policies that are implemented.
- There are four stages of social movements. One of the earliest scholars to study social movement processes was Herbert Blumer, who identified four stages of social move-ments' lifecycle: Emergence, Coalescence, Bureaucratization, and Decline.
- Social movement not only changes our societies but it also inspires other social movements to struggle for their rights.
- Some of the characteristics of social movements are as follows: Sustained collective action, Clear objectives and ideologies, Organisation, Distinct mode of protest, Defined structure, Aims of bringing about change.
- Social movement can be classified as: Redemptive or transformative; Reformist, Revolutionary, Resistance, Utopian, Migratory.

1.8 FURTHER READING

1) Rao, M.S.A.2002. Social Movements in India: Studies in peasant, Tribal and Women's Movement. Manohar Publishers and Distributors.

2) Shah, Ghanshyam. 2004. Social Movements n India: A Review of Literature. Sage Publication.

1.9 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Social movement is a collective attempt to secure a common goal through action outside the sphere of established institutions. It aims to bring change in any public issues.

Ans to Q No 2: Herbert Blumer identified four stages of social move-ments' lifecycle. These are as follows:

- Emergence,
- Coalescence,
- Bureaucratization, and
- Decline

Ans to Q No 3: Social movements are important to study because it gives people a chance to participate and express his ideas and play an active role in the process of social change. It also stimulates the formation of organized groups that work in plans and policies that are implemented.

Ans to Q No 4: The two important elements in forming an organisation are structure and leadership.

Ans to Q No 5: LGBT stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender.

Ans to Q No 6: The three-level of structural change are reform, transformation and revolution.

Ans to Q No 7: The difference between social movements and social change are as follows:

Sl no.	Social movement	Social change
1.	a social movement is organized collective activities to bring change or resist change in an existing group or society	Social change involves alteration of the social order of a society. It may include changes in social institutions or social relations
2.	These keep changing and its effects are seen in a certain aspect of society	Social change is a continuous process and its effects may be an economic, social, political or cultural aspect of society.

1.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q1. Who worked for the people in the Ezhava community in Kerala to change their social practices?

Q2. What is meant by Womens Movement? Give examples.

Q3. Who has given the ways of declination of Social movement?

Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q1. Discuss the features of Social Movement.

Q2. What are the different types of Social Movements? Illustrate with examples.

Q3. State the reason behind declination of Social Movement.

xxxxxx

UNIT 2: THEORIES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Relative Deprivation Theory

2.4 Structural-Functional Theory

2.5 Resource Mobilisation Theory

2.6 Let Us Sum Up

2.7 Further Reading

2.8 Answers To Check Your Progress

2.9 Model Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- Know various theories of social movement such as Relative Deprivation, Structural-Functional, and Resource Mobilisation Theory.
- Know different approaches to the study of social movements.
- Know about the sociological approaches to the study of social movements and social transformations.

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Social Movement is a collective action by the people which is directed towards changing of norms, values, and social relationships. Social movements are purposeful, organized groups striving to work towards a common goal. There have been several theoretical and empirical writings on social movements and collective action within the last decade. These writings have prompted various debates, and developed a new school of thought. Moreover, important research on social movements is being conducted in various disciplines including Sociology, Political Science, History, Economics and communication. Theories tried to explain the structural conditions and motivational force that help to raise a movement. The purpose of this unit is to provide insights into theories such as structural, functional, resource mobilisation and also gives an understanding of the concept of relative deprivation. This unit

looks at some of the more prominent theories that have been put forward in an attempt to understand why social movements are born (and grow). It also demonstrates how some of these theories can be used to explain some prominent social movements. For example, the deprivation theory was used to explain the birth of the civil rights and the feminist movements in the U.S. The resource mobilization theory was used to show how modern electronic technologies (like the Internet and cell phones) have helped in the mobilization of human resources in the anti-WTO demonstrations that were organized in various cities around the world.

2.3 RELATIVE DEPRIVATION THEORY

Relative deprivation is a feeling that one is not receiving a fair share of available resources. Thus when any individual or group feels worst off as compared to others then social conflict arises. This theory has been developed in two different lines, social conflict and social mobility. This theory was first used by R. Merton with the concept of reference group theory. He applied this to understand the concept of social mobility. He refers to a situation where the persons perceive that they have less than they deserve, that they are deprived compared to their reference groups. Thus relative deprivation is made the basis of the study of social mobility as occurring through emulation and positive reference group behaviour. Marx developed the concept of relative deprivation emphasizing on the element of conflict. He recognized that dissatisfaction with the status quo was not determined by absolute condition but by the relative condition. Ted Gurr defined relative deprivation as a gap between expectations and perceived capabilities involving three sets of values: economic conditions, political power and social status. [1] In his book “Why Men Rebel” Ted Gurr explores why people engage in political violence and how do they respond it. According to him, frustration not only leads to violence but also leads to aggressive behaviour when they feel relatively deprived.

This theory emphasized the role of psychological factors such as resentment and encourages social conflict and subsequent social movements. It is not a simple experience that if someone does not have what others have, and that people want what everyone else has. But it is related to the idea of expectation i.e. legitimate expectation, a right to have it or they deserve what they demand. This means when individuals are unable to achieve goals through conventional means a feeling of relative deprivation arises. Thus if the expectation is

not achieved they experience discontent and frustration. There are three types of deprivation, these are as follows:

a) Decremental Deprivation- It occurs when the value capabilities of a given population decline due to one or several national disasters.

b) Aspirational Deprivation- It occurs when value capabilities of a group remain constant while the value expectation increases.

c) Progressive Deprivation- It occurs when value capabilities stabilize or decline after a period when value capabilities and value expectation have increased together.

According to proponents of the deprivation theory, some social movements are born when certain people or certain groups of people in a society feel that they are deprived of a specific good, service, or resource.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. Define Relative Deprivation.

.....

.....

Q2. What are two important elements of Relative Deprivation Theory?

.....

.....

Q3. Who used Relative Deprivation for the first time?

.....

.....

Q4. Who emphasizes on social conflict in developing relative deprivation?

.....

.....

Q5. What is meant by legitimate expectation?

.....

.....

2.4 STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL THEORY

The structural approach to social movements brings to the forefront of analysis the institutionalized injustices and inequalities over which contested politics are fought. According

to this approach, the formation of collective action means organizing activity and efforts for challenging the status quo-the existing power structure and its relation. This approach links social movements with the rising aspirations of the people. This gap between expectation of the people and the performance of the system leads to mass movement creating political instability and political disorder.

Smelser's analysis of the genesis of social movement is in the structural-functional framework. He considered strain as the impairment of relations among parts of a system leading to malfunctioning of the system. He has explored six major structural conditions or factors responsible for a social movement. Firstly the structural conduciveness that refers to a situation when a society is found to have serious and prolong structural problems by which some people continue to live with low living standards or confront political repressions. Secondly, the strains that caused by social structures or the structural strains can spur social movement. For instance exclusion of tribal people, inequity, ethnic marginalization etc are found to be crucial factors behind the social movements. Thirdly deprivation is not enough to spur social movements but an explanation of how deprivation occurs is too important. Fourthly long existed discontentment or a series of such related events may cause social movements. Fifthly the mobilization for action as a factor becomes crucial in explaining the formation of a social movement. Finally, social movement occurs due to a lack of social control. It depends on the type of government response such as officials, police and military.

The women's movement in India can be explained by the structural strain approach. The traditional stereotype images for women perpetuate domination by their fathers during a young age, by their husbands after marriage and by their sons during widowhood, thus causing strain. The job market discriminates them by proving them unequal wages, choice of employment etc. therefore the rise of women's movement can be explained with the reference to these structural strains and inequalities.[2]

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q6. Who propounded strain theory?

.....

.....

Q7. What are structural strains that lead to social movement?

.....

.....

2.5 RESOURCE MOBILISATION THEORY

This approach is based on rational choice theory. It begins by arguing that motivations of a person are influenced by goals and whenever such goals are not met due to given constraints and available choices, people make a rational choice regarding what is the best for them at a particular moment. In other words, rational individuals choose alternatives to get maximum satisfaction and in the process, they use their emotion or impulse to join a movement. This theory, therefore, explains social movement as a temporary phenomenon. This theory is called 'resource mobilisation' because people depend on available resources to launch a social movement and the success of the movement depends on the strength of these resources.

The Resource Mobilisation theory reveals that no social movements are likely to succeed or even set off grounds without substantial resources. The well defined collective action i.e. structural deprivation and strains, conflicts and contestation alone may not cause social movement. But it is derived by effective and efficient use of resources such as human, social, physical, financial are essential for social movements. Both internal and external resources mobilisation contribute to the formation of a social movement. The internet, particularly the use of social media, is used as vital resources for mobilizing opinions in the contemporary world.

The resource mobilization theory invokes the importance of the availability of suitable resources in the birth of a social movement. This theory thus says that when some individuals in a society have certain grievances, they may be able to mobilize necessary resources to do something to alleviate those grievances. The term "resources" in this context refer to things like money, labour, social status, knowledge, support of the media and political elites. One of the great advantages of this theory is that it offers a convincing explanation as to why in some situations some grievances may give birth to a successful social movement, whereas in other situations the same types of grievances may not give birth to anything similar. One of the major criticisms of this theory is that it has an extremely strong "materialist" orientation in that it gives primacy to the presence of appropriate resources (especially money) in explaining the birth of social movements. There are social movements that have been born even when resources (especially financial ones) were scarce.[3]

ʊ 2.6 LET US SUM UP

- Theories try to explain the structural conditions and motivational force that help to rise to a movement. Deprivation is a feeling that one is not receiving a fair share of available resources. Thus when any individual or group feels worst off as compared to others then social conflict arises.
- Relative Deprivation Theory has been developed in two different lines, social conflict and social mobility. This theory was first used by R. Merton with the concept of reference group theory. He applied this to understand the concept of social mobility.
- The structural approach to social movements brings to the forefront of analysis the institutionalized injustices and inequalities over which contested politics are fought. According to this approach, the formation of collective action means organizing activity and efforts for challenging the status quo-the existing power structure and its relation. This approach links social movements with the rising aspirations of the people.
- The resource mobilisation theory reveals that no social movement is likely to succeed or even set off grounds without substantial resources. Unlike deprivation theory the resource mobilisation approach points out that though deprivation is indispensable it requires the mobilisation of resources to cause social movements.
- Both internal and external resource mobilisation contribute to the formation of a social movement. If the insiders lack adequate resources, the outsiders may instil them. For instance, black poor people may be united by the White activists or a higher caste may help mobilize lower caste movement or men can come to the help of women leaders
- The internet, including social media, are used as vital resources for mobilizing opinions in contemporary times.
- N.Smelser has explored six major conditions/factors responsible for a social movement - structural conduciveness, the fact that no society is indeed free from strains and also no all strains can lead to collective actions, the idea that deprivation , though not enough to spur social movement but its explanation is also crucial, the precipitating factors like long existed discontentment or a series of such related events, the mobilization for action as a factor becomes crucial in explaining the formation of a social movement, the lack of social control.

- Gurr has also tried to explain why individuals, group and communities join social movements. He discussed three possible patterns of relative deprivations: Decremental deprivation, inspirational deprivation and progressive deprivation.
- In particular, the social movements are shaped by broad structural forces that affect distributions of economic resources and political power and those institutions that encourage, channel and repress social activism.
- The challengers, authorities and other actors shape the evolving contexts for the protest. In the West, for example, we see a history of social movements organized around labour, gender, and race. Each of these categories represents not only a group of people wishing to improve their lot but also a systemic social division in which one group is allocated less than another.

2.7 FURTHER READING

1. Buechler, Steven. 2011. Understanding Social Movements: Theories from the Classical Era to the present. Paradigm Publishers.

2.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Relative deprivation is defined as a gap between expectations and perceived capabilities involving three sets of values: economic conditions, political power and social status. This emphasized the role of psychological factors such as resentment and encourages social conflict and subsequent social movements.

Ans to Q No 2: The two important elements of Relative Deprivation theory are social conflict and social mobility.

Ans to Q No 3: The term Relative Deprivation was used by R. Merton with the concept of reference group theory. He applied this to understand the concept of social mobility.

Ans to Q No 4: Karl Marx emphasized on social conflict in developing relative deprivation.

Ans to Q No 5: Legitimate expectation, a right to have it or they deserve what they demand. This means when individuals are unable to achieve goals through conventional means a feeling of relative deprivation arises.

Ans to Q No 6: N. Smelser had propounded Strain theory of Social Movement.

Ans to Q No 7: The structural conduciveness, exclusion, inequity, ethnic marginalization, deprivation, long existed discontentment or a series of such related events, mobilization and lack of social control are the structural strains that leads to Social Movement.

2.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q1. What is the most important element of Resource Mobilizing theory?

Q2. What type of resources drives social movement?

Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q1. Discuss the Structural-Functional approach of Social Movement.

Q2. Explain the major factors conducive for social movement as explored by N. Smelser.

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UNIT 3: REVOLUTIONARY APPROACH TO SOCIAL MOVEMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives

3.2 Introduction

3.3 Overview

3.4 Main Advocates

3.5 Perspectives

3.6 Issues

- 3.6.1 Russian Revolution
- 3.6.2 French Revolution

3.7 Let Us Sum up

3.8 Further Reading

3.9 Answers to Check your Progress

3.10 Model Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- Know the perspective of the revolutionary approach
- Know the issues associated with the revolutionary approach to social movements
- Know the main advocates of this view.

3.2 INTRODUCTION

Through a study of the previous units, we are aware of the idea of social movements. Social movements, we know, occur with definite objectives, under different circumstances. It is also noteworthy that social movements can be identified in terms of different categories, based on their nature and objectives. In this unit, we shall emphasise on the revolutionary approach to social movements.

3.3 OVERVIEW

There have been numerous social movements from the beginning of time that have significantly changed the social orders where they happened. There have been many failed

social movements as well. These movements have changed generally in their belief systems; a few movements have been revolutionary in their points, some have supported reforms to the current framework, despite everything others have been moderate in their direction and have attempted to contradict changes in the public eye. Social movements have differed in degree as well. For instance, numerous movements are constrained to nearby strategies while others have been global in their core interest. In spite of all of the distinctions in social movements however, there are significant scientific likenesses that sociologists have recognized, particularly with respect to the existence cycle of a social movement.

Since social movements have prompted such a significant number of sensational changes in social orders the world over, researchers have spent a lot of time attempting to comprehend where they originate from, who takes an interest in them, how they succeed, and how they come up. A lot of what they have found is that social movements do not simply occur; they require numerous assets and have numerous phases through which they evolve. Afterall, individuals do not just all of a sudden become annoyed with an arrangement or even a decision framework and after that in a split second structure a social movement with a reasonable belief system that is prepared to topple a current power structure.

A revolutionary movement (or revolutionary social movement) is a particular kind of social movement devoted to doing a revolution. A social movement might need to make different changes and to oversee the state, yet as long as they do not go for a selective control, its individuals are not revolutionary. Social movements may turn out to be increasingly radical and revolutionary, or the other way around - revolutionary movements can downsize their requests and consent to impart forces to other people, turning into an average political party.

Godwin recognizes a preservationist (reformist) and radical revolutionary movements, contingent upon the amount of a change they need to introduce. A moderate or reformist revolutionary movement will need to change less components of the financial and social framework than an extreme reformist development (Godwin likewise takes note of that not every single radical movement must be revolutionary). An extreme revolutionary movement will in this manner need both to take a selective control of the state, and to generally change one of more components of its general public, economy or culture.

3.4 MAIN ADVOCATES

In this section we will discuss about the main advocates and their roles associated with various revolutionary movements, so that you can understand the significance of revolutionary movements.

Revolution has been fundamental to the development of the modern world. The word itself alludes to radical, transformative change and has numerous conventional uses depicting wonders from the “industrial revolution” to the “sexual revolution.” As a chronicled procedure, “revolution” alludes to a movement, regularly vicious, to topple an old system and impact complete change in the crucial establishments of society. Innovation, many came to accept, must be accomplished through such vicious and all out change.

The motivation for some twentieth century upheavals was the Russian Revolution of 1917 driven by Vladimir Lenin and enlivened by the thoughts of Marxist Communism. Marx accepted that revolution was important to move social orders starting with one recorded stage then onto the next, and his definition fortified the impression of revolution as a general and inescapable process in world history. For over fifty years, the Russian Revolution gave would-be revolutionaries all through the world with a model for political revolution and financial change. From China’s Sun Yat-sen to Vietnam’s Ho Chi Minh, saw in the experience of the USSR answers for the situations of their claim nations.

The Iranian Revolution, also called Islamic Revolution of the late twentieth century, gives one more model of revolution. The Iranian revolution of 1979 looked for the extreme change of a state and society seen by numerous individuals as excessively mainstream and polluted by Western values and culture. The Iranian Revolution put patriot, Islamic values at the focal point of government and society and turned out to be one more case of current, revolutionary change. This revolution was started by supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini.

The twentieth century was a time of revolution in different parts of Asia. One factor advancing radical change in numerous Asian countries was the weight of Euro-American colonialism, beginning in the nineteenth century. As England, at that point France, Germany, and the United States industrialized in the nineteenth century; their worldwide arrival extended alongside their interest for an assortment of crude materials. A faith in the predominance of Western values along with monetary and mechanical advancements in shipbuilding, weaponry, etc., make a powerful blend that would challenge Asian social orders in numerous ways.

The Asian experience of government and revolution was as shifted as Asia itself. India, straightforwardly colonized by Britain beginning in the eighteenth century, saw the advancement of a little, expert white collar class and a political association, the Indian National Congress, which initiated the patriot hostile to pioneer development of the twentieth century. China, mortified in the Opium Wars of the mid-nineteenth century, was never colonized yet lost generous financial and political sway as European countries, the U.S., and Japan built up bargain ports and effective reaches in the nation, factors which filled the first revolution in Asia in the twentieth century, the Republican Revolution of 1911. Japan, debilitated by inconsistent arrangements it had to sign with Western powers during the 1850s, changed itself by the start of the twentieth century into a mechanical powerhouse with settlements of its own — a procedure historians have wavered to call a "revolution" yet one which was evidently "revolutionary." Southeast Asian social orders, from the Philippines to Vietnam, would likewise progress toward becoming states of different Western nations. The experience of dominion helped flash huge numbers of the revolution of twentieth century Asia. It was the chronicled condition that radicalized revolutionaries from Ho Chi Minh and Mao Tse-tung, to Mohandas Gandhi.

Numerous Asian revolutionaries looked for not just to accomplish autonomous nationhood, however additionally to change their social orders inside. In the mid twentieth century, many accepted that getting to be current required the end of old progressions and the production of new, progressively equivalent social relations. In China, this implied censuring old Confucian traditions and orders and undertaking central financial and political changes. Mohandas Gandhi adopted an alternate strategy, dismissing Western-enlivened "civilization" furthermore, pushing an arrival to "conventional" Indian ways. In the two models, interior change was viewed as a vital segment of revolution for national autonomy.

These differing encounters and understandings of "revolution" underline the significance of political and social revolution to current Asian history. As of late, with the disassembling of revolutionary systems in the Soviet Union and somewhere else and China's movement toward a market economy, a few historians have started changing their understandings of revolution and its results. Indeed, even in light of these re-examinations, there can be no uncertainty about the significance of revolution — as both an objective and chronicled process — to the arrangement of present day Asia and the modern world.

3.5 PERSPECTIVES

In this section we will discuss about the perspectives of revolutionary movements with the help of examples of revolutionary movement. Numerous revolutionary movements start with the flare-up of brutality, which is regularly a reaction to elevated suppression or other unprecedented demands from government against their kin. The American Revolution is an undeniable case of this. The viciousness appeared as the Revolutionary War and Congress turned into the administration. American Revolution was the primary hostile to pioneer, democratic revolution ever. Americans demanded portrayal and when the British denied it, they fought their colonizers. Americans won and set up their own legislature, a republic. Consequently, what was at first attempted to verify for British Americans certifications of local autonomy and individual rights identical to those delighted in by Englishmen in the home islands, immediately became in 1775-76 a battle for political autonomy.

A significant part of the revolutionary reason originated from the colonial challenge to Parliament's capacity of enactment. This was the start of the Revolution. Since the patriots' demands could not be met, the nation declared itself free from 'mother England' and the united States of America were born.

Similarly, the French Revolution totally changed the social and political structure of France. It put an end to the French monarchy, feudalism, and took political power from the Catholic Church. It carried new plans to Europe including freedom and opportunity for the commoner just as the abolishment of bondage and the privileges of women. These new thoughts kept on affecting Europe and helped a considerable lot of Europe's advanced governments.

3.6 ISSUES

In this section we will discuss various revolutionary movements. This will enable you to understand the different issues that revolutionary movements in different parts of the world have been engaging with.

3.6.1 Russian Revolution

The revolutionary movement united political and social destinations from the beginning. It laid its cases for the sake of the lower classes, which it generally saw as abused. The Socialist Revolutionaries followed up in the interest of all the 'oppressed', yet

fundamentally the laborers, while the Social Democrats walked for the sake of the urban 'proletariat'. The Liberals, then again, believed themselves to be 'class neutral'. Be that as it may all things considered this camp had a social stratum of its own, running from the change situated aristocracy and the intelligentsia to the business mechanical bourgeoisie. In the main revolution, these different propensities experienced advantageous interaction. The almost indistinguishable planning of the general strike in the capital and the workers' raging of the farming bequests in fall 1905 stunned the state to such a degree, that it consented to concessions to the popularity based requests of the Liberals.

In February 1917 comparable convergence took place, with one central distinction. Rather than the assault of laborers and laborers, a collusion of laborers and garrisoned troopers drove the attack. This time the peasants remained standoffish. The agrarian revolution occurred later, yet more brutally than any other time in recent memory, after the breakdown of the tsarist state and its standard by power in summer 1917. Later the provincial population divorced itself from the urban revolutionary movement and went its own different route until fall 1918. The centre criticalness of the change can be summarized with one result: the wildcat (i.e., unconstrained) redistribution of the property of the landed nobility. The workers held onto that which they had consistently accepted to be their legitimate belonging. The dominating type of the activities was normal for the workers' connections to custom. Most towns acted by and large also, allocated the land to commune members as indicated by the manages of custom to be utilized for a specific timeframe. Proprietorship stayed in the hands of the obshchina, and private property appeared de fact only on the grounds that barely any redistribution happened from that point. Following this, their revolution, the workers were satiated. Occasions and issues past their town left them cold. Since the New Financial Policy legalized the change, they could see themselves as the victors of the revolution regardless of the repulsions of the Civil War. Notwithstanding, this redistribution unleashed destruction on the economy. It nullified the huge developed property which yielded a huge piece of the homestead produce sold somewhere else and decreased the normal grounds to a level which barely got the job done for proficient and stable creation for the advertise. The result was an emergency inclination that gave a persuading contention for a halfway arranged economy.

The outcomes of the February 1917 general strike of the Petrograd laborers were increasingly convoluted. From the outlook of the heroes, the medium-term consequences were negative. The agitators just figured out how to acquire their requests in the short run. Wages expanded generously, and working hours were diminished, even in spite of the fact that the chief interest, a law stipulating an 8 hour workday, was not accomplished. Individual and social security were particularly improved. In any case, joblessness following the monetary breakdown counterbalances these advantages from late-spring on. This misfortune made it workable for the syndical plant advisory group development to expand the state in the board it had picked up in Petrograd in March to full control like never before previously. To make an already difficult situation even worse, the desires it valued after the October topple were totally run. In the event that the Bolsheviks had a run of the mill method for managing 'their' voting demographic, it was uncovered in their relations with the industrial facility councils. Before the oust they received the requests of the panels; after the Bolsheviks held onto control, they likewise prevailing with regards to picking up control of these organs. Toward the start of the year the 'rebel decentralized' production line boards were gagged by the associations, which themselves were on the approach to turning into a 'transmission belt' (Lenin) of the gathering. All that remained was the failure over unkept guarantees, which activated spreading strikes, the rebellion of Kronstadt mariners and intraparty analysis ('Workers' Opposition'). This dissidence was stifled by spring 1921, much of the time with extraordinary fierceness.

3.6.2 French Revolution

The French Revolution was an earth shattering chronicled occasion that set suffering examples for present day revolutionary movements and for a lot of current governmental issues as a rule. Contemporary responses to it bolstered into the advancement of numerous philosophies, from conservatism to communism. Academic contentions about the hugeness and elucidation of the French Revolution have been energized specifically by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' utilization of it as the prime case of a 'bourgeois revolution' that arranged the route for the triumph of capitalism. In spite of the fact that the discussions over the Marxist translation proceed,

late scholarship has turned in new ways: sexual orientation relations; the thought of citizenship and its association with religion, ethnicity, what's more, race; and the intellectual history of the Revolution and its effect as an occasion in worldwide history.

w CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. Explain French Revolution.

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Q2. Write a short note on Iranian Revolution.

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u 3.7 LET US SUM UP

- A revolutionary movement (or revolutionary social movement) is a particular kind of social movement devoted to doing a revolution.
- A social movement might need to make different changes and to oversee the state, yet as long as they do not go for a selective control, its individuals are not revolutionary.
- Social movements may turn out to be increasingly radical and revolutionary, or the other way around - revolutionary movements can downsize their requests and consent to impart forces to other people, turning into an average political party.
- After the French Revolution of the eighteenth century which ousted the government and endeavoured to refashion society from start to finish, revolution wound up synonymous with the radical defeating of the past. Innovation, many came to accept, must be accomplished through such vicious and all out change.
- Marx accepted that revolution was important to move social orders starting with one recorded stage then onto the next, and his definition fortified the impression of revolution as a general and inescapable process in world history.
- The Iranian revolution of 1979 looked for the extreme change of a state and society seen by numerous individuals as excessively mainstream and polluted by Western values and culture. The Iranian Revolution put patriot, Islamic values at the focal point of government and society and turned out to be one more case of current, revolutionary change. This revolution was started by supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini.

- The French Revolution totally changed the social and political structure of France. It put an end to the French monarchy, feudalism, and took political power from the Catholic Church. It carried new plans to Europe including freedom and opportunity for the commoner just as the abolishment of bondage and the privileges of women. These new thoughts kept on affecting Europe and helped a considerable lot of Europe's advanced governments.

3.8 FURTHER READING

1. Bakhurst, D., & Shanker, S. (2001). Jerome Bruner: Language, Culture, Self. Sage Publication
2. Goodwin, J. (2001). No Other Way Out States and Revolutionary Movements. Cambridge University Press.

3.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No.1. The French Revolution was an earth shattering chronicled occasion that set suffering examples for present day revolutionary movements and for a lot of current governmental issues as a rule. Contemporary responses to it bolstered into the advancement of numerous philosophies, from conservatism to communism. Academic contentions about the hugeness and elucidation of the French Revolution have been energized specifically by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' utilization of it as the prime case of a 'bourgeois revolution' that arranged the route for the triumph of capitalism. In spite of the fact that the discussions over the Marxist translation proceed, late scholarship has turned in new ways: sexual orientation relations; the thought of citizenship and its association with religion, ethnicity, what's more, race; and the intellectual history of the Revolution and its effect as an occasion in worldwide history.

Ans to Q No.2. The Iranian Revolution is also called Islamic Revolution of the late twentieth century gives one more model of revolution. The Iranian revolution of 1979 looked for the extreme change of a state and society seen by numerous individuals as excessively mainstream and polluted by Western values and culture. The Iranian Revolution put patriot, Islamic values at the focal point of government and society and turned out to

be one more case of current, revolutionary change. This revolution was started by supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini.

M 3.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q1. Give a brief overview of revolutionary approach to social movements.

Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q1. Discuss the main advocates of revolutionary approach to social movements.

Q2. Explain Russian Revolution.

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UNIT 4: RADICAL APPROACH TO SOCIAL MOVEMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Radical approach to social movements : Overview

- 4.3.1 Social movement organisations
- 4.3.2 Existing theoretical models

4.4 Issues and Perspectives

4.5 Let Us Sum up

4.6 Further Reading

4.7 Answers to Check your Progress

4.8 Model Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- Obtain an overall understanding of the radical approach to social movements
- Know about the main advocates and issues associated with this approach

4.2 INTRODUCTION

Social movements arise to work for a definite cause. Based on the issues and circumstances that it may have to address, it adopts different approaches and methods to move towards it's goal. In the previous unit, we have known about the liberal approach in the context of social movements. In this unit, we shall know about the radical approach to social movements.

4.3 RADICAL APPROACH TO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS : OVERVIEW

Social movements are enormous scale casual groupings of people or associations, which are associated through their mutual advantages to concentrate on explicit political or social issues, so as to do a social change. Numerous partnerships may work independently for basic causes and still be viewed as a social movement.

A social movement is a blend of shared thoughts and exercises that are concerned with changing the examples of social life. The common exercises or group activity might be characterized as “any objective coordinated action together sought after by at least two people” Radical approach primarily is about the entire structuring of the society, rather than assimilation or incorporation. Hence, it is implied that not all social movements can be called as radical movements.

Movements that evolved in late eighteenth century, similar to those associated with the French Revolution and Polish Constitution of May 3rd 1791 are among the main archived social movements. The labour movement and socialist movement of the late nineteenth century are viewed as the prototypical social movements, prompting the arrangement of communist and social democratic parties and associations.

From 1815, Britain after triumph in the Napoleonic Wars entered a time of social change and change brought about by returning soldiers and unemploymentwhich came about in class battle These social movements set the foundation to which Karl Marx endeavoured to break down social theory all the more for the most part. 1861 saw the start of the reform movements in Russia, as the feudal system was nullifiedIn 1945, Britain after triumph in the Second World War entered a time of radical reform what’s more; change, as a workers’ rights social movement ruled legislative issues until the appointment of Margaret Thatcher in 1979. During the 1970s, women’s right, harmony, civil rights and ecological movements rose, regularly named New Social Movements. They lead entomb alia to the development of green parties. Some find toward the finish of the 1990s the development of another worldwide social movement, the anti-globalization movement.

A few key procedures lie behind the historical backdrop of the social movements.

The procedure of urbanization, which made large cities, encouraged social association between scores of individuals. It was in urban areas, where individuals of comparable objectives could discover each other, accumulate and sort out, that those early social movements originally showed up.

Correspondingly, the procedure of industrialisation, which accumulated huge masses of laborers in the same locale, was in charge of the way that a considerable lot of those early social movements tended to issues imperative to that social class.

Numerous other social movements were made at universities, where the procedure of mass education united many individuals.

With the improvement of communication technologies, creation and activities of social movements wound up simpler - from printed pamphlets circling in the eighteenth century cafes to newspapers and Internet, each one of those devices wound up significant factors in the development of the social movements.

At last, the spread of democracy and political rights like the ability to speak freely made the creation and working of social movements a lot simpler.

4.3.1 Social Movement Organisations

The surplus vitality collected by the society and given articulation through the activity of pioneers and their adherents does not pick up force until it winds up acknowledged and composed by society. The procedure of association may take a wide range of structures. It might happen by the order of new laws or on the other hand guidelines that help the movement or it might be as another framework or acknowledged arrangement of practices. Every improvement advance of the society prompts the rise of a large group of new associations intended to help it and puts pressure on existing associations to lift their working to satisfy the higher needs of the new stage.

The association is the component, by which the surplus vitality in society is harnessed, activated, coordinated and directed to create more prominent outcomes. The association gets vitality from being incorporated with the society in which it functions. The vitality of society originates from its needs and yearnings. This vitality invades the social association built up to address these issues. The more finely the association is receptive to satisfy fundamental social goals, the more prominent the vitality coursing through it.

The desire of society changes after some time as old mentalities and objectives are supplanted with new ones. Associations that adjust to these progressions keep on flourishing. Those that remain fixed in the past decay, become ineffectual, and are in the end disposed of or blur away.

4.3.2 Existing Theoretical Models

One of the most critical issues with endeavours to comprehend RSMOs with existing theoretical models is that most moderate SMOs work with a reform

predisposition that perspectives joining into the current political/economic framework as the ideal objective. In addition, many view bureaucratization and organization as important and inescapable. Finally, the overemphasis on character in new social movements neglects to sufficiently address the complexities of RSMOs. Research mobilization theory is the most evident objective of our critics, on the grounds that its hegemonic status all through the 1970-1980s prompted significant impact over most theorizing about social movements.

Ralph H. Turner and Lewis Killian (1972) at first proposed the possibility of the certainty of the bureaucratization and institutionalization of social movement organizations. Resource mobilization theory (McCarthy and Zald 1977), developing principally in response to collective behaviour theories, likewise worked on the assumption that bureaucratization and institutionalization of social movement organizations was important and unavoidable. In their endeavour to separate themselves from earlier deprivation and grievance perspectives, resource mobilization theorists estimated social movements in carefully utilitarian terms: how resources were gotten and sorted out and what the results of such mobilization were. Besides, resource mobilization diverted the focal point of social movement theory from social movements to social movement organizations.

Resource mobilization has since been condemned for its narrow rational choice perspective, just as for overlooking social psychological elements and for having an excessively quantitative approach (e.g.; Mueller 1992). Other critiques levelled against resource mobilization theory are that it displays class inclination, will in general standardize aggregate dissent, stresses formal bureaucratic organizations, and along these lines will in general spotlight basically on those gatherings keen on taking a stab at incorporation in the existing political framework (Mayer 1995; Piven and Cloward 1995).

For our purposes, such criticisms are substantial, yet fragmented. For example, Turner and Killian (1972) contended that one proportion of a movement's institutionalization was whether it had "been agreed a perceived situation inside the larger society." The radical organizations that we are estimating about will in general make revolutionary demands as opposed to straightforward solicitations for reform of, and joining into, the existing framework. An organization making such demands is

probably not going to accomplish or even want a “perceived situation inside the larger society.” Thus, we are condemning of the use of resource mobilization theory to RSMOs in view of its accentuation on an assumed certainty of bureaucratization, which runs counter to the ideology and interior structure of RSMOs. Resource mobilization theorists additionally show up focus on assets, even to the point of characterizing achievement as far as assets produced. This likewise runs counter to the ideological places of RSMOs.

At the point when resource mobilization theory is utilized to analyze RSMOs, the subsequent examination will in general limit triumphs and underscores their absence of resources as a clarification for their “disappointment.” Herbert H. Haines (1988) utilizes resource mobilization theory to feature the commitments of one RSMO, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Commit (SNCC). He gives significant quantitative information on the various resources used by SNCC and increasingly moderate civil right groups; his work additionally embodies the beneficial outcome a “radical flank” has in making the moderate group’s demands show up progressively reasonable. While SNCC’s commitments are recognized by Haines, because of the reform orientation of resource mobilization theory, the organization is seen generally as far as how it helped progressively moderate SMOs in accomplishing their objectives. While resource mobilization has widened to incorporate certain cultural concepts and sociopsychological concerns inside the new bearings of social movement theory, we contend that the assumptions fundamental these theories make them best ready to clarify the reform oriented SMOs however deficient for analyzing RSMOs.

While the RSMOs for which we are endeavouring to give a model offer some “mass movement” attributes, for example, less accentuation on enrolment and more on mass activity, they contrast in that RSMOs have as a feature of their belief system an anticapitalist segment, which makes their absence of resources mostly a deliberate choice. Achievement, characterized by RSMO members, happens not just notwithstanding an absence of resources yet maybe as a result of an absence of resources. Increasingly moderate organizations may acknowledge subsidizing from sources that limit their political range, while RSMOs intentionally maintain a strategic distance from this confinement.

4.4 ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES

In this section, it has been tried to show with example, how radicalisation was articulated in some social movements.

The US Civil Rights Movement

The Civil Rights Movement in the United States was a battle by black Americans to addition full citizenship rights and accomplishes racial equality. People and organizations tested separation with an assortment of activities, including protest marches, boycotts, what's more, refusal to submit to segregation laws. Many accept that the movement started with the transport boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955 and finished with the Voting Rights Act of 1965, however some contend that it has not finished at this point.

The movement had two clear strands: -

- Reform

  The Southern Christian Leadership Council Luther King's peaceful approach

- Revolutionary

  The Black Panthers, Malcolm X

Malcolm X rejected peacefulness as a rule; however he looked for co-activity with Martin Luther King and other civil rights activists who favoured forceful peaceful protests. To a huge number of black people around the globe, he represented revolution. He had the option to claim to conventional individuals and to verbalize the outrage and disappointment they felt. Most importantly, he symbolized unflinching rebellion and opposition despite bias, segregation, what's more, suppression.

Martin Luther King, and his approach of peaceful protest, was the predominant power in the civil rights movement during its time of most prominent accomplishment, from 1957 to 1968. His talks and comments blended the concern and started the soul of an age. The movements and marches he drove acquired significant changes in American life.

King brought together various black leaders in 1957 and laid the preparation for the organization currently known as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). King was chosen its leader, and he before long started helping different networks sort out their own protests against separation.

Dr. King's idea of 'somebodiness'gave black and destitute individuals another feeling of worth furthermore, pride. His way of thinking of peaceful direct activity, and his procedures

for judicious and non-destructive social change, energized the conscience of this country and re-ordered its needs. The Voting Rights Act of 1965, for instance, went to Congress because of the Selma to Montgomery march. His knowledge, his words, his activities, his dedication, what's more, his dreams for another cast of life terminated the movement. His 1963 'I Have a Dream' discourse managing harmony and racial equality is one of the most dominant talks in American history.

The significant standards of King's peacefulness movement were: -

- Non-violence is a lifestyle for courageous individuals.
- Non-violence looks to win kinship and comprehension.
- Non-violence tries to vanquish treacheries, not individuals.
- Non-violence holds that languishing over a reason can educate and transform.
- Non-violence picks love rather than despise.
- Non-violence holds that the universe is in favour of justice and that right will prevail.

The strategies utilized included: -

Sit-ins

Freedom Riders.

Demonstrations and Marches

Feminist Movement

The feminist movement is said to have two main waves: -

- 1st wave

Right to vote, own property, separation.

- 2nd wave

Expansion of civil rights – owning credit card, equal rights, equal pay, education, reproductive and health rights, women in politics.

Suffragettes

In the UK, the National Union for Women's Suffrage was framed in 1987 by Millicent Fawcett. Their essential point was to get the vote for women; Ms Fawcett had confidence in peaceful protest.

Progress was moderate, and in 1903 the Women's Social and Political Union was established by Emmeline Pankhurst and her daughters Christabel and Sylvia. They wanted women to reserve the right to vote.. The Union turned out to be better known as the Suffragettes. Individuals from the Suffragettes were set up to utilize violence to get what they wanted.

Indeed, the Suffragettes began generally gently. It was distinctly in 1905 that the organization drummed up some excitement when Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney intruded on a political meeting in Manchester to ask two Liberal politicians (Winston Churchill and Sir Edward Gray) in the event that they accepted women ought to reserve the privilege to cast a vote. Neither one of the men answered. Accordingly, the two women got out a pennant that had on it 'Vote for Women' and yelled at the two politicians to address their inquiries. Such activities were everything except unheard of then when public speakers were typically heard peacefully and tuned in to respectfully regardless of whether you did not concur with them. Pankhurst and Kenney were tossed out of the meeting and captured for causing an impediment and a specialized ambush on a police officer. The Suffragettes torched holy places as the Church of England was against what they wanted; they vandalized Oxford Street, evidently breaking every one of the windows in this well known street; they affixed themselves to Buckingham Palace as the Royal Family were seen to be against women reserving the privilege to cast a vote; they procured out pontoons, cruised up the Thames and yelled maltreatment through noisy hailers at Parliament as it sat; others declined to pay their tax. Politicians were assaulted as they got down to work. Their homes were fire shelled. Golf courses were vandalized.

Suffragettes were very glad to go to jail. Here they would not eat and went on a hunger strike. The government was worried that they might die in jail consequently giving the movement martyrs. Jail governors were ordered to coercively feed Suffragettes in any case, this caused a public objection as forced feeding was generally used to encourage neurotics as restricted to what were generally educated women.

The government of Asquith reacted with the Cat and Mouse Act. The Cat and Mouse Act enabled the Suffragettes to go on a hunger strike and let them get more fragile and more fragile. Force feeding was not utilized. At the point when the Suffragettes were very weak … they were discharged from jail. In the event that they ceased to exist of jail, this was of no humiliation to the government. In any case, they did not bite the dust yet the individuals who were discharged were weak to such an extent that they could take no part in rough Suffragette battles. At the point when those captured had recovered their strength, they were re-captured for the most trifling of explanation and the entire procedure began once more. This, from the government's perspective, was a straightforward however compelling weapon against the Suffragettes.

Subsequently, the Suffragettes turned out to be increasingly extraordinary. The most well known act related with the Suffragettes was at the June 1913 Derby when Emily Wilding Davison tossed herself under the King's pony. She was executed and the Suffragettes had their first martyr. Notwithstanding, her activities presumably accomplished more mischief than anything to the reason, as she was a highly educated woman. Numerous men posed the straightforward inquiry - if this is the thing that an educated woman does, what may a lesser- educated woman do? In what capacity can they be given the privilege to cast a vote?

It is conceivable that the Suffragettes would have turned out to be progressively rough. They had, all things considered, in February 1913 exploded piece of David Lloyd George's house - he was likely Britain's most well known politicians as of now and he was believed to be a supporter of the right for women to have the vote!

Notwithstanding, Britain and Europe was dove into World War One in August 1914. In a show of patriotism, Emmeline Pankhurst trained the Suffragettes to stop their crusade of violence and backing inside and out the government and its war exertion. The work done by women in the First World War was to be indispensable for Britain's war exertion. In 1918, the Representation of the People Act was passed by Parliament.

Just as the USA, similar movements were likewise being completed in Australia and New Zealand.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. Define Social Movement.

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Q2. Highlight the history of social movement.

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Q3. Highlight key processes that contribute to social movements.

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.....

ʊ 4.5 LET US SUM UP

- Social movements are enormous scale casual groupings of people or associations, which are associated through their mutual advantages to concentrate on explicit political or social issues, so as to do a social change. Numerous partnerships may work independently for basic causes and still be viewed as a social movement.
- A social movement is a blend of shared thoughts and exercises that are concerned with changing the examples of social life. The common exercises or group activity might be characterized as “any objective coordinated action together sought after by at least two people”. Note that solitary a small amount of all system activity includes social movements.
- Political movements that evolved in late eighteenth century, similar to those associated with the French Revolution and Polish Constitution of May 3rd 1791 are among the main archived social movements. The labour movement and socialist movement of the late nineteenth century are viewed as the prototypical social movements, prompting the arrangement of communist and social democratic parties and associations.
- The procedure of urbanization, which made large cities, encouraged social association between scores of individuals. It was in urban areas, where individuals of comparable objectives could discover each other, accumulate and sort out, that those early social movements originally showed up.
- The study of social movement organizations (SMOs) has for the most part been drawn nearer from the reform perspective that prevails inside the social movement theoretical writing. Despite the fact that SMOs of an increasingly extreme nature have been incorporated into this writing, the space supposition of the perspective that underlines the reform of the current political structure has made issues for the understanding of radical social movement organizations (RSMOs).
- The Civil Rights Movement in the United States was a battle by black Americans to addition full citizenship rights and accomplishes racial equality. People and organizations tested separation with an assortment of activities, including protest marches, boycotts, what’s more, refusal to submit to segregation laws. Many accept that the movement started with the transport boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955 and finished with the Voting Rights Act of 1965, however some contend that it has not finished at this point.

- The feminist movement is said to have two main waves: - 1st wave (Right to vote, own property, separation) and 2nd wave (Expansion of civil rights – owning credit card, equal rights, equal pay, education, reproductive and health rights, women in politics)

4.6 FURTHER READING

1) Acker, J. (1995). "Feminist Goals and Organizing Processes." Pp. 137-144 in Feminist Organizations, edited by Ferree and Martin. Philadelphia: Temple University

2) Bouchier, D. (1987). Radical Citizenship: The New American Activism. New York: Schocken

3) Fitzgerald, K. J., & Rodgers, D. M. (2000). Radical Social Movement Organizations: A Theoretical Model *Taylor & Francis, Ltd. Vol. 41,* (No. 4), pp. 573-592

4.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No1. Social movements are enormous scale casual groupings of people or associations, which are associated through their mutual advantages to concentrate on explicit political or social issues, so as to do a social change. Numerous partnerships may work independently for basic causes and still be viewed as a social movement.

Ans to Q No2. Political movements that evolved in late eighteenth century, similar to those associated with the French Revolution and Polish Constitution of May 3rd 1791 are among the main archived social movements. The labour movement and socialist movement of the late nineteenth century are viewed as the prototypical social movements, prompting the arrangement of communist and social democratic parties and associations.

Ans to Q No3. The procedure of urbanization, which made large cities, encouraged social association between scores of individuals. It was in urban areas, where individuals of comparable objectives could discover each other, accumulate and sort out, that those early social movements originally showed up.

M 4.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q1. What are social movement organisations of radical approach to social movement?

Q2. Discuss the existing theoretical models of radical approach to social movement.

Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q1. What is the US civil rights movement?

Q2. What is Feminist Movement?

xxxxxx

UNIT 5: LIBERAL APPROACH TO SOCIAL MOVEMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Overview of the liberal approach

5.4 Main Advocates of the liberal approach

5.5 Perspectives of the liberal approach

5.6 Issues

5.7 Let Us Sum up

5.8 Further Reading

5.9 Answers to Check your Progress

5.10 Model Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- Know the perspective of the liberal approach
- Know the issues associated with the liberal approach to social movements
- Know the main advocates of this view.

5.2 INTRODUCTION

The previous units have highlighted the radical and the revolutionary approaches to social movements. Liberalism as an ideology stands for a free and egalitarian approach. Social movements based on the liberal approach arise from the mentioned ideological background. In this unit, we shall try to understand the liberal approach to social movements.

5.3 OVERVIEW OF THE LIBERAL APPROACH

Liberalism represents a confidence in an equivalent ideal to opportunity and pride, progressed by a government of constitutionally restrained powers. In various historical contexts, liberals have shifted in their comprehension of that perfect and the policies expected

to accomplish a free and prosperous society and a protected world. Since the mid nineteenth century, the general pattern in liberal thought and politics has been toward a more extensive, progressively comprehensive origination of what an equivalent appropriate to opportunity implies. In quest for that point, liberals have come to support more prominent guideline of the economy while likewise supporting the deregulation of private moral life and more grounded insurance of civil liberties.

In the United States, liberalism has been a profound and incredible current all through the nation's history. With its acknowledgment that every individual has a privilege to life, freedom, and the quest for happiness, the American civic creed is an outflow of liberal standards, and in that general sense the liberal convention includes most American moderates just as liberals. Modern, centre-left liberalism maintains the more populist, reformist side of that convention, contrasting with conservatism on the best way to think about opportunity, the equalization among clashing freedoms, and the employments of government in quest for flourishing, security, and the open great.

It is a slip-up, however, to think about American society and politics as getting entirely from liberal values, as Louis Hartz (1955) and others once contended. Profoundly illiberal organizations, practices, and thoughts go through the nation's history, starting most importantly with bondage. Each political belief system draws its particular character from its own standards, yet additionally from what it fights against, and for American liberalism, the struggle to beat the stain of racism has had a solitary developmental significance.

The relationship of liberalism to American politics has changed with the ascent and fall of social movements and moves in public opinion and appointive legislative issues, parties, the courts, and other institutions. On occasion of pinnacle impact, as during the 1930s and 1960s, liberalism has filled in as both a governing and a reforming philosophy; at different occasions, it has been predominantly a way of thinking of analysis and resistance. American liberalism has procured a lot of its vitality and backing not just from the African American battle for equivalent rights, yet in addition from movements among other ethnic minorities, laborers, and women. In ongoing decades, the decrease of labor unions has debilitated liberalism politically, while the environmental and gay-rights movements have renewed it.

Despite the fact that language is regularly a delicate indicator of social change, the political criticality of liberalism ought not to be compared with the changes of the term liberal. In the mid twentieth century, the progressives involved the ground of the middle left. However,

when the Progressive Party went into decrease in 1916, a few progressives started separating themselves as liberals, a term that had universal cachet at the time in light of the pre-World War I accomplishments of Britain's overseeing Liberal Party. By that point, under the authority of David Lloyd George, Britain's Liberals had since quite a while ago deserted laissez-faire and rather grasped a dissident state in accordance with the social reformism of what was then called the new liberalism (Hobhouse, 1911). It was in this reformist sense that Franklin Roosevelt and the New Dealers asserted the term liberal, however a few moderates as late as the 1950s demanded that they were, truth is told, the genuine liberals.

In the mean time, progressive had turned into the favoured self-portrayal of every one of those to one side of liberalism, from autonomous radicals to socialists and communists, and as the Cold War escalated, liberals considered themselves to be possessing what the historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. (1949) called the vital centre. Beginning with the social and cultural change of the 1960s, be that as it may, liberal obtained more negative undertones, and in the next decades, as the left blurred as a political power, progressive continuously lost its previous relationship with the left. Numerous liberal political pioneers and associations then re-appropriated progressive as a favoured name. In spite of the fact that the two terms are regularly utilized conversely, liberal keeps on prevailing when all is said in done utilize and, dissimilar to the vaguer term progressive, joins the inside left to a long and rich philosophical custom.

5.4 MAIN ADVOCATES OF THE LIBERAL APPROACH

Social liberalism, otherwise called left liberalism in Germany, modern liberalism in the United States and new liberalism in the United Kingdom, is a political philosophy and an assortment of liberalism that embraces a directed market economy and the extension of civil and political rights.

Under social liberalism, the benefit of all is seen as agreeable with the opportunity of the individual. Social liberal policies have been generally embraced in a significant part of the capitalist world.

Social liberal ideas and parties will in general be viewed as anti-extremist or centre left. In the United States, current political use of the term social liberalism portrays progressivism or cultural liberalism instead of social conservatism or cultural conservatism.

A social liberal in this sense may hold either more interventionist or liberal perspectives on monetary policy.

Finally, a social liberal government is relied upon to address financial and social issues, for example, destitution, medicinal services, education and the climate using government intercession while additionally accentuating the rights and self-governance of the individual.

The following account highlights the development of the liberal approach movements in different places.

- **United Kingdom**

Before the finish of the nineteenth century, the principle of classical liberalism were tested by downturns in financial development, a developing consciousness of destitution and unemployment present inside current mechanical urban communities and furthermore by the disturbance of organised labor. A significant political response against the progressions presented by industrialisation and laissez-faire capitalism originated from one-country moderates worried about social parity and the presentation of the well known Education Act 1870, despite the fact that socialism later turned into a progressively significant power for change and reform. Some Victorian writers-including Charles Dickens, Thomas Carlyle and Matthew Arnold-turned out to be early compelling critics of social injustice.

John Stuart Mill contributed massively to liberal idea by consolidating components of classical liberalism with what in the long run wound up known as the new liberalism. The new liberals attempted to adjust the old language of liberalism to stand up to these troublesome conditions, which they accepted must be settled through a more extensive and more interventionist origination of the state. An equivalent right to liberty could not be set up just by guaranteeing that people did not physically meddle with one another or only by having laws that were fairly detailed and applied, as progressively constructive and proactive measures were required to guarantee that each individual would have an equivalent chance of success.

- **Germany**

In 1860s Germany, left-liberal politicians like Max Hirsch, Franz Duncker and Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch built up trade unions—displayed on their British partners-so as to enable laborers to improve working and financial conditions by methods for compromise of interests and collaboration with their employers instead of class struggle. Schulze-Delitzsch is otherwise called the founding father of the German cooperative movement and is credited as the

coordinator of the world's first credit unions. Some liberal economists, for example, Lujo Brentano or Gerhart von Schulze-Gavernitz, built up the German Economic Association in 1873 to advance social reform dependent on the historical school of economics and in this way dismissing classical economics, proposing a third route between Manchester Liberalism and socialist revolution in the 1871 established German Empire.

Be that as it may, the German left-liberal movement divided itself into wings and new parties over the nineteenth century. The fundamental goals of the left-liberal parties-the German Progress Party and its successors-were free discourse, opportunity of get together, delegate government, secret and equivalent yet commitment tied suffrage, security of private property while they were unequivocally restricted to the formation of a welfare state, which they called state socialism. The fundamental contrasts between the left-liberal parties where the national desire, the distinctive sub state individuals' goals, free trade against the structure of the national economy.

In 1893, the term social liberalism was utilized first by the historian and social reformer Ignaz Jastrow, who additionally joined the German Economic Association. He published the socialist democratic manifesto "Social-liberal: Tasks for Liberalism in Prussia" to make an "action group" for general individuals' welfare in the Social Democratic Party of Germany, which they rejected.

The National-Social Association established by the Protestant pastor Friedrich Naumann likewise kept up contacts with the left-liberals. He attempted to draw laborers from Marxism by proposing a blend of patriotism and a Protestant-Christian-esteem bent social liberalism to beat class threats by non-revolutionary means. Naumann considered this a "proletarian-bourgeois integral liberalism". In spite of the fact that the party was not able win any seats and before long broke down, he stayed persuasive in theoretical German left liberalism.

In the Weimar Republic, the German Democratic Party was established and came into a legacy of the left-liberal past and had a leftist social wing, and a rightist monetary wing however vigorously supported the democratic constitution over a monarchist one. Its ideas of a socially offset economy with solidarity, obligation and rights among all workers struggled because of the monetary assents of the Treaty of Versailles; however it impacted local cooperative enterprises.

After 1945, the Free Democrats included the majority of the social liberals while others joined the Christian Democratic Union of Germany. Until the 1960s, post-war order liberalism was the model for Germany. It had theoretical impact of social liberalism dependent on obligation and rights.

- **France**

In France, social-liberal theory was created in the Third Republic by solidarity thinkers, including Alfred Fouillee and Emile Durkheim, who were propelled by sociology and impacted radical politicians like Leon Bourgeois. They clarified that a more noteworthy division of labor caused more prominent chance and independence, yet it additionally propelled an increasingly mind boggling association. They contended that the individual had an obligation to society, elevating dynamic tax assessment to help public works and welfare schemes. In any case, they wanted the state to facilitate instead of to oversee and they empowered cooperative insurance schemes among people. Their primary target was to expel hindrances to social mobility instead of make a welfare state.

- **United States**

In the United States, the term social liberalism was utilized to separate it from classical liberalism or laissez-faire, which ruled political and economic thought for various years until the term expand from it around the Great Depression and the New Deal. In the 1870s and the 1880s, the American economists Richard Ely, John Bates Clark and Henry Carter Adams-affected both by socialism and the Evangelical Protestant movement-blasted the conditions brought about by mechanical industrial facilities and communicated compassion towards labor unions. Be that as it may, none built up a systematic political philosophy and they later relinquished their flirtations with socialist thinking. In 1883, Lester Frank Ward published the two-volume Dynamic Sociology and formalized the essential fundamentals of social liberalism while simultaneously assaulting the laissez-faire policies pushed by Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner. The historian Henry Steele Commager positioned Ward nearby William James, John Dewey and Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr. also, considered him the father of the modern welfare state. Writing from 1884 until the 1930s, John Dewey-an educator, impacted by Hobhouse, Green and Ward, supported socialist techniques to accomplish liberal goals.

5.5 PERSPECTIVES OF THE LIBERAL APPROACH

The following account discusses some of the existing theoretical models.

Liberal Economic Theory

Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* published in 1776, was to give the vast majority of the thoughts of economics in any event until the publication of John Stuart Mill's *Principles* in 1848. Smith tended to the inspiration for economic activity, the reasons for costs and the appropriation of wealth and the policies the state ought to follow so as to expand wealth.
A few liberals, including Adam Smith and Richard Cobden, contended that the free trade of goods between countries would prompt world peace. Smith contended that as social orders advanced the crown jewels of war would rise, however the expenses of war would rise further, making war troublesome and exorbitant for industrialized nations. Cobden accepted that military uses compounded the welfare of the state and profited a little yet focused elite minority, summarizing British colonialism, which he accepted was the result of the economic confinements of mercantilist approaches.

Utilitarianism gave the political justification to the usage of economic liberalism by British governments, which was to command economic policy from the 1830s. In spite of the fact that utilitarianism provoked authoritative and managerial change and John Stuart Mill's later works regarding the matter foreshadowed the welfare state, it was for the most part utilized as an avocation for laissez-faire. The focal idea of utilitarianism, which was created by Jeremy Bentham, was that public policy should look to give "the best satisfaction of the best number". While this could be deciphered as an avocation for state activity to decrease poverty, it was utilized by classical liberals to legitimize inaction with the contention that the net advantage to all people would be higher.

Social liberal theory

Before the finish of the nineteenth century, the principal of classical liberalism were in effect progressively tested by downturns in economic growth, a developing impression of the shades of malice of destitution, joblessness and relative deprivation present inside current mechanical urban areas just as the tumult of organised labor. The perfect of the independent person, who through diligent work and ability could make their place on the planet, appeared to be progressively farfetched. A significant political response against the progressions presented by industrialisation and laissez-faire capitalism originated from traditionalists worried

about social parity, despite the fact that socialism later turned into a progressively significant power for change and reform. Some Victorian authors, including Charles Dickens, Thomas Carlyle and Matthew Arnold, turned out to be early powerful critics of social injustice.

New liberals started to adjust the old language of liberalism to go up against these troublesome conditions, which they accepted must be settled through a more extensive and more interventionist origination of the state. An equivalent appropriate to freedom could not be built up just by guaranteeing that people did not physically meddle with one another, or only by having laws that were fairly detailed and applied. Progressively positive and proactive measures were required to guarantee that each individual would have an equivalent chance of success.

John Stuart Mill contributed massively to liberal thought by joining components of classical liberalism with what in the long run wound up known as the new liberalism. Mill characterized "social liberty" as assurance from "the tyranny of political rulers". He presented various ideas of the structure oppression can take, alluded to as social oppression and oppression of the greater part, separately. Social liberty implied constrains on the ruler's capacity through getting acknowledgment of political liberties or rights and by the foundation of an arrangement of "constitutional checks".

However, despite the fact that Mill's underlying economic philosophy bolstered free markets and contended that dynamic tax assessment punished the individuals who worked harder, he later adjusted his perspectives toward a progressively socialist twisted, adding parts to his Principles of Political Economy with regards to a socialist standpoint and shielding some socialist causes, including the extreme suggestion that the entire wage system be abrogated for a cooperative wage system.

The New Liberalism or social liberalism movement rose around 1900 in Britain. The New Liberals, which included erudite people like L. T. Hobhouse and John A. Hobson, considered individual to be as something reachable just under ideal social and financial circumstances. In their view, the poverty, lack of sanitization and obliviousness in which numerous individuals lived made it incomprehensible for opportunity and uniqueness to thrive. New Liberals accepted that these conditions could be enhanced uniquely through aggregate activity facilitated by a solid, welfare-situated and interventionist state. It underpins a mixed economy that incorporates both public and private property in capital goods.

Rules that can be depicted as liberal socialist have been founded on or created by the accompanying philosophers: John Stuart Mill, Eduard Bernstein, John Dewey, Carlo Rosselli, Norberto Bobbio and Chantal Mouffe. Other significant liberal socialist figures incorporate Guido Calogero, Piero Gobetti, Leonard Trelawny Hobhouse and R. H. Tawney. Liberal socialism has been especially unmistakable in British and Italian politics.

5.6 ISSUES

The Environmental Movement

From the late nineteenth century until the nineteen sixties, 'environmentalism' was for the most part comprehended to allude to a lot of movements made up overwhelmingly of individuals from the happier divisions of society, who were worried about issues of safeguarding or the board of the wild, and whose evaluate of society did not for the most part go past these worries.

In spite of the fact that it had its underlying foundations going once again into the 1890s, the modern environmental movement did not create until the 1960s -which was a time of genuine social change.

Rachel Carson's book '*Silent Spring*' in 1963 was a genuine 'wake-up' call. Its introduction of the impacts of DDT (a 'pest' supplicates that executed creepy crawlies, entered the evolved way of life and caused cancer and hereditary harm) prompted it being prohibited from the market.

The emergencies that activated change were the poisonous smog, beginning with the 1948 Pennsylvania smog pursued by others in New York and London during the 1950s and 60s.

In the sixties and seventies an environmental movement started to rise made up of groups worried about the debasement of the environment not as a wild issue, be that as it may, as a piece of everyday life. Reusing was advanced and more extensive issues, for example, the perils of synthetics in the natural pecking order, contaminated air and water and so on were elevated to influence individuals that security of environment was a significant issue. A large portion of the individuals engaged with these groups were youngsters, affected by the antiwar movement and by the counterculture.

At generally a similar time, some dynamic labor activists were starting to raise issues having to do with occupational safety and wellbeing, with the nearness of lethal synthetics and other environmental hazards in the work place. Both labor environmentalism and radical

environmentalism (or natures, as it was typically called) were concerned with ensuring the wild, yet in addition with the effect of environmental degradation on individuals' everyday lives.

In the seventies both radical and mainstream environmentalism developed, yet the two segments of environmentalism remained overwhelmingly white and, with the exception of endeavours by labor activists around occupational safety and wellbeing, overwhelmingly made out of middle and upper-middle class individuals, particularly students and professionals.

It was in the late seventies and mid eighties that another grassroots environmental movement started to rise including voting demographics already inaccessible from environmentalism: lower middle class and working class whites, coloured people and rural communities.

Development of environmental organization membership expanded hugely from the early 60s to the present day. The quantity of environmental organizations additionally developed quickly. These groups spread various sorts of approaches, for instance:-

- Mainstream/conservative ecology: The Sierra Club
- Populist ecology: Earth Day
- Radical ecology: Greenpeace, GAIA (eco-feminists)

The scope of environmental issues that organizations campaign about is huge (covering issues, for example, water, air, forests, wetlands, animals and natural surroundings, anti-war and anti-nuclear, and wastes).

Environmentalism, in contrast to most social change movements, has the advantage of very solid benchmarks, things like huge amounts of CO2 discharges anticipated; sections of land of rainforest also, coral reef safeguarded; species spared from eradication and so on. Notwithstanding, as far as the extreme preservation goal of building a civilisation that can blossom with this planet without pulverizing it, at that point the movement is coming up short. Analyses show the need to tap more into other more significant need -and exclusively progressively critical concerns, for example, thriving, security, wellbeing, style/extravagance, achievement/progress and so on all together for the movement to keep on flourishing.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. Who used the term 'social liberalism' first?

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Q2. Who is the author of “The Wealth of Nations”?

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Q3. Mention two scholars who are considered as New Liberals.

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ʊ 5.7 LET US SUM UP

- Liberalism represents a confidence in an equivalent ideal to opportunity and pride, progressed by a government of constitutionally restrained powers. Since the mid nineteenth century, the general pattern in liberal thought and politics has been toward a more extensive, progressively comprehensive origination of what an equivalent appropriate to opportunity implies.
- In the United States, liberalism has been a profound and incredible current all through the nation’s history. With its acknowledgment that every individual has a privilege to life, freedom, and the quest for happiness, the American civic creed is an outflow of liberal standards.
- Social liberalism, otherwise called left liberalism in Germany, modern liberalism in the United States and new liberalism in the United Kingdom, is a political philosophy and an assortment of liberalism that embraces a directed market economy and the extension of civil and political rights.
- Under social liberalism, the benefit of all is seen as agreeable with the opportunity of the individual. Social liberal policies have been generally embraced in a significant part of the capitalist world.
- Social liberal ideas and parties will in general be viewed as anti-extremist or centre left. In the United States, current political use of the term social liberalism portrays progressivism or cultural liberalism instead of social conservatism or cultural conservatism.
- A social liberal government is relied upon to address financial and social issues, for example, destitution, medicinal services, education and the climate using government intercession while additionally accentuating the rights and self-governance of the individual.

- From the late nineteenth century until the nineteen sixties, 'environmentalism' was for the most part comprehended to allude to a lot of movements made up overwhelmingly of individuals from the happier divisions of society, who were worried about issues of safeguarding or the board of the wild, and whose evaluate of society did not for the most part go past these worries.

O 5.8 FURTHER READING

1) Moore, E. C. (1913). The Liberal Movement and Missions. *The American Journal of Theology Vol. 17,* (No. 1), pp. 22-46

K 5.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: The historian and social reformer, Ignaz Jastrow.

Ans to Q No 2: Adam Smith.

Ans to Q No3: L. T. Hobhouse, John A. Hobson.

M 5.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q1. What is economic liberal theory?

Q2. Discuss the overview of liberal approach to social movement.

Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q1. What is social liberal theory?

Q2. What is environmental movement?

xxxxxx

UNIT 6: NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Overview of New social movements: characteristics and issues

- 6.3.1 New Social Movement Theory
- 6.3.2 New social movements: Characteristics and issues
- 6.3.3 Discussion on Leadership and achievements in social movements

6.4 Let Us Sum up

6.5 Further Reading

6.6 Answers to Check your Progress

6.7 Model Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- know about new social movements, the characteristics, and associated issues
- know the theoretical perspective of new social movements
- understand the idea of leadership in social movements

6.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units we have learned about social movements, their definitions, types and characteristics. We have also known about different categories of social movements, based on specific issues and examples. New social social movements are a new and developing aspect of social movements. They are differentiated from old social movements in terms of their issues, approaches and methodologies. In this unit, we shall know about the idea of new social movements from a holistic perspective.

6.3 OVERVIEW OF NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: CHARACTERISTICS AND ISSUES

Hundreds of years back, social movements typically were little, localized,and also have been often described as violent. Subsequent development of the state brought several

changes in social movements, including growth in size (partly due to increased literacy, methods of correspondence, also, new densely populated social settings), and becoming less violent as growth in size and organization often allowed movements to wind up sufficiently powerful to get their way without frequent resort to extraordinary measures.

Social movements are considered “new” in terms of some criteria, like: Breadth of their objectives, Kinds of individuals they pulled in ,Potential for going global Some new movements advance rights ofhumanityall in all to harmony and security. Other new movements advance rights of particular groups historically prohibited from full social participation. For example: Gay rights movement. They also have more potential for globalization than old social movements. New social movements often transcend local and national limits to promote universalistic objectives (For example, anti-nuclear movement).

6.3.1 New Social Movement Theory

New Social Movement Theory grew at first in Europe to help clarify a large group of new movements that rose during the 1960s and 1970s who did not appear to fit a model of Marxian class conflict that had been the dominating model in a lot of European social movement theory.

The new social movements is said to focus on more noteworthy accentuation on group or aggregate personality, qualities and ways of life as opposed to or in expansion to created belief systems, and an inclination to develop more from middle than working class constituencies. The Green Party in Germany with its accentuation on ecological harmony issues, feminisms, and alternative non-consumerist ways of life is regularly depicted as the umbrella group speaking to an amalgamation of new social movements gone for an expansive, general social liberation.

Some new social movement theorists underscore an adjustment in the economic structure of the First World from an industrial, substantial assembling based ‘Fordist’ (after Henry Ford’s sequential construction system) to a ‘post-industrial,’ ‘postmodern’ or ‘post-Fordist’ economy focused more around the service sector (for example fast food restaurants) and computer-based data industries as a basic power shaping the new movements.

New social movements, as opposed to old social movements, are created by new contradictions of society, contradictions among individual and state. ‘New qualities’

theorists likewise stress that the state of economic flourishing and political security permit them to de-emphasise material qualities and lead them to grasp post-materialist esteems, reflecting 'higher' aesthetic, self-acknowledgment, and imaginative needs. These approaches change class interests (or transform them) into non-class, and focus is laid on 'universal human' interests.

6.3.2New social movements: Characteristics and issues

The most recognizable component of new social movements is that they are fundamentally social and cultural and just secondarily, if by any means, political. Withdrawing from the labourers' movement, which was integral to the political point of accessing citizenship and portrayal for the working class, new social movements focus on realizing social assembly through cultural advancements, the improvement of new ways of life, and the change of characters. It is plainly explained by Habermas that new social movements are the "new politics" which is about personal satisfaction, singular self-acknowledgment, and human rights; while the "old politics" concentrated on economic, political, and military security. The idea of new politics can be exemplified in gay freedom, the focal point of which rises above the political issue of gay rights to address the requirement for a social and cultural acknowledgment of homosexuality. Consequently, new social movements are comprehended as "new,"on the grounds that they give primary significance to the social, not at all like more established movements which for the most part have economic premise.

New social movements likewise accentuate the job of post-material qualities in contemporary and post-industrial society, instead of contentions over material assets. As per Melucci, one of the main new social movement theorists, these movements emerge not from relations of production and distribution of resources. Thus, the concern has moved from the creation of economic resources as a method for endurance or for propagation, to cultural production of social relations, images, and personalities. At the end of the day, the contemporary social movements dismiss the materialistic direction of commercialization in industrialist social orders.They rather advance the ideas like the quest for satisfaction and achievement, development, progress, and expanded efficiency, elective qualities and understandings in connection to the social world, etc.

Further, new social movements are situated in civil society or the cultural circle as a significant field for aggregate activity instead of instrumental activity in the state, which Claus Offe describes as “bypass[ing] the state.” Moreover, since new social movements are not ordinarily concerned about straightforwardly testing the state, they are viewed as hostile to tyrant and as opposing fuse at the institutional level. They will in general spotlight on a solitary issue, or a restricted scope of issues associated with a solitary expansive topic.New social movements focus on the grassroots level with the plan to speak to the interests of peripheral or excluded groups. This “nearby and issue-focused” trademark suggests that new movements do not really require a solid belief system or consent to meet their goals.

Furthermore, if old social movements, in particular the workers’ movement, assumed a working class base and belief system, the new social movements are dared to draw from an alternate social class base, i.e., “the new class.” This is an unpredictable contemporary class structure that Claus Offe recognizes as “triple” in its organization: the new middle class, elements of the old middle class, and peripheral groups outside the labor market.As expressed by Offe, the new middle class has developed in relationship with the former one in the new social movements in view of its significant levels of education and its entrance to data and assets. The groups of individuals that are minimal in the labor market for example, students, housewives, and the unemployed, take part in the aggregate activities as a result of their more elevated levels of leisure time, their situation of being forced to bear bureaucratic control, and their powerlessness to be completely occupied with society explicitly as far as employment and consumption.

The term new social movement finds exemplification in movements like the Queer movement, Dalit movement, the antiwar-endeavours and individuals’ science movements, etc.

6.3.3 A discussion on Leadership and achievements in social movements

Leaders of social movements are not agents,people haphazardly looked over by the masses,they lead. V. I. Lenin, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Betty Friedan were leaders of altogether different sorts of social movements. It must be noted that New social movements being decentralised movements, theoretically

do not align themselves with a category of leadership (Pichardo, 1997). However, social movement leaders in general, originate from the educated middle and upper classes, are mostly male, and for the most part share the race or ethnicity of their supporters. Despite the fact that this affirmation depends basically on research in developed Western countries, studies of movement and progressive leaders in poor and non-Western countries likewise propose that a greater part either originate from the middle and upper classes or have more education than their followers.

Clearly favoured class foundations make leaders with monetary assets, adaptable timetables and social contacts regularly inaccessible to the majority. These resources are significant since social movements frequently champion the interests of resource-poor groups. In any case, we accept that educational capital is the key resource that social movement leaders get from their privileged backgrounds. To be effective, social movements necessitate that a bunchof scholarly undertakings be performed amazingly well. A large group of social movement exercises-surrounding complaints and planning belief systems,discussing, interfacing with media, composing, speaking, conceiving methodologies and strategies, innovatively combining data gathered from local, national and worldwide scenes, talking with inward and outside elites, extemporizing and enhancing, creating reasons for alliance constructing and directing feelings-arefundamentally savvy errands. The control of language and otherimages is vital to these undertakings. Formal education, particularly at the university level, is the primary road through which individuals securepropelled perusing,composing, talking and diagnostic aptitudes, and colleges also; universities are settings in which numerous people retain newthoughts from various societies.

These educational abilities empowered Gandhi to build up a weapon for the feeble when he figured the system of peaceful direct activity.They were apparent in the creativity of Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" discourse,in which he connected the desires of the civil rights movement tothose cherished in the larger American culture. They were clear in Friedan's The Feminine Mystique, which offered voice to women enduring from "the problem that has no name." They shone through in PhyllisSchlafly's discussing abilities, which vanquished the Equal Rights Amendment.

Social movements invest a lot of energy activating,organizing and dismembering the aggregate activity of social groups.Studies demonstrate that

contemporary social movement leaders will in general major in the social sciences and humanities.

This does not imply that all movement leaders hail from the privileged classes or get higher educations, which are progressively normal in post-World War II Europe and North America than in prior occasions,and in less developed countries. Nor are leaders from advantaged classes fundamentally the best leaders for a wide range of movements. Without a doubt, leaders who rise up out of poor and working-class communities are prone to share the interests of their group and to appreciate points of interest in preparing their social bases that outsider's lack. However, we accept that in any event, for the individuals who originate from working and lower classes, educational capital is pivotal. In a study of leadership in the Brazilian rural landless workers' movement, Veltmeyer and Petrasfound that a high extent of leaders of another wave of rural activism contrasted from leaders of past waves of activism in that they had peasant starting points instead of originating from the urban middle classes. Nevertheless, a huge extent of these leaders were well educated and focused on proceeding with education, an advantage that, alongwith their connections to the rural poor, was vital to the leaders' capacity tocomplete fruitful procedures.

Access to educational capital is a result of both agency and structure. Leaders can propel destitute individuals' movements through their pledge to education for themselves and their supporters. Subsequently, Malcolm X was prestigious for changing his jail cell into a "university" and building up the scholarly capital that empowered him to win debates with university-prepared researchers. Leaders without a lot of formal education tend to have grown up in "movement families" or to be presented to movement encounters by significant others, empowering them to obtain skills and knowledge regarding organizing and leadership. Movements that compose poor and uneducated individuals can create organizing abilities among their constituents when they make educational forums, for example, the citizenship schools of the civil rights movement. Despite the fact that the educational capital required by social movement leaders is increasingly open for individuals from advantaged classes and is for the most part obtained through proper education, it can likewise be educated by movements and consumed through hands-on experience.

Enormous scale auxiliary patterns and the characteristics of institutions likewise influence access to educational capital and leadership. For instance, urban black ministers progressed toward becoming leaders of the American civil rights movement after monetary changes and ensuingurbanization created a specific kind of black minister who was taught and black churches with adequate resources to help independent ministers. Enormous scale section of women into universities after World War II expanded their quality in social movements such as the student and anti-war movements, and numerous women ended up as feminist leaders subsequent to taking an interest in small groups to talk about new thoughts regarding women's liberation in the universities and movements of the sixties.

w CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q 1. Briefly highlight the birth and cognisance of new social movement theory.

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Q 2. Mention some criteria that determine a social movement as 'new'.

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.....

Q 3. Differentiate between new and old social movements.

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u 6.4 LET US SUM UP

- Social movements are enduring collective attempts to change part or all of social order by means for revolting, appealing, striking, demonstrating also, and setting up pressure groups, associations, what's more, political groups.
- New social movement developed during 1960s and 1970s. Social movement is an organised effort the individuals to realize social change. People frequently try to do so by connecting with in various kind of protest. The new social movements consider social to be as more important than political and economic viewpoint. The new movement emphasizes social change in identity lifestyle and culture. The modern social movement is not a structural phenomenon however a social wonder as well.

- The term new social movement has been utilized to refer to initiatives like theGay movement, Dalit movement, the antiwar-endeavours and individuals' science movements.
- New Social Movement Theory grew at first in Europe to help clarify a large group of new movements that rose during the 1960s and 1970s who did not appear to fit a model of Marxian class conflict that had been the dominating model in a lot of European social movement theory.
- Leaders of social movements are not an agent combination of people haphazardly looked over the populations they lead. V. I. Lenin, Mahatma Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Betty Friedan were leaders of altogether different sorts of social movements.
- It is seen that social movement leaders generally originate from the educated middle and upper classes, are excessively male, and for the most part share the race or ethnicity of their supporters. Despite the fact that this affirmation depends basically on research in developed Western countries, studies of movement and progressive leaders in poor and non-Western countries likewise propose that a greater part either originate from the middle and upper classes or have more education than their followers.
- This does not imply that all movement leaders hail from the privileged classes or get higher educations, nor are leaders from advantaged classes fundamentally the best leaders for a wide range of movements. However, we accept that in any event, for the individuals to emerge as leaders, educational capital is pivotal.

6.5 FURTHER READING

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K 6.6 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No1: New Social Movement Theory grew at first in Europe to help clarify a large group of new movements that rose during the 1960s and 1970s who did not appear to fit a model of Marxian class conflict that had been the dominating model in a lot of European social movement theory.

Ans to Q No2: Social movements are considered "new" in terms of some criteria, like: Breadth of their objectives, Kinds of individuals they pulled in , Potential for going global Political Process

Ans to Q No 3: If old social movements, in particular the workers' movement, assumed a working class base and belief system, the new social movements are dared to draw from an alternate social class base, i.e., "the new class."

M 6.7 MODEL QUESTIONS

Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q1. What are the characteristics of new social movement?

Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q1. Discuss the achievement of new social movements.

Q2. Explain the leadership of new social movements.

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UNIT 7: RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Religious Movement in India: Emergence

7.4 The causes behind the rise of religious movements in India

7.5 Overview of the religious movements in India**:** Issues, consequences

7.6 Let Us Sum up

7.7 Further Reading

7.8 Answers to Check your Progress

7.9 Model Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- Know about the background of religious movements in India
- Gain an overall understanding of different religious movements in India
- Know the broad causes and implications of such movements in India

7.2 INTRODUCTION

Religious elements, and the attached sentimentality of the society towards such entities have been found to be a significant factor in shaping social, political and economic circumstances of people at different points in time in history. Movements based on religious tenets have, therefore, emerged to be important markers of social evolution. In this unit, we shall focus on the religious reform movements in India, their background, rise, causes, etc.

7.3 RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT IN INDIA: EMERGENCE

At the very onset it is imperative to acknowledge that India is potpourri of diverse culture, community, language and religion. This diversity also reared varied social evils like caste system, sati system, purdah system and more, creating layers of marginalisation in the society.Several socio-religious factors prohibited the society's progress. History stands

testimony to the fact that many sections of the Indian society were rigid and adhered to many practices which were not in tandem with humanitarian principles. The social malice in the country reached a point wherein the need to change the society was felt strongly.

Social reform started by struggling for ushering in changes in the religious domain. It was believed that at the core of the social evils were religious norms that were regressive. Such regressive practices marginalised the women, people from the lower caste and hampered the growth of the society. According to the reformers, society must be founded on the ideas of liberty and equality both for men and women, and this was probablewith the dissemination of modern liberal philosophies and scientific education. The movements that took place in different parts of India came to be known as socio-religious movements,since the reformers of 19th century recognised that no transformation is possible in a society without remodelling religion. The reformers had to face many challenges as well as confrontation from the orthodox Indians, but that did not deter the progression of the religious movements across the length and breadth of India in the 19th century.

Numerous unsympathetic practices like sati, female infanticide, purdah system, child marriage, etc. coupled with superstitious dogmas and composite rituals made life of the masses in India miserable. Socio-religious reformers of the time comprehended the social practices were exceedinglypredisposed by religion and no development is imaginable unless religion is decontaminated.

On the foundation of this understanding, the reformers confronted the rigidity and delusory practices in religion. They quoted the scriptures to show that the practices predominant during 19thcentury find no endorsement in them. The free-thinking and the rationalistic probed the popular religion which was filled with superstitions and was abused by the fraudulent priests. The reformers soughtthe society to admit the rational and scientific attitude. They also believed in the value of human dignity and social egalitarianism of all men and women. The reformers worked for elimination of caste system and untouchability, purdah system, sati, child marriage, social inequalities and illiteracy. They toiled to make people acknowledge the fact that such systems are unscientific, anti-social, and inhuman and hinder holistic growth of society.

7.4 THE CAUSES BEHIND THE RISE OF RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

The rise of the religious movements in India can be attributed to a multiplicity of social political, economic factors, amongst others. However, certain phenomena, incidences, and circumstances have been identified as very crucial factors behind the rise of religious movements in India. Some of such factors have been highlighted in the following account.

- **Influence of Western Education**

  One of the most important influencing factors in the upsurge of religious movement wasthe spread of western education. Modern education disseminated western ideas of democracy, freedom, equal opportunity and nationalism. The Indians of the time who went abroad for higher education came under the direct influence of these concepts. On their return to the country they were aggrieved to see the lack of consciousness among the Indians about such ideas. The erudite individuals carried out the spade work for the dissemination of these principles. It has to be acknowledged that Indian nationalism and modernism are fundamentally the result of the determinations of the English educated Indians from different parts of the country.

- **British Raj and Political Harmony**

  Religious movement in India also got an additional impetus since the country at that point in time was politically united due to the expansion and consolidation of British raj. This unification in turn led to the understanding of multifacetedproblems that the Indian society faced in those times. The characteristic of the British rule and economic strategiesmotivatedseveral educated Indians to find out the reasons of the misery and dilapidation of the society.

- **Rekindling Of India's Glorious Past**

  Renowned western scholars like Max Muller and William Jones revived and revisited India's past by studying the intellectual works of Indians of the ancient times. They redirected people's attention to the rich cultural heritage of India which according to many scholars was grander to the western culture. Many literary and religious texts were translated which received global appreciation. Also, it is of prime importance to understand that socio-religious movement though reached its zenith from the 19th century, its roots were sown by the likes of Srimanta Sankardev from the medieval

period onwards. As is known Srimanta Sankardev, instituted the Neo-Vaishnavite religion in Assam which is known as the EkSharan Naam Dharma as a measure to eliminate the social tribulations and religious incongruities, prevailing in the society. Such revival of the past in turn made the educated Indians nurture faith in Indian culture and rid it off the socio-religious malevolence.

7.5 OVERVIEW OF THE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN INDIA: ISSUES, CONSEQUENCES

The religious movement in India was carried out using various means to create an impact on the minds of the people. For instance creation of consciousness among people by publicationof articles in newspapers, journals and books as well as conducting debates on numerous issues. Raja Ram Mohan Roy spearheaded this process when in 1818 and 1819 he printed the famous pamphlets on sati which got extensive public attention. Initially written in Bengali, these were translated into English titled “A Conference between an Advocate For and An Opponent of, The Practice of Burning Widows Alive” and “A Second Conference between an Advocate For and An Opponent Of, the Practice of Burning Widows Alive”. Correspondingly, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar also published leaflets on widow remarriage which had deepinfluence on the Indian society.

Legislative intervention was another method adopted to fight back the socio-religious evils. Reformers like Keshab Chandra Sen in Bengal, Mahadev Govind Ranade in Maharashtra and Veersalingam in Andhra Pradesh were staunch believers of the idea that social reforms could only be achieved with state support. Thus, the colonial rulers were appealed for ratifyingappropriate legislations. Some such legislations that were passed, include banning sati and allowing widow remarriage.

The third system that was adopted was by way of representing themselves as ciphers of change through non-conformist personalaction and an inflexible attitude concerning social evils. The group led by Derozions or Young Bengal movement and the methods adopted by it, are an exemplification of such an attempt

Last method embraced by some of the reformers was social service. For instance Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar was one such reformist who did not limit his efforts to writing leaflets and creating awareness. He dedicated his whole life for the cause of widow remarriage.

Socio-religious organisations like the Arya Samaj and Ramakrishna Mission also promulgated the ideas of reform through various social services.

Some of the noteworthy religious movements in India are highlighted below.

- **Rammohan Roy (1772-1833) And Brahmo Samaj**

  As a reformist ideology, Raja Ram Mohan Roy was a believer of modern scientific attitude and philosophies of human self-esteem and social equality. He put his conviction in monotheism and composed "Gift to Monotheists". He also translated the Vedas and the Upanishads into Bengali to demonstrate his belief that ancient Hindu texts endorsed monotheism. In 1821 he established "Sambad Kaumudi" a Bengali weekly newspaper published from Kolkata and recurrently editorialised against Sati, disapproving it as barbarous and un-Hindu. The paper became the primary tool of crusade against Sati. In August 1828, Roy instituted the Brahmo Sabha (The society of God), with the aim of venerating and adulating the eternal, unsearchable, unchallengeable God. The samaj defied idol worship and remained away from exercise of priesthood and sacrifice. Brahmo Samaj played a pivotal role as the first intellectual movement of India. It disseminated the philosophies of rationalism and enlightenment in modern India.

- **Gopal Hari Deshmukh**

  Gopal Hari Deshmukh was a champion of new learning and social-religious reform in Maharashtra, he was famously known as 'Lokahitawadi'.He made influential rationalist attacks on Hindu orthodoxy and preached religious and social egalitarianism.

- **Jyotiba Phule & Satyashodhak Samaj**

  Jyotiba Phulebelonged to a so-called lower caste from Maharashtra and wasconscious of the dishonouredsituation of the untouchables and non-Brahmins.He waged a life-long war against upper caste supremacy and Brahminical hegemony through his Satyashodhak Samaj which was established in the year 1873. The primarytargets of Satya Shodhak Samaj were to unfetter the lower castes and shield them from mistreatment and carnagesmeted out by the upper caste, dissemination of education among women and lower caste people.. The main leadership of the samaj came from the backward classes like the Malis, Saris, Telis, Kunbis, and DhangarsThis movement gave rise to a consciousness of individuality among the dejected communities as a class opposing the Brahmins.He also initiated the widow remarriage crusade in Maharashtra.Phule's works, Sarvajanik Satyadharma and Ghulamgin, became source of encouragement for the common people.

- **Aligarh Movement**

The Muslim reform movement comparatively started a late since in the initial stages theyrejected western education. The Aligarh Movement was initiated by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98) to further the cause of social and educational progression of the Muslims in India. He battled against the medieval repressiveness and promoted a rational attitude towards religion. In 1862, he established the Scientific Society for carrying out translation of English books on science and other subjects into Urdu. The English- Urdu journal was also started by Syed, through which he promulgated the ideas of socio-religious reforms.By the dint of his initiative, the Mohammedean Oriental College was established which later advanced into becoming Aligarh Muslim University. Being a socio-religious reformer Syed Ahmad khan crusaded against the purdah system, polygamy and the Muslim structure of divorce. He accentuated the need for eliminatingillogical social customs while preserving the spirit of Islam and boosting a rational elucidation of the Koran.

One of the great poets of modern India, Muhammad Iqbal (1876-1938) also,intenselyimpacted the reform movement and the younger generation of both Muslims and Hindus,through his poetry, the philosophical and religious outlook. He insisted on the acceptance of a dynamic viewpointthat would aidto transform the world.

There were numerous other socio-religious reform movement which in many ways assisted in the national awakening of the Muslims. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad had instituted the Ahmediya Movement in 1899. Under this crusade, a number of schools and colleges were establishedacross the country, ushering modern education. In the domain of religion, the supporters of this movement highlighted the universal and humanitarian nature of Islam. They championed the cause of Hindu and Muslim unity.

- **Deoband School**

The conformist segment among the Muslim Ulema started the Deoband Movement, a revivalist movement with dual objectives. The first objective was to proliferate among the Muslims the uncontaminated teachings of the Koran and the Hadis. The second objective was to nurture the spirit of jihad against the foreign rule. The new Deoband leader Mahmud-Hasan (1851-1920) wanted to divulge a political and rational content to the religious philosophies of the school.The liberal elucidation of Islam generated a political

awakening among its supporters.Maulana Abul Kalam Azad,a scholar of Deoband School taught that there is no battle between nationalism and Islam.

- **Sikh Reform Movement**

Like all other parts of the country, Punjab too came under the invocation of reforms. Baba Dayal Das founded the Nirankari Movement, through which he insisted on the worship of God as nirankar (formless).Another movement, known as the Namdhari Movement, was initiated by Baba Ram Singh, in which his followers wore white clothes and gave up the consumption of meat.

In 1870 in Amritsar and Lahore the Singh Sabhas started, which were aimed at reforming the Sikh society. The sabhas led to the formation of Khalsa College at Amritsar in 1892. Additionally, theyalso encouraged Gurumukhi and Punjabi literature.In 1920, the Akalis spearheaded a crusade to get rid of the dishonest Mahants (priests) from the Sikh gurudwaras, with the help of laws enforced by the colonial rulers.

- **Parsi Reforms Movement**

The Parsi Religious Reform Association was originated at Bombay,founded by Furdunji Naoroji and S.S. Bengalee in 1851. They encouraged the spread of women's education. They also soughtto reform their marriage rituals. Naoroji printed a monthly journal named the Jagat Mithra. The impetus generated through these transformation movements went a long way in inspiring the whole community.By the middle of the 20th century many from the community mademomentous contribution to India's development.

- **Self-Respect Movement**

In South India a diverse kind of reform movement emerged led by EV Ramasamy Naiker (Periyar) who challenged Brahminical religion via the Self-Respect Movement. It started in the mid-1920s. The movement targeted at nothing short of a denunciation of Brahminical religion and culture, which Naicker felt, was the prime apparatus of mistreatment of the lower castes.

- **Vaikom Satyagraha**

Vaikom Satyagraha was led by K P Kesava, and launched in Kerela This movement demanded the opening of and making accessible the Hindu Temples and public roads to untouchables.

w CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) What is religious movement?

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Q2) What are the different ways of bringing about socio-religious reforms?

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Q3) Who are leading religious reformers of India from the 19th century?

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Q4) What were the social evils prevalent in the India of the 19th century?

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Q5) Did the socio-religious reforms help in bettering the plight of the women?

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U 7.6 LET US SUM UP

- Religious reform movements in India ascended among all groups across the length of the country.
- Religious reform movements confronted prejudice, superstition and the hegemony of the priestly class.
- These movements functioned for the elimination of social problems like the caste system and untouchability, purdah system, sati, child marriage,social discriminations and illiteracy, etc.
- It is to be noted that some of these reform movements were supported either openly or covertly, by the British administrators, by enacting laws.Sati was stated to be illegal (1829). Widow Remarriage was legalised by a law passed in 1856. Marriageable age of girls wasraised up to ten by a law passed in 1860. Further, a law passed in 1872, endorsed inter-caste and inter-communal marriages. For the deterrence of child marriage,the Sharda Act was passed in 1929.

- Many individuals, reform societies and religious groupsfunctioned hard to propagate education among women, to avertchild marriage, abolish the purdah and sati systems, to implement monogamy, and to empower middle class women to take up vocationsor jobs in the public sector.
- The spread of western education, collective animosity of Indians towards the British, rekindling of the glorious past of India have ben identified as some of the effective reasons behind the rise of religious reform movements in India.
- Initiatives taken by the Brahmo Smaj, Ahmadiya movement, deoband movement, parsi and sikh reform movements, Satyashodhak Samaj, Self-respect movement, etc., amongst others, are identified as example of religious reform movements in India.

7.7 FURTHER READING

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7.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No1: Movement to bringing in liberal thoughts and eliminate radical and superstitious norms that plague the society.

Ans to Q No2: Bringing in change in philosophy, development of scientific temperament, modern education and social service.

Ans to Q No3: Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Henry Louis Vivian Deroizo, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Jyotiba Phule

Ans to Q No4: Sati system, Purdah system, female foeticide

Ans to Q No5: Yes, sati system was banned, female education gained prominence, etc.

M 7.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q1. Describe the efforts of the Theosophical Society in promoting ancient Indian religions.

Q2. Examine the reforms carried out by the Sikhs and the Parsis to make their society enlightened.

Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q1. Elucidate the role played by Raja Rammohan Roy and his Brahmo Samaj in bringing about religious reforms.

Q2. Deliberate on the contribution of the Aligarh Movement towards cultural and educational reforms amongst the Muslims

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UNIT 8: REFORM MOVEMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 Reform movement in India: Emergence

8.4 Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, Prarthana Samaj and other key reform movements: Leadership, and the key concerns

8.5 Impact of Reform Movements in India

8.6 Let Us Sum Up

8.7 Further Reading

8.8 Answer to Check Your Progress

8.9 Model Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- Know about emergence of reform movements in India
- describe the social evils that plagued the country which eventually led to the rise of reform movements
- understand different reform movements in India, their issues, leadership, and the overall impact of the movements.

8.2 INTRODUCTION

In the previous units, we have read about different kinds of social movements, with particular reference to the Indian context. Social movements with a reformist tendency have characterised the socio-political scenario of India, particularly in the 19th and 20th centuries. In this unit, we shall focus on some such reformist movements in India, their background and the consequent effects.

8.3 REFORM MOVEMENT IN INDIA: EMERGENCE

The Indian society in the 19th century was wedged in a malicious mesh fashioned by religious superstitions and philosophies. All forms of religion in general had become a composite of magic, animism, etc. The priests applied an overpowering effect on the mind of

people. The faithful lived in obedience, not only to God, but even to the impulses, fancies, and desires of the priests could be seen. It is important to take cognizance of the fact that the social conditions were equally disheartening, primarily, the position of the women. For example, the birth of a girl was undesirable, marriage of a girl was a liability on the family and her widowhood ill-starred in many sections of the society. Yet another incapacitating factor was the caste system which sustained an organisation of separation, hierarchically predestined on the foundation of ritual status, hindering social mobility and nurtured social partitions. There were countless other practices discernible by constriction, status, authority, intolerance and blind despondency. Rebuffing them as structures of a degenerative society, the reform movements wanted to create a social environment fit for modernization.

The subjugation of India by the British during the 18th and 19th century uncovered some severe flaws and shortcomings of Indian social institutions. The response, undeniably, was varied. However, the necessity to reform social and religious life was a mutually shared belief. The persuasion of social reform also ushered in absolutely fresh sets of ideas and worldview. The introduction to post-Enlightenment rationalism that came to denote modernism brought a transformation in the attitude of a select group of Indians. Much of this was the consequence of exposure to western education and philosophies that had the extensive influence on the Indian society. Through the lens of service, reason, impartiality, and development, a group of individuals began to determine the characteristic of their own society. There was a steady rise of public opinion, which resulted into a self-examination about Indian traditions, organisation, and philosophy. Importantly, the struggle against the colonial rulers also acted as a catalyst to analyse the deep seated social evils of the society. Western culture swayed the Indian life and thought in numerous ways. The most significant outcome of the influence of western culture was the rejection of blind faith replacing it with an essence of rationalism.

The social reformers lived by the values of individual freedom, liberty, and equality of all human beings regardless of gender, colour, race, caste, or religion. They confronted a number of traditional, totalitarian, and hierarchical social organisations and propelled reform movements to unshackle the Indian women. Although many of the campaigners were principally men, the reform movement targeted at improving the status of Indian women and society at large. These largely involved key concerns line liberation of women from malice like sati, infanticide, child marriage, and also get rid of casteism and untouchability which

plagued the larger Indian society. In the religious domain key concerns were idol worship, polytheism, religious fallacies, and corruption by priests.

8.4 BRAHMO SAMAJ, ARYA SAMAJ, PRARTHANA SAMAJ AND OTHER KEY REFORM MOVEMENTS: LEADERSHIP, AND THE KEY CONCERNS

The chief facet of the social reform movement comprised of leadership led from the forefront by the emerging intellectual middle class. It is to be noted that the reform movement took place in different parts of India at various times but had substantial connections. Reformers across the country were convinced that without religious rectification, social reformation was not plausible. Two most important intellectual principles of reform movement were rationality and religious universalism.

The following account highlights some of the key reform movements in India.

- **Bramho Samaj**

As a reformist ideology, Raja Ram Mohan Roy was a believer of modern scientific attitude and philosophies of human self-esteem and social equality. He put his conviction in monotheism and composed “Gift to Monotheists”. He also translated the Vedas and the Upanishads into Bengali to demonstrate his belief that ancient Hindu texts endorsed monotheism. In 1821 he established “Sambad Kaumudi” a Bengali weekly newspaper published from Kolkata, and also editorialised against Sati, disapproving it as barbarous and un-Hindu. The paper became the primary tool of crusade against Sati. In August 1828, Roy instituted the Brahmo Sabha (The society of God), with the aim of venerating and adulating the eternal, unsearchable, unchallengeable God. The samaj defied idol worship and remained away from exercise of priesthood and sacrifice. Brahmo Samaj played a pivotal role as the first intellectual movement of India. It disseminated the philosophies of rationalism and enlightenment in modern India.

- **Arya Samaj**

Founded by Swami Dayananda in 1875, Arya Samaj (“Noble Society”) is a Hindu reform movement. Through the samaj he endorsed the Vedas and highlighted the principles of brahmacharya (chastity). The first Arya Samaj division was officially established at Bombay in 1875. Later the headquarters of the samaj were instituted at Lahore. Swami Dayanand bequeathed the chant, “Go back to Vedas” since he was of the opinion that priestly section

and Puranas had degenerated Hindu religion. In contemporary time Arya Samaj temples are found all over India. The group also has played a significant part in spread of education through its network of schools known by the name of Dayanand Anglo Vedic (DAV) schools.

- **Young Bengal Movement**

Henry Louis Vivian Derozio was an Indian poet and assistant headmaster of Hindu College. He was profoundly influenced by the radical ideas of freedom, equality and fraternity. He inspired his students to think realistically and liberally, to question authority, to endear liberty, equality and freedom and to venerate truth. He disseminated his radical thoughts by organising debates on history, literature, philosophy and science.

The movement led by Derozio was called the Young Bengal Movement and his supporters were known as the Derozians. They criticised religious rites and ceremonies, and appealed for the elimination of social evils and propagated the cause of female education and development in the situation of women. They carried out public campaigning for the revision of the Company's Charter, the freedom of the Press, better handling of Indian labour in British colonies overseas and many more. However, owing to the extreme radical philosophy of Derozians, it lacked support, and slowly the movement declined.

- **Prarthana Samaj**

M G Ranade along with his friends Dr Atmaram Pandurang, Bal Mangesh Wagle and Vaman Abaji Modak, established the Prarthana Samaj, a Hindu movement motivated by the BrahmoSamaj, advocating philosophies of progressive theism founded on the ancient Vedas. The four point social schema of Prathana Samaj operating in Maharashtra were 1) condemnation of caste system 2) promoting womens education 3) endorsing widow remarriage 4) increasing the marriageable age for both males and females.

- **Annie Besant and Theosophical Society**

Theosophical society led by Annie Besant had played a pivotal role in the history of the religion, society and culture of modern India. Theosophical society was founded in the USA by a Russian spiritualist Madame H.P. Blavatsky and an American Col. H.S. Olcott in the year 1875. The aim of the society was to encourage scholarships in ancient religions, philosophies and science, cultivate the divine powers dormant in man and create a collective brotherhood of man.

The Society was introduced to India in the year 1879 and it's headquarters were set up at Adyar neighbouring Madras in 1886. Society's influence spread under Annie Beasant in

1893 who played a significant role in India's struggle for freedom. She and her allies encouraged the revitalisation and consolidation of the ancient religions of Hinduism, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism. They also accepted the principle of the transmigration of the soul. Annie Besant helped in imparting to the educated Indians a sagacity of pride in their own country. Annie Beasant's crusade was a movement headed and reinforced by westerners who adored Indian religious and philosophical customs, which helped Indians to recuperate their confidence.

- **Arya Mahila Samaj**

Pandita Ramabai was a distinguished social reformer of Maharashtra who fought for the privileges of women and spoke against child marriage. She worked for the promotion of girl's education and started the Arya Mahila Samaj in1881, in Pune, to develop the ailment of women, particularly child widows. In 1889, she instituted the Mukti Mission, in Pune, a shelter for young widows who had been abandoned and ill-treated by their families. Alongside, she also founded Sharda Sadan with an aim of offering housing, schooling, vocational training, and medical facilities to orphans, widows, and the visually challenged.

- **Ahmadiya Movement**

This movement was founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmed in the year 1889. It was founded on liberal philosophies and it defined itself as the torch bearer of Mohammedan Renaissance, having faith on the value of universal religion of all humanity, opposing jihad. The movement disseminated the idea of western liberal education among the Indian Muslims.

- **Aligarh Movement**

In a bid to encourage the process of development among Indian Muslims by means of better education and employment prospects, a group of Muslims led by Syed Ahmed Khan founded the Aligarh movement in the 19th century. The movement spread liberal ideas with its seat of activity being the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh. The prime aim of the movement was disseminating modern education among Indian Muslims without abating their commitment to Islam. It was also felt that social reforms were needed among the Muslims pertaining to purdah, polygamy, women's education, widow remarriage, slavery, divorce and more.

- **Sri Narayan Guru Dharma Paripalana (SNDP) Movement**

SNDP Movement was an instance of a provincial movement which emerged out of struggle between the deprived classes and upper non-Brahmin castes. The movement in its

totality brought transformation in the structure by facilitating ascending social mobility, modification in traditional dispersal of power and formation of associations of backward castes into a large composite.

- **Savitribai Phule**

Savitribai Jyotirao Phule was a social reformer and poet and is known as "one of the first-generation modern Indian feminists". She, along with her husband Jyotiba Phule instituted the first women's school at Bhide Wada in Pune in 1848. Challenging the casteist patriarchy which is deep rooted in the Hindu religious system, she fought for the abolishment of caste discrimination and gender inequality.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. When did reform movement start in India?

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Q2. Who were the flag bearers of reform movement in the country?

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Q3. Did social reform aim to emancipate the Indian women?

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Q4. Could India be modernised without social reforms?

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Q5. List some factors on which reform movement lay its foundation.

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8.5 IMPACT OF REFORM MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

Despite the antagonism from the conformist sections of the society, the reform movements contributed significantly towards emancipating people from the various social abuses. The religious manuscripts were translated into vernacular languages and stress was laid on the interpretation of holy texts and streamlining of rituals, thus making worship a more personal involvement.

The reform movement gave confidence to the forthcoming middle class cultural backgrounds and lowered the sense of embarrassment that the British administrators had generated. Contemporary, cogent, secular, and scientific attitude was encouraged recognising the requirement of the modern era. The reformers targeted at modernisation rather than downright westernization.

A constructive social milieu was formed to bring to an end India's cultural and intellectual sequestration from the world. This was an outcome of the continuous undertakings of the reformers like the abolition of Sati and validation of widow-marriage which were accomplished during this time. There was a lot of intellectual passion, sustained campaigning and critical debate during this time which helped to elevate the level of awareness among the masses. The philosophies and undertakings of the intellectuals were directly or indirectly associated with the mission of nation-building and national restoration. The social reform movement, one must understand, was not an insulated occurrence; it was encumbered with broader national political and economic deliberations.

Some legislative measures for women as a fallout of the reform movement were: Bengal regulation (1829): It banned Sati.

- Bengal Regulations (1795, 1804): It declared infanticide illegal
- Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act, 1856
- Age of Consent Act, 1891
- Sarda Act, 1929
- Special Marriage Act, 1954
- Hindu Marriage Act, 1955
- Hindu Succession act, 1956
- Maternity Benefits Act, 1961
- Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961
- Equal Remuneration Act, 1976

Despite its influence in the transformation of traditional Indian society, the reforms also had their limitations. In particular, the reform movement had a constricted social base and affected a very small section. Only the educated and urban middle class was involved in the social reform movement, while the needs of vast majority of peasants and the urban poor were ignored. Owing to extensive illiteracy the reform movement did not spread across in rural areas. Additionally due to the lack of modern and varied communications network the

reach of the movement was primarily urban-based. Thus, even in the context of its practical entreaty the movement continued to be urban.

Yet another factor like casteism remained resilient and many religious and social observances did not fade away. Caste and rituals were difficult to eliminate from the Indian mind. The propensity of the reformers to charm to the immensity of the past and to depend on scriptural power led to the categorisation of religions as also distancing high caste from lower caste Hindus. Over emphasis on religious, metaphysical facets of culture while underplaying secular characteristics led to the Hindus admiring ancient Indian History and Muslims restricting to the medieval history, which in turn created a concept of two distinct segments of people and augmented communal consciousness.

8.6 LET US SUM UP

- The Indian society in the 19th century was characterised by religious superstitions, social backwardness, etc.
- There were countless practices discernible by constriction, status, authority, intolerance and blind despondency in the society at those times. Rebuffing them as structures of a degenerative society, the reform movements wanted to create a social environment fit for modernization.
- The key social problems which came in the radar of the reforms movements were liberation of women from malices like sati, infanticide child marriage, casteism ,untouchability, etc. which plagued the larger Indian society.In the religious domain key concerns were idol worship, polytheism, religious fallacies, and corruption by priest.
- Brahmo Samaj played a pivotal role as the first intellectual movement of India It spread the philosophies of rationalism and enlightenment in modern India. The samaj defied idol worship and remained away from exercise of priesthood and sacrifice
- Founded by Swami Dayananda in 1875, Arya Samaj (“Noble Society”) is a Hindu reform movement. Through the samaj he endorsed the Vedas and highlighted the principles of brahmacharya (chastity).
- The movement led by Derozio was called the Young Bengal Movement and his supporters were known as the Derozians. They criticised religious rites and

ceremonies, and appealed for the elimination of social evils and propagated the cause of female education and development in the situation of women.

- M G Ranade along with his friends Dr Atmaram Pandurang, Bal Mangesh Wagle and Vaman Abaji Modak, established the Prarthana Samaj, a Hindu movement motivated by the Brahmo Samaj. It advocated philosophies of progressive theism founded on the ancient Vedas.
- The aim of the Theosophical Society was to encourage scholarships in ancient religions, philosophies and science, cultivate the divine powers dormant in man and create a collective brotherhood of man.
- Pandita Ramabai worked for the promotion of girl's education and started the Arya Mahila Samaj in1881, in Pune, to develop the ailment of women, particularly child widows.
- The Ahmadiya movement was founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmed in the year 1889. It was founded on liberal philosophies and it defined itself as the storch bearer of Mohamedan Renaissance, having faith on the value of universal religion of all humanity, opposing jihad
- A group of Muslims led by Syed Ahmed Khan founded the Aligarh movement. The movement spread liberal ideas with its seat of activity being the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, Aligarh. The prime aim of the movement was disseminating modern education among Indian Muslims without abating their commitment to Islam.
- Despite the antagonism from the conformist sections of the society, the reform movements contributed significantly towards emancipating people from the social evils.

8.7 FURTHER READING

1. Thakurta, Paranjoy Guha; Shankar Raghuraman (2004). A Time of Coalitions: Divided We Stand, Sage Publications: New Delhi
2. A Social, Cultural and Economic History of India, Volume II, (1974) Macmillan
3. Contemporary Hinduism: Ritual, Culture, and Practice, by Robin Rinehart. Published by ABC-CLIO, 2004. ISBN 1-57607-905-8.

K 8.8 ANSWER TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No1: 19th century onwards

Ans to Q No2: Baba Amte, B. R. Ambedkar, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Ram Mohan Roy, Vinoba Bhave

Ans to Q No3: Yes, through abolishing sati system, promulgating women education, etc

Ans to Q No4: No, because social malice was hindering India's development

Ans to Q No5: Scientific temper, rationalism, modern education, liberty and equality

M 8.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q1. Why did India need reform movement?

Q2. What are the main features of Indian Renaissance?

Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q1. What was the nature of the reform movement in the 19th century and how did they contribute to the national awakening in India?

Q2. Discuss the limitations of the reform movement in details, with the help of examples.

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UNIT 9 : TRIBAL MOVEMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 Overview on Tribal Movement in India

9.4 Prominent Tribal Movements In India: emergence, issues, leadership and implications

- 9.4.1 Tribal Movements in Pre-independent India
- 9.4.2 Tribal Revolts Post Independence
- 9.4.3 Tribal Movements based on spatial location

9.5 Let Us Sum Up

9.6 Further Reading

9.7 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

9.8 Model Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- know about the overall context of tribal movements in India
- understand the significant tribal movements in India
- know about the specificities of issues, focus, leadership, challenges and consequences of different tribal movements in the country.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

It is known to us that social movements have arisen in different parts of the country at various points of time. The specific issues and contexts of different movements have already been highlighted in the previous units. Social issues affect the society as a whole, at large. However, it has also been seen that some factors impact a particular section of the society in a more affective manner. Hence, movements are classified into different types in order to obtain a holistic view of the concerns of all in the society. The study of tribal movements provides an in-depth understanding of the major problems that affect the tribal society in particular, and their approach towards those problems. This unit shall reflect on these issues.

9.3 OVERVIEW ON TRIBAL MOVEMENT IN INDIA

At the very start, it is important to note that the tribal community of India took part in the anti-colonial movement. The tribal movement in India was of two kinds.first kind of movement challenged their dictators like landowners, money-lenders, merchants, contractors), government administrators and Christian missionaries. The second movement was associated with the Indian, national movement. As per reports there were over 70 tribal rebellions over a time frame of 70 years ranging from1778 to 1948. These uprisings were anti-colonial in varying gradations. Some of the noteworthy tribal revolts took place in:

- Chotanagpur region-Tamar revolt (1789-1832)
- Kherwar movement of Santhals (1833)
- Santhal revolt of 1855
- Munda's movement (1895-1901)
- Tribals and National Movement in Orissa (1921-.36)
- Tribal movements in Assam in the late 19th century

The tribal groups lived in comparative isolation for centuries and despite their acquaintances with the non-tribal people, they continued to maintain their separate identity. Every tribal group preserved its identifiable socio-religious and traditional life along with political and economic institutions.

Until the influx of the British in the tribal regions, the tribal people relied on land and forests for sustenance. The forests were an integral part of tribal life all across India. They had customary privileges to use the minor forest produces like firewood, fruits, housing material, medicinal plants etc. Additionally, the tribal people were well-versed in weaving, basket making, hunting and food gathering. Tribal societies had their individual chiefs and clan councils to manage the social-religious, economic and political business.

The British administrative policies troubled the traditional tribal organizations. For example, zamindari (landlords) system was introduced in the tribal regions. The zamindars were considered foreigners by the tribal people, and in their own land they became tenants. The clan councils of the tribal people were substituted by the councils of Rajas comprising of their supporters. Succeeding the introduction of market economy, a section of traders also emerged in the tribal areas. People were forced to pay rent in cash. And if they did not have cash they were compelled to borrow from the lenders.

Furthermore, the customary tribal justice system was being supplanted by the new legal system which was not appropriate for the tribal community, owing to which they were oppressed in the hands of the colonial rulers and their allies. A final nail in the coffin was embedded with the forest

policy of 1884, through which the British barred the tribal privileges to use the forest products. Thus, it was seen across India that the British policies were harmful for the tribal interests.

The famines in the latter half of the 19th century degraded the conditions of the tribal people even further and the situation became unbearable.The tribal groups retorted back for their mistreatment and harassment, by propelling movements against their oppressors in their respective areas. It is important to note that these movements had social and religious insinuations, however they were concerning issues associated to their existence. Tribal movements across India were launched under the headship of their own chiefs.

Though the movements originally began on social and religious problems and against the domination of foreigners, in due course of time, they amalgamated with the national movement and with the no-tax crusade. Traditional weaponries i.e. bows, arrows, lathis (sticks) and axe were used by the tribes to fight the enemy, wherein the movement regularly took a violent turn leading to the murder of dictators.

It is important to note that a large number of the movements were callously repressed by the government and the tribal community had to conform to British policies.

9.4 PROMINENT TRIBAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA: EMERGENCE, ISSUES, LEADERSHIP AND IMPLICATIONS

The preliminary stimulations of tribal uprising were noticeable in the latter half of the 19th century. Some examples of significant tribal movements, their emergence, issues, leadership and consequences are highlighted below. The movements have been largely classified on the basis of their temporal and spatial specificities.

9.4.1 Tribal Movements in Pre-independent India

Tamar Revolts (1789-1832)

In between 1789-1832, the tribal people of Tamar rioted against the British administrators more than seven times. Tribal community from Midnapur, Koelpur, Chatshila, Jalda, Dhadha, and Silli joined the uprising led by Bhola Nath Sahay of

Tamar. By 1832 the arrows of war disseminated throughout the region and the Oraons, Mundas, Hos or Kols also joined the movement under the headship of Ganga Narain Singh, an associate of Banbhum Raj family.

Kherwar Movement of the Santhals (1833)

Kherwar movement was stirred by the aspiration to return to an idealized past of tribal autonomy. The movement commenced under the leadership of Bhagirath Majhi. He swore to unshackle the Santhals from the subjugation of British officials, landowners and money-lenders. He encouraged the worship the Hindu God, Ram, recognizing him with Santhal “Caudo”. He enforced on the Santhals the code of conduct inspired from the Hindu idea of purity and pollution. Kherwar movement took a political facet for pushing out the non-Santhals out of their territory.

Santhal Rebellion (1855-1856)

Primarily concentrated in Bihar, the Santhals are an agricultural tribal community. The first peasant rebellion took place in the years 1855-1856, as a fallout of the institution of Permanent Land Settlement of 1793. Following this settlement, the British took away the land holding of the Santhals, while in return the zamindars took these lands on auction and game them to the peasants for farming. This gave the zamindars and the government officers to increase the land tax and abuse the common peasants. For some point in time the Santhals did put up with the new system, but soon an uprising took place owing to the following reasons:

a) There were a acts of extortions carried out by the zamindars, the police, the revenue department and the court. The Santhals had no alternative but to pay all the taxes and tolls, alongside being ill-treated and evicted of their own property.

b) The agents of the zamindars, the Karendias, made numerous fierce attacks on the Santhals.

c) Additionally, the affluent peasants seized all the propert and livestock of the Santhals.

d) The moneylenders charged extortionate rates of interest. Moneylenders were commonly called “dikus” implying exploiters.

e) Santhals were hired for railroad construction andmade to work for free. Santhal women were often abducted and murdered.

Given the situation that the Santhals faced, they rose in rebellion and by 1855, the Santhals started to form their own militaries who were proficient in guerilla warfare. This was completely an unusual experience for the British rulers. Without any prior military training, Santhals rasied an army of about 10,000 and they managed to disrupt the postal and railway communications projects entirely. The Santhal rebellion gave a message that it was time that the people rose up against the British. The British took suitable steps after the Santhal rebellion and reorganized Santhal dominated areas as Santhal Paragana. Also, owing to the revolution, the British acknowledged the tribal position of the Santhals and they came under the uniform administration.

Munda Rebellion (1899)

One of the noticeable rebellions of 19th century tribal revolts in the subcontinent of India was the Munda Rebellion. The uprising was led by Birsa Munda in the south of Ranchi, with an aim to institute Munda raj and freedom. Essentially, the Munda rebellion was revivalist movement that targeted to eradicate all the foreign components from the Munda culture so that the original pure character of the Munda community can be retained. The political and agrarian rudiments were then brought into the religious crusade. From 1858, Christian tribal peasants started leading a battle against the foreign landlords and the beth begari system through litigations. Finally, through the investigation and settlement operations of 1902-1910, the administration endeavored to compensate the complaints of the Mundas. With the passing of the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act, the Mundas were able to eradicate the beth begari system and managed to get some acknowledgement for their khuntkatti rights. The tribal people of Chotanagpur also got lawful protection of their land rights.

Movement in Andhra Pradesh (1922)

In the hill tribal territories of Andhra Pradesh a rebellion broke out in August 1922, spearheaded by Allun Ramachandra Raju.The Advisees of Andhra hills were successful in engaging the British into a full-blown guerrilla combat. Incapable of surviving the British got in the Malabar Special Force to fight and the combat only ended when Alluri Raju died. As the freedom movement expanded, the Advisees took full part in the independence movement. Numerous landless and severely fraught Advisees united in with upper-caste freedom fighters imagining that the fall of the British would escort in a new democratic age.

9.4.2 Tribal Revolts Post Independence

Regrettably, even after seventy years of independence, the tribal community still has been at war with the administration. Even though independence has brought extensive improvements for the mainstream of the Indian populace, Dalits and Adivasis have been ignored and new complications have ascended for the tribal population. With the augmentation of the populace since 1947 burdens on land resources has increased. The fundamental disputes leading up to tribal movements in India post-independence are forest alienation, loss of land and job dispossession owing to invasion of the outsiders, cultural submergence, and instable development.

Post India's independence, tribal revolts can be categorized into three clusters (i) movement owing to exploitation of outsiders (ii) revolt arising out of economic dispossession (like the revolts taking place among the Gonds in Madhya Pradesh and the Mahars in Andhra Pradesh) (iii) rebellions due to pro-autonomy inclinations (like the revolts taking place among the Nagas and Mizos).

Furthermore, the tribal movements can be additionally classified on the basis of their orientation into four categories (a) forest-based uprising, (b) socio-religious revolts or social-culture movements (c) movements pursuing political independence and formations of new states (Nagas, Mizos, Jharkhand) and (d) agrarian uprising like the Naxal ban movement of 1967 and Brisadal movement of 1968-69.

9.4.3 Tribal Movements based on spatial location

Tribal uprisings are additionally segmented into two groups along two key divisions of tribes based on the geographic region they inhabit a) Non- Frontier Tribe: It comprised a total of 89 percent of the total tribal population. The non-frontier tribes were primarily limited to central India, West-Central India and Andhra Pradesh. Amongst the tribes that partook in the rebellions were Khonds, Savara, Oraon, Koya, Kol,Santhal, Munda, Gond and Bhil. The revolt of these tribes were moderately impulsive and led to some major uprisings. b) Frontier Tribes: It comprisies of the seven North-eastern frontier states of Assam, Manipur,Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Tripura.

As British dominance in India came to an end, Angami Zapu Phizo, President of the Naga National Council (NNC) announced independence on August 14, 1947. Ever since the Naga Hills has been in tumult, and in spite of the creation of a separate Nagaland state in 1963, the revolt has sustained. Post the signing of the Shillong Accord in 1975 by NNC, the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) was formed by Isak Chisi Swu, Th. Muivah and Khaplang. Since times immemorial the Naga tribes has been known for their pride and autonomous identity, the course of politicization led to the impulse for establishment of separate land for Nagas. The Separatist uprisingis dated back to 1918, with the founding of Naga Club in Kohima by a group of intellectual Nagas. The Club presented a memo before the Simon Commission which wanted the segregation of Nagas from the proposed constitutional reform by British administrators in India.In 1946, the Naga Club was rechristened as Nagaland National Council (NNC). The NNC then asked for an independent autonomous political geography encompassing Naga populated areas of Nagaland, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Myammar (Burma), thus marking the commencement of political struggle between Nagas and the Government of India.

The Naxalite movement in the tribal regions of Bihar, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh and Odisha; the agrarian revolts of the Gonds and Bhils in Madhya Pradesh and the forest- based movements of Gonds were principally propelled for deliverance from domination and discernment, backwardness and removal of a government which was coldhearted to the tribal predicament who lived in scarcity, hunger, unemployment and mistreatment.

The formal revolt of the Bodos residing in Assam demanding the creation of a self-governing state of Bodoland, started under the headship of Upendranath Brahma, member of All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) on 2 March 1987. As a matter of fact, the call for the separate tribal motherland is not new in Assam. The Plains Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA) had the desire to have a single home-land called “Udayachal”. But, the uprising was repressed by the then government. In order to lead the movement, the ABSU formed a political association called the Bodo People’s Action Committee (BPAC). The revolt of ABSU began with the slogan “Divide Assam Fifty-Fifty”, a fallout of which was the formation of Bodo Accord in 1993. Following the Bodo Accord, the Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) was established. Later on, the BAC was

substituted by the BTQ which was formed in agreement with the Memorandum of Settlement (MoS) on 10 February 2003.

w CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. How is the forest important in tribal life?

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Q2. Did British dominance prompt tribal movement?

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Q3. Which combat tactic did the tribal people use?

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Q4. What are categories of tribal movement based on orientation?

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Q5. Name some important tribal movements in India

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u 9.5 LET US SUM UP

- Prior to the occupation and consequent amalgamation of tribal regions in the British areas, the varied tribes had their own distinct social and economic arrangements.
- The systems were customary laws and custom gratified the needs of the tribal people. The social system of each community was commanded by a chief and they enjoyed autonomy pertaining to the management of their community affairs. The land and forests were chief resources of their livelihood.
- Post the occupation of the tribal regions, the British designed rules which targeted at enduring the colonial benefits. These policies were unfavorable to the welfares of the tribal people which terminated the isolation of tribal communities and linked them with the national economy. This unsettled the moderately autonomous organisation of the tribal societies.

- New legal system was introduced in tribal societies, which was in direct opposition to tribal system of justice. A congregation of classes developed, like the landlords, contractors, traders, money-lenders, and government administrators in the tribal areas.
- These classes of people did not belong to the tribal communities. They were seen as outcasts (dikus) by the tribal people. The tribals of various areas rebelled against the oppressive moves of these classes of people.
- Several tribal rebellions have taken place in the history of India, beginning with one in Bihar in 1772, subsequently followed by countless rebellions in Andhra Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Assam, Mizoram and Nagaland.
- It is seen that most of the tribal uprisings had agricultural, religious, political, and economic reasons for their development.
- It is argued that on several occasions, the British and also the governments of independent India evaded the need to understand the open political and democratic ambitions of the tribal people.
- The common viewpoints that surface within tribal movements comprise aspects like reiterating of the tribal self, recollecting the control over resources like land and forest, regaining political dominion, redefining development, etc.

9.6 FURTHER READING

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2) Guha, *Planter Raj to Swaraj: Freedom Struggle and Electoral Politics in Assam*: 1926-1947,New Delhi, ICHR, 1977

3) Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonisl India*, Delhi, OUP, 1983.

4) Pathy, *Tribal Peasantry: Dynamics of Development*, New Delhi, Inter-India, 1984.

5) Singh, Kr. *Birsa Munda and His Movement,* 1874-1901. A S Millenerian Movement in Chotanagpur, Calcutta, OUP, 1983

9.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Ans Q No 1: Yes, forest is the lifeline of a tribal community since their beliefs, economy and culture revolves around the forest.

Ans Q No 2: Yes, British dominance prompted tribal movement since tribals were dispossessed from their land and they were exploited by the administrators, moneylenders and zamindars

Ans Q No 3: Guerilla warfare

Ans Q No 4:(i) forest-based movements, (ii) socio-religious movements or social-culture movements (iii) movements seeking political autonomy and (iv) agrarian movement

Ans Q No 5: The Santhal Insurrection 2. The Munda Rebellion 3. The Bodo Movement 4. Jharkhand Movement 5. Naga Movement

M 9.8 MODEL QUESTIONS

Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q1. What is meant by 'tribal movement'?

Q2. What are the salient features of the tribal movements in India?

Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q1. Elucidate upon tribal movement in Assam

Q2. Discuss the Naga Movement in details

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UNIT 10: DALIT MOVEMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives
10.2 Introduction
10.3 Conceptualizing the term 'Dalit'
10.4 Dalit Movement: Emergence, Causes, Objectives
10.5 Dalit Movement: Issues, leadership and implications
10.6 Let Us Sum Up
10.7 Further Reading
10.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
10.9 Model Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- Obtain an overall understanding about the Dalit movement in India,
- Know the primary causes, rise, issues, leadership and implications of the Dalit movement in India.

10.2 INTRODUCTION

Social movements of different kinds and nature emerge due to issues and problems faced by the society. The Dalit movement emerged owing to specific social hurdles faced by particularly the so-called Dalit community of the country. In this unit, emphasis shall be laid on a holistic understanding of the idea of Dalit movements in India.

10.3 CONCEPTUALIZING THE TERM 'DALIT'

The term "Dalit" is considered to have been derived from Sanskrit. The term in its simplest form implies "crushed", or "broken to pieces". Historically it is believed that the term was first used by Jyotirao Phule in the 19th century, in the milieu of the subjugation met by the former "untouchable" castes among the Hindus. Mahatma Gandhi espoused the expression "Harijan," (when loosely translated the term implies "Children of God"), to locate the former castaways. As per the Indian Constitution, the Dalits are the people who are listed in the

schedule caste category. In the contemporary time, several Dalits make use of the word to shift afar from the more deprecating terms of their caste names, or even the term "untouchable." In the present times the usage of "Dalit" is positioned on the notion that as a people, the assemblage may have been fragmented by subjugation, but they subsist and even flourish by finding significance in the fight of their existence. Dalit in modern India,is thus a political identity.

It has to be also understood that Dalits are a group of people who are placed at the last category of caste system in the Chaturvarna Theory. With minor modifications, nonetheless, the term Dalit would imply not a single category of caste, it is also inclusive of people who are subjugated economically, socially, administratively and from all the compasses of life, by the customs of the country. There are varied terminologies in addition to Dalits, by which people of the lower caste are referred to. Some terms are Dasyu, Dasa, Atisudra, Adikarnataka, Panchama, Tirukulattar, Adi Dravida.

10.4 DALIT MOVEMENT: EMERGENCE, CAUSES, OBJECTIVES

In simple words, Dalit movement is a movement of people and assemblages to terminate the caste based discriminations and subjugations. It is also seen as a struggle for securing the human rights of the Dalits and other beleaguered segments of the Indian society. Dalit movement strives to construct both a national and global union and consensus against the caste system, inhuman subjugation and discernments.

An established fact of the Indian society is that it is categorically fragmented on the foundation of caste. The position of person is reliant on the caste in which he is born. In the traditional caste system prevalent in India, the bottom castes were placed at the lowest of the social hierarchy. The Dalits were also not permitted to alter their caste profession. The magnitude of the incapacities was such that they were compelled to live on the fringes of villages and townships. The browbeaten Dalits upraised numerous struggles to fight their social mistreatment from all quarters. There were two major factors that made profound influence on caste system, which were further responsible for ushering in a social turmoil and an awakening amongst the Dalits. First, the western ideologies of progressiveness of thought, individual liberty and equality began making headway into the traditional milieu of the Hindu social system, the caste matrix and other institutions. Secondly, the British administration introduced the concepts of equality before law and modem technology which paved the way

for the creation of the much needed intellectual and emotional milieu for the development of social transformation movements.

Dalit movements are a consequence of centuries of oppression and exploitation that have systematically evolved along with the caste system. The factors that have triggered these movements are therefore complex and have multitude origins. The Dalit Movement is an upshot of the continuous abhorrence that has been spawned for centuries from the ferocious undertakings of the upper castes of India. Ever since Dalits were allocated the task of serving people belonging to the other three Varnas, they were dispossessed of higher training of mind and were repudiated from social, economic and political necessities and privileges.

The division of the labour was based on the ground of inequality and mistreatment. The caste system deteriorated Dalit lines into pathogenic circumstance where professions changed into castes.

Since times immemorial, the Dalits were barred from the mainstream society and were only permitted to pursue menial jobs like manual scavenging, sweeping and many such lowly jobs, for which their wages also meagre.

Owing to the fact that they dwelled on the fringes of the Hindu villages, they did not have benefit of geographical isolation. They were banned from venturing into those mainland areas in every respect. They were forbidden to wear proper clothing and adornments, besides being untouchable. Many of the atrocities were meted out in the name of religion. To maintain the monopoly on people, education was not made accessible to the lower caste. Also, in many places they had to go on sweeping the road they walked, to make it pure for the upper caste people to walk again on it. So, most lower caste people tied brooms on their waist. Women of lower caste were prohibited from covering their upper body which led to an uprising from 1813 to 1859 in Travancore. The Channar Lahala or Channar revolt, also known as the Maru Marakkal Samara is the crusade of Nadar climber women in Travancore kingdom for their right to wear upper-body garments. Prior to the movement the right to cover the breasts was reserved for Nair women, who were upper caste Hindu women.

The practice of untouchability was one of the discriminatory practices which compelled the Dalits to live in extreme unpitying circumstances, which prompted them to rise and fight for equality.

The Dalit movement that gathered impetus in the post-independence era. With the familiarity of western language, and under the sway of the Christian missionaries, the Dalits

started to come across the principles of equality and liberty and therefore, began the Dalit Movement in contemporary times. The exasperated Dalit minds after its amalgamation with reason began the opposition against the carnages of Brahmanism.

The objectives of Dalit movements across history has been predominantly to put an end to caste discriminations, eradicat caste based ferocity against the people of oppressed castes, exterminat bonded child labour which is a delinquency against humankind, reject gender based domination and trafficking of girls, refuse cultural nationalism of the Hindu right, campaign of full time alteration and empowerment of Dalits, and devouring the oppression of caste pyramid to end the domination of Dalits.

Therefore, the Dalit movement is the systematized confrontation of the prolonged caste oppression that has plagued the Indian society.It is a crusade or fight of lower castes counter to the hegemony of Brahmanism. Dalit movement is also a movement of the grassroots that desires justice through the speeches, dramas, songs, literary works, cultural institutions and all the other conceivable measurers. Several scholars also see this movement as a movement which has been commanded by Dalits to pursue equality with all other castes of the Hindu society. The primary objective of the Dalit movement has been to institute a society in India founded on social equality.

10.5 DALIT MOVEMENT: ISSUES, LEADERSHIP AND IMPLICATIONS

Years of subjugation led to the rise of intellectuals who led the Dalit movement, one of whom was Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the illustrious intellectual who fought for securing the social acknowledgement and human rights for the oppressed caste. All India Depressed Association and the All India Depressed Classes Federation were the primary establishments under the aegis of which the Dalit movement blossomed.They targeted at civilizing their miserable economic situations, and also disseminate education among them. The organisations also function for securing basic rights like the right to take water from public wells, the right to admittance to the schools, the right to use common public roads and the right to enter the public temples. For example, the Mahad Satyagrah (1927) which crusaded for the right of water,commanded by Dr. Ambedkar, was one of the prominent movements of the Dalits to win equality in social rights.

All India Harijans Sevak Sangh was also instituted by M.K. Gandhi in 1923. The organisation started several schools for the Harijan including residential vocational schools. The Dalit crusade also facilitated the process of providing free education to the Harijans starting from the primary class up to the university level and many more such policies. Besides, to empower the Harijans to get rid of their backwardness, they were provided with special educational amenities

To implement the provisions of law more severely, the Untouchability (Offences) Act (1955) was approved to fix consequences for not following the law. As stated earlier, a major and significant segment of the anti-untouchability crusade was propelled by Dr Ambedkar in the 1920s in Maharashtra. He understood the prospect and possibility of a progression for the untouchables through the usage of political resources to accomplish social and economic egalitarianism with the highest classes in modern civilization. He systematized the autonomous labour party on secular lines for defending the welfare of the laboring classesThe year 1930 was a landmark year for the Dalit movement when they demanded a separate electorate which steered a conflict between Ambedkar and Gandhi. In the early 1930s Ambedkar determined that the only way of humanizing the status of the untouchables was to relinquish the Hindu religion.. Dirks (2000) argues that the failure of secular institution to bring transformation led Dr. Ambedkar to take resort to (another) religion to escape the oppression in one. He established that Buddhism was a suitable substitute religion for the untouchables. He favored Buddhism because it was a native Indian religion of egalitarianism; a religion which was anti caste and anti-Brahmin..

As early as 1873 Jyotiba Phule established the Sayta Shodak Mandal with the objective of redeeming the non-Brahmins from the controls of Brahmanism. Following the line of Jyotiba Phule, Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur started Satya Shodak Mandal in 1912 and carried on the movement for the liberation of the lower caste people. In the pre- independence era, the Dalit movement was inclusive of a resilient non-Brahman movement against Brahmanism in Maharashtra. In similar vein many such movements emerged namely the Adi Dravidas movement in Tamil Nadu, Adi Andhras movement in Coastal Andhra, Shri Narayan Dharma Paripalan movement in Kerala and many more.

The Dalits of Maharashtra propelled the Dalit Panther Movement in the early 1970s.Originally it was limited to the urban areas of Maharashtra and had not spread to Karnataka, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and other states. The social organisation

Dalit Panther seeks to fight caste discrimination. It was established by Namdeo Dhasal and J. V. Pawar on 29 May 1972 in the Indian state of Maharashtra. The crusade saw it's zenith in the 1970s and through the 1980s.

The proclamation for Dalit identity has practically become the central subject of Dalit movement. Dalit movement comprises of local level cooperative action against discernment and carnages. There are numerous local movements in which Dalits in large groups travel from their villages opposing caste based discrimination and mayhems. One incident took place in condemnation against the suffering and whipping of the Dalits of the village Sambarda. It was the mass migration of people like expatriates from their native village who camped in the open infront of the district collectors office for 131 days in 1989.They asked for alternative areas for dwelling where their life and self-respect will be protected. They would not settle unless a permanent solution to protect their land and dignity was provided.

Dalit movement was and is a reaction against the social, cultural and economic dominance and elitism of other classes over them. The contemporary Dalit literature precisely is an endeavour to break the socio-cultural hegemony. At present times, developed communication system made wider associations and amalgamation conceivable, while new structure of education provided chance for socio-economic upliftment. All the above mentioned factors, amongst others, enabled the process of realigning the position of untouchables.

Today, accomplishments of the members of the Dalit community is considered to be a way of consolidating the Dalit movement not only from the socio-cultural front but also from the economic front Other than securing prominent positions in politics, a significant political matter is over the affirmative action procedures taken by the government for the upliftment of Dalits through quotas or reservations in government jobs and admissions in colleges or universities. For example, the seats in the Lok Sabha and State legislative assemblies are earmarked for Scheduled Caste and Tribe candidates, a system pursued by B. R. Ambedkar and other Dalit campaigners in order to guarantee that Dalits would get a proportional political voice.

However, despite centuries of struggle, even today anti-Dalit biases exist in fringe groups. Many anti- Dalit crusaders oppose equal or special behavior for the Dalits and have adopted violent methods to overpower the Dalits.Even though antidiscrimination laws are in place, many Dalits continue to suffer from social dishonor and discrimination. Ethnic rigidities and caste based violence between Dalit and non-Dalits have become a regular phenomenon. Many also argue that only securing political mileage and economic privileges cannot uplift the

Dalits. Holistic change is needed whereby transformation takes place at grassroots in terms of educational rights, rights to practice one's religion without any fear, the right to read religious scriptures and the right to communicate about Dalit situation through Dalit literature. It has to be acknowledged that caste is deeply rooted ideology in the minds of the people and so, social change would imply not only the eradication of discriminatory practices, but also the creation of an open-minded society.

w CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. What is Dalit movement?

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Q2. What are the Objectives of Dalit movement?

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Q3. What is understood by Dalit literature?

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u 10.6 LET US SUM UP

- The Dalit movement has been seen as a crusader to attain better mobility on part of the community that was at the social periphery.
- Dalit movement was and is a reaction against the social, cultural and economic dominance and elitism of other classes over them. The contemporary Dalit literature precisely is an endeavour to break the socio-cultural hegemony.
- The erudite Dalits, progressively began to talk about the difficulties of poor and about mistreatment and mortifications meted out by the upper castes. They also got a boost owing to the British policy of divide and rule in which census played an adequate role of classifying caste. This paved the way for making claims for social ascendancy through caste mobilisation.
- Developed communication system made wider associations and amalgamation conceivable, while new structure of education provided chance for socio-economic upliftment.

- All the above mentioned factors, amongst others, enabled the process of realigning the position of untouchables. Social transformation crusadesled by the likes of Jyotiba Phule in Maharashtra, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Sri Narayan Guru in Kerala also began to be critical of caste inequality.
- Gandhi assimilated the issue of elimination of untouchability into the national movement for independence and momentous crusade and struggles such as Varkom and Guruvayur Satyagraha were planned. His efforts were directed at making the upper caste realise the harshness of discrimination carried out through the practice of untouchability.
- Other components also developed in different parts of India. For example, in Punjab, the Adi Dharm, in Uttar Pradesh the Adi Hindi and in Bengal the Namashvedsas, etc. In Bihar, Jagjivan Ram arose as the most prominent Congress leader, formed Khet majoor Sabha and Depressed Class League.In North India, Bahujan Samaj party (BSP) was formed in 1980's under Kanshi Ram and later, Mayawati, who belongs to the Dalit community and also a member of BSP became the chief minister of Uttar Pradesh. Also, Acharya Ishvardatt Medharthi (1900–1971) of Kanpur reinforced the crusade of the Dalits.
- Today, accomplishments of the members of the Dalit community is considered to be a way of consolidating the Dalit movement not only from the socio-cultural front but also from the economic front.
- Other than securing prominent positions in politics, a significant political matter is over the affirmative-action procedures taken by the government for the upliftment of Dalits through quotas or reservations in government jobs and admissions in colleges or universities. For example the seats in the Lok Sabha and State legislative assemblies are earmarked for Scheduled Caste and Tribe candidates, a system pursued by B. R. Ambedkar and other Dalit campaigners in order to guarantee that Dalits would get a proportional political voice.

10.7 FURTHER READING

1) Ambedkar, B.R. 1987. Writings and Speeches, Volume 3, Bombay: Government of Maharashtra.

2) Charsley, Simon. 2004. "Interpreting Untouchability: The Performance of Caste in Andhra Pradesh, South India," Asian Folklore Studies, Volume 63, No. 2, Pp. 267–290.

3) Chatterjee, P. 2001. "On Civil Society and Political Society in Postcolonial Democracies," in Sudipta Kaviraj and Sunil Khilnani (eds.) Civil Society:History and Possibilities, Cambridge, Cambridge Press, Pp. 165–178.

4) Gellner, David N. (ed.). 2009. Ethnic Activism and Civil Society in South Asia, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

K 10.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Ans to Q No 1: A movement of persons and groups to bring an end to caste discernments and mistreatments.

Ans to Q No 2: a) Termination of caste discriminations b) eradicating caste based violence against the people of dejected castes c) Advancement of full time alteration and enablement of dalits

Ans to Q No 3: The literature created by the Dalit consciousness, developed primarily during the Mukti movement.

M 10.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q1. Write a note on various human rights issues faced by Dalits

Q2. State the meaning of the term 'Dalit'.

Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q1. Highlight the leadership of the Dalit movement in India at various points in time.

Q2. Write an essay on the Dalit movement in contemporary times.

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UNIT11: WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Women's movement in India: emergence and development

11.4 Significant issues and Contribution by Individuals and organizations for the Revivification of Womens Movement in India

11.5 Women's Movement and role of legislations

11.6 Current initiatives towards the cause of women

11.7 Check Your Progress

11.8 Let Us Sum Up

11.9 Further Reading

11.10 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

11.11 Model Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- know about the women's movement in India
- understand significant issues, legislations associated with the women's movement
- know initiatives taken for the cause of women in present times

11.2 INTRODUCTION

The issues of gender and particularly those related to women have received thoughtful attention from various sections of the society. The rise of the women's movement reflects a systematic way of highlighting women's issues. In this unit, we shall try to know about the women's movement in India, issues, and the legislations associated with it.

11.3 WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN INDIA: EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT

Conventionally, in India the women's uprising was less endorsed, but nevertheless have been successful in shuddering the very core of the socio-religious value system in India. It is a known fact that the position of women in India, primarily, was that of a second class

citizen since time immemorial. Indian women are heirs of an extremely composite arrangement of social models and cultural principles. Some of the most aggressive and passionate debates of the 19th century specifically highlighted the plight of the women. Some inexorable pointers of women's low status were the likes *purdah* system, *sati*, female infanticide, child marriage and enforced widowhood. Social reform movements under the aegis of Brahmo Samaj(1828), the Arya Samaj(1875) or the Prathana Samaj(1867) attacked these social evils that oppressed the women from all quarters.

In India the women's movement can be divided into three waves or phases. The first wave commenced from 19th century onwards with the mass organization of women in the national movement and also through reform movements that fought for the rights of women.

The era from late 1960s onward is deemed to be the second wave, which witnessed the resurrection of political action from women. The ineffectuality of the economic strategies that resulted in unemployment and inflation led to the mass revolution. It is interesting to note that in the1960s, women were disgruntled with the status quo and they got themselves associated with the crusade of the rural poor and industrial working class. The undertakings of women during this point in time comprised of involvement in Naxalbari movement, anti-inflation protests, Navnirman movement in Gujarat and Bihar, rural rebellion in Dhule District in Maharashtra and Chipko movement.

The women's uprising in India is a rich and vivacious movement that has taken shape in various ways in the diverse parts of the country. It is imperative to acknowledge the fact that for a diverse country like India, transformation in male-female relationships and the kind of problems the women's movement is concentrating on, will certainly not be an easy task. It is an established fact that for every step the movement takes forward, there will be potential recoil, a conceivable reversion. While this second phase of the movement witnessed mass participation in popular uprising against the administration and the power structures in general, but the third wave, which evolved in the late 1970s, had a definite feminist emphasis. By the mid-1970s, devaluing of life had become a run-of-the-mill experience for women. The main difference that can be seen in the women's movement during the 1970s and more predominantly in the mid-1980s is that women's opinion were raised precisely for women; women as a sovereign entity began to discuss matters specific to women. Thus, the women's crusade in this period had women members that cut across the class barriers and women from elite, poor and middle class sections came forward in full strength. It is evident that the

concerns that united the women together was not class but gender associations. The rise of womens studies centres across the country against the backdrop of Equality Report is notable. But again it is not be misunderstood that the class character disappeared, but instead it was given a new facet. That is, women as a class was principally an economically helpless class- and that became a matter of protest as well. During this phase the problem of violence against women became a central point of many of these deliberations. Here, the government was compelled to enact varied legations pertaining to domestic violence, dowry, women and child health and more.

It is also important to note that there were many individual women in different points in time who stood up against the patriarchal society and have been an inspiration for the organised womens movement in India.

11.4 SIGNIFICANT ISSUES AND CONTRIBUTION BY INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE REVIVIFICATION OF WOMENS MOVEMENT IN INDIA

- Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi is a name known to all, her valor and excellent leadership laid an exceptional model for all future generations of women freedom fighters. It is said she used to go into the battleground clad in a man's outfit. Holding the bridles of her horse in mouth she would hold swords in both hands. She was considered by the British as the best and boldest military leader of revolutionaries, and she died a hero's death in the battleground.
- The Begum of Oudh, Begum Hazrat Mahal, took dynamic part in the defense of state of Lucknow from the British.Even though being the queen she was used to luxury, she appeared on the battleground herself to embolden her troops. Begam Hazrat Mahal held grounds against the British but eventually she had to surrender and take shelter in Nepal.
- Raja Ram Mohan Roy is considered to be the first man who spoke publicly against the injustices committed on women in the name of tradition and religion. He was instrumental in abolishing sati, he also campaigned against polygamy.
- Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar fought for the rights of the widows and was able to pursue the passing of the Widow Remarriage Act of 1956.

- Behramji Malabari, a Parsi crusader from Bombay, propelled An All- India Campaign to increase the age of consensus for marriage from 10 years to 12 years. In following years, the age of consent of marriage act as recommended by Malabari was passed in 1891.
- Pandita Ramabai Saraswati, an extraordinary woman from Poona, established a branch of the Arya Samaj and went on to set up a chain of woman's organisation in numerous towns of Bombay presidency. She also founded the Sharda Sadan that worked for providing employment and education to women, predominantly young widows.
- In the year 1908 Gujarati Stree Mandal in Ahmedabad was established and a Mahila Sewa Samaj was instituted in Mysore in 1913 and in Poona in 1916.
- Sarladevi Chaudrani founded the All-India women's organization and the Bharat Stri Mahamandal.
- The All India Women's Conference (AIWC) is a non-governmental organisation which was started in 1927 by Margaret Cousins. It played a dynamic role in instigating and campaigning for social legislation that would develop the position of women. Owing to the efforts of AIWC the following legislations were enacted- Hindu marriage and divorce act 1955,Sarda act 1929, the Hindu Minority and Guardianship Act 1956,Special Marriage Act 1954, the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act 1956 and Suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women Act 1956. Additionally, the AIWC established a number of innovative institutions, a number of which in the present day operate as autonomous apex bodies in their individual domains. Some such institutions are: the Lady Irwin College for home science, New Delhi, which is now an institute offering graduate and post- graduate courses. The Family planning centers has now become the Family Planning Association of India. Also, Save the Children Committee, now operates as the Indian Council of Child Welfare.
- Kamaladevi Chattopadhyay, was one of the founders of the AIWC, a courageous freedom fighter devoted to constructive work, contested the election to the Madras legislative assembly as an independent candidate.
- Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy, the first woman medical graduate of Madras and also one of the founding associates of the AIWC, was nominated to the legislature by the government.

- A historic episode was the First All India Women's Conference on Educational Reform which was held at Poona from 5th to 8th January, 1927. The conference gave a platform for women from different parts of India belonging to all castes and communities to come together. The main worry of all the women who gathered there was women's education.
- The crusade for women's education was pioneered by Mahadev Govind, Ramabai Ranade, Jyotiba Phule, Ramabai Saraswati and Maharshi Karve, all of them famous social reformers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

11.5 WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AND ROLE OF LEGISLATIONS

Domestic violence has been an inherent part of the society we are living in. Domestic violence can be categorised as physical violence, economic violence, sexual violence and emotional violence. Women across generations have been victims of domestic violence and never found a voice to express themselves. When women movement gained momentum and welfare organisations were formed, women got a platform to discuss their issues and seek solutions. Many such women came under salvage of women welfare organizations like Women Welfare Association of India (WWAI), Army Woman Welfare Association (AWWA), Woman's Emancipation and Development Trust (WEDT) and several others. It is seen that victims of domestic violence who are compelled to leave the house fall prey to women trafficking and pornography. Additionally, the children are also the victims of the after effects of domestic violence. When such concerns began to be deliberated in the public forums owing to mobilisation of women the government of India initiated several legislations including Dowry Prohibition Act and Protection Against Domestic Violence Act. In 1983, domestic violence was acknowledged as a definite criminal offence with the inclusion of section 498-A into the Indian Penal Code. This segment deals with vindictiveness by a husband or his family towards a married woman.

Also, central legislative actions at the national level came into effect for the children who were a victim of child labor with the enactment of The Child Labor Prohibition and Regulation Act -1986 and The Factories Act -1948. The first act prohibited the employment of children below 14 years of age, and recognized 57 processes and 13 occupations which were deemed to be dangerous to the well-being and lives of children. The Factories Act again forbids the engagement of children less than 14 years of age.

Also, the Government of India approved a Domestic Violence Bill, 2001, which stated to protect the rights of women who are victims of violence of any kind occurring within the family and to provide for matters connected therewith or incidental thereto. An act called Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act, 2005 also has been passed.

11.6 CURRENT INITIATIVES TOWARDS THE CAUSE OF WOMEN

Other than government legislations there have been social organisations that have spearheaded the womens movement and have been fighting for women's causes. Some noteworthy examples of such initiatives that emerged post-independence are highlighted below.

- **Self Employed Women's Association (SEWA)**

  Self Employed Women's Association (SEVA) is a trade union registered in 1972. It was founded by Ela Bhatt who was a noted Gandhian and civil rights leader. The headquarters of SEWA is located in Ahmedabad, Gujarat, and it operates in numerous states of India. The member of SEWA comprised of women who earned a living through their own labour or small business and did not have a regular salaried occupation with welfare reimbursements like workers in the organized sector have. They were the undefended labour force of India comprising 93% of the labour force. Thus, women workers as a whole remain uncounted, undercounted and imperceptible. SEWA emerged out of the Textile Labour Association (TLA), India's oldest and biggest union of textile workers established in 1920 by Anasuya Sarabhai. In 1954 TLA established its Women's Wing with the aim to support women belonging to families of millworkers and its work was focused fundamentally on training and welfare undertakings. In order to meet the objectives of the organisation the following sister concerns were established:

SEWA Bank: In a bid to tackle the problem of lack of facilities for opportune and efficient savings, credit amenities and to free themselves from the malicious cycle of external debt, SEWA members founded a bank of their own. Around 4,000 women members of SEWA funded sharecapital of Rs.10 each to institute the Mahila SEWA Co-operative Bank in May 1974.

SEWA Academy: SEWA Academy was established in 1991 which was responsible for basic education and for capacity building ventures, leadership training,communications and to boost research.

SEWA Communication: Through this wing SEWA strengthened its communication network reaching out to more number of people. A fortnightly newsletter, a monthly magazine for adolescent girls, an electronic newsletter are published by this wing. Video SEWA was founded in the year 1984 in a bid to facilitate the members of SEWA and to stimulate, organize and

strengthen the existing membership of SEWA.

SEWA Research: Trustworthy, scientific based research has been an important tool in SEWA's advocacy struggles. Through research, SEWA endeavors to gather its members, the self-employed women into the mainstream of the world of information.

SEWA Housing: In 1994, the Gujarat Mahila Housing SEWA Trust (MHT) was establihsed with the aim of improving the housing and living conditions of poor women in the informal sector.

- **SAKHI**

  The organization Sakhi was established in the year 1989, for South Asian Women led by a group of five South Asian women belonging to diverse professional domains like banking, film, law, and public health. In simple words the term Sakhi implies a female friend. The organization was instituted to empower women to raise their voice against domestic violence within the South Asian community. The indicated mission of Sakhi for South Asian Women is to terminate domestic violence against women creating a union of survivors, communities, and organizations. Sakhi uses an assimilated approach that syndicates support and enablement through service delivery, community participation, media activism, and policy initiatives. Sakhi has been working as a safe outlet to provide South Asian women with continuing emotional support, culturally thoughtful and language-specific support in order to face the vehemence in their lives. The stratagy used by Sakhi comprises of the following:

  - **Crisis responses :** It responds to appeals from Asian nations with matters related to women
  - **Case management :** It includes translation services, convoy to courts, public benefits agencies, health care stopovers, recommendations for health, housing, legal aid, and job training and placement for women.

- **Distinctive curriculums :** They have been developed and customized by Sakhi to empower the survivors which includes computer classes, monthly support groups, financial literacy workshops and endowments for educational advancement.

- **Kali For Women: Zubaan**

In the year 1984, Urvashi Butalia and Ritu Menon instituted the Kali for Women, India's first feminist publishing house. This was started with the aim to print eminent work, keep expenses low, and guarantee that not only the content, but also the form of what they published was of international standards. Over a period of time Kali has come to be known as one of the most noteworthy publishing houses operating in India and across the globe. It's name is synonymous to quality, editorial thoughtfulness, fineness of content, and, most significantly, a platform for women's voices and concerns to be heard and represented. Started in a Delhi garage, Kali has been providing a worthwhile publishing ambassador to Indian feminism.

- **The Centre for Women's Development Studies**

The Centre for Women's Development Studies (CWDS) was set up on 19th April 1980, in the middle of the International Women's Decade, by a assemblage of men and women, who were engaged with the groundwork of the first ever all-inclusive government report on the status of women in India titled 'Towards Equality' (Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India, (CSWI), Government of India).They later allied with the Women's Studies Programme of the Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR). The Advisory Committee on Women's Studies programme of the ICSSR endorsed the need for an independent institute to construct on the knowledge already produced, but with a broader mandate and funds to expand its undertakings in research and action.

- **National Commission For Women**

The national commission for women was established as a statutory body in January 1992 under the aegis of Commission for Women Act, 1990 of government of India, to evaluate the constitutional and legal protections for women, mention corrective legislative measures, expedite redressal of complaints and counsel the government on the policy matters impacting women.

w CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. Women's movement in India is classified into how many waves?

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Q2. When did legislation against domestic violence come into effect?

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Q3. What is Economic Violence?

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Q4. What is the full form of WWAI?

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Q5. What is **SEWA Bharat?**

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u 11.8 LET US SUM UP

- In India the women's movement can be divided into three waves or phases: first wave commenced from 19th century onwards with the mass organization of women in the national movement and also through reform movements that fought for the rights of women.
- The era from late 1960s onward is deemed to be the second wave of the women's movement in India, which witnessed the resurrection of political action from women.
- The third wave, which evolved in the late 1970s, had a definite feminist emphasis.
- Many have fought for the cause of women since times immemorial. While the issues may differ, but there has been seen a continuous struggle to maintain the gender balance.
- In contemporary times, not only the government, but several non-government organizations are engaged with the several women's issues, with the definite aim of achieving women's emancipation.

11.9 FURTHER READING

1) Agnihotri, Indu and Vina Mazumdar. 1995. Changing Terms of Political Discourse: Women's Movement in India 1970s – 1990s. Economic and Political Weekly, 30(29): 1869 1879.

2) Dietrich, Gabriele. 1992. Reflections on the Women's Movement in India: Religion, Ecology, Development. New Delhi: Horizon India Books

3) Mazumdar, Vina. 1976. The Social Reform Movement in India: From Ranade to Nehru. In Indian Women from Purdah to Modernity. ed. B.R. Nanda: 41-66. New Delhi: Vikas.

4) Mazumdar, Vina. (ed.). 1979. Symbols of Power: Studies on the Political Status of Women in India. New Delhi: Allied Publishers.

11.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Ans to Q No1: 1st wave from 19th century onwards, 2nd wave 1960s onward and 3rd wave emerged in the late 1970s

Ans to Q No2: 1983, domestic violence was acknowledged as a definite criminal offence with the inclusion of section 498-A into the Indian Penal Code.

Ans to Q No3: Violence where women is denied of their economic freedom

Ans to Q No4: Women Welfare Association of India

Ans to Q No5: SEWA Bharat is an association that works with problems pertaining to women employed in the informal sector, and to reinforce the capacity of the organizations that serve the welfares of these women.

11.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q1) Write short note on Domestic Violence

Q2) Write short note on suffrage movement

Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q1) Write an essay on womens participation in post independent movements.

Q2) Describe the role played by women in Indian National movements

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UNIT 12: HUMAN RIGHTS

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives
12.2 Introduction
12.3 Human Rights: the formal emergence of the idea
12.4 Human rights movement in independent India
12.5 Issues of Human Rights in India at different points of time
12.6 Let Us Sum Up
12.7 Further Reading
12.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
12.9 Model Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- Know about human rights issues and their emergence
- Know different uprisings associated with human rights
- Know the consequences of different human rights movements

12.2 INTRODUCTION

Social movements as a means to represent issues, concerns and grievances of people have been discussed in the previous units. Till now, we have seen the different contexts and circumstances on which social movements may arise. In this unit, we shall focus on the idea of human rights and the associated issues, uprisings, etc.

12.3 HUMAN RIGHTS: THE FORMAL EMERGENCE OF THE IDEA

India is one of the few nations in the world that has a variegated history of human rights movement. Though challenging the precursors of the defense and promotion of human rights may be sketched to the ancient literature and life of the people, the foundations of the modern human rights movement seem to have been laid in India only during the course of the anti-colonial struggle. In fact, in order to provide for a holistic critique of colonialism in the country, the leaders of the national movement found it appropriate to denounce the British

government in India for it's complete disregard even to the basic human rights of the Indians while trying to disseminate the colonial rule in the country. Consequently, the provision for the highest order of human rights for the citizens of the country in the Constitution of independent India was taken for granted as the replication of the valued dream of the founding fathers of the Constitution from the time of the origin of the national movement in the country.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights is considered as a standard model at the global level. However, it does not abide any force of law. It is seen that during the period of 1948 to 1966, the primary task of the UN Human Rights Commission primarily focused on building an organization of international human rights law founded on the Declaration. The Human Rights Commission compiled two chief documents- i) the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and ii) the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR). Both these reports subsequently became international law in 1976. Along with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, these two treaties include the "International Bill of Human Rights." The ICCPR throws light on subjects like the right to life, freedom of speech, religion and voting. The ICESCR on the other hand, focuses on food, education, health and shelter. Both covenants declare that these are rights for all people, and they prohibit discrimination.

Further, the ICCPR also instituted a Human Rights Committee of the United Nations. The committee is comprised of eighteen human rights experts, and ensures that each signatory to the ICCPR observes with its terms. The Committee evaluates reports submitted by member countries every five years and issues findings based on a country's performance.

12.4 HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN INDEPENDENT INDIA

Human rights in India is a sensitive subject, more so because of factors like the country's huge size and diverse population, extensive poverty, multifaceted culture, etc. The country has several established provisions to look into the issues of human rights. For example, the Constitution of India has provisions for Fundamental rights. Further, there is a strict system of separation of executive and judiciary in the country. These provisions ensure a systematic approach to engage with issues associated with human rights in India

The functional chronicle of human rights movement in the post independent period presents a story of contradicted promises on the one hand, and the development of a influential civil society initiative to keep the conflagrations of human rights movement burning despite

many challenges, on the other. The signs of the future form of human rights in independent India became evident wherein the Constituent Assembly began to modify the provisions on fundamental rights of the people. Despite having a liberal inclination, the members of the Constituent Assembly owing to the circumstantial subtleties became restricted in their deliberations of the Assembly, such that it could not resolve on anything other than a resilient administrative apparatus even at the cost of the fundamental human rights of the people. The memo of nation building, national security and the harmony and integrity of the nation was so domineering in the minds of the makers of the Constitution that they could not move above the predictable offerings to the people by way of the fundamental rights.

As the process of drafting the Indian constitution was proceeding in India, an international event of intense importance took place in December 1948 when the United Nations General Assembly embraced the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Although the acceptance of the UDHR had its own political reinforcements, reflecting the prevailing reality of the time in terms of resulting cold war, it gave new motivation to the human rights movement in the recently independent countries like India. The Declaration, in a much understated manner, ethically, if not materially, swayed most of the countries to have a all-inclusive agenda of human rights for people in their constitutions on the arrangement presented in the UDHR. Subsequently, almost all the countries, including those not very worried to have human rights as an important piece of their political system, found it fairly essential to not only sign the UDHR but also make corresponding preparation in their own laws or constitutions to imitate the philosophy of the Declaration. In such favorable conditions, the task of the constitution makers in India became more overwhelming keeping in mind the requirements of the UDHR on the one hand, and the necessities of the national harmony and integrity, on the other.

As the final produce, the Constitution of India integrates a number of treasured provisions having weighty insinuations for the human rights campaign in the country. The three significant sections where direct or indirect orientations have been made in relation to the rights of the people are the Preamble, the Fundamental rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSP). Undeniably, though the Preamble enunciates the universal vision of the creators of the Constitution on certain important aspects of the political system of the country, the understated reference to the numerous rights and freedoms of the citizens at the very onset clearly specifies the salience which the framers seemingly wanted to unite in the

Constitution. Nevertheless, when it came to providing for the precise rights to the people, the Constitution architects thought of making a clear division between the first and the second group of human rights, owing to the predominant socio-economic circumstances in the country.

Henceforth, given the firm verdict of the makers to have the democratic structure of governance in the country, it was understandable that intricate provisions are made for warranting to the citizens some fundamental rights, predominantly in the nature of civil and political rights, in order to giver purposeful effervescence to democracy in India. Therefore, as given in Part III of the Constitution, there subsists six sets of fundamental rights namely- right to equality, right to freedom, right against exploitation, right to religious freedom, cultural and educational rights and the right to constitutional remedies. As against these justiciable rights for the gratification of which the citizens are also eligible to go to court, the second generation of human rights are envisioned in Part IV of the Constitution through the Directive Principles which are to be critical in the making of governmental policies and plans on the condition of the accessibility of resources and social consciousness among the people.

A credible product of the human rights campaign, which has also added a new strength in the movement, seems to be the development of the model of Public Interest Litigation (PIL). It advanced in the wake of a petition presented in the Supreme Court by the Delhi division of People's Union for Democratic Rights on behalf of the unorganized workforces appointed by the private contractor, asking for the execution of the provisions of the Minimum Wages Act, by the government. The decision of the Supreme Court in this incident afforded some sort of legal inviolability to the struggles of the human rights groups in fighting for the cause of the defense and promotion of the rights of the destitute and susceptible segments of society. Furthermore, it has encouraged a number of people looking for judicial recourse to set the things correct for the rights of the people. For example, the efforts of H.D. Shouri through his NGO- Common Cause to protect the rights of the customers, and the efforts by Lawyer M.C. Mehta and the NGO Centre for Science and Environment (CSE) to get resolutions to the environmental difficulties of Delhi are demonstrative of the utility of PIL as a daunting tool in the hands of the people and organizations to get the rights of people sheltered.

Yet another extraordinary highlight in the efforts of the human rights organizations took place when the government of India made a resolution to establish the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) in the year 1993. Remarkably, although a number of legal commissions and organizations existed for the defense and promotion of the rights of certain segments of

society like Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, it was comprehended that such organizations neither have the outlook nor logistical upkeep to efficiently safeguard the rights of even their target assemblages. Furthermore, the need was felt for some sort of a devoted national as well as regional organizations that can systematically look into the concerns of defense and promotion of human rights of all units of society with suitable powers and governmental support system. Subsequently, establishment of the NHRC came as a coveted step for the cause of human rights in the nation. Nevertheless, showing its tendency to play to the gallery, the government also established a large number of other commissions namely National Commission for Women, the National Commission for Minorities, and the National Commission for Safai Karamcharis etc. with the avowed determination of shielding and promoting the human rights of these divisions of society. Yet, the working of these institutions for over a decade leaves much to be wanted on the functional effectiveness and success of these bodies, together with the NHRC.

12.5 ISSUES OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN INDIA AT DIFFERENT POINTS OF TIME

It has been mentioned above that the engagement with issues from a human rights perspective on a formal set-up is a relatively novel phenomenon in India. It began only during the colonial rule in India, and more so perhaps towards the latter part. However, from the contemporary perspective, it is common to look and analyse events and issues of relevance that could be comprehended from a human rights outlook. The following account highlights some of such issues.

The sati system has been established as a significant issue in this regard. It was officially obliterated by Governor General William Bentick in 1829, after years of campaigning by Hindu reform campaigns such as the Brahmo Samaj led by Raja Ram Mohan Roy against this conformist funeral tradition of self-sacrifice of widows on the pyre of their dead husbands.

In the early 20th century, The Child Marriage Restraint Act,1929, was passed, barring marriage of minors under 14 years of age.

Again, with an attempt to give more rights to Hindu women, family law pertaining to Hindus were transformed.

Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act, 1958 remains to be a matter of grave concern even today. The power given by this act to the different state forces have been strongly criticized as being an inherent violator of human rights of common people in India.

The launch of Emergency in India is considered to have caused widespread defilements of human rights of innocent people in the country.

The Operation Blue Star and the successive 1984 Anti-Sikh insurrections are another feature of extensive violation of human rights of common people in India.

The widespread ethnic cleansing of Kashmiri Hindus, defiling Hindu temples, killing of Hindus and Sikhs, and kidnappings of foreign tourists and government officials, and the subsequent disturbances in Jammu and Kashmir have gone down history as a brutal attack on human rights of citizens of this country.

These are only a few examples highlighting the issues of human rights concern in the country.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) What led to the rise of Human right movement in India?

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Q2) When was Indian Civil Liberties Union (ICLU) established?

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Q3) What is the full form of UDHR?

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Q4) What is Public Interest Litigation (PIL)?

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Q5) When was National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) established?

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.....

ʊ 12.6 LET US SUM UP

- Human rights movement in India has grown with the passage of time. Emerging as a fallout of different socio-religious transformation crusades propelled in the nation in the pre-independence era, the visible character and perceivable forms of the human rights development wound up remarkably during the mid-20th century.
- The actual impetus was given to the development during the span of the freedom struggle alongside opposing the overbearing laws and controls of the British rulers.
- In the post-independence period, in spite of having elaborate provisions having satisfactory indications for the enjoyment of human rights by the common people, the condition did not turn out to be as conducive as was guaranteed by the national leaders.
- The epitome in this route came during the period of 1975-77 when the national emergency exposed the inadequacy of the human rights crusade in the country to survive in such extreme circumstances.
- Subsequently, a new energy was seen both in term of increase in the number of human rights agencies as well as growth in the operational domain of these agencies. The field of the human rights movement no longer was restricted to the protection and campaign of civil and political rights of the people. Additionally, it went on to incorporate almost all domains of human activity to guarantee that the basic rights of the people are not infringed upon in any form and in any place.
- The governmental activities in this direction came with the formation of national as well state level human rights commissions which would look into the trepidations of human rights.
- Nevertheless, even after these fundamental initiatives, the copious cases of violations of the human rights continue to be a burning issue in the liberal-democratic society of India.
- Consequently, despite facing a number of tests and difficulties, the formidable part of the human rights bodies continue to be fundamental in the country as long as the circumstances and possibility exist for the defilement of human rights of the helpless and susceptible masses.

O 12.7 FURTHER READING

1) Aswini K. Ray, 'Human Rights Movement in India: A Historical Perspective.' Economic and Political Weekly, August 9, 2003, p. 3411.

2) South Asia Human Rights Documentation Centre (SAHRDC), A Step in the Right Direction, Tata McGraw Hill, New Delhi, 2000, p. 78.

3) Kothari S. (1989) The Human Rights Movement in India: Crisis and Challenges. In: Forsythe D.P. (eds) Human Rights and Development. International Political Economy Series. Palgrave Macmillan, London

K 12.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS EXERCISES

Ans to Q No1: Human rights movement in India got its germination during the Emergency Rule during 1975–1977.

Ans to Q No2:1934

Ans to Q No3: Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR).

Ans to Q No4: According to Indian law, public interest litigation means litigation for the safeguarding of the public interest

Ans to Q No5: 1993

M 12.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q1) Write a short note on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Q2) Explain the mechanism of International Bill of Rights

Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q1) What were the main human rights issues being discussed during India's freedom struggle?

Q2) Write an essay on Religion and Human Rights.

xxxxxx

UNIT 13 ENVIRONMENT MOVEMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives
13.2 Introduction
13.3 Emergence of environment movement
13.4 Overview on Environment Movement in India
13.5 Prominent Environment Movements In India
13.6 Let Us Sum Up
13.7 Further Reading
13.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
13.9 Model Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- Know about environmentalism, and why there was a need to campaign for the environment
- obtain an overview of the major environment movements in India
- know about the emergence, issues about prominent environment movements in India

13.2 INTRODUCTION

Most often environmental movement is also referred to as ecology movement, which is a movement inclusive of preservation and green politics. Environmental movement is also understood as a diverse scientific, social, and political crusade for addressing environmental concerns. Environmentalists across the globe promote the idea of the sustainable managing of resources and curatorship of the environment through modifications in public policy and most importantly individual conduct. The movement is balanced on ecology, health, and human rights, take & cognizance of humanity as a participant in maintaining the ecosystem.

It is important to note that environmental movement is an international uprising, represented by very many organizations, ranging from the big to grassroots organisation, based in the nooks and corners of countries across the globe. Due to it's huge participation, varying and resilient principles, the environmental movement is not always integrated in it's objectives.

The movement also incorporates few other movements with a more precise motivation, such as the climate movement. In its broadest sense, the movement is represented by individual citizens, professionals, experts, religious enthusiasts, politicians, scientists, not-for-profit organizations, individual environmentalists and more. In this unit, we are going to know about environmental movements, particularly in India, in more details.

13.3 EMERGENCE OF ENVIRONMENT MOVEMENT

The roots of the environmental movement are founded on the reaction to augmented degrees of smoke pollution in the atmosphere which was a fallout of the Industrial Revolution. The arrival of gigantic factories and the simultaneous colossal growth in coal consumption gave rise to an unparalleled degree of air pollution in industrial hubs. It was seen that after 1900 huge amount of industrial chemical expulsions added to the mounting load of unprocessed human waste. Owing to growing political pressure from the urban middle-class, the first significant, contemporary environmental regulations were formulated in the form of Britain's Alkali Acts, which was passed in 1863. Britain's Alkali Acts sought to control the poisonous air pollution (gaseous hydrochloric acid) released by the Leblanc process which was used for the production of soda ash.

It is interesting to note that the contemporary conservation movement was first exhibited in the forests of India, with the application of scientific preservation philosophies. The conservation ethos that started to emerge was inclusive of three core ideologies: a) that it was the human activity that impaired the environment b) thus, it was a civic duty to preserve the environment for upcoming generations, and c) that systems founded on scientific and empirically based notions ought to be used to ensure that this civic duty is carried out.- Sir James Ranald Martin played a significant role in promoting this philosophy, publishing several medico-topographical accounts that confirmed the scale of impairment created through large-scale deforestation and waterlessness, and promoting expansively for the institutionalization of forest preservation actions in British India through the formation of Forest Departments.

The Madras Board of Revenue began local preservation activities in 1842, led by Alexander Gibson, a practiced botanist who methodically espoused a forest conservation program founded on scientific values. This endeavour was the first instance of state management of forests anywhere in the globe. Ultimately, the administration under Governor-General Lord Dalhousie announced the first permanent and far-reaching forest conservation

plan in the world in 1855, which became a prototype that soon disseminated to other colonies, along with the United States. By 1860, the Department barred the practice of shifting cultivation. Dr. Hugh Cleghorn's 1861 handbook on the forests and gardens of South India became the complete work on the subject and was extensively used by forest deputies in the subcontinent.

Sir Dietrich Brandis joined the British service in 1856 as administrator of the teak forests of Pegu division in eastern Burma. At that time Burma's teak forests was under the control of Karen tribals. He hosted the "taungya" system, in which Karen villagers gave labour for clearing, planting and weeding teak estates. He framed new forest regulations and aided in the establishment of research and training institutions of which the Imperial Forest School at Dehradun is the most prominent.

13.4 OVERVIEW ON ENVIRONMENT MOVEMENT IN INDIA

The environment in which we are living plays a significant part in our existence. It is the responsibility of the individuals to safeguard the natural resources. Conversely, owing to certain reason or the other, there is a lot of misappropriation of these natural resources, in the form of land dilapidation, water pollution, air pollution, soil erosion and deforestation. All these dynamics lead to worsening of our environment. There are occurrences where people have repealed and embraced non-violent action movements for guarding their environment.

A well-known fact is that environmental and public health is a continuing struggle within India. The first steps towards environmental movement in India was taken in the year 1964 by Dasholi Gram Swarajya Sangh, which was a labour cooperative founded by Chandi Prasad Bhatt. It was inaugurated by Sucheta Kriplani and established on a land bequeathed by Shyma Devi. This enterprise was ultimately followed up with the Chipko movement starting in 1973.

The most unadorned single event reinforcing the environment movement was the Bhopal gas leak of 3 December 1984. An estimated 40 tons of methyl isocyanate was leaked, instantaneously killing 2,259 people and eventually affecting 700,000 people of the area.

In contemporary India, one can witness an almost unobstructed exploitation of resources because of the enticement of new consumerist way of life. The balance of nature is disturbed. This has steered numerous conflicts in the society.

It is vital to reiterate that the environmental movements are a manifestation of the socio-ecological upshot of scarcely imagined development policies based on temporary criteria of exploitation. The movements disclose how the resource-intensive stresses of development have innate tendencies of ecological devastation and economic dispossession.

Environment crusaders have triggered micro-action strategies for the protection of natural resources and to make available the macro concept for ecological growth, both at the national and regional echelons. In the past five decades resource utilization has taken place at an extraordinary level. Rigorous agricultural and industrial creations have flagged the way for proliferation in demands for the resources which has ensued into struggles over natural resources.

Note that, these conflicts take a more serious turn when the industrial establishments consuming the resources face encounters from communities, whose subsistence is reliant on these resources and are endangered by obliteration and over use of the resources. Such struggles, which are founded on the worsening condition of the natural resources, are leading to environmental uprisings of different intensities in different parts of India.

13.5 PROMINENT ENVIRONMENT MOVEMENT IN INDIA

Listed below are few of the prominent environmental movements in India that have taken place during the period 1700 to 2000:

- **Bishnoi Movement**

  This movement took place in the 1700s, at Khejarli, Marwar region, in the Rajasthan state. The leader of the movement was Amrita Devi who was supported by other Bishnoi villagers of Khejarli and neighboring villages. The aim of the Bishnoi uprising was to protect sanctified trees from being mowed down by the king's soldiers who were clearing space for making a new palace.

  Amrita Devi could not tolerate to observe the devastation of both her belief and the village's holy trees. She embraced the trees and prompted others villagers to do the same. About 363 Bishnoi villagers lost their lives in this movement. The Bishnoi tree martyrs were swayed by the wisdoms of Guru Maharaj Jambaji, who established the Bishnoi faith in 1485 and set forth philosophies that banned harming of trees and animals. The then king came to know about these happenings hurried to the village and asked for forgiveness, ordering the militaries to stop the logging processes. Soon afterward, the king demarcated the Bishnoi state as a protected area, levying the prohibition on harming of trees and animals. This regulation still subsists in the region in contemporary times.

- **Chipko Movement**

The Chipko movement took place in 1973, in the Chamoli district and later at Tehri-Garhwal district of Uttarakhand. The Chipko movement was led by Sundarlal Bahuguna, Sudesha Devi, Govind Singh Rawat, Bachni Devi, Gaura Devi, Chandi Prasad Bhatt, Shamsher Singh Bisht, Dhoom Singh Negi and Ghanasyam Raturi.

The primary objective of the movement was to safeguard the trees that grew on the Himalayan inclines from the machetes of contractors of the woodland. Sundarlal Bahuguna educated the villagers by telling them about the significance of trees in the ecosystem which prevents the erosion of soil, cause rains and delivers pure air. Following this, the women of Advani village of Tehri-Garhwal secured the sacred yarn around trunks of trees and they embraced the trees, henceforth it was called 'Chipko Movement' or 'hug the tree movement'. The key mandate of the people in these demonstrations was that the paybacks of the forests (especially the right to fodder) should be given to the local residents. The Chipko movement gathered impetus in 1978 when the women confronted police firings and other afflicts. The then state Chief Minister, Hemwati Nandan Bahuguna, established a commission to investigate the issue, which ultimately ruled in favor of the villagers. Chipko Movement became a landmark point in the history of eco-development battles in the area and across the globe.

- **Jungle BachaoAndholan**

The Jungle Bachao Andolan took place in the 1980s in the Singhbhum district of Bihar. The Jungle BachaoAndholan was led by tribals of Singhbhum of Bihar, as an opposition against the government's resolution to substitute the natural Sal forest with high priced Teak. Many called this movement as "Greed Game Political Populism". Later, this movement picked momentum in Jharkhand and Orissa.

- **Appiko Movement**

The Appiko movement took place in 1983 in the Uttara Kannada and Shimoga districts of the Karnataka State. The greatest strength of the Appiko movement lies in the fact that it was neither motivated by a persona nor was it ever officially institutionalised. Nonetheless, it did have an initiator in Pandurang Hegde who helped to kick start the movement in 1983. The Appiko movement rose against the clear-cutting and commercialization of natural forest which had begun to disintegrate the

ancient livelihood system. Many consider the Appiko movement to be the southern form of the Chipko movement. The Appiko Movement was commonally known as "Appiko Chaluvali". The locals hugged the trees which were to be chopped by contractors of the forest division. The Appiko movement made use of varied techniques to raise consciousness. Some such methods were organising foot marches in the central part of the forest, making presentations using slide shows, folk dance presentations to communicate about the movement, street plays and more. The second focus of the Appiko movement was to work for the promotion of afforestation on stripped lands. The movement at a later stage also focused on the balanced usage of ecosphere by familiarizing the people about alternative energy resources so that the pressure on the forest can be reduced. The movement became a huge success and managed to stop the project of the forest department.

- **Narmada BachaoAndholan**

The Narmada Bachao Andolan took place in 1984 in the Narmada River, which flows through the states of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. MedhaPatker, Baba Amte, supported by adivasis, farmers, environmentalists and human rights activists became the leaders of the Narmada Bachao Andholan. The objective of the Narmada Bachao Andholan was to challenge the construction of a large dam across the Narmada River. The movement first began as a demonstration for not providing proper rehabilitation and relocation to the people who have been expatriated owing to the construction of Sardar Sarovar Dam. Later on, the movement shifted it's attention to the conservation of the environment and the ecologies of the valley. Campaigners also called for the reduction in the height of the dam to 88 m from the projected height of 130m. As a fallout of this movement World Bank pulled out from the project. The environmental dispute was taken into court and in October 2000, the Supreme Court pronounced a ruling allowing the construction of the Sardar Sarovar Dam with a clause that height of the dam could be elevated to 90 m. Notably, the height was much higher than the 88 m which anti-dam campaigners had demanded, but it was certainly lesser than the proposed height of 130 m. The project is now mainly sponsored by the state governments and market loans. The project is to be completely ready by 2025.

- **Tehri Dam Conflict**

  The Tehri Dam conflict of the 1990s was located at the Bhagirathi River near Tehri in Uttarakhand. Sundarlal Bahuguna was the leader of the Tehri Dam Conflict which rose in protest against the dislodgment of town populations and environmental concern of the weak bionetwork. Tehri dam fascinated national attention in the 1980s and the 1990s. The main reasons for opposition include, seismic sensitivity of the area, submergence of forest parts along with Tehri town and more. In spite of the backing from leaders like Sunderlal Bahuguna, the movement was unsuccessful to gather enough widespread support at national as well as global levels.

w CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) What is environmental movement?

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Q2) When and where did Chipko Movement take place?

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Q3) What is environmentalism?

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Q4) When did First environmental movement start?

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u 13.6 LET US SUM UP

- The environmental movement in its broadest sense is inclusive of all and issues related to the environment, preservation, and biology, as well as protection of landscapes, flora, and fauna for a range of purposes and uses.
- When an act of ferocity is committed against somebody or some organization in the name of ecological protection, it is referred to as eco terrorism.
- The environment conservation uprising seeks to defend natural areas for sustainable ingestion, and keep it suitable for traditional activities like hunting, fishing, trapping and spiritual usage.

- Environmental preservation is the process in which one is engaged in preserving the natural characteristics of the environment. It can be done through a process of reforestation, reprocessing, or check on pollution etc.
- Again, environmental health movement goes back to the Progressive Era, and emphasizes on urban facilities like clean water, well-organized sewage management, and steady population growth.
- Environmental health is also inclusive of nutrition, precautionary medicine, aging, and other trepidations related to human well-being. Environmental health is also considered to be an indicator of the condition of the environment, or a primary warning mechanism to what may happen to humans.
- Environmental justice is yet another facet of the movement that took birth in the U.S. in the 1980s and sought to end environmental prejudice and stop low-income and minority communities from coming in contact with highways, poisonous garbage dumps, and factories. Alongside, the Environmental Justice movement also aims to connect social and ecological environmental problems, simultaneously stopping de facto racism, and classism. This makes it predominantly suitable for the construction of labor-environmental associations.
- Bright green environmentalism in contemporary times is a popular sub-movement, which highlights the idea that through use of technology, good design and more considerate usage of energy and resources, individuals can live a responsible, sustainable life while relishing richness.
- Another sub-movement is the Light green, and dark green environmentalism movements, which correspondingly define environmentalism as a lifestyle choice (light greens), and endorsing lessening in human numbers and/or a renunciation of technology (dark greens).
- Deep Ecology is considered to be an ideological byproduct of the environment movement that views the multiplicity and veracity of the planetary environment, in and for itself, as it’s prime value.

- Furthermore, the anti-nuclear movement resists the usage of varied nuclear machineries. The preliminary anti-nuclear aim was nuclear decommissioning and later the emphasis began to shift to other matters, mostly opposing the use of nuclear power. There have been numerous large anti-nuclear parades and protests. Leading anti-nuclear assemblages include Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Greenpeace, the Nuclear Information and Resource Service, Friends of the Earth, and International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

13.7 FURTHER READING

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2) Cunningham, W.P., Cooper, T.H., Gorhani, E and Hepworth, M.T. 2001. *Environmental Encyclopedia*, Jaico Publ. House, Mumbai.

3) Kaul, S.N. and AshutoshGautam. 2002. *Principles of Environmental Studies*. Daya Publishing house, New Delhi.

4) Rajagopalan, R. 2015. *Environmental Studies: From Crisis to Cure*, Oxford University Press; Third edition

13.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No1: environmental movement is a social or political movement, for the preservation of environment or developing the environment for the future generations.

Ans to Q No2: 1973, Chamoli district and later at Tehri-Garhwal district of Uttarakhand.

Ans to Q No3: Environmentalism also known as environmental rights is an all-encompassing viewpoint and social uprising championing the cause environmental protection

Ans to Q No4: Initial interest in the environment was a facet of the Romantic Movement in the early 19th century. And systematic efforts began in 1870s, in response to industrialization.

M 13.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q1) What are factors related to environmental movement?

Q2) What are the parameters that denote the term 'environment'? Elaborate

Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q1) What global environmental problems exist in the late twentieth century? Elaborate with the help of examples.

Q2) What is ecofeminism? What are some ecofeminist critiques of Western attitudes toward nature?

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UNIT 14: STUDENTS MOVEMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives

14.2 Introduction

14.3 Students' Movement: Emergence

14.4 Indian Independence: An Impetus to Student Movement

14.5 Issues, leadership and consequences of different student movements in India from pre-independence period upto the present

14.6 Let Us Sum Up

14.7 Further Reading

14.8 Answers to Check Your Progress Exercises

14.9 Model Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- gain a perspective about student movement
- know about some major student uprisings in India and across the globe.
- know the different issues, impacts of different students movements in India.

14.2 INTRODUCTION

In contemporary times student movements vary widely in subject, size, and success, where students partake in all kinds of events concerning educational settings, government policy, advocacy against several social issues, etc. In this unit, we shall know about the emergence, important issues and achievements of different students movements.

14.3 STUDENTS' MOVEMENT: EMERGENCE

Student activism, in simple terms, is defined as the work carried out by students to usher in political, environmental, economic, or social transformation. Essentially, student movement is focused on matters concerning higher education, curriculum, and educational funding and so on. But history stands testimony to the fact that several student movements have been exceedingly instrumental in influencing greater political scenarise.

Although student activism is ordinarily linked with left-wing politics, right-wing student movements are not rare; for instance, large student bodies fought on both sides of the apartheid fight in South Africa.

Additionally, it is important to note that history of student movement at the seat of higher education, like the university, is practically as old as the university itself. For example, students in Paris and Bologna staged collective crusade as early as the 13th century, primarily over town issues. Student protests over larger political subjects also have a extensive pedigree. Take the case of Joseon Dynasty Korea, where 150 Sungkyunkwan students staged an extraordinary dissent against the king in 1519 over the Kimyo purge.

At the time of communist rule, students in Eastern Europe were the leading force behind numerous of the well-known instances of protest. The sequence of events leading upto the 1956 Hungarian Revolution was propelled by peaceful student protests in the streets of Budapest, which managed to attract the workers and other Hungarians. In Czechoslovakia, one of the most recognized façades of the remonstrations after the Soviet-led invasion that concluded the Prague Spring was Jan Palach, a student who immolated himself on January 16, 1969. The action elicited a major disapproval against the occupation.

Student led youth crusades have also played a major role in the “color revolutions” which emerged in the post-communist societies of the recent past. One of the first instances of this was the Serbian Otpor formed in October 1998 as a rejoinder to suppressive university and media regulations that were announced that year. In the presidential campaign of September 2000, the organization caused the “Gotov je” (“He’s finished”) crusade that spurred Serbian dissatisfaction with Slobodan Miloševiæ, eventually resulting in his defeat.

Closer home, student movement in Bangladesh is reactive, provocative and violent. Student organizations function as the mobilization unit of the political parties with which they are associated. Thus, off and on, there are scuffles and disorders. Over the years, political clashes and factional disputes in the educational establishments have killed many, completely hampering the academic environment. To curb those difficulties, universities have no alternatives but go to prolonged and unforeseen closures.

In Canada, New Left student bodies from the late 1950s and 1960s were dominated by two groups: SUPA (Student Union for Peace Action) and CYC (Company of Young Canadians). SUPA emerged out of the CUCND (Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament) in December 1964, at a University of Saskatchewan conference. Whereas

CUCND was engrossed in protest marches, SUPA aimed to transform Canadian society completely. The scope extended to grass-roots politics in underprivileged communities and consciousness rising to radicalize and create awareness. SUPA was a regionalized organization, embedded in local university campuses. SUPA nevertheless fragmented in late 1967, over debates regarding the role of working class and Old Left.

In Israel, for example, the students were amongst the prominent participants in the 2011 Israeli social justice demonstrations that emerged out of the Cottage cheese boycott.

Furthermore, Japanese student crusade began at the time of Taishô Democracy, and its undertakings gained momentum after World War II. They were commonly carried out by student activists. One such historic episode was the Anpo opposition movement, which took place in 1960, in opposition to the Anpo treaty. In the following student rebellion in 1968, leftist activists fortified themselves in universities, resulting in armed war with the Japanese police force. Some broader causes were reinforced including resistance to the Vietnam War and apartheid, and for the recognition of the hippie way of life.

Student political activism has been in existence in U.K from the 1880s with the establishment of the student representative committees, which were the forerunners of union organisations, intended to present students' welfare. These later progressed into becoming unions, many of which became segments of the National Union of Students formed in 1921.

In the United States, student crusade is often understood as a method of youth activism that is precisely concerned with bringing in transformation in the American educational structure. Student movement in the United States dates to the start of public education, if not earlier. Some of the first well recognized, focused activism transpired on the campuses of black establishments, like Fisk and Howard in the 1920s. At Fisk, for example, students' apprehensions surrounding disciplinary guidelines intended to demoralize black identity, amalgamated into demands for the resignation of President Fayette Avery McKenzie.

In India the history of student movements is more than 150 years old. Many are of the opinion that with the establishment of the Students' Scientific and Historic Society in 1848 Dadabhai Navaroji founded the seeds for student's movement was sown. The Student's Scientific and Historic Society was established with an aim to create a forum for discussion and debate. During this period of time, the focus of the struggle was to critique the education system itself. The first student foray took place at King Edward Medical College, Lahore, concerning academic discernment between the English people and Indians. This crusade

was a complete success. In the freedom struggle of India, numerous student protests emerged and engaged in it, and were also very impactful. It is reported that in the years 1906 to 1918, of the 184 persons that were convicted in Bengal in association with revolutionary undertakings, 68 were students. It is noted that 'Charka Swaraj first, and education after" was the dictum of the second All India College Students Conference held at Ahmedabad in the year 1912. The students were completely dedicated to the cause of freedom of the India.

The first Students' Union in India was formed in 1919. The earliest elected students' union of India were form Ripon College, with Niranjan Sengupta as its President, who later went onto become a revolutionary and a communist leader. The students union of Scottish Church, Presidency, City colleges among others ,created the platform for anti-imperialist struggle to thrive. Students' Unions were also founded in numerous colleges outside Kolkata, and in the absence of an integrated stage, they helped to voice the expression of the student community. There would be annual provincial political seminars in those times, and corresponding students' conferences would be conducted, in which students from all various alley ways of the movement came to partake.

14.4 INDIAN INDEPENDENCE: AN IMPETUS TO STUDENT MOVEMENT

The independence of India is considered to be one of the turning points of the student movements in the country. There was a noticeable transformation of perspective within the headship of the student movements. Instead of the large student organizations, a substantial number of local groups, typically of an ad-hoc nature, emerged. Activism had a tendency to be localized forced, on university problems or local political engagements, instead of focusing on rational or wider ideological enquiries. It was in the year 1947 that the All India Student Congress Federation (AISCF) came into formation. Post a split, it was named as National Students Union of India (NSUI). NSUI is a student faction of the Congress party. There was growing consciousness among the student community and intellectuals, that the fight for national independence has to be connected with the workers and farmers crusades for a better life and freedom from exploitation. In 1943 when severe famine hit Bengal, the Students Federation joined in the united opposition to black-marketing and the crusade against the food crisis. The Bengal Provincial Student Federation (BPSF) arranged a relief fund and

established relief camps. At the appeal of the AISF, students from other provinces also extended support for carrying out relief activities.

With independence, the milieu of student politics had transformed along with a modification in the character of national politics. The common opponent, the foreign potentate had left the land, and fresher struggles developed. Instead of displacing all remaining smidgeons of colonial regulation the new government conversely developed an understanding with the colonial countries. Post the dawn of independence, the new government became fanatical of any movements by the people. It expediently forgot the assurances that had been made to common masses about eliminating poverty and universalizing education. It became obvious very early that it was not possible to safeguard the interests of the moneyed classes and the common mass simultaneously. Not only had the people's expectations of economic development been ruined, the democratic rights of people were also under substantial pressure. In a short span of time, laws were passed to permitdetention without trial. Efforts were made to limit rights to gathering and limit freedom of speech. For example, the Communist Party was affirmed illegal once again, since it was the leaders of workers and farmers crusade across the country, like the uprising against the Nizam by the farmers of the Telengana region. During this time the AISF's mouthpiece "The Student" came out with a list of 50 cases of police firing on citizens between the 15th August of 1948 and 1949. The government dispensed a prohibitory notification against all activities of the AISF, and it was only after a litigation in the High Court that the notice was withdrawn and the ban lifted.

It is important to note that the Congress began to promulgate an argument that the student's movement in new India had become extraneous and that students must not worry about national or international politics, and that their only responsibility was to study and build their individual careers. This was the dominant message in Nehru's speech at the foundation of the National Union of Students in 1950. It must be noted that the United Student's Movement that had been conscientiously assembled in the pre-independence years underwent a critical phase in these years. The provisional stillness in the campuses wafted over very rapidly as students became disenchanted with the new government's education programs and with sustained attacks on democracy.

14.5 ISSUES, LEADERSHIP, AND CONSEQUENCES OF DIFFERENT STUDENT MOVEMENTS IN INDIA FROM PRE-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD UPTO THE PRESENT

It us important to reiterate that student movements in India have arisen in precarious historical junctures reacting to problems and challenge confronted by them and society as a whole. Student movement in India can be divided into three phases a) pre- independence period b) post independent period and c) globalisation period. With respect to the mentioned classification, the following account highlights the various issues that different movements engaged with, the emergence of leadership in different circumstances, and their consequences.

- **Pre- Independence Phase**

  In the pre-independence, era some of the most important struggles for freedom were led by students.

  Swadesi Movement (1905) gave students a revolutionary viewpoint which called them to refuse colleges as well as British goods and student clubs. This movement created the arena for students to take active part in politics. 'Charka Swaraj First and Education after' was the main dictum of students at that time.

  1st Non Cooperation Movement (1919) was the segment of this movement. The All India College Students Conference was held at Nagpur in1920 and the resolution on non-co-operation and embargo of schools and colleges was passed with an overpowering majority.

  2nd Non Cooperation Movement (1930) was the second instance wherein the students were invoked. Students led demonstrations, planned hartals and courted detention in large numbers in Punjab, Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Bombay. This was the most dynamic period of political campaigning by Indian students. In 1936, at the first All India Students Conference at Lucknow, a whooping number of 986 student representatives from 210 local and11 provincial groups from Punjab, UP, CP, Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Orissa joined the conference.

  Quit India Movement (1942) was the uprising in the history of India that saw the participation of students in such an enormous majority. The students magnificently

managed to close down most of the colleges and became the vital connection between the underground leaders and the Indian freedom movement.

- **Post-Independence Period**

As discussed early, during the post-independence era there was a remarkable change of perspective within the leadership of the student crusade in the post independent era. Students were aggressively occupied in the Naxalite movement,Chipko movement, Anti Emergency Movement and more.

The Naxalite movement was commanding in the states of West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Bihar. For instance in the 1967 Naxalite movement in West Bengal brought out the best of students from Calcutta and other places in to the struggle. Huge number of students and youths from Calcutta joined in the movement against landlordism, feudal mistreatment and social mortification of the tribal people land less farmworkers and agricultural workers at the hand of zamindars and moneylenders.

Republic Yuvak Sangatan (RPI) 1961 is considered to be the first Dalit student movement in India. It was formed to crusade against casteism and to provide security to scheduled castes.

In the 7th of August 1990, the VP Singh Government announced, at the Rajya Sabha, it's verdict to implement the Mandal Commission report. Unplanned but well executed student campaigning rose against the implementation of Mandal Commission. Students from the higher caste of the St.Stephens College and Delhi School of Economics led the campaign. The uprising caught most of the political student groups in the universities off guard and 2000 Delhi University students remonstrated at the directorate of Dooradarshan Kendra with streamers of Anti Mandal Commission Forum.

The Assam Movement (or Assam Agitation) of 1979-1985 was a popular crusade against illegal immigrants in Assam. The movement was spearheaded by All Assam Students Union (AASU) and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad' (AAGSP), which carried out a sequence of protests and demonstration to force the government to classify and banish illegal immigrants. One of the violent incidents of the movement was the Nellie massacre, and it is considered to be one of the extreme cases of violence. The agitation ended in August 1985 succeeding the Assam Accord,

which was signed by leaders of AASU-AAGSP and the government of India. At the end of the movement, the student leaders formed a political party, Assam Gana Parishad, and it came to power in the state of Assam post a win in the Assembly elections of 1985 and later in 1996.

- **Globalisation Period**

At this point of time most of the student movements were faced with ideological complications including the left student movements. The rationale and conduct of the students completely transformed. But a rise was seen in the movement for gender rights.

'MANUSHY' was a crusade of some women students in Sanskrit College Pattambi 1990 for resolving the issues of women student in campuses. It was an uncommon initiative of the women students in Kerala.

Cyber activist student movements led to Free Software Movement. This is the crusade against the domination of the Microsoft corporations in the software industry. It is struggle against the hegemony of knowledge. Currently, this movement is active in most of the Engineering Colleges in Kerala. Calicut NIIT, for example, hosted India's biggest free softwere workshop as a move to end digital knowledge hegemony.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1) What is student movement?

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Q2) When is international student's day?

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Q3) Which event marks the commencement of student movements in India?

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Q4) When was the National Students' Union of India (NSUI) formed?

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Q5) Which year did Assam student movement begin?

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14.6 LET US SUM UP

- Student activism, in simple forms is defined as the work carried out by students to usher in political, environmental, economic, or social transformation.
- In India the history of student movements is more than 150 years old. Many are of the opinion that with the establishment of the Student's Scientific and Historic Society in 1848 Dadabhai Navaroji founded the seeds for student's movement.
- The Independence of India is considered to be one of the turning points of the student movements in the country. There was a noticeable transformation of perspective within the headship of the student movements.
- With independence the milieu of student politics had transformed along with a modification in the character of national politics. The common opponent, the foreign potentate had left the land, and fresher struggles developed.
- Student movement in India can be divided into three phases a) pre- independence period b) post independent period and c) globalisation period.

14.7 FURTHER READING

1) Altbach, Philip G. 1969. *Turmoil and transition: higher education and student politics in India*, Basic Books, University of Michigan

2) Rajimwale, Anil. 2001. *History of student movement in India: Origins and development (1920-1947)*, New Delhi: Manak Publications.

3) Rudolph, Lloyd I, Susanne Hoeber Rudolph and Karuna Ahmed. *Student Politics and National Politics in India, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 6, No. 30/32*, Special Number (Jul., 1971)

K 14.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No1: Student movement is work by students to bring about political, environmental, economic, or social transformation.

Ans to Q No2:17 November, venerating the Nazi German attack of Czech universities in 1939 and the successive killing and transfer of students to concentration camps

Ans to Q No3: 1848 Dadabhai Navaroji established the student's scientific and historic society, as a platform for discussion and this development is deemed to be the commencement of student movements in India

Ans to Q No4: 9 April 1971

Ans to Q No5: 1979

M 14.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q1) Write a note on the need for social movement.

Q2) List the impact of the independence struggle in promoting student movement.

Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q1) Write an essay on the student movement in Assam and its socio-political impact.

Q2) Elucidate on three most historic student movements from across the globe.

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UNIT 15: IDENTITY MOVEMENT IN NORTHEAST INDIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

15.1 Learning Objectives

15.2 Introduction

15.3 Emergence of identity movement

15.4 Issues of identity movement

15.5 Implications of identity movement

15.6 Let Us Sum up

15.7 Further Reading

15.8 Answers to Check your Progress

15.9 Model Questions

15.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- know the emergence of identity movement in North East India
- understand the key concerns of identity movement in and it's implications

15.2 INTRODUCTION

The North-eastern part of India to the home of several ethnic groups with their specific identities. There are more than 200 ethnic groups and sub-groups found in the North-eastern Region. North East India is a politically vibrant region of India which consists of eight states namely Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura and Sikkim. This region is surrounded by four countries, namely China, Myanmar, Bangladesh and Bhutan. The region is land-locked and is connected with the rest of India through a narrow, thirty-kilometre corridor of foot hills land of West Bengal. The population in Northeast is heterogeneous in nature. It consists of many different castes, classes, race, language, religion etc. In North East India, many a times, various ethnic, linguistic groups have asserted their identities as being different and separate from the rest of India. These groups have taken resort to different kinds of identity movements, autonomy movements, secessionist movements etc.

Identity is defined with the help of sameness and difference. Sameness focuses on the 'self of identity, whereas the difference focuses on the 'others' of identity. This perception helps to distinguish one group from another and stratifies the society. To have an identity, a thing must have features that are both relevant and enduring. In short, some of these relevant features build the notion of identity. Culture is considered as the most relevant feature in the construction of sameness and difference with the others. Identity is not inherent, fixed or determined structure.

It is rather, open and fluid. Identity is constructed through close interaction between the individual, the society and history. As a social construct, every type of identity undergoes changes, as changes take place in society, culture, technology and political system, thereby acquiring it's own style, organization, substance and legitimacy over time and space.

In this unit, we shall know about the identity movement in Northeast India.

15.3 EMERGENCE OF IDENTITY MOVEMENT

Identity movement in Northeast India is a post-colonial scenario. The assertion of identity among various communities in the region started during colonial period but it turned into the shape of movement during the post-colonial period. Post-colonial period saw various changes in the case of identity construction. India's independence and the formation of nation state paved the way to understand one's identity in boarder perspective. Understanding and interpreting history, ethnicity, and identity became an important concern for many communities in the region. The political dimension of identity is very complex. Northeast India is a multi-ethnic region with complex identity issues. Here, the political conflicts around identities assume different forms and versions at various times due to divergence of regions and its people. Moreover, there are differences in people's expression of their community identities at the local, state and national levels. Among all, linguistic identity has caught the political limelight in Northeast India. Politics of identity in India is deeply connected with democracy and the changes that came along with independence. In post-independence India, the ongoing process of modernization and development nurtured the growth of ethnic identification and conflict. The ethnic groups vary in size from region to region on the basis of linguistic and religious groups. The ethnic variations and regional imbalances very often overlap the ethnic identity politics. It is seen that most of the identity assertions are regional. The 'victimization' of specific groups by the state machinery has been considered to be a significant issue in the region.

The effect of globalization has of late encouraged the proliferation of identities on a large scale. Improved means of communication and globalization have tremendously changed the perception of local, sub-regional and regional social identities. Globalization has exposed them to the forces of market and finances which in turn have made them understand their identities.

The tribal demographic situation has transformed over the last century. Some of the tribal communities have been seen to have given up many cultural traits in the process of change. Roughly one out of three tribal person does not speak his/her own tribal language. It is one of the reasons of rising identity crisis. The emergence of middle class and the coming of Evanlogical Christianity in pre-independence era played a vital role. Administrative protection and Christianity appear to be the common denominators of the new identities that grow in northeast India in British period. The historical experiences of the tribal communities helped in the identity formation among them because of the inter-tribal communication. During the colonial period Northeast India has experienced the divide and rule policy of British in various instances. The British had divided the hill areas into two categories based on their levels of development: Excluded Areas and Partially Excluded Areas. The British wanted to keep the tribal people under the Excluded Areas segregated from the influence of the people in the plains of Assam and their hidden motive was to reduce the risks to their lives from the attacks by the tribal people. The identity politics in Northeast India have taken shape of identity movements. One such move was the Naga movement. The primary objective of the Naga movement was sovereignty. Manipur, a state of 2.7 million people, is home to three major ethnic groups, namely the Kuki, Naga, and Meitei. While the Meiteis, who are primarily settled in four valley districts, clamour for the territorial integrity of the state, the Kukis and the Nagas call for separate administrative arrangements in the hill areas. The identity movement in Northeast India is a product of historical experiences of various communities.

15.4 ISSUES OF IDENTITY MOVEMENT

There are many issues that are based on the identity movement in Northeast India. As we know, North-east is a home to many ethnic groups and communities and all the communities have their own way of living in the region. The circumstances changed after the coming of the colonial government. The major factors responsible for politics of identity movement in North East India can be discussed as follows.

1. Diverse ethnic Groups: North-east India is full of diversified ethnic groups living together generation after generation having distinctive historical and structural setting. As a result, they have been struggling for upliftment on the basis of their ethnic distinctiveness and for this reason, they indulge in identity movement. They try to be distinct from other communities and the concept of others came up with it.

2. Economic underdevelopment: Northeast India is one of the underdeveloped regions of the country. Economic underdevelopment as well as uneven pace of development is considered to be one of the root causes of the resurgence of ethnic groups in the Northeast region of India. It is alleged that mainstream India deprives the North-east from adequate economic resources needed for development. Many ethnic groups such as Karbi, Dimasa, Kuki, Bodo,Naga, Mizo and many others are in constant conflict with the national mainstream for their economic deprivation.

3. Perception of Hill Tribes towards people of plain areas: The hill tribes of erstwhile Assam have developed a perception that not only the national mainstream has discriminated against them but also the big brotherly attitude and treatment of plain dwellers of Assam also contributed in this respect. Such perceptions led to the conflict between plains people and the hill's people on the basis of lingo-cultural distinctiveness. This ended with the formation of separate states like Nagaland, Mizoram, Meghalaya etc.

4. Imposition of Assamese Language on the tribal people of Assam: In 1960 Assamese as official language was introduced in Assam. It created a sense of ethnic identity consciousness among the tribal communities. It affected the tribal people as they were now afraid of domination and of losing their distinctive linguistic identity. For example, united Mizo Freedom Organization while submitting a memorandum to the State Reorganization Commission at New Delh, it strongly asserted that the domination of Assamese language would divide the people of Assam into many and in this way the dominant community would carry on their hegemonic policies over the Non -Assamese people. This language bill disturbed various tribal communities. It led to the separation of Nagaland in 1963, thereby also reducing the territorial size and reach of Assam. Similarly, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh also got separated in order to maintain their linguistic identity, amongst other concerns.

5. Immigration of foreigner: The presence of outsider or the flow of foreigners to the North-east India is another major factor responsible for politics of identity movement in the region. Migration to North-east started in the colonial period and it is still continuing. Such

unchecked population to the North East India is a great threat to demographic balance, scarce economic resources, political stability, employment, socio-cultural and linguistic status of the people of North-east India. As a result, various ethnic groups of North-east India have become conscious for losing their own distinctive lingo-cultural and ethnic identity and many have asserted through identity movements.

6. Spread of Education and Democratization of Indian Policy: Education plays the role of mobilising the people and make them conscious of their situation which also often leads to identity consciousness. To protect their own distinctive socio-cultural linguistic identity, a sense of ethnic consciousness emerged among them that led to the growth of identity movement in North East India.

7. Displacement of Tribal People: Displacement of tribal People is one of the burning issues in the politics of North East India. It is also responsible for the growth of politics of identity movement in North East India. The land is their way of expressing their way of living. Tribal communities are very much emotionally attached to nature and every custom and tradition is directly or indirectly attached to nature. Therefore, when an industry is set up in a tribal area, and consequently the people are evicted from their land, it results in the formulation of a sense of injustice towards them. Such actions further stimulate the notions of identity assertion amongst people.

15.5 IMPLICATIONS OF IDENTITY MOVEMENT

The identity movement in North East India has directly or indirectly affected the larger society, polity and economy of the region. This account shall emphasise on some of the prominent aspects of the region, the birth of which have been contributed to by the identity movements in the region.

Northeast India is known as the hotspot of various ethnic violence, extremism and insurgency. As a result of various identity movements, the region witnessed the emergence of a number of extremist organizations challenging the sovereignty and integrity of the Indian state. These include United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA), National Democratic Front of Bodoland, National Socialist Council of Nagalim, Kuki National Army, Garo Liberation Front, National Liberation Front of Tripura, Hmar People's Convention (Democratic), Zomi Revolutionary Army, All Tripura Tigers Force, Liberation Tigers of Arunachal, National Liberation Army of

Arunachal, United Liberation Tigers of Arunachal, Revolutionary Army of Arunachal Pradesh, etc.

The extremist groups have had different kind of demands, from autonomy to secessionism and sovereignty. For example, the Assam Movement of 1979-84 was against illegal migration and for protection of Assamese identity, the Naga movement can be seen in the context of crisis of Naga identity and the Mizo movement was the outcome of the neglect of Central and state governments during the famine. India adopted liberal democracy with inherent institutional safeguards for the protection of the interest of various communities and groups. But those safeguards were not taken very positively by the extremist groups. In this context, it is pertinent to ask the question as to why extremist trends are developing in a liberal democracy. Ethnic mobilisation led to ethnic movement and it often turns into extremism and violence in a society. Various groups allege that they have adopted the path of extremism to achieve their goals which, they argue, cannot be achieved through normal channels of liberal democracy. This is an impact of identity consciousness among various communities. It further got aggregated by the regional consciousness by elites and middle-class group. Another dimension is that the dominant communities allied with state power exclude certain groups from accessing resources, institutions and opportunities, generating a feeling of exclusion of other groups. In such situation, smaller ethnic communities assert for resources and opportunities. The assertion of marginalized identities and its extremist posture are giving a new direction to the politics in the region.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1. What is meant by identity?

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Q2. State the relation between culture and identity.

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Q3. Name the states that North-east India comprises of?

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15.6 LET US SUM UP

- The North-eastern part of India is home to several ethnic groups with their specific identities. There are more than 200 ethnic groups and sub-groups found in the North-eastern Region.
- North-east India is a politically vibrant region of India which consists of eight states namely Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura and Sikkim.
- The population in Northeast is heterogeneous in nature. It consists of many different castes, classes, race, language, religion etc. Various ethnic, linguistic and religious groups demand their separate identity and they are opting for identity movements, autonomy movements, secessionist movements etc in the region.
- Identity is defined with the help of sameness and difference. Sameness focuses on the 'self of identity whereas the difference focuses on the 'others' of identity. This perception helps to distinguish one group from another and stratifies the society. To have an identity, a thing must have features that are both relevant and enduring
- Identity movement in Northeast India is a post-colonial scenario. The assertion of identity among various communities in the region started during colonial period but it turned into the shape of movement during the post-colonial period.
- In post-independence India, the ongoing process of modernization and development nurtured the growth of ethnic identification and conflict.
- It is seen that most of the identity assertions are sub-national or regional. 'Victimization' of specific groups by the state machinery has emerged as an important reason behind the rise of identity assertion movements.
- The British had divided the hill areas into two categories based on their levels of development: Excluded Areas and Partially Excluded Areas. The British wanted to keep the tribal people under the Excluded Areas segregated from the influence of the people in the plains of Assam, and their hidden motive was to reduce the risks to their lives from the attacks by the tribal people.
- The identity movement in Northeast India is a product of historical experiences of various communities.

- Northeast India is one of the underdeveloped regions of the country. Economic underdevelopment as well as uneven pace of development, are some of the root causes behind the resurgence of ethnic groups in the Northeast region of India.
- The hill tribes of erstwhile Assam have developed a perception that not only the national mainstream has discriminated against them, but also the big brotherly attitude and treatment of plain men of Assam also contributed in this respect.
- In 1960, Assamese as official language was introduced in Assam. It created a sense of ethnic identity consciousness among the tribal communities.
- The presence of outsider or the flow of foreigners to the North East India is another major factor responsible for politics of identity movemen tin the region.
- Education played an important role in mobilising the people and making them conscious of their situation, which further led to identity consciousness.
- Displacement of tribal people is one of the burning issues in the politics of North-east India. It is also responsible for the growth of politics of identity movement in North East India.
- As a result of various identity movements, the region witnessed the emergence of a number of extremist organizations challenging the sovereignty and integrity of the Indian state.

15.7 FURTHER READING

1. Misra, Udayon (2014), *India's North-East:Identity Movements, State and Civil society*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

15.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No1. Identity is defined with the help of sameness and difference. Sameness focuses on the 'self of identity whereas the difference focuses on the 'others' of identity. This perception helps to distinguish one group from another and stratifies the society. To have an identity, a thing must have features that are both relevant and enduring

Ans to Q No2. Culture is considered as the most relevant feature in the construction of sameness and difference with the others. Identity is not an inherent, fixed or determined structure.

Ans to Q No3. North East India is a politically vibrant region of India which consists of eight states namely Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura and Sikkim.

M 15.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

Short Questions (Answer each question within 150 words)

Q1. What is meant by identity movement?

Q2. Identify different identity movements in Northeast India.

Long Questions (Answer each question within 300-500 words)

Q1. Explain the issues of identity movement in Northeast India.

Q2. What are the implications of identity movement in Northeast India?

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