PG PS S4-01 (DSC)

TWO YEAR MASTER'S DEGREE COURSE
(CBCS in Accordance with NEP 2020)

SEMESTER IV

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

POLITICAL SCIENCE



Surya Kumar Bhuyan School of Social Sciences

KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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MASTER OF ARTS
POLITICAL SCIENCE
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COURSE INTRODUCTION

The course titled as "Social Movements."of the Fourth Semester of MA Programme is designed to help the learners to have a clear understanding of the various dimensions of Social movements. It is supposed that the learners of the Master Degree Programme in Political Science should have thorough knowledge about the concept of social movements. Keeping this in view, the course begins with the concept of social movements and its historical background which have significantly helped in the development of the concept of social movements.

The first unit of the course deals with the concept of social movements. In this unit, the meaning and definition of social movements; historical background; features of social movements and Importance of social movements are discussed. The second unit of the course discusses the various phases and types of social movements, its determinants and different approaches to social movements, the causes of social movements, leadership dynamics of social movement and role of leadership in social movements . In this unit, and their outcomes are also discussed.The third unit is related to the Durkheim's concept of Anomie; concept of Relative Deprivation. The theories of social movements, anomie theory, Durkheim's concept of anomie; concept of relative deprivation are discussed in this unit. Similarly, the meaning and definition of social change, factors responsible for social change, different theories of social change, impact of social change, reform, revival, revolution and counter movements are analysed in the fourth unit. The fifth unit deals with the Marxist and Post-Marxist theories of social movements. It is related with Marxist theory of social movement, State and Societal Revolution in Capitalist Society, Post-Marxist theories of social movement: Gramsci's perception, Louis Althusser's Structural Perspective and Nicos Poulantzas' perspective on social movement. The sixth unit discusses the Weberian theory of action: types of social action and features of social action. The unit seventh is dealt with Talcott Parsons' Structural-Functionalism and Parsons' Theory of Social Action.The unit eight deals with the nature and dynamics of new social movements. In this unit, discussions are made about meaning, nature, dynamics and impact of new social movements. Accordingly, the role of the peasant movements are discussed in the unit nine . Here, meaning, nature, organization, origin and development of the peasant movement are also explained. The tenth unit deals with the origin and development, nature, kinds and significance of labour and trade union movements in India. In unit eleventh , discussions are made on meaning and nature of various environmental movements in India namely- Narmada Bachao Andolon and Chipko movement. The significance of environmental movements in India are also discussed here. The twelve unit highlights the concept of ethnicity, origin and developments of autonomy movements in Assam and

factors responsible for the growth of autonomy movement in Assam including Karbi-Dimasa and Bodo movement. The thirteenth unit focusses on the issue of the meaning and nature of identity movement in Assam, origin and development of the Assam movement and its features and consequences. The fourteenth unit deals with the emergence of women's movement in north east India, characteristics of women's movements in north east India and role of Meira Paibis and Naga Mothers' Association (NMA).

While going through the units, you will find that the units are further divided into certain sections and sub-sections, wherever necessary, for your better understanding. Besides, in order to give you additional information on certain relevant topics, you will find a category called "LET US KNOW" after the sections in each unit. Another category that has been included at the end of each section of a particular unit is "CHECK YOUR PROGRESS". The purpose of this category is to help you to asses for yourself as to how thoroughly you have understood a particular section. You may then match your answers with "ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS" given at the end of each unit. The section "FURTHER READING" in each unit contains the names of a few books which you might want to consult if you are interested in learning more elaborately about the concepts discussed in a particular unit. Furthermore, the category called "POSSIBLE QUESTIONS" is intended to give you a hint of the type of questions you are likely to get in the examination.

UNIT 1: SOCIAL MOVEMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

1.1 Learning Objectives
1.2 Introduction
1.3 Meaning and Definition of Social Movements
1.4 Historical Background of Social Movements
1.5 Features of Social Movements
1.6 Importance of Social Movements
1.7 Let Us Sum Up
1.8 Further Reading
1.9 Answers to Check Your Progress
1.10 Possible Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the meaning and definition of social movements
- explain the historical background of social movements
- discuss the features of Social Movements
- know about the importance of social movements.

1.2 INTRODUCTION

Social Movements are collective expression of masses against the political and social authority to bring changes which the common people inspire for or which might bring common welfare. It aims to develop consensus regarding certain changes or demands of the population. It is mostly unorganisational activity or loosely organised activity performed in a group and administered by a number of people. It is a shared group activity based mostly on informal networks. It addresses the problems and evils of society. It requires sustained collective action over a long period of time. Considering this matter, the chapter tends to develop a comprehensive deliberation on meaning, historical background, features, types and importance of social movements.

1.3 MEANING AND DEFINITION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In general, people indulge in organized dissatisfaction against inadequate policies, activities and feeling of injustice created by the authority. This may lead to the emergence of social movements. Collectively social movements act for bringing changes in the socio-political structure. In order to implement a good social policy or to prevent the society from a harmful policy direction, people usually resort to social movement and stand for better well-being.

In protest against observed inequalities, oppression and unjustified social, political, economic and cultural demands, a large number of people mostly in informal grouping come together and raise their demands. At their core, social movements are not about "polite debate" or "invited spaces" of interaction between the state and the society.

Thus, different large or informal or unorganized groups protest against specific socio-political issues and try to reframe them for the greater social convenience which can be identified as social movements. In other words, they develop resistance against undue policies and stand for bringing greater social change.

Different scholars of different fields conceptualize social movements from their own theoretical formulation. Such as Karl Marx's view of social movements tends to nullify capitalism and believes in revolutionary changes to set up a conducive environment for the labourers, farmers and socially weaker classes. Max Weber's concept highlights the role of a charismatic leader or authority to bring a new height to the aspired aims.

The term "social movements" was introduced in 1848 by the German Sociologist Lorenz Von Stein in his book *Socialist and Communist Movements since the Third French Revolution.* The term "social movement" gained currency in European languages in the early 19th century. This was a period of social upheaval.

According to Anderson and Parker, social movement is “a form of dynamic pluralistic behaviour which progressively develops structure through time and aims at partial or complete modification of the social order.”

Lundberg and others defined social movement as “a voluntary association of people engaged in concerted efforts to change attitudes, behaviour and social relationships in a larger society.”

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

Sidney Tarrow defines a social movement as collective challenges (to elites, authorities, other groups or cultural codes) by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interactions with elites, opponents and authorities. He specifically distinguishes social movements from political parties and advocacy groups.

Social movements are not eternal. They have a life cycle: they are created, they grow, they achieve successes or failures and, eventually, they dissolve and cease to exist.

Social Movements are “organized efforts to promote or resist change in society that rely, at least in part, on non-institutionalized forms of political action” (Marx and McAdam, 1994)

De la Porta & Diani in *Social Movements: An Introduction,* referred some characteristics of social movements as they are “involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents, are linked by dense informal networks; (and they) share a distinct collective identity.

Turner and Killian (1972) defines social movement as some continuous and group behaviour to uphold or defy certain change in his/her society or group. It is initiated, organized and sustained collective action marked by definite ideology and oriented towards social change.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: State the meaning of social movement?

.....

.....

Q.2: Social movement is ..... action. (Fill in the blank).

Q.3: Karl Marx's view of social movements tends to nullify capitalism and it believes in revolutionary changes to set up a conducive environment for labours, farmers and socially weaker classes. (Write True or False).

.....

Q.4: Write a few definitions of social movement? (Within 50 words)

.....

.....

.....

1.4 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The roots of first documented social movements can be traced back in the late 18th Century French Revolution and Polish Constitution of May 3rd 1791. Again, the late 19th Century labour movements and socialist movements are the classical examples of social movements that led to the formation of communist and social democratic parties and organizations.

Considering the matters of political representation, market capitalization and proletarianization in the mid-18th century, the early Social Movements in England were developed. John Wilkes was the figure behind the first mass social movement. A person from the paper house, he attacked the new administration and the peace terms by the Government were accepted at the 1763 Treaty of Paris at the end of the Seven Years' War. Consequently, he was suppressed but that led to the growing movement for popular sovereignty among the middle class people who began chanting "Wilkes and Liberty" in the streets. Later, an activist group called the Society for the Supporters of the Bill of Rights began aggressively promoting his

policies. This was the first ever sustained social movement involving public meetings, demonstrations, the distribution of pamphlets on an unprecedented scale and the mass petition march. Later, Wilkes was returned to the Parliament and general warrants were declared as unconstitutional and press freedom was extended to the coverage of Parliamentary debates.

A much larger movement of anti-Catholic protest was triggered by the Papists Act 1778, which eliminated a number of the penalties and disabilities endured by the Roman Catholics in England. In 1780, after a meeting of the Protestant Association, it's members subsequently marched on the House of Commons to deliver a petition demanding the repeal of the Act, which the government refused to do. It resulted in large riots across London and embassies and Catholic owned businesses were attacked by angry mobs.

Other political movements that emerged in the late 18th century included the British abolitionist movement against slavery (one being the sugar boycott of 1791 and the other the great petition drive of 1806), and possibly the upheaval surrounding the French and American Revolutions.

From 1815, Britain after its victory in the Napoleonic Wars entered into the period of mature social movements. Chartism was the first mass movement of the growing working class people in the world. It campaigned for political reform between 1838 and 1848 with the people's charter of 1838 as its manifesto which called for Universal Suffrage and the implementation of the secret ballot, amongst other things. The term "social movements" was introduced in 1848 by the German sociologist Lorenz Von Stein in his book *"Socialist Communist Movements since the Third French Revolution"* (1848) in which he introduced the term "social movement" into scholarly discussions-actually depicting in this way political movements fighting for the social rights understood as welfare rights.

The labour movement and socialist movement of the late 19th century are seen as the prototypical social movements, leading to the formation of communist and social democratic parties and organizations. These

tendencies were seen in poorer countries as the pressure for reform continued, for example, Russia with the Russian Revolution of 1905 and of 1917, resulting in the collapse of the Czarist regime around the end of the First World War.

In 1945, Britain following its victory in the Second World War entered a period of radical reform and change. In the post-war period, feminist movements, gay rights movement, peace movements, civil rights movements, anti-nuclear movements and environmental movements and many more new domains in the field of social movements were developed. They led to the formation of green parties and organizations, a new global social movement, the anti-globalization movement etc.

Throughout the history of the United States, social movements have been a staple in the maturation of the country. From middle class white women's desire to be included in the American political process in the 19th century came the Women's Suffrage movement. The insurgence of a generation of African Americans who left they had inalienable rights that deserved to be acknowledged by their government led to the 1960's civil rights movement.

As early as the American Revolution, the sophisticated mobilization of the American people displayed the characteristics of a modern social movement. For instance, Philadelphia women proposed to create a national women's organizational movement to raise money for the troops and renounced the use of British tea and fabric. The women helped to ignite one of the earliest nonprofit organizations in the history of the nation, the Daughters of Liberty (which continues till today). The women organized mass spinning bees for wartime clothing, conducted national boycotts and some women even disguised themselves as men and fought in the army.

Like the other parts of the world, the Indian origin of social movements can be traced back to 7th and 5th Centuries BC. It was the period of two socio-religious movements developed; when the Kshatriyas reacted against the Brahmanical domination and Baishyas were trying to improve their economic conditions along with the increase of trade.

Besides, Bhakti movement was another significant socio-religious movement to protect Hinduism, originated in South India during the 7th to 8th century. It was spread northwards from Tamil Nadu through Karnataka and gained wide acceptance in 15th Century in Bengal and Northern India. At that time, the dominant Islamic rulers pushed general public to religious conversion from Hinduism to Islam. In the 19th century, India witnessed reform movements to end evils of society and religion. These are under the banner of Brahma Samaj, Arya Samaj and some other reformatory organizations.

Again, in pre-colonial and post-colonial period; India witnessed peasant's movements, Dalits movements, backward-caste movements, tribal movements, students' movements, women's movements, environmental movements and some other new social movements representing the issues and prospects of Indian socio-political, religious and economic lives.

1.5 FEATURES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social movements are primarily marked by the following characteristics

- Most of the social movements are carried on the basis of informal networks of interactions among the people having common beliefs and solidarity. They are mobilized around contentious themes and frequently use various forms of protest.
- Social Movements develops via cycles of activities. Only through protest one cannot affirm the existence of a movement. Because various movements have diverse strategies, tactics and work-plans.
- Certain social movements propagate definite vision and some others strive for the rights and liberties of people.
- It is an organized collective act with common objective, philosophy and organizational leadership.
- They may opt for change or oppose it. But the intensity and coverage of the change they demand, may vary.

- Sometimes, they challenge or defend existing institutional models or diverse fields of authority.
- They are collective enterprises and display at least some degrees of continuity over time with at least some degrees of organization.
- Certain social movements reflect people's dissatisfaction and are much concerned about their matter. They often use 'Propaganda'-to draw attention from the masses and from different sectors.
- Certain social movements are able to highly influence public opinion and motivate the masses in a large scale.
- Social Movements can be of Resistance type, Reform type, Revolutionary type, Expressive type etc. Resistance types refuse to accept the changes occurred in the system. Reform types demand reforms in the societal structure and system. Revolutionary types believe in radical changes via revolution. Expressive types are concentrating on improving the quality of life of their members for better changes.
- The goals of Social Movements are like equitable distribution of material resources, demanding full citizenship rights, re-formation of values, priorities and norms of a society.
- In most of the social movements, the general mob exercise power by withholding their consent on the matters like refusing to participate in everyday life, denying others their labour, refusing to work to force employer, civil disobedience, marches, parades, rallies, purposefully and openly violating the law, street protests etc.
- Social movements push the allied community to capitalize socio-political and economic opportunities and transform them into social change. Social movements allow people to come together and speak commonly about their basic issues. Movements are often taken as tools to upgrade the level of intellectual thinking and logical reasoning by the educated sections and they generalized the summary of the movement amongst the poor and illiterates and accordingly mobilize the whole society for the common cost. Thus, movements bring

greater social bonding and unity irrespective of diversities among social groups as and when the issues carried on by the leaders of the movement are common for all of them.

- Social movements are seen as instruments for greater social improvement, awareness building mechanism for greater cohesion and social articulation. They are collective steps for bringing social adjustment, change and mobilization.

Thus, a social movement is a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity (Diani, 1992:13).



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: The members of social movement share common objectives. (Write True or False)

.....

Q.6: Identify the first documented social movement.

.....

.....

Q.7: Name the author of the book "*Socialist Communist Movements since the Third French Revolution*."

.....

.....

Q.8: Identify two features of social movements.

.....

.....

1.6 IMPORTANCE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The effectiveness or significance of social movements can be identified on the following points:

- Social movements can enlighten their members through developing awareness, improving their level of education, suggesting effective policy measures, mobilizing, organizing and formalizing collective

action and developing non-state civil society groups or actors etc.

- Social movements mostly benefit the weaker, unrepresented, marginalized groups. Their voice and problems are often highlighted in the platform of social movements.
- It helps the members of social movements to critically assess the social reality and offer solutions for their problems.
- It generates collective identity to unstructured masses.
- It tends to satisfy shared interests of the group and enhance support to their actions in a structured manner.
- It tries to establish a new order of life after a prolonged struggle and helps people to get benefits from the existing political situations or demands for social change.
- Actually, social movements raise their questions against the available inappropriate socio-political policies and structures.
- Most of the social movements are demanding greater changes against the social problems like Anti-Poverty Movement, Anti-Arrack Movement, Labour Movement, Environmental protection movement, etc.

From the above discussions, it is clear that the different social movements have different connotations and length. So, their implications are also diverse and manifold.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.9: Different social movements have different connotations and length. So, their implications are also diverse and manifold. (Write True or False).

.....

Q.10: Social movements are associated with voice against social ..... (Fill in the Blank)

Q.11: Examine the significance of social movement. (Within 50 words)

.....

.....



1.7 LET US SUM UP

- Social Movements are collective action of the people against an established social order and policies. It collectively acts for bringing changes in the socio-political structure.
- The term “social movements” was introduced in 1848 by the German Sociologist Lorenz von Stein in his book *Socialist and Communist Movements since the Third French Revolution* (1848).
- Social movements are not eternal. They have a life cycle: they are created, they grow, they achieve successes or failures and, eventually, they dissolve and cease to exist.
- Roots of the first documented social movements can be traced back in the late 18th Century French Revolution and the Polish Constitution of May 3rd 1791.
- Considering the matters of political representation, market capitalization and proletarianization, the mid-18th century early social movements in England were developed. John Wilkes was the figure behind the first mass social movement.
- From 1815, Britain following its victory in the Napoleonic Wars entered into the period of mature social movements.
- Social movements develops via cycles of activities. Only through protest we cannot affirm the existence of a movement. Because various movements have diverse strategies, tactics and work-plans.
- Certain social movements propagate definite vision and some others strive for the rights and liberties of people.
- It is an organized collective act with common objective, philosophy and organizational leadership.
- Social movements can enlighten their members through developing awareness, improving their level of education, suggesting effective policy measures, mobilizing, organizing and formalizing collective action and developing non-state civil society groups or actors etc.

- Social movements mostly benefit the weaker, unrepresented, marginalized groups. Their voice and problems are often highlighted in the platform of social movements.
- It helps the members of social movements to critically assess the social reality and offer solutions for their problems.
- It generates collective identity to the unstructured masses.
- It tends to satisfy shared interests of the group and enhance support to their actions in a structured manner.



1.8 FURTHER READING

1) Blau, J.R. (Ed.). (2004). *The Blackwell companion to Sociology.* USA: Blackwell.
2) Chesters, G. and Welsh, I. (2011). *Social movements: The key concepts.* London: Routledge.
3) De la Porta & Diani (2006). *Social movements: An introduction.* USA: Malden MA: Blackwell Published. 2nd Edition.

e-Resources:

https://www.britannica.com/topic/social-movement
worldanimal, net>documents>4_Movements_for_Social_Change.pdf
https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_movement
https://www.learningtogive.org/resources/social-movement
https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1002/9781118541555.wbiepc010
www.gsdrc.org>uploads>2017/03>social-movements pdf



1.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Social Movements are the collective action of the people against an established social order.

Ans to Q No 2: Collective Action.

Ans to Q No 3: True.

Ans to Q No 4: Anderson and Parker defined social movement as a "form of dynamic pluralistic behaviour which progressively develops structure through time and aims at a partial or complete modification of the social order".

Lundberg and others define social movement as "a voluntary association of people engaged in concerted efforts to change attitudes, behaviour and social relationships in a larger society. For, Charles Tilly, social movements are a major vehicle for ordinary people's participation in public politics.

Ans to Q No 5: True.

Ans to Q No 6: The roots of first documented social movements can be traced back in the late 18th Century French Revolution and Polish Constitution of May 3rd 1791.

Ans to Q No 7: Lorenz von Stein.

Ans to Q No 8: Social Movements develop via cycles of activities. Only through protest one cannot affirm the existence of a movement because various movements have diverse strategies, tactics and work-plans. Certain social movements propagate definite vision and some others strive for the rights and liberties of people. It is an organized collective act with a common objective, philosophy and organizational leadership. They may opt for change or oppose it. But the intensity and coverage of the change they demand; may vary. Sometimes, they challenge or defend the existing institutional models or diverse fields of authority.

Ans to Q No 9: True.

Ans to Q No 10: Problems.

Ans to Q No 11: A social movement mostly benefits the weaker, unrepresented, marginalized groups. Their voice and problems are often highlighted in the platform of a social movement. It helps the members of social movement to critically assess the social reality and offer solutions for their problems. It generates collective identity for the unstructured masses. It tends to satisfy the shared interests of the group and enhance support to their actions in a structured manner.



1.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1 : What do you mean by social movement?

Q. 2 : Mention one inevitable characteristic of social movement.

Q. 3 : Social movements are combination of both structured and unstructured population. (Mark true or false).

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1 : Examine the different types of social movements.

Q. 2 : Discuss the historical background behind the development of social movements.

Q. 3 : Mention the different views regarding the meaning and concept of social movement.

C) Long Questions (answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1 : Assess the significance of social movements.

Q. 2 : Comprehensively discuss the features of social movements.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 2: TYPES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS; LEADERSHIP DYNAMICS

UNIT STRUCTURE

2.1 Learning Objectives

2.2 Introduction

2.3 Various Phases and Types of Social Movements

2.4 Determinants of Social Movements: Different Approaches to Social Movements

2.5 Causes of Social Movements and Their Outcomes

2.6 Organisational and Leadership Dynamics of Social Movements

2.7 Role of Leadership in Social Movements

2.8 Let Us Sum Up

2.9 Further Reading

2.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

2.11 Possible Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand various phases and types of Social Movements
- explain the determinants of Social Movements
- describe different approaches to Social Movements
- discuss the causes of Social Movements and their outcomes.
- understand the Organisational and Leadership Dynamics of Social Movements

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Social Movements are the common and shared objectives of dissatisfied people against the socio-political authority to bring changes for collective betterment. There are different manifestations of social movements. Different sections of people with varied objectives, ideological connotations such as revolution, reformation, resistance in different phases develops different social movements. The unit thus, aims to discuss different types and phases of

social movements. Again, the determinants of social movements like personal causes, relative deprivation and others shall also be discussed in the unit. The different approaches to study social movements, causes and outcomes of social movements shall also be included in the unit. Considering all these matters, the chapter tends to develop a comprehensive deliberation on various stages, types, determinants, causes and outcomes of social movements.

2.3 VARIOUS PHASES AND TYPES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Phases of social movements can be distinctly explained by understanding the life cycle of the movement. It contains the starting, growth and results of the movement. Different movements occur in different societies marked by the way of rule, social needs and demands. Rise of demands like individual and social rights, freedom of expression, and civil disobedience of 19th century offered the seeds for the growth of a number of social movements throughout the world. Again the people engaged in different social movements are of different agenda and viewpoints. In ancient times, differences in poverty and wealth are factors and in modern times, it is the varied customs, ethics and values. Thus, the origin of social movements are marked by certain initiating event; that may be individual and specific but that usually followed chain reaction from the concerned society and develop the movement. Such as Mahatma Gandhi was thrown out of train in South Africa as he was a black and that was an event that triggered movement against Apartheid in South Africa. Hence, social movements are normally created when a large number of people realized that there are others sharing the same values. Accordingly they aspire for social change and indulge in movement.

Social movements are in difficult situations in the succeeding stage, when they have to show existence and acquire mass support. In this regard, they are often headed by charismatic leaders and they increase mass popularity. Besides, outside elements like- government, civil society groups etc. are generally significant in creating awareness and solidarity among people. Despite having all these issues, many a times, movements faced the crisis of failure or defunct.

Stages of social movements include the study on the life cycle of social movements starting from its inception, its growth and maturity and finally results. Blumer (1969) and Tilly (1978) outline a four-stage process. In the initial stage, people develop awareness about a matter and choose a leader to run the masses. This is followed by the second stage of developing membership of the movement, its publicity and increasing awareness. In the third stage, the movement becomes institutionalized and already upgraded to a well-established organization. At the fourth stage of the movement, people may fall away and adopt a new movement or may bring another turn to the movement, sometimes the movement may decline at this stage.

Social movements are of different types marked by their objectives, ways of protest, expansion and scope. The sociologist David Aberle (1966), distinguished the social movements based on what they want to change and how much change they want. Besides, social movements can be seen in local, national and global level, considering the peripheral span of the movement. Movements can again be classified into revolutionary type, religious/redemptive type, alternative type, resistance type etc. Revolutionary movements seek to completely change every aspect of the society. Religious or Redemptive movements are attempting to change the inner spiritual feelings of the individuals. Alternative movements are focused on self-improvement and limited, specific changes to individual beliefs and behaviour. Resistance movements seek to prevent or undo change to the social structure. Another type may be the reactionary movements and they try to block social change or to reverse social changes that have already been achieved. Besides, we have seen the self-help movements; where people try to improve various aspects of their personal lives.

Apart from the aspects discussed above, the types of social movements can be classified into the following lines:

1. Reform movements are organized to carry out reforms in some specific areas. Such as Civil rights movement, Women's liberation movement, Arya Samaj movement and Brahmo Samaj movement (in Indian context) etc. Here, the participants of the movement attempt to generate better arrangements for the society as a whole.

2. Revolutionary movements deny the system and are deeply dissatisfied with the social order and work for radical change. They advocate for replacing the whole existing structure. They try to re-arrange the society as per their vision. Usually, they resort to violence, such as the Protestant Reformation Movement, the Socialist Movement, and the Communist Revolution of China.

3. Resistance movements are arranged to develop voices against the changes taking place in the society and culture and they are against the views of the protesters.

4. Utopian movements attempt to take the society or a section of it towards a state of perfection, and for that, it sometimes support radical changes. The means and ends of such movements are often abstract and have less specific programmes to attain them. The movement for establishing Ram Rajya in India or the establishment of stateless, classless society by the Communists are the best examples here.

5. The peasant movement can be historically traced back to the colonial movement in Indian context, when repressive economic policies, the new land revenue system, the colonial administrative and judicial system harshly affected the economic life of the peasants. In the feudal system too, the farmers were suppressed economically, socially as well as culturally by the landlords. At the unbearable stage, they resisted the system which gave birth to a situation of unrest, uprising and violence. Some important peasant uprising are---Sanyasi rebellion (1770), Wahabi rebellion(1831), Santal rebellion (1855), Indigo revolt (1859), Champaran Satyagrah (1917-18), Naxalbari Movement (1957) etc.

6. The women's movement in India has been a rich and vibrant movement which has taken different forms in different parts of the country since the time of India's freedom struggle. Since 1848, voice for the rights of women along with men appears in the western countries. Later, different stages and slogans have appeared in different stages. Personal rights, political rights, reproductive rights, demands for equal pay, group rights have been some of the demands by women in different phases.

7. The Backward Caste movements started to make secure the social, economic, political and religious conditions of the underprivileged.

They were subjected to extreme form of exploitation in the caste system. The colonial rule further developed differences in economic lines. The atrocities united the lower castes against the upper castes. E.V. Ramaswamy, started Self-Respect Movement against the Brahmins in South India. Subsequently, after the Independence, Backward Class Commission was set up to look into the conditions and requirements of these classes. Mandal Commission submitted its report in 1980 recommending reservations for the backward castes in the educational institutions and government offices. These are some of the significant examples of backward caste movements.

8. The Dalit Movements started as part of the demands of the suppressed people in the Caste-based hierarchy. Their ascriptive status pushes them back to vulnerability in the hands of the upper-caste people. The organizational efforts made by the Dalit leadership for uplifting their status are known as the Dalit movement. It is a protest against issues related to untouchability, casteism, and discrimination faced by the Dalits. Mahatma Gandhi, in 1923, founded the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh to start education and schools for the Dalits. Another most important Dalit leader, Dr. Bhim Rao Ramji Ambedkar struggled to secure the basic human dignity for the Dalits. The Mahad Satyagrah for the right of water led by him was one of the outstanding movements of the dalits to win equal social rights. The role of the All India Depressed Classes Association and All India depressed Classed Federation were the Principal organizations which initiated a movement to improve the conditions of the dalits. They worked to secure the rights of the Dalits, spread education and ensure their empowerment, their social and economic security etc.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Name one Sociologist who distinguished among the social movements based on what they want to change and how much change they want.

.....

Q.2: Social movement can be seen in --------, ----------and -------- level considering the peripheral span of the movement. (Fill in the blanks)

Q.3: Stages of social movements include the study on the life cycle of social movements. (Write True or False)

.....

Q.4: Examine the various types of social movement? (Within 50 words)

.....

.....

2.4 DETERMINANTS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The different types of social movements discussed above, emerge due to a number of issues such as- the idea of reformation, resistance, oppression, dissatisfaction, demands for rights and socio-economic upliftment etc. Besides, economic and political reasons, technology and development, population and problems, environmental factors and international issues, social and racial inequality etc. can also be defined as the determinants of social movements, which by and large motivate the people to fight for their growing concerns and needs. Lower economic growth, non-democratic political regimes are often the causes of social movements. Again, we may identify a list of the determinants of social movements marked by individual and psychological factors, ideological dimensions etc. and these can be studied through different approaches. Relative deprivation and resource mobilization are two most significant conceptual understanding to examine the determinants of social movements which are discussed below:

Individual factors can be identified with the help of certain psychological prospects that either led a person to actively participate in the movement or to help him to develop disapproval against the same. Alienation, feelings of powerlessness, hopelessness, and separation from society may influence an individual to participate in the movements. Deprivation, discontent and frustration are frequently assumed to be the common causes for initiating or

joining a social movement. An individual's feeling of deprivation may surround the whole group of society, i.e. relative deprivation may be a social determinant of social movement. However, the relative deprivation approach seeks to explain that the persons who are feeling themselves in most terrible situations develop a feeling of relative deprivation, and usually play a significant role in social movements. These issues are discussed below.

Relative deprivation approach refers to a situation when the social, economic and political situations fail to satisfy the masses and generate frustration, then they opt for changes. This kind of negative feeling brings people towards the situation of difference between peoples' wants and actualities. They may not be deprived in reality but they feel deprived by comparing with other privileged sections, which we call reference group. For example, a middle class family may feel relatively deprived when they compare their house to that of their upper-class professional family. Accordingly, the members feel that they deserve more rights, wealth, power, status and many more. Gradually, their frustration reach an upper limit and they loose their faith in the conventional methods and structures. Therefore, to attain their aim, the group will organize into a social movement and they believe that their collective action shall only bring success.

Resource mobilization is another approach to study how the social movements mobilize their organizational outlet, mass media, person, money and material etc. Effectiveness and failure of the movement are related to all the said resources and their fruitful uses. Here, the leadership of the movement takes the utmost responsibility to mobilize all these aspects.

In addition to it, a number of social movement theories under the classical and modern approaches are to be studied in order to understand the factors and issues leading to social movements.

Commonly, the classical approach believes in some casual mechanism that emerged at the turn of the century. It believes that the sources of social movements are structural constrains. The structural flaws of the society put the individuals under certain psychological repression, such as unemployment, rapid industrialization, urbanization and most of them are subjective in nature. When that psychological disturbance attains

the border line, it ultimately drives the people to movements as they deny the conventional means. These approaches further believe that peoples' participation in the movements is mostly irrational, motivational and emotional. Hardly, the masses follow the protocols and reasoning. These kinds of psychologically driven approaches are rejected by the contemporary sociologists and political scientists, though many scholars still gave their thrust on emotions. The work of Gustav LeBon, Herbert Blumer, William Kornhauser and Neil Smelser etc. are important in this field. Gustave LeBon, in his book "The Crowd" (1895), studied the collective behaviour of crowds and developed the conclusion that once an individual submerges in a crowd, his behaviour becomes primitive and irrational and he is therefore capable of spontaneous behaviour. This is the collective behaviour theory and further developed by theorists like Herbert Blumer and Neil Smelser.

Again, in the 1930's and 1940's, the Mass society theory emerged in the wake of fascist and communist movements. It tries to explore the rise of extremism abroad. The theory develops the fact that the socially isolated people are more vulnerable to extremism. On this theoretical ground, Emile Durkheim developed the analysis of modern society and rise of individualism. Durkheim argued that the emergence of the industrial society caused two problems: anomie and egoism. According to Durkheim, these problems signify the failure of the social network to control an individual's behaviour. According to Durkheim, this will lead to dysfunctional behaviour, such as suicide.

William Kornhauser applied this theory to social movements in his book *The Politics of Mass Society* (2008). He pointed out that modern democratic systems possess a distinct vulnerability to mass movements. He spells out and identifies the factors that tend to increase or decrease this vulnerability—not least the health and strength of elites. In this way, the book reveals new clues to the origin and nature of mass political movements.

Again, the classical approaches cover up two senses of relative deprivation or feeling of inequality, particularly in relation to others or in relation to the peoples' own expectations. In the first view, people see others having more socio-political and cultural power, economic strength, and

accordingly, attempts to acquire all those for themselves too. In the second view, people are more prone to movements and whenever a situation arises to improve their existing situation or stops improving, at that juncture, they will join movements to materialize their expectations. Here, we can discuss the works of James Davies, Ted Gurr and Denton Morrison.

Since 1960's, both Europe and the United States witnessed serious growth in the amount of social movement activities. Accordingly, the common perception against social movements also changed. People began to pursue greater demands for healthy democracy and essential policies to attain the goal of greater political participation. Though the classical approaches considered the structural issues to examine the growth of movements, growth also carried forward common welfare, which was hardly ignored. To consider this second thought, a contemporary theoretical approach has developed. The more American-centered structural approaches examined other factors like gender, ethnicity or sexuality as central to class struggle.

The Structural approaches often consider the political process as an opportunities that are significant in the field of social movement activity. Certain political situations stimulate the movement activities. Political opportunities such as growing political decision making powers, instability or conflict between the ruling elites, access to elite allies, decline of sate's capacity to repress dissent, etc. may be realized through political concessions, social movement participation, or social movement organizational founding.

One of the first needs to produce a social movement is organization. Duty of the organization is to acquire and deploy resources to attain their concerned objectives. When the participants of a social movement are highly organized, they are more likely to create organized forms of protests. They are quite efficient to mobilize and use the resources for their common goals. Such resources may be of material, moral, socio-organizational, human and cultural kind. Some versions of this theory state that movements operate similar to capitalist enterprises that make efficient use of the available resources.

Social Movement Impact theory deals with the individual, institutional, cultural and socio-political impacts of a social movement on the society. Methodologically, the theory often focused more on the worth of violent or non-violent modes, importance of political allies and elites, agencies running popular movements etc.

Social-constructivist approaches which emerged in Europe admit that the present movements are different from the past as because instead of engaging in the issue of labourers, class conflicts they deal more with civil rights, feminist issues, environmental causes, anti-warfare demands etc. Participants' causes are more socio-political today and this kind of motivation formulates the post-colonial politics, particularly, those created the new middle class. This scholastic school also influenced the prominent American scholars like Charles Tilly. In this regard, we will also look at the works of Ronald Inglehart, Jurgen Habermas, Alberto Melucci, Steve Buechler etc.

The 1990's social-movement studies developed the significance of cultures, emotions other than structural factors to analyse the pros and cons of social movements. Alberto Melucci's *Challenging Codes* (1996) and James M Jasper's *The Art of Moral Protest* (1997) are prominent works in this regard. Melucci focused on the creation of collective identities as the purpose of social movements, especially "the new social movements", whereas Jasper argued that movements provide participants with a chance to elaborate and articulate their moral intuitions and principles.

Broadly, the approaches of social movements follow either Marxist or non-Marxist framework for analysis. Again, Gandhian approach is another powerful approach to discuss social movements.

- **Marxian Approach**

It believes in revolutionary social change. It believes that class based social structure developed faulty economic structure. Here, bourgeoisie class is opposite to the labour class in terms of privileges and wealth. Bourgeoisie class used the institutions of state and society and their coercive means to control and exploit the labour class. With the development of this kind of capitalist structure, the labours unite themselves and launched planned protests against their capitalist authority and aim to bring radical socio-political change by removing them from the positions of power.

Thus, the adherents of Marxian approach emphasizes only on conflicting economic interests as vital to social movements. But, a group of them also admits that factors like ethnic, political, religious, cultural etc. are other significant issues behind social movements. Marxist school of thought however, developed that the members of movement have common consciousness regarding their socio-economic position and that ultimately lead them to organize social movement to fight for their cause. The subaltern school, on the other hand criticized the traditional Marxists for their negligence in history of the masses because they believe that history not always dependent on the powerful class. Again, the traditional Marxists school criticized subaltern theory on the ground of ignoring the structural factors and considers consciousness as independent of structural contradictions.

- **Liberal Approach**

There is no unanimity among the other non-Marxian schools of social movements. They have different views regarding the issues like need of social and political change, role of social movements etc. Liberal scholars like William Kornhauser, Robert Nisbet, Edward Shils etc. developed the opinion that mass societies produce mass movements having extremist and anti-democratic elements. These scholars advocate the exclusion of the masses from day-to-day involvement in politics, as it hampers the efficiency of the government.

- **Gandhian Approach**

Mahatma Gandhi adhered to non-violent means to end the British rule in India and launched a prolonged freedom movement. But he disapproved the frequent launching of mass agitations as he believed that it was dangerous and dysfunctional for civilized society.

Some people disapprove revolutionary change in the socio-political and economic structures. However, they are not against any political change to reform government and political institutions. Some people approve a revolutionary change. However, their analysis of class is different from that of Marxist scholars. They put thrust on political institutions and culture.

All the above discussion helps us to understand the approaches to social movements. It is important to develop that while classical approaches put more stress on structural weaknesses, the contemporary approaches are more prone to cultural identities, environmental and socio-political issues.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: The idea of reformation, resistance, oppression, dissatisfaction, demands for rights and socio-economic upliftment etc. are certain issues generating social movements. (Write True or False).

.....

Q.6: What do you mean by relative deprivation?

.....

Q.7: Name the author of the book "*The Crowd*" (1895).

.....

Q.8: Identify two conceptual approaches of social movements.

.....

.....

2.5 CAUSES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND THEIR OUTCOMES

The causes of social movements are significant in the context of bringing socio-economic reforms, developments, resistance and many more. Social unrest, discomfort, dissatisfaction, descent, need for better socio-economic rights and security are certain matters that bring forth social movements to the limelight. Some of those are discussed in the following:

1. A group of social scientists believes that social movements do not occur in vacuum. It is social unrest which gives rise to a social movement. The unrest may be caused by factors such as- cultural drift. In course of cultural drift, people change their existing values and ideas and develop new ideas. In order to operationalise those ideas, people organize social movements. The development of a democratic society, the emancipation of women, the spread of mass education,

the removal of untouchability, equality of opportunity for both the sexes, growth of secularism are the examples of such movements.

2. Sometimes uneven social developments lead to social disorganization. It generally happens when one part/region of a country change more rapidly and other parts are lagging behind. Industrialization, urbanization are some of the reasons behind the same. Such reasons cause social discomfort or disorganization and stimulate the formulation of social movements.

3. In the transitory period between old traditional values shifting towards the new modern updates, individuals become rootless. They are in confusion and uncertainly and their feel alienated from the society. The individuals feel insecure, confused and frustrated. These conditions produce social movements.

4. The feelings of social injustice lead the people towards frustration and alienation. Any group, at any status level, may feel that they are the victim of social injustice. High taxation, protective discrimination etc. are the examples that create the feelings of social injustice among different sections. The feelings of injustice may not occur only among the poor sections and marginalized but among the rich sections too. Social injustice is a subjective value judgment. A social system is unjust when it is so perceived by its members and such feelings may lead to frustration and ultimately social movements to serve their needs. Thus, it is significant to remember that in a stable, well integrated society, there are fewer chances of tensions and social movements are usually rare in such systems. The complex modern society is more troubled by social movements as the people have more distress and tensions in comparison to the traditional societies.

5. Some groups of people are more prone to social movements. They may be alienated or the socially disintegrated groups, marginal groups, groups isolated from the family, community, groups which face socio-economic insecurity, groups which are maladjusted etc. They usually resort more to social movements to satisfy their issues. Thus, the homeless people or who misfit in the society become the supporters

of mass movement. It may also be noted that some people join the social movements for reasons unrelated to the movements' objectives. Some of them are like flying bees and others may join movements for attaining the power or satisfaction of one's own interest rather than to promote the goals of the movement. It may again be focused that, the small scale social movements having less foundational strength mainly face this kind of problems.

However, it is significant to note that each full grown social movement develops a chain of processes from unrest to excitement, excitement to formalization and from formation to institutionalization. Relative deprivation, emotional and cultural identity crisis, need for reforms, resistance etc. are the causes behind its occurrence and growth.

- **The outcomes of social movements**

As the social movements are collective attempts to change, restructure and resist the social order and change, we cannot conclude its outcome analysis only on the lines of its success and failure. Failure of social movements may take place due to the aspects like a participants' declining trust on the leadership of the movement, suppression of the movement, disintegration among the leadership of the movement, organizational failure etc. Again, success is vital when the movement enables to grasp spontaneous and active participation from a strong voiced group for a longer period. When the movement is run by a legitimized authority and if successfully manages power relation amongst its members, then there are very less chance of diversion and failure. Sometimes, the movement becomes institutionalized and later on it enables to attain or influence the political system at a large scale. For example, the struggle for Independence of India led by the Indian National Congress during the British rule enabled them to hold political power after the Independence. But, this kind of grand success of social movements only occur when mass participation and faith on leadership is very strong.

In addition to it, the social movement impact theory also known as the outcome theory focuses on examining the impacts of the social

movements on society, as well as on its different levels. Again, it studies the factors leading to those effects. The outcomes of social movements can be again analysed in terms of the following ways:

1. The individuals' psychological and emotional issues are mostly affected by the aspects of social movements. The participants actively join in the movement, share the values, ideas as well as burdens. They foster further activism collectively that develops their psychological attachment among themselves.
2. At the Institutional level, social movements targeted the non-state institutions. Some social movements are centered around the workplace of the labourers such as labour movements or co-operative movements. Rapid growth in terms of money and members of one institution, diffuseness or decentralization of organization, strength of links between clients and professionals and ties with the state etc. are certain institution specific characters that are more likely to get involved in movements.
3. Culture in the form of art, literature, writings etc. is mostly used by the participants of a movement to popularize their ideological framework and to attain more and more support. It is constantly used to generate more awareness amongst the participants.
4. Political changes are also achieved through the movements. Successful social movements are often been able to influence, reframe political issues and policies in order to attain their movement objectives.

Besides, we have witnessed social movements both at the individual and societal level attempting to secure bigger or smaller changes. While the reformative movements result in social upliftment, upgradation of available socio-political and economic structure to secure better life standard, revolutionary movements are aimed to bring radical changes which deny the state system. Similarly, alternative movements seek certain changes in the individual and social behaviour and redemptive movements brings changes in the socio-religious nature.

Since the mid-1970's, however, scholars have put immense interest in studying the ways regarding how the social movements generate changes at different levels. Political, biographical and cultural outcomes are more prominent in this regard. Here, political outcomes bring changes in the political environment of the movement, biographical outcomes consider the changes brought in the life course of the participants of the movement and cultural outcomes alter their broad cultural environment in the form of history, Art, literature etc.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.9: The causes of social movements are significant in the field of bringing socio-economic reforms, developments, resistance and many more. (Write True or False).

.....

Q.10: Social unrest may be caused by factors like cultural …….. (Fill in the Blank).

Q.11: Examine the main causes behind the occurrence of social movement. (Within 50 words)

.....

.....

2.6 ORGANIZATIONAL AND LEADERSHIP DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Stages of social movement: One of the earliest scholars to study social movement processes was Herbert Blumer, who identified four stages of social movements' lifecycles. The four stages he described were: "social ferment," "popular excitement," "formalization," and "institutionalization". Scholars have refined and renamed these stages but the underlying themes have remained relatively constant.

Four Stages of Social Movement

First Stage: Emergence	● The first stage of the social movement life cycle is also known as the "social ferment" stage by Herbert Blumer. ● This is a very preliminary stage and there is little to no organization; ● Issues are raised by agitators and general awareness is created amongst the masses. ● Also known as the "popular stage", it is clearly characterized by a feeling of discontentment amongst the masses.
Second Stage: Coalescence	● This stage is about finding out 'responsibilities'. ● At this point leadership emerges and strategies for success are worked out. ● Mass demonstrations may also come to the forefront. ● During this stage, social movements are more organized and strategic in their outlook.
Third Stage: Bureaucratization	● H. Blumer defines this stage as "formalization," and is characterized by higher levels of organization and coalition based strategies. ● Specialised staff is appointed. ● During this stage, social movements become more powerful as regularly they meet with political elites.
Fourth Stage: Decline	● Excessive bureaucratization also leads to emotional disconnect with the masses. Greater 'institutionalization' can have different types of impacts and may decline too. ● According to Miller (1999) -there are four ways in which social movements can decline: o Repression, o Co-optation, o Success, and o Failure ● Another critical reason for the decline is that such movements become part of the mainstream agenda and the issues raised by such movements is no longer seen as a challenge to the ruling establishment. Rather the state promotes such causes. Effectively, their goals or ideologies are adopted by the mainstream and there is no longer any need for a movement



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: According to Blumer, what are the four stages of social movements?

.....

Q.6: What is 'social ferment' stage?

.....

Q.7: Differentiate between social movements, social institutions and social organisations. (50 words).

.....

.....

2.7 ROLE OF LEADERSHIP IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Morris and Staggenborg have highlighted that 'Leaders are strategic decision-makers who inspire and organize others to participate in social movements'. 'Leaders are critical to social movements because-

- they inspire commitment,
- mobilize resources,
- create and recognize opportunities,
- devise strategies,
- frame demands,
- and influence outcomes.'[14]

Scholars have pointed out that the importance of the leader in social movements is because such a person acts a 'mobilizer' that inspires participants and also an 'articulator' who links the movement to the larger society.[15] The course and success of any social movements is largely dependent of 'charismatic leadership'. The 'personality' of the leader , the loyalty of 'followers' towards their leader and to the cause, all play a significant role in shaping the course of a social movement. Leaders create the impetus for movements by providing examples of action, directing action, and defining problems and proposing solutions. However, works done by several scholars also reflect that the leaders of social movements also become 'elitist' over a period of years and digress from the original goals.

Robert Michels: Theory of political leadership

Followers willingly cede agency to their leaders. The masses are grateful to leaders for speaking and acting on their behalf, even though leaders become political elites whose

interests conflict with those of their followers. Leaders become part of the power elite, more concerned with organizational maintenance than the original goals of the movement.

Effectively, as Morris and Staggenborg note in their work in The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements (2004) elaborate:

> Leaders operate within structures, and they both influence and are influenced by movement organization and environment. They are found at different levels, performing numerous and varied functions. Leaders sometimes pursue their own interests and maintain organizations at the expense of movement goals, but different organizational structures produce different types of leaders, including some who work to advance movement goals over their own interests. Different types of leaders may dominate at different stages of movement development and sometimes come into conflict with one another…..
>
> Moreover, we need to be aware that there is a vertical ordering of leadership in most social movements. When women are excluded from top positions they are separated from a considerable amount of power wielded by top movement leaders.

However, there were leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King Jr. etc, who were able to push forward the demands of the community and shape the future of their own country. The literature on leadership of social movements reflects that-

- **Social Background:** social movement leaders tend to come from the educated middle and upper classes, are disproportionately male, and usually share the race or ethnicity of their supporters;
- **Educational capital:** Studies of movement and revolutionary leaders in poor and non-Western countries also suggest that a majority of them either come from the middle and upper classes or have more

education than their followers and 'educational capital' is the key resource that social movement leaders derive from their privileged backgrounds.

- **Improvisation, innovation and coalition building:** Leaders of social movements are characterized by creativity and artful experimentation; improvisation of the same with education and intellectual thinking, leaders play an important role in 'framing grievances and formulating ideologies, debating, interfacing with media, writing, orating, devising strategies and tactics, creatively synthesizing information gleaned from local, national, and international venues, dialoguing with internal and external elites, improvising and innovating, developing rationales for coalition building.

- **Women leaders as 'bridge leaders:** Robnett argues that women often function in the role of ''bridge leader,'' which she defines as ''an intermediate layer of leadership, whose task includes bridging potential constituents and adherents, as well as potential formal leaders to the movement''.

- **Political entrepreneurs:** Resource mobilization theorists have viewed leaders as political entrepreneurs who mobilize resources and found organizations in response to incentives, risks, and opportunities; supporters are seen as rational actors who follow effective leaders.[16]

- **Movements and Protests:** With the growth of social media, communications and new age technologies, the forms, nature and purpose of collective action too have undergone a major change. New methods of protests, new issues to protest over and resistance to state domination have come to the forefront. Pro-democracy movements, identity

movements and strengthening of transnational human right network led by international NGOs have ensured that states become more accountable to the people.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.8: Martin Luther King Jr., the civil right activist, is from which country?

.....

Q.9: Why are leaders critical to any social movements? Mention any two reasons.

.....

.....

Q.10: Write very briefly on Robert Michel's 'theory of leadership'.

.....

.....

Anti-establishment movements/ Protest Movements

Tunisia: **Jasmine Revolution**	This movement took place in Tunisia in 2011, where the people protested against corruption, poverty and political repression. It finally led forced Pres. Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali to step down from office in January 2011.This movement inspired similar movements across the Middle East and North Africa.
Middle East : **Arab Spring**	2010-11 witnessed the 'Arab Spring' which comprised a series of pro-democracy protests and uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa. Anti-government protests took part in different parts of Middle East, which include- Jasmine Revolution (Tunisia), Egypt Uprising of 2011, Yemen Uprising of 2011-12, Libya Revolt of 2011, and Syria Uprising of 2011-12. Authoritarian regimes were challenged and demonstrators faced violent crackdown by their own security forces.
Hong Kong: **Pro-democracy protests**	One Country, Two Systems arrangement (1997) between China and Hong Kong never really addressed the issue of political freedoms and rights of people of Hong Kong. In 2019, the introduction of extradition amendment law sparked political unrest. Though this controversial law was withdrawn, tensions still remain between Hong Kong and China.

Whereas the earlier movements were primarily concerned about economic injustices and labour rights, contemporary movements question the existing structures as well as hierarchy of the state. The issue of state accountability and political reforms has rocked the Middle East as well as

- Social movements are of different types marked by its objectives, way of protest, expansion and scope. Sociologist David Aberle (1966) made a distinction among social movements based on what they want to change and how much change they want.
- Movements can again be classified into revolutionary type, religious/ redemptive type, alternative type, resistance type etc.
- Stages of social movements include the study on the life cycle of social movements. Generally, in the Indian context, movements are in the form of reform movement, resistance movement, peasants' movements, women's movement, dalit movement, backward caste movements etc.



2.8 LET US SUM UP

- Social movements are of different types marked by its onjectives, way of protest, expansion and scope. Sociologist David Aberle (1966) made a distinction among social movements based on what they want to change and how much change they want
- Movements can again be classified into revolutionary type, religious/ redemptive type alternative type, resistance type etc
- Stages of social movements include the study on the life cycle of social movements. Generally, in the Indian context, movements are in the form of reform movement, resistance movement, peasants movements women's movement dalit movement, backward caste movements etc
- Issues such as the idea of reformation, resistance, oppression, dissatisfaction demands for rights and socio-economic upliftment etc. are significant behind the emergence of social movements.

- We can identify a list of determinants of social movements marked by individual and psychological factors deological dimensions etc In addition to it a number of social movement theones under the classical and modern approaches are to be talked about to understand the factors and issues of social movements.
- The classical approaches that believe in some casual mechaniam emerged at the turn of the century. It believes that the sources of social movements are structural constrains
- Structural approaches consider the political process and opportunities which are significant in the field of social movement activity Certain political situations stimulate the movement activities
- It is important to develop that while classical approaches put more stress on structural weaknesses, the contemporary approaches are more prone to cultural identifies environmental and socio-political issues.
- Causes of social movements are significant in the field of bringing socio-economic reforms developments, resistance and many more. Social unrest discomfort dissatisfaction, descent, opt for better socio economic rights and security are certain matters that bring forth social movements in the limelight
- Feeling of injustice, alienation deprivation, cultural drift social disintegration. relative deprivation, emotional and cultural identity crisis, needs to have reforms, resistance etc are the causes behind the occurrence and growth of social movements
- Herbert Blumer identified four stages of social movements cycle.
- New social movements have gained momentum and it includes women's rights movement, the environmental movement, and the anti corporate, anti-globalization movement
- Leaders are strategic decision-makers who inspire and organize others to participate in social movements.
- Whereas earlier movements were primarily concerned about economic injustices and labour nights, contemporary movements question the existing structures as well as hierarchy of the state Protest movements have become very dominant today.



2.9 FURTHER READING

1) Blau, J. R. (Ed.). (2004). *The Blackwell companion to Sociology.* USA: Blackwell.

2) Chesters, G. and Welsh, I. (2011). *Social movements: The key concepts.* London: Routledge.

3) De la Porta and Diani (2006). *Social movements: An introduction.* USA: Malden MA: Blackwell Published. 2nd Edition.

4) Giugni, M., Bosi, L. and Uba, K. (2013). *Outcomes of social movements and protest activities*. In Oxford Bibliographies in "Political Science". DOI: 10.1093/OBO/9780199756223-0037

Web links/e-resources:

https://alagappauniversity.ac.in>...PDF

https://courses.lumenlearning.com/alamo-sociology-sociology/chapter/reading-types-and-stages-of-social-movements/

https://www.sociologyguide.com/social-change/social-movements-type.php

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2.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Sociologist David Aberle (1966)

Ans to Q No 2: Local, national and global level

Ans to Q No 3: True

Ans to Q No 4: Movements can be classified into revolutionary type, Giugni, Marco, Bosi, Lorenzo and Uba, Katrin Outcomes of Social religious/redemptive type, alternative type, resistance type etc. Revolutionary movements seek to completely change every aspect of a society. Religious or Redemptive movements attempt to change the inner spiritual feelings of individuals. Alternative movements are focused on self-improvement and limited, specific changes to individual beliefs and behaviour. Resistance movements seek to prevent or undo change to the social structure. Another type may be the reactionary movements and they try to block social change or to reverse social changes that have already been achieved. Besides, we have seen the self-help movements; where people try to improve aspects of their personal lives.

Ans to Q No 5: True

Ans to Q No 6: Relative deprivation refers to a situation when the people feel themselves more deprived in terms of the opportunities and privileges than others and in terms of one's own expectations.

Ans to Q No 7: Gustave LeBon, is the author of the book *The Crowd*. (1895)

Ans to Q No 8: Relative deprivation and resource mobilization are two significant conceptual formulations to explain social movements. Relative deprivation is a kind of negative feeling that brings people towards the situation of difference between people's wants and

actualities. Accordingly, the members feel that they deserve more rights, wealth, power, status and many more. Gradually, their frustration reached an upper limit and they lost their faith in conventional means. Therefore, to attain their aim, the group will organize into a social movement. Resource mobilization is another approach to study how the social movements mobilize their organizational outlet, mass media, person, money and material etc. Effectiveness and failure of the movement is related to all the said resources and their fruitful uses. Here, the leadership of the movement takes the utmost responsibility to mobilize all these aspects.

Ans to Q No 9: True

Ans to Q No 10: Cultural Drift

Ans to Q No 11: Causes of social movements are significant in the field of bringing socio-economic reforms, developments, resistance and many more. Social unrest, discomfort, dissatisfaction, descent, hope for better socio-economic rights and security are certain matters that bring forth social movements to the limelight. The feeling of injustice, alienation, deprivation, cultural drift, social disintegration, relative deprivation, emotional and cultural identity crisis, need for reforms, resistance etc. are the causes behind its occurrence and growth.

Ans to Q No 12: The four stages are social ferment," "popular excitement," "formalization," and "institutionalization".

Ans to Q No 13: This is a very preliminary stage and there is little to no organization; Issues are raised by the agitators and general awareness is created amongst the masses.

Ans to Q No 14: Social institutions are a complex set of values and norms that define roles and relationship between the individual, society and state; Social organizations are a form of social collectivities, formal or informal, and they are identifiable groups that have a specific purpose. Movements try to address a bigger cause and

seek to put forward the grievances and needs of the masses in the public domain.

Ans to Q No 15: USA

Ans to Q No 16: Leaders are important because-

- they inspire commitment,
- they mobilize resources

Ans to Q No 17: According to this theory, the masses are grateful to leaders for speaking and acting on their behalf, even though leaders become political elites whose interests conflict with those of their followers. Leaders become part of the power elite, more concerned with organizational maintenance than the original goals of the movement.



2.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1 : What are the stages of social movements?

Q. 2 : Mention one significant determinant of social movement.

Q. 3 : Name one social movement theory that had emerged in the wake of fascist and communist movements.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1 : Discuss the stages and types of social movements.

Q. 2 : Discuss the classical and contemporary approaches of social movements.

Q. 3 : Mention different views about the classical approaches of social movement.

C) Long Questions (answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1 : Assess the outcomes of social movements.

Q. 2 : Comprehensively discuss the causes of social movements.

Q. 3: Explain the importance of leadership in social movements.

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UNIT 3: DURKHEIM'S CONCEPT OF ANOMIE; CONCEPT OF RELATIVE DEPRIVATION

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives

3.2 Introduction

3.3 Theories of Social Movements

3.4 Anomie Theory and Durkheim's Concept of Anomie

3.5 Concept of Relative Deprivation

3.6 Let Us Sum Up

3.7 Further Reading

3.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

3.9 Possible Questions

3.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- analyse the contribution of Durkheim to sociological theory
- understand the concept of social movements
- comprehend the idea of anomie
- understand the concept of relative deprivation

3.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit will introduce you to Emile Durkheim (15 April 1858 – 15 November 1917), who is recognized as the 'sire of French scientific sociology'. The contribution of Durkheim in the development of the discipline of sociology is unparalleled. He has made considerable contribution to the field of sociology in general and has analysed key sociological concepts like Anomie. His major works include: *The Division of Labour in Society* (1893) *The Rules of Sociological Method* (1895), *Suicide* (1897), *L'Année Sociologique* (1898) and *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (1912). Durkheim refined the ideas of positivism put forward by Auguste Comte and regarded sociology as the science of institutions. Largely known

for giving key insights into issues such as social stratification, deviance, religion and 'collective consciousness', Durkheim dominated French intellectual life. Influenced by works of Charles Bernard Renouvier and Émile Boutroux, Durkheim sought to analyse the impact of laws, religion and education on society. He argued that scientific laws could be deduced from empirical observations and the importance of sociology would be seen through the ability to discover and understand 'social facts'.



LET US KNOW

Social movement : A persistent and organized effort involving the mobilization of large number of people to work together to either bring about what they believe to be the beneficial social change or resist or reverse what they believe to be the harmful social change.

3.3 THEORY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social movements as a form of collective action to bring a change in a society has been debated from various angles. Mainstream writers of collective action, social movements and social disintegration are invariably drawn towards ideas put forward by Durkheim who viewed "social movements as the collective expression of aggregate psychological dysfunction and anomie, representing a society's failure to integrate diverse social constituencies." Invariably, collective action and collective conscience are some of the key ingredients of a social movement.

Understanding Social Change: The issue of social change is associated with the ideas of Emile Durkheim, who argued that collective action and social consciousness are closely related. According to Durkheim, 'society is not just composed of individuals alone, rather it 'has a structure and existence of its own, apart from the individuals in it.' People tend to act together to achieve some common purposes and in turn it reinforces social sentiments. Shared symbols, social bonds and representations, create conditions wherein social consciousness based on moral foundations tends to become more durable. Durkheim argued that a society is composed of

more than just individuals and it encompasses 'social facts' which are beyond personal concerns. Society by and large regulates human behaviour which is patterned largely because of 'structures' and social facts such as religion, value system, cultural norms affect individual behaviour in a variety of ways. A society is essentially a complex organism which extends beyond the individual. But compared to traditional societies, modern societies are more liberal and social controls over the individual are rather loose.

Mechanical and Organic Society: Durkheim, in *The Division of Labour in Society* argued that contemporary society represents the transition from mechanical solidarity (relations based on closed family ties and religion) to organic solidarity (relations based on division of labour). This transition is because of 'dynamic density', *i.e.* it is a product of increase in the number of individuals and growing interaction among them. The Modern society essentially consists of relations which are impersonal and individuals being self–sufficient is not possible. However, the issue of solidarity amongst different segments of the society seldom exists as each sector pursues its own interests and goals. Furthermore, a society is fragmented into several groups and individuals, who have their own narrow interests. For Durkheim, conflicts between the workers and the manufacturers are inevitable because of unequal social and economic relations, which hamper any kind of cooperation between the different segments of the society. Therefore, in modern societies, there is less stress on 'moral consensus' and more on 'functional interdependence'.

According to Durkheim, the traditional society which is based on mechanical solidarity is characterized by 'repressive law', wherein common morality and shared values dominate relations among the people. In contrast, a modern society, where organic solidarity is predominant, is characterized by 'restitutive law', where people are less attached emotionally to societal norms and its breaches and the compliance to law is stressed upon and its regulation is done by specialized agencies.

Collective conscience and collective responsibility: Durkheim argues that there is a symbiotic relationship between collective action and consciousness. Symbols and social bond strengthen collective consciousness. Social solidarity amongst different segments of the society

are a result of 'societal networks'. Durkheim focuses on the idea of collective conscience, which represented a 'totality' of people, beliefs and sentiments, which is less significant in as organic societies. The 'cult of the individual' is a distinctive characteristic of the modern society where organic solidarity is more prevalent. Anthony Giddens highlights that the issue of collective conscience in the mechanical and organic societies can be distinguished on four different dimensions- volume, intensity, rigidity and content. But with the increased division of labour, occupational subgroups may have some collective consciousness which is incompatible with that of their traditional societies. It may lead to subgroups pursuing their own narrow parochial interests. The idea of collective consciousness however continued to remain vague because of its all-encompassing character. Collective consciousness which encompasses 'shared humanity' continued to remain vague. Hence, Durkheim soon moved towards the idea of 'collective representation', represented through the institution of family, state, religious and educational institutions, which helped him conceptualise the non-material social facts and was also not reducible to the level of individual consciousness.

As Wray, Colen & Pescosolido note, for Durkheim, "individuals require moral guidance and external restraint because without them their desires and expectations will exceed their grasp, with the resulting failures and frustrations leading to continuous states of despair." Along with the organic society came its own share of problems, individualism and growing sense of disparity. As a consequence of this, anomie is the resultant condition. Durkheim argues that due to the rise of individualism and modernization of society, social integration has become a greater challenge. Anomie essentially is a "condition in which society provides little moral guidance to individuals." Anomie signifies the weakening of social institutions, and at times, it may lead to dysfunctional outcomes, which include suicides.

According to Durkheim, 'pathologies' such as anomie could be cured. Though Durkheim was not a revolutionary or a radical Marxist, he did outline a scheme of things wherein 'occupational associations' could play an important role. Unlike Marxism, which saw a clash of interests between the workers and the owners, Durkheim believed that such contradictions arise because the people involved lacked 'common morality' which could be traced in the

'lack of an integrative structure'. As such, occupational associations could help serve 'agents of the same industry united and organised into a single group'. By doing so, 'common interests' of people from different categories could be well recognized and the common need for an 'integrative moral system' could be realized. The problems of modern society could be overcome by reinforcing 'collective morality'. Effectively, this integrative moral system could help fight pathological trait, help prevent decline of 'collective morality' and could prevent atomization in modern society.

Durkheim's contribution to understanding theory of 'collective movements' is acknowledged by theoreticians like Charles Tilly in his book *Useless Durkheim* (1981). While Durkheim argued about social change, division of labour and its implications on the individual in a modern society, it was primarily related to events taking place in the nineteenth century Europe. 'Multiplicity of elements' shape social action and the actors internalise the same and the 'breakdown' cannot be generalized.

The theories of social movements essentially aim to study the factors that contribute to the transformation of society or look into conditions that maintain the status quo. Durkheim's views on the conflicts among social classes essentially reflect the idea that 'solidarity incentives' are incompatible with 'individual convenience' especially in a modern society. But occupational groups can play an important role in reminding all the participants of 'general interests and reciprocal duties'. These groups may further help in organizing public opinion as well as act as a bridge between individuals and the state. The success of any social movement depends upon the relations based on equal power and partnership. Success is further reflected in the 'achievement of cultural, social and political change'. But Durkheim's idea of occupational groups playing an important role is self-contradictory because the workers and owners will seldom have common goals and common needs. However, Durkheim's contribution to the ideas on social movements stem from his contribution towards understanding the concepts such as social and collective consciousness. Furthermore, the need to have 'occupational groups' by Durkheim suggest that the reconciliation of goals between different groups may be possible in the long run and can help overcome pathological challenges faced by the members of the society.

LET US KNOW



M. Diani, points out that there are four aspects of any social movements -

a) networks of informal interaction;

b) shared beliefs and solidarity;

c) collective action on conflictual issues;

d) action which displays largely outside the institutional sphere and the routine procedures of social life.

Source: M. Diani 'The Concept of Social Movement', The Sociological Review, 40(1), 1992, p.7

Type of Movement	Goals	Examples
Innovative (Liberal)	Introduce new cultural elements, patterns of interaction, policy, or institutions	Legalize marijuana movement
Conservative	Maintain things the way they are	Keep marijuana illegal movement
Reactionary	Bring back old cultural elements, patterns of behavior, policy, or institutions	Movement opposing same-sex marriage
Reform	Change cultural elements, patterns of behavior, and/or policy, but do not replace institutions	U.S. civil rights movement
Revolutionary	Bring about great structural change by replacing one or more major social institutions	American Revolution, French Revolution
Identity	Create positive cultural and personal identities for members of groups that have been the target of prejudice and discrimination	Gay rights movement
New social	Achieve moral, quality-of-life, self-actualization, and other noneconomic goals	Anti–Vietnam War movement, environmental movement
Alternative	Change one specific type of behavior	Temperance movement, abstinence movement
Redemptive	Total moral change of individuals affecting multiple behaviors	Religious fundamentalist movement
Transnational	Achieve aims in more than one country	Human rights movement

Source: James DEFronzo and Jungyun Gill, Social Problems and Social Movements, Women and Littlefield, 2019, p.30, Available at https://rowman.com/webdocs/SP_CH2.pdf



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What is a Social Movement?

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Q.2: What are social facts?

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Q.3: What is mechanical solidarity?

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Q.4: What is organic solidarity?

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Q.5: What is collective conscience?

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3.4 ANOMIE THEORY AND DURKHEIM'S CONCEPT OF ANOMIE

Durkheim was deeply concerned about the decline of 'common morality' in a modern society. Introduced into Sociology by Durkheim, anomie "refers to the lack or ineffectiveness of normative regulation in society." Initially used to describe the changes in a society during industrial revolution, it signaled the 'disruption of values and norms' of a traditional society. Anomie has been 'conceived as the absence or defectiveness of the social regulation needed to bring about the cooperation between specialized functions.' For Durkheim, the French word 'anomie' meant 'without norms' which was used to describe the state of societies rather than of individuals that underwent when they shifted from agrarian village economies to an industrial modern society. However, the effects of anomie were well felt by the individuals because of such transition in their economic lifestyle. Individuals are confronted with anomie when 'moral constraints' decline; and the issues of

'acceptable behaviour' tend to be challenged more frequently by the individuals concerned. Largely identified with a social-psychological condition, over a period of time, the term was broadly used and there is considerable discrepancy in its usage.

The concept of anomie is fluidic in nature and it has been interpreted by Durkheim differently at different times. In his book, *The Division of labor in Society*, he defined it as a 'condition of inadequate procedural rules to regulate complementary relationship among the specialized and interdependent parts of a complex social system.' In another work, *Suicide*, Durkheim described anomie as a condition of inadequate moral norms to guide and control the actions of people and groups in the interests of the total social system. DiChrintina in the article '*Durkheim's theory of anomie and crime: A clarification and elaboration'* (2016) highlights the different ways Durkheim reinterpreted the concept of anomie. In *The Division of Labor*, Durkheim discussed anomie in terms of an abnormal form of the division of labour. In *Suicide*, Durkheim presented another description of anomie. There he proposed a distinction between egoistic, anomic, altruistic, and fatalistic suicide—the first two being more common in modern societies and the last two more common in pre-modern societies. At times, in Durkheim's work, the term anomie appears to represent excessive imprecision and weakening of the ''collective or common consciousness.'' Again, Durkheim stated, ''... anomie is the contradiction of all morality.''

The cause of anomie: For Durkheim, a 'natural wellspring' within human beings brings forth limitless desires and heightened expectations. Durkheim believed that no person can be happy unless their needs are proportional to their means at their disposal. Mechanical solidarity that is prevalent in traditional societies helps constrain such heightened expectations. As a result, frustrations and deviant behaviour is curbed. But such restraints are loosened in an organic society.

Ruohui Zhao & Liqun Cao have reflected in their article in *Social Forces* (2010) that 'Durkheim is specifically concerned with the social transition from a rural society with mechanical solidarity to an urban society

with organic solidarity and the spread of anomie during this unique period'. According to Durkheim, agrarian village economies are governed by certain norms, values and expectations. This pattern of behaviour is identified as 'mechanical solidarity'. However, with the emergence of industrialism and spread of capitalism, mechanical solidarity begins to decline and is replaced by 'organic solidarity'. The presence of organic solidarity is largely facilitated by the presence of the division of labour. But the transition from mechanic to organic solidarity takes place over a period of time. This transient phase is characterized by a 'state of relative normative disorientation' which is described as 'anomic'. In towns and larger cities, social control and moral constraints and restraints on individuals seem to be less prevalent. As a result, in an environment where there is 'inadequate normative direction', people are rather confused about what constitutes 'acceptable behaviour'. Durkheim sees anomie as a 'state of social disintegration' and argued that the rise of anomie is closely linked to the incompatibility between individual standards and greater social standards, which then essentially leads to moral degeneration.

Europe was undergoing economic transformation and Durkheim was quick to analyse the consequences of this transformation on the society and the individuals. He was of the view that with the growth of industrialism, the level of interaction between the different actors decreases. As a result, owing to mechanization and specialization, the sense of collective solidarity amongst workers declines. He believed that during times of social transition, "collective consciousness" is largely weakened and there is slackening of previously held norms and moral convictions as social control inevitably become loose.

However, the central 'pathology' in modern societies is the 'anomic division of labour'. Durkheim's idea of anomie is not only found in his book *The Division of Labour*, but it has also been a major part of *Suicide* (1897). Di Christina concludes, "Although Durkheim's conception of anomie is somewhat elusive, it is safe to conclude that he viewed it as a phenomenon that involves different kinds of deregulation, affects different spheres of

collective life, often accompanies rapid social change, and has a variety of unfavorable effects on society." Durkheim believed that because it is a pathological problem, curing the same is also possible. Anomie is a pathological condition associated with an organic society wherein there is loosening of common morality and individuals become more isolated, which may lead to suicides. Essentially, anomic suicide is linked with the decline of collective morality and insufficient external regulation of individual behaviour.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.6: Name any two books written by Durkheim.

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Q.7: According to Durkheim, what are the different forms of suicide?

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Q.8: What does 'anomie' mean?

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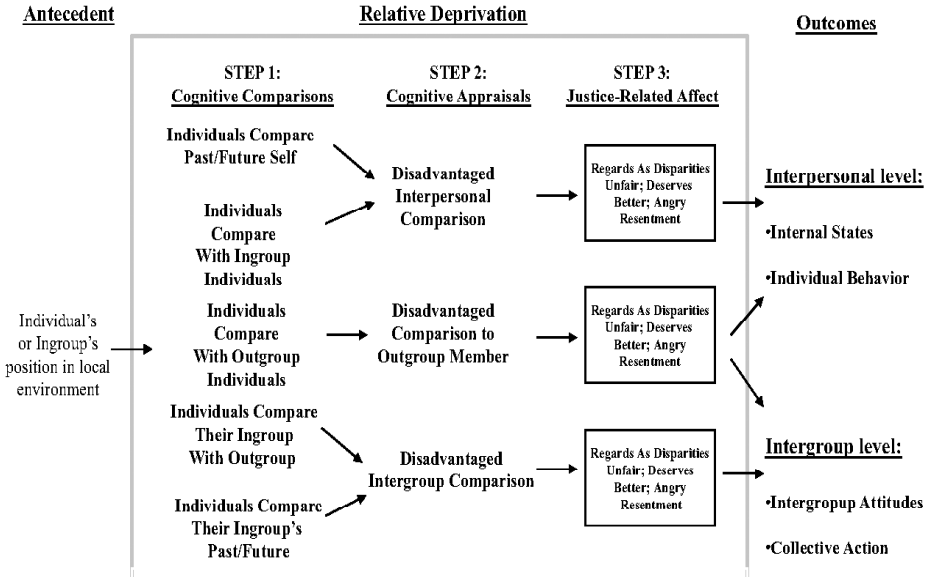
.....

3.5 CONCEPT OF RELATIVE DEPRIVATION

The concept of relative deprivation "links the individual with the interpersonal and intergroup levels of analysis."[1] The concept of relative deprivation in the study of social movements can be traced back to ideas put forward by Marx, de Tocqueville and Durkheim. The idea of 'relative deprivation' has usually been studied in the context of a reference group. Since then, there have been studies done by eminent sociologists and writers like R. Merton, T. Gurr and Denton Morrison, wherein it was identified with the 'perception that individual achievements have failed to keep pace with individual expectations'. Denton Morrison points out that relative deprivation is 'that feelings of deprivation, of discontent over one's situation, and it depends on what one wants to have; that is, deprivation occurs in relation to desired points of reference, often 'reference groups,' rather than in relation to how little one has.'[2] He further points out that 'social movements

are thought to emerge and flourish when groups of persons experience relative deprivation.'[3] Relative deprivation theory also highlights the 'potential gulf separating aspiration and the means to fulfil them, especially in times of accelerated change.'[4]Traggot notes, 'Durkheim observed that the conditions of low integration produced a variety of symptomatic consequences ranging from individual disorientation to social conflict.'[5] Gurley and Tierney further note, 'Essentially it is the perceived discrepancy between expectation and reality.'[6]

Koktsidis points out that 'deprivation theorists prefer to speak of a "relative", "comparative" and "proportionate" type of deprivation leading to frustration and violence, rather than "absolute" and "generalized" levels of poverty. The term relative points to the essential idea that another person or group provides the base of comparison of one's needs and gratification.'[7] Through the notion of reference groups, James Geschwender asserts that 'status inconsistency' as well as 'rising expectations' are very much associated with the concept of relative deprivation.[8] An individual compares his/her position to others in the group; furthermore, one group may also compare its status with other groups as well.



Source: Smith, H. J., Pettigrew, T. F., Pippin, G. M., & Bialosiewicz, S. (2011). Relative Deprivation. Personality and Social Psychology Review, 16(3), 203-232. doi:10.1177/1088868311430825

Durkheim extensively studied the societal problems that were associated with Industrial Europe. As such, his views on social disintegration, anomie and forced division of labour have been path breaking. Durkheim sought to analyse the challenges an individual and communities face during economic transition, especially when moving from a mechanical to an organic society. For Durkheim, 'social groups have structural properties where norms, values and on-going social relationships place constraints on the individual'. But invariably, with the emergence of an organic society, the growing forced division of labour creates conditions of anomie where the individuals face difficulties in adjusting to the new social environment. Mueller elucidates, 'Anomie—the lack of regulation or deregulation of social life-is the result of rapid and radical social change. But anomie does not mean a fundamental crisis of the system, but rather a crisis of adaptation.'[9]

In the Industrial societies, there is a marked contradiction between individual need and social goals. In such societies, self-interest is dominant and there is 'increased division of labour both within and between various enterprises which lead to greater vulnerability of the productive system'. Capitalist economies create conditions wherein there is increased bargaining between the different workers and this results in adhoc and piecemeal agreements in settlement of interests between groups. Issues of social integration, lack of cohesion and mismatch between personal ambitions and means create greater problems for the individuals and the society in the long run. Ken Thomson in his book *Emile Durkheim* (2002) points out that rapid economic changes lead to conflict of interests and it also leads to growing discrepancies between a group's expectation and their achievement. In such a condition of relative deprivation, norms governing the means of goal attainment break down and it results in anomie and increased disorder.[10] According to Durkheim, if excessive individualism is to be curbed, forced division of the labour has to be abolished. Durkheim proposes radical institutional reforms which will help overcome the distresses that come along when moving from a mechanical to an organic society. It includes abolition of inheritance of private property, introduction

of meritocratic principles of occupational recruitment and regulation of employment contracts to prevent unfair exploitation.

Durkheim does suggest the importance of occupational groups which has 'moral power' in 'containing individual egos, of maintaining spirited sentiment of common solidarity in the consciousness of all the workers, of preventing the law of the strongest from being brutally applied to industrial and commercial relations.'



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.9: What is a 'reference group'?

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3.6 LET US SUM UP

- Durkheim has made key contributions to the field of sociology and has analysed the important sociological concepts like anomie and suicide.
- According to Durkheim, 'the importance of sociology lies in its ability to discover and understand 'social facts'.'
- In *The Division of Labour in Society*, 'Durkheim, argued that the contemporary society represents the transition from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity.'
- According to Durkheim, 'pathologies' such as anomie could be cured and 'occupational associations' could play an important role in this process.
- Relative deprivation and reference groups are closely linked. Durkheim argued that 'rapid economic changes lead to the conflict of interests and it also leads to the growing discrepancies between a group's expectation and their achievement.'



3.7 FURTHER READING

1) Godlove, I. and Terry, F. (2005). *Emile Durkheim, 1858–1917.* New York: Oxford University Press.

2) Ritzer, G. (2011). *Sociological theory.* New York: McGraw-Hill. (8th Ed.).

3) Schmaus, W. (2004). *Rethinking Durkheim and his tradition*. Cambridge University Press.

4) Smelser, N.J. and Warner, R.S. (1976). *Sociological theory: Historical and formal*. General Learning Press.



3.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Social movements are a form of collective action which seek to bring about a change in the society. There are various types of social movements- some of them deal with social reforms. There are also new social movements and transnational movements.

Ans to Q No 2: According to Durkheim, a society is composed of more than just individuals and it encompasses 'social facts' which are beyond personal concerns. Human behaviour is patterned largely because of 'structures' and social facts such as religion, value system, cultural norms affect individual behaviour in a variety of ways.

Ans to Q No 3: According to Durkheim, traditional societies are characterized by mechanical solidarity where relations are based on closed family ties and religion.

Ans to Q No 4: Durkheim in The Division of Labour in Society argued that contemporary society is characterized by organic solidarity where relations are based on the division of labour.

Ans to Q No 5: Durkheim focuses on the idea of collective conscience, which represented a 'totality' of people's beliefs and sentiments, which is less significant in the organic societies.

Ans to Q No 6: a. The Division of Labour in Society (1893)

b. The Rules of Sociological Method (1895)

Ans to Q No 7: The different forms of suicide are- egoistic, anomic, altruistic, and fatalistic suicide.

Ans to Q No 8: Introduced to sociology by Durkheim, 'anomie refers to the lack or ineffectiveness of normative regulation in society'. Initially, used to describe the changes in a society during industrial revolution, it signaled the 'disruption of values and norms' of a traditional society.

Ans to Q No 9: Individual or group behaviour is often compared to other individual and groups. These are known as reference groups.



3.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1 : What is social change?

Q. 2 : What is the cause of anomie?

Q. 3 : According to Durkheim, what is the cure for pathologies like anomie?

B) Short Questions (Answer within 150 words)

Q. 1 : Write a note on the idea of Anomie.

Q. 2 : Mention the major works of Durkheim.

Q. 3 : Explain the relationship between collective conscience and collective responsibility.

C) Long Questions (Answer within 300-500 words)

Q. 1 : Discuss the concept of social facts.

Q. 2 : Discuss the concept of relative deprivation.

Q. 3 : Analyse the contribution of Durkheim to sociological theory.

End notes:

[1] H. J. Smith, T. F. Pettigrew, G. M.Pippin, & S. Bialosiewicz (2011). Relative Deprivation. Personality and Social Psychology Review, 16(3), 2011, p. 203.

[2] Denton E. Morrison, 'Some Notes Toward Theory on Relative Deprivation, Social Movements, and Social Change', American Behavioral Scientist, Vol.14,5, p.695.

[3] ibid., p.695.

[4] Mark Trauggot, 'Durkheim and social movements', European Journal of Sociology , Volume 25 Issue 02 November 1984, p.319.

[5] ibid., p.321.

[6] Joan Neff Gurney and Kathleen J. Tierney , 'Relative Deprivation and Social Movements: A Critical Look at Twenty Years of Theory and Research', The Sociological Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Winter, 1982), p.34.

[7] P. I. Koktsidis, 'From deprivation to violence? Examining the violent escalation of conflict in the Republic of Macedonia', Dynamics of Asymmetric Conflict, 7(1), 2014, p.3.

[8] James Geschwender, 'Social structure and the Negro revolt: an examination of some hypotheses',Social Forces ,43 (December) , 1964,pp. 248-56.

[9] Hans-Peter Müller, 'Social Differentiation and Organic Solidarity: The "Division of Labor" Revisited', Sociological Forum, Vol. 9, No. 1, Special Issue: The 100th Anniversary of Sociology's First Classic: Durkheim's "Division of Labor in Society." (Mar., 1994), p.80.

[10] Ken Thomson, Emile Durkheim, Routledge, New York, 2002, p.85.

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UNIT 4: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives

4.2 Introduction

4.3 Meaning and Definition of Social Change

4.4 Factors Responsible for Social Change

4.5 Different Theories of Social Change

4.6 Impact of Social Change; Reform, Revival, Revolution and Counter Movements

4.7 Let Us Sum Up

4.8 Further Reading

4.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

4.10 Possible Questions

4.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- know about the meaning and definition of social change
- explain the factors responsible for social change
- discuss the different theories of social change
- describe the impact of social change

4.2 INTRODUCTION

Change is the law of nature. In this world everything changes with time, so the society. The old order of a society has always been in constant change and gets replaced by a new order. There are many scholars who had tried to understand the idea of social change at different periods of history. There are many definitions of social change, but going through all these, we can come to a conclusion that social change more or less is concerned with two levels of changes. The first is that it is associated with the changes in the social structure of the society and the second, it is

related to the changes in the values and social norms which is mainly responsible for social cohesion, or in other words, binding people together in society in order to maintain a proper social order. There are many factors as well as theories of social change because of which it is not an isolated event. With social change there also emerges different consequences or impact. This chapter therefore deals with the various important concepts related to social change.

4.3 MEANING AND DEFINITION OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Meaning:

One of the most permanent laws of nature is change. Everything changes with time because nothing is permanent. All matters in the universe go through a phase of transition, transformation or substitution, including the society. The society is under a constant change since its inception. The old order of a society has always been replaced by a new order. No one on earth can claim that the society remains as it is, through the history of mankind. If we keenly observe, we find a large amount of variation in society of traditional period and the modern or contemporary period. There were different periods in which man lived in different types of societies and which significantly evolved from one pattern to another. The growth from the Paleolithic era up to the Neolithic, then to the Stone Age and subsequently to the copper age is the finest evidence of social change that took place. Therefore, the changes in a society take place in different variations which include the social structure, social institutions, social practices, social behaviours, social relations, traditions and habits etc. that can be termed as social change. It is the alteration or change in the earlier or previous style of continuation. Social change is purely a universal phenomenon.

Definitions:

There are many scholars and thinkers who have put forward their own perspectives on the idea of social change. As such, it is important for us to go through some of the popular definitions in order to have a better insight to the concept of social change.

Ginsberg was of the view that social change has always associated itself with any change in the social structure.

Kingsley Doris elucidated that social change are those alternations which mainly take place in the social organization which involves the social structure and functions of the society.

Merril and Elbridge claimed that social change is the process in which a large number of people engaged themselves in activities which are different or vary from their past generations or fore-fathers.

According to *Gillin and Gillin,* the variations in the accepted way of life of the people in the society is social change. The social change may take place due to changes in the geographical locations or the cultural elements and also due to the composition of the population. Moreover, social change also involves an ideological perspective of change.

Jones explained that the term social change signifies the variations or modification of any feature of social activities and process, social interaction, social patterns or social organization.

M. D. Jenson described that social change is the process of alteration in people's ways of doing something or thinking.

According to *MacIver and Page,* the idea of social change involves the different level of changes that takes place in man's life. Primarily, it is the total change in the condition of life of the man. It also includes the changes in the beliefs and attitude of the people, and lastly it involves all the other changes that go beyond the human control to the biological and physical nature of things.

Morris Ginsberg holds the view that the process of social change is the modification of the social structure. For example, he put forward the process of change which brings changes in the size of the society, the social composition or the sense of balance of its elements and also the nature of the social organization.

P. Fairchild has defined social change as something which is entirely associated with the aspects of social process and its modifications and variations of pattern or form.

B. Kuppuswamy elucidated that social change is the process in which there is visible changes or alternation takes place in the functioning and structure of a particular social system.

H.M. Johnson claimed that social change is either the change in the structure or quasi- structural features of a social system.

Anderson and Parker has stated that social change is the modifications in the social structure or functioning of societal functions and processes.

H.T. Mazumdar gave the view that social change is a new fashion or mode related to the social life of the people. It either modifies or replaces the social practices of the people with regard to the society and its operations.

By analyzing the above definitions, we can come to a conclusion that social change more or less is concerned with two levels of changes. The first is that it is associated with the changes in the social structure of the society, and the second, it is related with the changes in the values and social norms which are mainly responsible for social cohesion. But, it is important at this stage to understand that the two levels of changes must not be treated as separate. In fact, both are related, a change in one can lead to a change in the other.



LET US KNOW

One of the basic characteristic of social change is that it is primarily social. It is entirely related to the society and is different structures and institutions. Social relationship is the main area of social change. Social change is a universal phenomenon. Not a single society in this world is static. It is a continuous process. There is no value judgment in social change. It is neutral. Moreover, there are many factors which contribute to social change.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: One of the most permanent laws of nature is the change. (True/False)

.....

Q. 2: Social change is purely a ..... phenomenon. (Fill in the blank).

Q. 3: What is social change?

.....

Q. 4: What was *Gillin* and *Gillin's* view on social change?

.....

.....

4.4 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

Social change basically involve two changes- one is the macro changes and other is the micro changes. The changes which occur at institutional and structural levels of society are the macro changes whereas the changes which take place daily are the micro changes. Whatever may be the type of social change, we must remember that there are many factors which are responsible for social change. Some of these include, the demographic, natural, technological, cultural and economic changes.

- **Demographic Factors**

One of the most important factors of social change is the demographic factor. The change in the population of a society drastically leads to different social changes. The change in the population composition of a society is directly proportional to the social structural change of the particular society. It is also natural that the population and its composition of a society are always changing and therefore social change is obvious. Generally, the population of an area changes with the migration of people, war, natural calamities, invasion etc. Now, let us consider the issues responsible for social change.

A reciprocal relationship has always existed between the population and social structure. The social structure influences population changes and the changes in population too influence the social structure. For instance, if we consider the population ratio or sex ratio, a proper ratio for proper balance between male and female in the society is 1:1. A change in this ratio definitely leads to changes in the society. The presence of more numbers of female leads to a different set of law courts, marriage system and family organizations. Moreover, the presence of more number of women degenerate the status and position in the community. If the population of adults is more than others there will be need for more regulations. If the older population exceeds the general people, then the society will be less prone for any type of change or new progress. The decline or rise in both the birth rate and the death rate also brings different social transformation. Lastly, the migration of people also leads to social change both in case of internal and external migration.

There is high economic growth in the developed countries which leads to high social standards of living. On the other hand, the developing countries with high population have to face many difficulties which include increase in birth rate, lower standards of health, problem of unemployment, different sorts of violence and crime. This happens because of low economic growth in such societies. Therefore, it can be summed up that the effects of demography on the society are many fold which includes changes in the society, changes in the economy, changes in the education system and also in the values, politics and culture of a society.

- **Natural Factors**

Man is always deeply connected with nature. Social change is responsible also for natural factors which include different national calamities like floods, earthquakes, drought, and epidemics. All these are directly disruptive for the social system. It brings an overall change in the social conditions of the people affected by the natural problems. It makes large scale damages not only on the victims but on the overall social atmosphere. For instance, after a large scale natural devastation,

the redevelopment works might deprive the weak or less powerful to avail the services and opportunity for development. As such, in such a society where the natural factors create two classes encompassing the privileged and unprivileged, there would always be different social culture, norms, values etc., contributing towards a social change for future progress and development.



Cultural Lag: The term cultural lag refers to the notion that culture takes time to catch up with technological innovations, and that social problems and conflicts are caused by this lag.

Human beings and the physical environment depend on each other. The physical environment comprises the forests, deserts, mountains, and everything which nature has provided them. People exploit the physical environment or natural resources for their own interest. This leads to both positive and negative impacts. The positive impact may comprise all the possibilities for development and progress of mankind that human beings could acquire with the use and exploitation of the physical environment. On the other hand, the negative actions encompass deforestation, pollution and misuse of the natural resources. Therefore, the change that occurs in the physical environment brings about a change in the society and its people as a whole and the changes of the society would put pressure on the physical or natural environment.

- **Technological Factors**

The modern age is the age of technology. Technological development has drastically brought a change in the lives of all the people around the globe. Today is the age of globalization and the advancement in technology has brought dramatic social changes. In this regard, famous thinkers like *Ogburn* and *Nimkoff* have rightly observed that though we consider capitalism in this modern period to be the driving force behind all the social changes that are visible, it is not just capitalism. The technological field and its associated developments are all together responsible for social changes, and capitalism is just the by-product of the technological innovations. The economic structure and relations have undergone an all-round transformation due to the effects of technology. The old values, norms, culture, traditions etc. have been replaced and a new set of social norms and values have taken up their place which would lead to the social change.

The technological changes have provided better communication facilities among the people, more job opportunities and advancement in social security as well as national defense. The advancement in the field of technology which has been induced in the modern society has led to the changes in our family system. Nuclear families have now come up. Moreover, there is a transformation in women's role in the modern societies. There are also changes that have been observed in human relationships. There is now lack of religious interference in social life of the people. All these factors have more or less brought a drastic change in the social institutions of people's social life. But, there is also a negative dimension of the technological development. In many societies, this has led to a ***cultural lag.***

- **Cultural Factors**

The change in the technology has also brought a change in the culture of the society. As such different cultural factors are responsible for social change which has been more profound after its contact with the technological advancements. It is to be noted here that culture is always responsive to the changing environment. For instance, the culture of the people in the medieval age is different from the culture of the modern age. The people of the modern period are sounder with ideas like equality, justice, and liberty whereas the ancient people were not so much aware about such concepts. These ideas and customs lead to social changes. Therefore, the social systems can be regarded as directly or indirectly a creation of the culture of the society. *Dawson* and *Gettys* have rightly observed that culture gives a definite speed and definite direction to social change.

There are two main aspects of the cultural change in the society. One is by discovery and invention and the other by diffusion and borrowing which lead to the change of culture. Discovery and invention take place within a society, it is from inside the system. Different knowledge systems lead to change in the habits of thinking which later shape values and norms

for the society. This in turn becomes an important element of social change. The second one that is by diffusion and borrowing elucidates the association of one culture with another from outside the society. Different cultural patterns have undergone transformation in this process. Cultural trait has been adopted by the people of a society from another culture with whom they came in contact. For example, we often say nowadays many cultures have adopted the western culture. All these would finally lead to social change.

- **Economic Factors**

The economic factors are also important factors for social change. In fact, the existence of the society and its day to day practices solely depend upon the economic conditions of the people as well as the system. The modern societies are the creation of the evolution process that started right from the pre-historic times. As such, the economic system of the societies have also gone through different phases of transitions. People who in the past just survived on hunting and food gathering are now a part of the industrialized world. This is the greatest evidence of social change where economic influences played major role. In other words, economic changes are directly proportional to the social changes. Different components of the society which include the educational, technological, scientific prosperity and many others are affected by the development in economy and thus leading to an overall social change. *Karl Marx* was the main thinker who emphasized the connection of the economy and society. According to him, the means of production and distribution determines the social structure of a nation. Whenever there are changes in the means of production, the society automatically changes.

ACTIVITY 5.1



Try to list out the major social changes that took place in the Pre-independent and Post-independent India.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: One of the most important factors of social change is the demographic factor. (True/False)

.....

Q.6: The social systems can be regarded directly or indirectly as a creation of the _____of the society. (Fill in the blank)

Q.7: What is Cultural Lag?

.....

.....

Q.8: Name the different factors of social change?

.....

.....

4.5 DIFFERENT THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The idea of social change has been interpreted in many forms and as such it has led to the emergence of different theories. Now, let us look at some of the theories of social change which include Determination Theory, Evolutionary Theory, Cyclical Theory, Economic Theory and Religion Theory.

- **Determination Theory**

According to the theory of determination, every society is changing with the passage of time and it actually deteriorates each passing day. It changes its course from happiness towards dissatisfaction and from peace to chaos. This makes the demand for social change even sounder and determined. The people in the society wanted to live in an atmosphere which could provide them with the opportunities for self-development and appraisal. As such, people wanted to bring about a change in the old customs and practices and move towards a newer one. In other words, the basic human nature makes way for social changes.

- **Evolutionary Theory**

Social change can be categorically placed under two sorts of evolutions. One is the uni-dimensional evolution and other is the multi-

dimensional evolution. Uni-dimensional evolution held the view that societies generally process in a single line that is from the simple form to the more complex one or from the primitive towards more differentiated one. Whereas the multi-dimensional evolution took the structural, institutional, and cultural development of a society into account. They argue that these developments of a society actually pass through many evolutionary phases.

The idea of evolution basically came into the domain of social sciences from the biological evolution concept put forwarded by *Charles Darwin*. He elucidated that all species of organisms have aroused and developed through a natural process which teaches the individuals to increase their ability to reproduce, survive, and compete. *Auguste Comte* was another thinker who explains that society passed through three different stages which include the theological, metaphysical and positive stage. The first type of stage stressed on supernatural beliefs. The second stage was the stage of metaphysics. The third stage was empirical and paved way for cyclic studies. Then it was *Herbert Spencer* who described the concept of social change by comparing societies with organism. The prior society was a militant society that focused mainly on survival, and then came the industrialism in which differentiation was evolved, and finally, the societies moved towards integration.

- **Irregular Social Changes Theory**

Similar to the Darwin's idea of evolution based on biology, it was *William Ogbur* who introduced this particular theory of social change. The irregular theory of social change asserts that the culture is divided into two main kinds which include the material culture or non-material or adaptive culture. In case of material culture, the social changes take place at a very fast speed. While on the other hand, social changes in terms of non-material domain responds slowly to any kind of change. The gap between material and non-material culture is basically the cultural lag which is the source of all kinds of disharmony and maladjustment in the society. Forest, for instance, may be destroyed because conservation policies lag behind modern agriculture, new industrial needs may not be

met by antiquated educational systems, and traffic regulation may be ineffectual as far as the latest means of transportation are concerned. However, this theory has its own weakness as nothing is presented clearly portraying changes or causes of changes in the material culture itself. However, the thinker is credited for highlighting the cultural lag and showing how technology could leave an impact on the society, thus giving impetus to different social changes.

- **Theory of Systematic Efforts**

Ludwig Stein and *Hobhouse* are the ones who belong to this school of thought. According to them, social change does not come of its own. They reject the idea of materialistic and non-materialistic factors of social change. On the other hand, they believed that there are certain systematic efforts which are actually responsible for social change. These include the spreads of knowledge and literacy which in the long run is responsible for bringing up changes in the society. According to them, our conscious efforts in a planned way are more effective for bringing a social change than unplanned and unsystematic efforts because in the latter processes, social process is very slow.

- **Cyclical Theory**

The main assumption of the cyclical theory is that a society is similar to a living being which possess a life cycle. *Oswald Spengler* and *Arnold J. Toynbee* are the ones who are credited for the development of the theory. They elucidated that the societies and civilizations actually change according to a cycles which comprise the rise, decline and finally fall just similar to a human being who is born, mature, grow old, and finally die. According to German thinker *Spengler*, the life cycle of every society is also predetermined life. The society after passing through the different stages do not stop at the end but it returns back to the original position and the style starts again. For example, *J.B. Bury's* analysis on social change and society came to the conclusion that great civilizations like Roman, Greek and Egyptian civilizations went through the similar fashion and finally met their end of the cycle.

It was also *August Comte* who portrayed change in a cyclic order. He said that the society has undergone three main stage. These are theological, metaphysical and positive. In the theological stage, society believes in the existence of supernatural powers and accepted the idea that these powers are essential and important which control our social behaviour. The next stage is the metaphysical stage in which *Comte's* ideas on supernatural powers has changed and from God, he came to abstraction and tried to explain social behavior through abstraction. In the third stage which is called positive stage, everything is being empirically studied and all this is going on in a cyclical order.

- **Economic Theory**

The economic theory of social change assumes that the economic conditions of the society are mainly responsible for social changes that take place in the society. In order to explain the economic interpretation of social changes we must refer to the Marxian analysis of society in terms of economy. It divides the society into two structures. One is the infra-structure and other the super-structure. The first one consists of the forces and relations of productions. The second one consists of those elements of the social system, which include the legal, ideological, political and religious institutors, which is responsible in maintaining the infra-structure and which are changed by it.

The main founder and advocate of this theory, *Karl Marx* argues that the state of productive forces determines the socio-economic structure of society. This had led to the creation of two classes in the society, have and have-not, and in each social transition there has been a class struggle between the two contradicting classes. According to *Marx*, the driving force of social change is nothing but the class struggle. He therefore remarked that 'the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles'. Conflict in societies is inevitable. There is no single society where there is no conflict. As such, these are the factors altogether which lead to the changes of the societies.

- **Religious Theory**

Religious theory was supported by many who actually did not agree with the arguments of *Karl Marx* on economic determinism. According to the opponents, economic factor is not the sole factor for social change. It is religion rather than economics which is mainly responsible for social change. It was mainly *Max Weber* who greatly contributed to the idea that religion is solely responsible for bringing about a change in society. He justified his arguments on grounds that the emergence of religions like Hinduism, Islam, Christianity or Judaism has brought substantial social changes in the past as well as present and this is the sole reason why thinkers like *Weber* gave more importance to religion rather than to the economic aspects of life with regard to the social changes.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.9: The main founder and advocate of economic theory is Karl Marx (True/False)

.....

Q.10: According to the theory of determination, every society is changing with the passage of _____ (Fill in the blank)

Q.11: What are the different theories of social change?

.....

.....

4.6 IMPACT OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The term social change itself reflects that it is the alteration of the existing order of the society. When there is a social change, it always leaves its traces in the society. There are different impacts that social change can bring along with them. Some of them include reform, revival, revolution and counter movements.

- **Reform**

The first impact of social change is that it seeks to reform the present structure or institutions or practices of the society in order to improve it.

However, we must understand that there is a difference between social change and social reform and one must not consider both on the same line. When we refer to social change, it signifies that it can be either positive or negative alteration of the society. For instance, there can be social change in different phases and each phase might experience a difference in terms of women's position in the society. It is not that the position would improve with social changes. It might get degraded at some point and might revive at the other. As such, social change has been always considered a value-neutral term.

On the other hand, social reform is a positive concept and is desirable in the society to make it more stable and orderly. For instance, if women's participation in politics or economy has significantly increased as compared to the preceding years, then it would be considered a positive aspect of social change which is nothing but a social reform. Social change therefore, brings along with them both negative and positive changes. The positive changes bring prosperity to the society and reform the entire society in such a way that it provides ample scope to the individuals to grow and make progress in various spheres of life. If we look into the history of mankind, we would find that different social changes have led to different social reforms or reform movements. One such popular reforms which the changing Indian society has observed has been *Mahatma Gandhi's* model of self-sufficient villages through the means of the spinning wheel.

- **Revival**

The prominent impact of social change is the revival. Revival generally refers to the religious reawakening or transformation that social change brings about. We all know that religion has always been an active torch bearer of social change. But the social change also affects religion in different ways. We can easily observe that many nations have been built up on the basis of religion and there are many who did not make religion their base in nation building. But, the changes in a society always lead to religious revival.

When a new religion in a colony is introduced, we must understand that it is not introduced into a vacuum. The society already has exciting beliefs, traditions and practices which are responsible for performing certain social responsibilities within the society. An all new set of values and attitudes come in place in the society when a new religion is received by a society. But, the existing religions are challenged on the basis of their stability in the society. There are five functions which a religion performs- social solidarity, social control, social change, psychological support, and provision of meaning. However, all these functions go through a phase of transition when a new and alternative religion comes into the society. The new religion would start to dictate many of the social functions and the existing religions would start to face complexities as their power and control in the society diminishes.

- **Revolution**

Social Change and social revolution have a close relationship with each other. There is always essential change in a society associated with a social revolution. It entirely changes the power dynamics in the society. Generally, revolutions in a society occur when there is a wider dissatisfaction of the people with the existing system or order and when people become determined that change is important. This generally takes place when there is a social change and people become more aware of their existing system and their drawbacks. This particular change of the mindset of the people in the society leads to revolution. It is also important for us to understand that revolution is not reform. Reform is mainly narrow in their scope and affect whereas revolution is something more wide and believes in the overthrowing of the existing order of the State and society. It brings another social, political and economic change in the society.

There are different causes for which revolution occurs. One of the important cause is the class conflict or struggle in the society. *Karl Marx* was one of the thinkers who has given a proper explanation of the revolutionary change through his dialectical and historical materialism. Moreover, the cultural changes in the society are also responsible for revolution. The presence of dominant cultural values or practices in the society may threaten the existence of a certain group of people. In due

course of time, this leads to a revolution. A popular revolution which had grabbed the world's attention was the French Revolution of the 1700's.

- **Counter Movements**

Counter Movements are those movements which generally take place in opposition to other social movements. Generally, when there is an emergence of a particular social movement, there also emerges a counter movement. The main agenda of such counter movements are basically to undermine the social movements which they are opposing. A prominent example of counter movements are the movements which are raised against movements for the global warming. While one group demands actions for global warming from the states, the other groups reject the idea that there is anything negative associated with the current problem of global warming. Likewise, the feminist movement in different parts of the world has also led to the emergence of different counter movements as well.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.12: The term social change itself reflects that it is the alteration of the existing order of the society. (True/False)

.....

Q.13: Social Change and social ..... have a close relationship with each other. (Fill in the blank)

Q.14: Mention the different impact of social change?

.....



4.7 LET US SUM UP

- Change is one of the most permanent laws of nature. Everything changes with time. Nothing is permanent. All matters in the universe go through a phase of transition, transformation or substitution, including the society. A society has been under a constant change since its inception.

- Social change basically involves two changes one is the macro changes and other the micro changes. The changes which occur at the institutional and structural levels of society are the macro changes whereas the changes which take place daily are the micro changes.
- We must remember that there are many factors which are responsible for social change. Some of them includes, the demographic, natural, technological, cultural and economic factors.
- The idea of social change has been interpreted in many forms, and as such, it has lead to the emergence of different theories. The theories of social change include Determination Theory, Evolutionary Theory, Cyclical Theory, Economic Theory and Religion Theory.
- The term social change itself reflects that it is the alteration of the existing order of the society. When there is a social change, it always leaves its traces in the society. There are different impacts that social change can bring along with them. Some of them include reform, revival, revolution, and counter movements.



4.8 FURTHER READING

1) Jayal, N.G. (2001). *Democracy in India.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
2) Rao, M.S.A. (2008). *Social movements in India.* New Delhi: Manohar Publishers.
3) Shah, G. (2004). *Social movements in India.* New Delhi: Sage Publications.



4.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: True

Ans to Q No 2: Universal

Ans to Q No 3: The process of change of the society in different variations which includes the social structure, social institutions, social practices, social behaviors, social relations, traditions and habits and etc. can be termed as the social change.

Ans to Q No 4: According to Gillin and Gillin, the variations in the accepted way of life of the people in the society is social change. The social change may take place due to the changes in the geographical locations or the cultural elements and also due to the composition of the population.

Ans to Q No 5: True

Ans to Q No 6: Culture

Ans to Q No 7: The term cultural lag refers to the notion that culture takes time to catch up with technological innovations, and that social problems and conflicts are caused by this lag.

Ans to Q No 8: The different factors of social change are the demographic, natural, technological, cultural and economic factor.

Ans to Q No 9: True

Ans to Q No 10: Time

Ans to Q No 11: The theories of social change include the Determination Theory, Evolutionary Theory, Cyclical Theory, Economic Theory and Religion Theory.

Ans to Q No 12: True

Ans to Q No 13: Revolution

Ans to Q No 14: Major impacts of social change include reform, revival, revolution, and counter movements.



4.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1 : It was mainly _____ who greatly contributed to the idea that religion is solely responsible for bringing about a change in society. (Fill in the blank)

Q. 2 : Human beings and the physical environment depend on each other. (True/False)

Q. 3 : What is the difference between social movement and social change?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1 : Describe in brief any four factors of social change.

Q. 2 : Define social change.

Q. 3 : Describe in your own words any of the contemporary social movement in the Indian society.

Q. 4 : What do you understand by counter movement?

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1 : Explain the different impacts of social change.

Q. 2 : Critically discuss the different factors of social change.

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UNIT 5: MARXIST AND POST-MARXIST THEORIES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives

5.2 Introduction

5.3 Marxist Theory of Social Movement

5.4 State and Societal Revolution in Capitalist Society

5.5 Post-Marxist Theory of Social Movement: Gramsci's Perspective, Louis Althusser's Structural Perspective, Nicos Poulantzas Perspective on Social Movement

5.6 Let Us Sum Up

5.7 Further Reading

5.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

5.9 Possible Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- know about the Marxist Theory of Social Movement
- explain the State and Societal Revolution in Capitalist Society
- discuss the Post-Marxist Theory of Social Movement

5.2 INTRODUCTION

A social movement is basically a mass movement or can be regarded as a collective effort of the people in order to bring a change or resist a change. We have already learnt that change is inevitable. But, the changes could be positive or negative for a society and its people. When there prevails a negative change which contradicts the interest and welfare of the masses people come together and try to change the existing order through the means of social movement. The concept of social movement has been theorized by many thinkers. This chapter therefore will provide an effective insight to the Marxist Theory of social movement. Moreover, it also deals in understanding some of the prominent post-Marxist theories.

5.3 MARXIST THEORY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Marx was a famous German philosopher of nineteenth century. The theories of Marx actually appeared at the middle of the nineteenth century due to the oppressive conditions which prevailed in the society as a result of the capitalism system. Coming to the main point, we must mention that Karl Marx, did not specifically put forward a theory of social movement. His analysis of the relationship between the have and have not in society that existed in different phases of history produces the ideas which in turn also substantiates concept to the problem of social movement. The left revolutionary movements are all based on the ideas generated from Marxism. In fact, there are so many elements present in the theories of Marx that provides impetus towards social movements.

Marx borrowed from Hegel the concept of historical materialism or what is known as materialistic interpretation of history. He applied this concept to social and economic conditions of life. It became the basis of his subsequent political philosophy. Marx believed that the character of a man was formulated by the way in which he earned money. He believed that the basis of the whole economic system was the system of production and exchanges of products. It was a regular and continued process and also a historical fact which could not be denied. According to him, matter is the main element of the universe. It is something which gives shape to the social institutions. This matter undergoes a dialectical process due to the inherent tensions and the process continues until and unless a perfect material condition is achieved or come into existence. Class conflict is also another by product of this entire process.

Social change is the central analysis of the Marxian thought. Marxist theory of social change is closely associated with class struggle, which is deeply rooted in the economic structure of the society. In every society which emerged during different phases of time, there are two classes and the struggles and contradictions between them lead to social change. During different phases of time, these two classes were known by different names. But, there is a point which is common and this is the

relationship between them i.e. of domination and exploitation. As *Karl Marx* rightly remarked that 'freeman and slave, patrician and plebian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another'.

Karl Marx always believed that history of the hitherto existing struggle is nothing else but that of class struggle or class warfare. In this class struggle, the poor are always fighting for their very existence. They are not properly rewarded and are even not paid for the work which they do. The rich are exploiting the poor by keeping with themselves what should actually belong to the poor workers. This exploitation is not of recent origin but is continuing since time immemorial. The poor are struggling for their very existence in this world and this is bound to go as long as the classes exist in this world. He further clarified that with the development in the forces of production, one mode of production is being replaced by another but the class conflict is not abolished. In fact, it again reappears under the new social order. Therefore, the ancient slave owing society was characterized by class conflict between the master and the slave, the medieval feudal society by class conflict between the lord and the serf, and the modern capitalist society by class conflict between the capitalist and the proletariat.

Now, coming to the production part, production mode are communally owned during primitive communism. Ancient slave-owning society in which the means of production are owned by masters and labour for production is done by the slaves. The medieval feudal society was one in which the means of production are owned by feudal lords and labour for production is done by serfs and the modern capitalist society in which the means of production are owned by capitalists and labour for production is done by the proletariat.

Marxism also viewed another factor which paved the way for social movement- that is the 'surplus value'. According to this concept, the working classes are not paid as much as they produce but are paid for their very existence so that they should work and always depend upon the capitalists.

The capitalists have a tendency to save something from the labour of every labourers which they claim as their legitimate right or profit. This surplus of labour makes the rich richer and the poor poorer. It is through this surplus value that monopolistic tendencies develop and each capitalist tries to capture either one market or the other on monopolistic lines. Marxism provides a glaring example of exploitation of the workers under the capitalist model of state and society.

Marx was of the opinion that with the passage of time small capitalist will disappear as they shall not be in a position to compete with the rich and shall become proletariat. Generally, the number of preliterate will increase and the forces of production will be controlled by a few capitalist on monopolistic basis. This monopoly will in turn create troubles for the proletariat converting their life into a miserable one. In this condition, the workers will have no alternative but to rise in revolt against the capitalists. Marx believed that the rich will be crushed and the proletariat will finally establish their rule. The rule of the proletariat however will not disregard the interests of the rich but will always safeguard the poor as well.

A classless society was the ultimate objective of Marxism. Karl Marx's ideal society was one in which there was neither class distinction nor disparity between the rich and poor. It was a society in which all will get according to their needs. He believed that since power corrupts man, the power could also be misused by the proletariat. But, he was convinced that once the means of production comes under the control of the working class, it could safely be presumed that class distinction would disappear. This will build a classless society. But, for this he insisted to carry forward the proletarian revolution.

Marxist theory of social movement is an important element of the dialectical materialism. According to the dialectical framework of analysis, the development of the thesis and antithesis is always slow and steady. But, the nature of the appearance of the synthesis is something sudden

due to the clash between the thesis and antithesis. No stage of historical development would come to an end until it restrains the forces of production. Therefore, before any particular change in any society, the productive forces develop full. This something which the Marxist terms as revolutionary change in which the entire structure of the society transformed itself until a new society in its place is overthrown. Revolution is therefore regarded as the midwife of social change in Marxist sense. For any important social change, the epoch making is always the outcome of a revolution.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Marx borrowed from Hegel the concept of historical materialism or what is known as the materialistic interpretation of history. (True/False)

.....

Q.2: A _____ was the ultimate objective of Marx. (Fill in the blank)

Q.3: Marx was of the opinion that with the passage of time small capitalists will disappear as they shall not be in a position to compete with the rich and shall become proletariat. Elucidate.

.....

Q.4: Briefly explain how Marxism has viewed 'surplus value' as the factor which paves the way for social movement.

.....

.....

5.4 STATE AND SOCIETAL REVOLUTION IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY

Marxism provides ample light on the nature of the State and how the State in a capitalist society undergoes a societal revolution, what factors are responsible for the revolution and what are the final goals of the revolution.

Marxism view did not believe in the existence of State was from a very long time. It believed that there was presence of societies in which there was actually no State. It was only at a particular stage of history when there was division created in the society. The people were divided between two groups, the haves or the privileged and the have-nots or the non-privileged. The State was then created in order to keep the interests of the haves intact and to create conditions of dominance and exploitations for the have nots. The state emerged as an organized body of power of the privileged class. The State is therefore neither a natural nor an essential body but, in the capitalist society, it was created intentionally and alienated accordingly.

In the capitalist society, the State always serves as an instrument of domination and coercion for the capitalist who is the main owner of the forces of productions. The State is responsible for performing different political, economic and ideological functions. But, these functions always intended to benefit the capitalist. It uses its coercive and repressive power through a mechanism of law, police and bureaucracy in order to resolve any conflict that emerges between the capitalists and workers. It contains the class struggle so that it does not make any harm to the capitalists. Moreover, the State makes necessary arrangement to secure the property interests of the capitalist. The economic policies of the State and all the decisions that are made by the State are actually the decisions of the capitalists who wanted to make their hold stronger by manipulating all the legislations and laws in their favour. All the policies of the State governing wages, prices, taxes, profits, trade unions, press, radio and television are designed in such a way as to serve the interests and profits of the capitalists. In other words, we can refer the State as the hand-maid of the capitalist in a capitalist society. *Marx* viewed that the State maintains armies, prison, and similar other institutions simply to protect and safeguard the rich or ruling classes. The privileged classes of the past maintain their privilege only through these arms of oppression and with the solid backing of the State. The State in the capitalist society therefore works to exploit the poor.

However, as mentioned above, with the passage of time, the small capitalists will disappear as they shall not be in a position to compete with the rich and shall become proletariat. Generally, the number of preliterate will increase and the whole forces of production will be controlled by a few capitalist on monopolistic basis. This monopoly will in turn create troubles for the proletariat converting their life into a miserable one. In this condition, the workers will have no alternative but to rise in revolt against the capitalists. Marx believed that the rich will be crushed and proletariat will finally establish their rule. The rule of the proletariat however will not disregard the interests of the rich but will always safeguard the poor as well. In other words, this is the stage in which there would be a societal revolution in the capitalist society.

The need for societal revolution is very much strong according to Marxism because the present society and State can be changed only when there would be a societal revolution which will throw away the existing system of dominance and exploitation by the use of force and not by peaceful means. Marx believes that when the proletariat will capture power from the capitalists and the means of production will come under their control, a new system of production will emerge The new society will hand over the means of production to the community as a whole and not to any individual. He believes that in the last phase of the revolution, the capitalists are bound to be thrown out of power and the proletariat shall then capture authority. It is then alone that a classless society will emerge and the existing class distinction will disappear. When the proletariat will capture power, the means of production will come in the hands of the working class and then there shall be none to be exploited. It will be a society which will strive towards a common welfare of the masses.

ACTIVITY 6.1



Try to list out and figure out whether the Indian society has experienced any new form of such transformation of the society in the past.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Marx did not believe that the State was created to fulfill the interest of the capitalist class. (True/False)

.....

Q.6: Marx believed that when the _____ will capture power from the capitalists and the means of production will come under their control. (Fill in the blank)

Q.7: Briefly explain how Marx views social movements and their emergence.

.....

Q.8: What is the nature of the State according to Marx?

.....

.....

5.5 POST-MARXIST THEORIES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Marxist Theories have provided a view on social movement by focusing on two contradicting social class, the capitalist and workers. However, there emerged post-Marxist theories which reinterpreted the ideas and provided new vision to social movement. Some of the prominent thinkers who fall under the category are *Antonia Gramsci, Louis Atthusser,* and *Nicos Poulantzas.*

- **Antonio Gramsci:**

Gramsci (1891-1937) was an Italian Marxist. He was the one who reinterpreted Marxism. He revised the strategy of entire strategy of the socialist revolution and provided an alternative one, which according to him is more appropriate. Through his theory, he builds an important connection between Classical Marxism and Neo-Marxism. He dealt in a deep analysis of the capitalist society. It must be noted here that he was an adherent supporter of the Russian Revolution but he was at the same

time critical of the approach of the movement initiated by the communist party of Italy. He was very much vocal with his thoughts for which he was even considered a threat to his authority. He was put under prison in 1926 and died finally in 1937. During his last days at prison, he did remarkable works which were later published after his death as the *Prison Notebooks.*

Gramsci through his political thought tried to convince the Marxists that mere focusing on the economic domain to understand the problems of society is a half served approach. He wanted the Marxist to come out from the confinement of the analysis of the economic sphere and continue their ideological warfare in the field of culture, art, and literature and philosophical questions. The revolutionaries must break into the autonomous institutions like the civil society. This will help them to create an atmosphere where there would prevail new mass consciousness which will be informed by the socialist value system. Moreover, Gramsci was also opposed to any form of dictatorship either of the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. He did not support the idea of using social revolution as a tool to establish a State which is based on coercive forces, rather he wanted to democratize all the institutions of the society and State. This can be done, according to Gramsci when the State will be regulated by the society and where the decision making would be based on consensus. He strived towards inculcating socialist values in the minds of the people.

According to him, hegemony prevents the society from thinking freely and makes life and thoughts homogeneous. This is done through structures of domination in the culture of the capitalist society. According to him, the civil society, prescribes certain rules of behaviour and asked the people to follow the authority or commands of the ruling class. This structure is misused by the capitalist and makes it work for their own interest. Therefore, at the time of any injustice in the society and its people, impression of justice prevails due to the presence of the structures. Therefore, hegemony as regarded by Gramsci as the condition in which power is exercised with the consent of its subject.

- **Louis Althusser:**

In order to understand Louis Althusser's structural perspective of social movement, first we need to understand what neo-Marxism is. Basically neo-Marxism is not a static doctrine, it is concerned with different issues which includes humanism, structuralism, existentialism, inequality of status and power, psycho-analysis, and economic imperialism. It is a study which is based on the fundamental principles of Marxism but also tends to move towards new aspects. It does not limit itself to just class conflict between the capitalist and workers on economic issues but also try to understand the nature of dominance of the ruling class over the ruled class or dependent class. Some of the neo-Marxist support Hegel's interpretation of alienation and dialect or dialectic. Whereas some have departed from Hegel and have associated with existentialism or structuralism.

In the neo-Marxist theory, it is *Louis Althusser* (1918-80) who is the chief advocate of structuralism. *Althusser,* was a French Philosopher who provided an idea that the nature and form of any entity or actions of any human being are determined by their underlying structures. The main aim of the structural approach is to identify the structures which are basically hidden and remain underneath. Examples are language, behaviour, culture and psychology. But, these structures have a large influence on human beings thus determining the nature of dominance. *Althusser* therefore, put forwarded a new idea of interdependence of base and superstructure. He advocated that for social revolution, the base is not all the time necessary. Revolution can be started from any part of superstructure and then it will spread slowly to other parts of the superstructure as well as to the base. For example, revolution can be started from literature, folklore, mass media, religion and then it will be spread to legal and political structures, morals, social practices and economic structures.

- **Nicos Poulantzas:**

Poulantzas (1936-1979) was a Greek-French philosopher and sociologist. He was an ardent supporter of Marxist principles and was a well-known figure next to *Louis Althusser*. He was popularly recognized as

a structural Marxist too. He was famous for his work on the State and Marxist analysis of fascism and social class of the contemporary world system. Through his ideas, he had also provided deep insight to the study of social movement.

The theory of the State is significant. According to the instrumental Marxists, the State is nothing but an instrument which is owned by a particular class and which uses it for their own interests. But, this particular idea of State being a mere instrument is rejected by him. He believed that the capitalist class narrowly focuses on short-term profit and do not indulge in maintaining the power of a class as a whole. But, Poulantzas argued that the State is an autonomous body and free from the influences of the capitalist class but still the State ensures the smooth operation of the capitalist society, and as a result, it benefits or serves the interests of the capitalists' class. He further strived that the State must always take into consideration the interest of the oppressed class. And according to him, it is done by making class alliances, where the dominating class associate themselves with the oppressed class and this itself is necessary for the existence of capitalism. Poulantzas strongly believed that if such an alliance is not established then attempts are made to suppress any opposing movements by the ruling class. Then, there could be possibility of the outbreak of a socialist movement.



LET US KNOW

Neo-Marxism refers to some new trends in Marxist theory which seek to review the conditions prevailing in the contemporary world in the light of relevant tenets of Marxism. Neo-Marxism may be distinguished from the Classical Marxism or Orthodox Marxism as it does not subscribe to Economic Determinism, nor confines its attention to securing economic welfare of people. It undertakes an analysis of the subtle methods of dominance and dependence at various levels of contemporary society- such as economic, sociological, political, cultural, and psychological levels and strives to work out the way of human emancipation.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.9: *Gramsci* established a connection between Classical Marxism and Neo-Marxism. (True/False)

.....

Q. 10: In the neo-Marxist theory, it is _____ who is the chief advocate of structuralism. (Fill in the blank)

Q. 11: What is the main argument of Poulantzas regarding the State?

.....

.....



5.6 LET US SUM UP

- A social movement is basically a mass movement or can be regarded as a collective effort of the people in order to bring a change or resist a change. The changes may be positive or negative for a society and its people. When there prevails a negative change which contradict the interest and welfare of the masses, people come together and try to change the existing order through the means of social movement.
- Marx was a famous German philosopher of the nineteenth century. The theories of Marx actually appeared at the middle of the nineteenth century due to the oppressive conditions which prevailed in the society as a result of the capitalist system.
- Marx borrowed from Hegel the concept of historical materialism or what is known as materialistic interpretation of history. He applied this concept to social and economic conditions of life. It became the basis of his subsequent political philosophy.
- Karl Marx always believed that history of the hitherto existing struggle is nothing else but that of class struggle or class warfare. In this class struggle, the poor are always fighting for their very existence. The rich are exploiting the poor by keeping with themselves what should actually

belong to the poor workers. This exploitation is not of recent origin but is continuing since time immemorial.

- A classless society was the ultimate objective of Marx. Karl Marx's ideal society was one in which there was neither class distinction nor disparity between the rich and poor. It was a society in which all will get according to their needs.
- Marx provides ample light on the nature of the State and how the State in a capitalist society undergoes a societal revolution, what factors are responsible for the revolution and what are the final goals of the revolution.
- In the capitalist society, the State always serves as an instrument of domination and coercion for the capitalist who is the main owner of the forces of productions. The State is responsible for performing different political, economic and ideological functions. But, these functions are always intended to benefit the capitalist.
- The need for societal revolution is very much strong according to Marx because the present society and State can be changed only when there would be a societal revolution which will throw away the existing system of dominance and exploitation by the use of force and not by peaceful means.
- Marxist Theories have provided a view on social movement by focusing on two contradicting social class, the capitalist and workers.
- Many post-Marxist theories reinterpreted the ideas of Marx and provided new vision to social movement. Some of the prominent thinkers who fall under the category are- *Antonia Gramsci, Louis Atthusser,* and *Nicos Poulantzas.*



5.7 FURTHER READING

1) Barker, C., Laurence C., John, K. and Ali, G.N. (2013). *Marxism and social movements.* Leiden: Brill Press.

2) Therborn, G. (2010). *From Marxism to post-Marxism*. London: Verso.

5.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: True.

Ans to Q No 2: Classless society.

Ans to Q No 3: According to Marx, the number of preliterate will increase and the whole forces of production will be controlled by a few capitalist on monopolistic basis. This monopoly will in turn create troubles for the proletariat converting their life into a miserable one. In this condition, the workers will have no alternative but to rise in revolt against capitalists. Thus, Marx believed that the rich will be crushed and proletariat will finally establish their rule.

Ans to Q No 4: According to this concept, the working classes are not paid as much as they produce but are paid for their very existence so that they should work and always depend upon the capitalists. The capitalists have a tendency to save something from the labour of every labourers which they claim as their legitimate right or profit. This surplus of labour makes the rich richer and the poor poorer. It is through this surplus value that monopolistic tendencies develop and each capitalist tries to capture either one market or the other on monopolistic lines.

Ans to Q No 5: False.

Ans to Q No 6: Proletariat.

Ans to Q No 7: The need for societal revolution is very much strong according to Marx because the present society and State can be changed only when there would be a societal revolution which will throw away the existing system of dominance and exploitation by the use of force and not by peaceful means. Marx believes that when the proletariat will capture power from the capitalists and the means of production will come under their control, a new system of production will emerge The new society will hand

over the means of production to the community as a whole and not to any individual. He believes that in the last phase of the revolution, capitalists are bound to be thrown out of power and the proletariat shall then capture authority. It is then alone that a classless society will emerge and the existing class distinction will disappear.

Ans to Q No 8: In the capitalist society, the State always serves as an instrument of domination and coercion for the capitalist who is the main owner of the forces of productions. The State is responsible for performing different political, economic and ideological functions. But, these functions are always intended to benefit the capitalist.

Ans to Q No 9: True.

Ans to Q No 10: Louis Althusser.

Ans to Q No 11: Poulantzas argued that the State is an autonomous body and free from the influences of the capitalist class but still the State ensures the smooth operation of the capitalist society, and as a result, it benefits or serves the interests of the capitalists' class.



5.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1 : According to _____ Marxist, the State is nothing but an instrument which is owned by a particular class and uses it for their own interests. (Fill in the blank)

Q. 2 : Karl Marx always believed that the history of hitherto existing struggle is nothing else but that of class struggle or class warfare. (True/ False)

Q. 3 : What is the difference between Marxism and neo-Marxism?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1 : Describe in brief the Marxist Theory of Social Movement.

Q. 2 : Explain the State and societal revolution in a capitalist society.

Q. 3 : Describe in your own words whether the post-Marxist theories are justified in their arguments.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1 : Explain the perspectives of Gramsci and Althusser towards social movement.

Q. 2 : Critically discuss the Marxist as well as post-Marxist theories of social movement.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 6: WEBERIAN THEORY OF SOCIAL ACTION

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives

6.2 Introduction

6.3 Theory of Social Action

6.4 Types of Social Action

6.5 Features of Social Action

6.6 Let Us Sum Up

6.7 Further Reading

6.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

6.9 Possible Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the theory of social action
- analyse the features and types of social action
- understand the concept of 'ideal type'
- analyse the contribution of Max Weber to sociological theory.

6.2 INTRODUCTION

Max Weber, a German sociologist, is regarded as one of the founders of modern sociology. Weber focused on the basic features of a modern industrial society. Largely known for his views on *ideal types* and on *religion and protestant ethics*, Weber also scrutinizes the issue of *social action*. Weber conceived of sociology as the science with the task of "the interpretive understanding of social action in order thereby to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effects."[1] For Weber the concept of 'social action' was the "central subject matter" of his sociology.[2] As you finish reading the unit, you will be able to discuss the different aspects of Weberian theory of social action.

6.3 THEORY OF SOCIAL ACTION

According to Weber, human behaviour is qualitatively very different from other biological organisms. The question is, what makes human behaviour so different? What factors influence such behaviour? The answer is probably the presence of meanings and motives that underlie social behaviour.

The influence of 'neo-Kantian' ideas on Weber is well documented and it largely influences his views on social life. Wagner and Harpfer note-

> Weber developed a social science that is grounded in Neo-Kantian premises and proceeds in either a generalizing or an individualizing direction, depending on its scientific objective. By individualizing, social science becomes a cultural science. By generalizing, it becomes sociology, which is emancipated from its roots in the philosophy of history.

Therefore, the objective of sociology is very different from the positive sciences which seek to discover the patterns and uniformity of behaviour. In social sciences, understanding the motives and meanings of social action is very important. Explanation of any phenomenon will have to be linked with human motives. According to Weber, Swedberg notes:

> The social sciences, or as he called them the cultural sciences, differ from the natural sciences on two crucial points. The first is that they have to deal with something that the natural sciences do not have to take into consideration, namely, that their objects of study – human beings – have values and assign meaning to what they do, and that this influences their actions.

Hence, the positivist methodology is not enough to study and analyse human behaviour. It must be highlighted that Weber was not against generalisations in social sciences, but he did point out that understanding any social phenomenon is bound to be a complex issue for there are a number of variables involved. Only limited generalisations can be made in social sciences.

The influence of society and its structures on shaping the behaviour of individuals is well documented through the writings of Durkheim and Marx. While most of Weber's writing deal with structures such as religion, authority and capitalism, he also emphasizes the actions of the individuals and social interaction among individuals and groups.

Thus, according to Weber, "Social action is that action of an individual which is influenced by the actions and behaviour of other persons and by which its direction determined." In other words, it is somehow influenced, guided or determined by the actions of other individuals.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What is social action?

.....

.....

Q.2: What is the objective of sociology?

.....

.....

6.4 TYPES OF SOCIAL ACTION

Action is "social" in so far as its subjective meaning takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course.[1] Social action had two important components. *Firstly*, every action taken by an individual has a reason attached to it. Therefore, it is important to understand the meaning associated with every such action. *Secondly*, social action is not something which is random or unplanned. Rather, over a period of time, certain actions and interactions become patterned behaviour. There are regularities involved in social action, which in turn become associated with laws and customs. Therefore, a sociologist must understand the factors which contribute to such patterned behaviour and meanings individuals attach to them. Cohen, Ira J., "Theories of Action and Praxis" in Bryan S. Turner, *The Blackwell Companion to Social Theory*, reflects upon the book *Economy and Society*, wherein Weber argued

that every social action has three important aspects- *Firstly*, there is a 'subjective meaning', wherein all aspects of the social world must be considered from the actor's point of view. Cohen further substantiates that for Weber, 'inanimate objects, birth and death, and the environment may be considered constants and nothing more than elements of a material world,' but these are interpreted by individuals differently at various times and places. *Secondly*, social relationships where there is plurality of actors matter. Social action may be individual acts, but it can only be meaningful in nature if 'social relationships' is considered. Plurality of actors will mean that every social action is bound to be interpreted in different ways leading to agreements and disagreements. *Thirdly,* in the long run, social relationships are 'stable'. Longevity of social relationships will depend upon the results that are being met through regular social actions. Its longevity helps in the continuity of traditions besides consolidating social institutions. Norms and rules get strengthened through the longevity of social relationships.

Ideal type

Weber advanced the *verstehen* method of analysis to understand any social behaviour; 'it is a methodological tool to explain not all behaviour, but behaviour which is of a social nature.' While explaining social action, this method gives importance to 'meanings' and 'sequence of motives'. Social reality is rather complex which cannot be comprehended by the human mind in totality. Therefore, the issue of 'ideal types' becomes very important in explaining social reality. For Weber, 'an ideal type is not a "schema" into which reality should be fitted as a "specimen". Rather, it "has the status of a purely ideal limiting concept against which reality is measured – with which it is compared"'. 'Ideal types' is a social construct which is equivalent to experimentation in natural and physical sciences. Cahnman points out that –

> 'the ideal type, then, is not a description of concrete reality, or even of the essential features of such a ; it is not a hypothesis; it is not a schema under which a real situation, or action, is

subsumed as one instance; it is not a generic concept or a statistical average. Rather, it is “an ideal limiting concept with which the real situation or action, is compared,” so that it may be properly appraised in line with the categories of “objective possibility” and “adequate causation.”’

Swedberg highlights that Weber’s model of ‘ideal types’ helps explain reality in different ways-

- It allows the social scientist to take a first step in the analysis of a topic that is little known or explored. The ideal type may function as an “emergency safe havens until one has learned to find one’s bearings while navigating the immense sea of empirical facts” .
- It helps the social scientist to get a better handle on empirical reality, and this is done primarily through a comparison of reality with the ideal type.
- When such a comparison is made, the social scientist may also make discoveries. Weber repeatedly says that the use of the ideal type is heuristic, and that this constitutes the most important reason for using this kind of concept.

Social action is different from behaviour. According to Weber, sociology is a comprehensive science of social action and he used his ideal type methodology to elucidate the meaning of ‘action’. According to Max Weber, ”An Action is ‘social’ if the acting individual takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course”. In order to qualify for any action to be social, presence of meanings and existence of other individuals is imperative. A social act cannot be an isolated act or be done in isolation. Essentially, in society what exists is a chain of reciprocal social actions. Such social actions can be classified into four major types-

Types of action	Description
Goal rational action	When individuals pursue specific goals which are decided rationally and efficient means are used to achieve the same, it is known as 'goal oriented action'.

Types of action	Description
Value rational action	Sometimes, individuals seek goals which may not be rational, but may be pursued through rational means; such social actions are known as value rational action.
Traditional action	Customary action constitutes traditional action. There is continuity of behaviour based on the traditions and norms of the society and community.
Affective action	Sometimes, human behaviour is very much determined by particular situations. At times, such behaviour is very much emotionally expressed, it expresses the emotional state of the individual.

Christian Etzrodt in his article *'Advanced Modern Versions of Max Weber's Action Concepts'* (2005) neat identifies the key features of different types of social action.[4]

An action is **instrumentally rational** if the actor is evaluating different anticipated alternative results of possible actions and chooses the best of these alternatives. The evaluation of the alternatives is based on a judgment of the desired positive results minus the undesired secondary results, and all alternatives are compared simultaneously. And the choice of a specific action depends on its usefulness or its utility. Therefore, the value is in this action type, the end or result of the action. Instrumentally, rational social action is not only oriented to objects but also to the expected reactions of other actors to the performed act.

Value-rational action is on the other hand, for Max Weber, an action which is motivated by values that are not equivalent to the ends or results of actions. The reason for their performance "does not lie in the achievement of a result ulterior to it, but in carrying out the specific type of action for its own sake".

Affectual behaviour is therefore characterized by a utility-based evaluation of the ends or results of the behaviour but without a completely rational simultaneous selection procedure. Affectual behaviour can therefore be differentiated from instrumentally rational action, because of its chaotic nature based on a sequential selection procedure instead of a simultaneous selection mechanism. And affectual social action can be demarcated from instrumentally rational action, because of its altruistic criterion of evaluating

the alternatives instead of an egoistic criterion which modulates the strong emotional bonds between the actors.

For Weber, **traditional behaviour** is no longer a reasonable or meaningful action, because it is carried out automatically as a habitual reflex to a known stimulus. Traditional behaviour is as a result not a less "meaningful" behaviour as Weber stated. It is in contrast to the original type of meaningful action, because of its reliance on the traditional meaning structure, especially understandable.

Weber focuses on the patterns and regularities of individual action and rather than on collective behaviour. He was however well aware that any social action may involve a combination of all or any of the four ideal types of action.

- **Weber's contribution to Symbolic Interaction**

Sociologists trace the theoretical roots of the interactionist perspective in Max Weber, who in his book *The Protestant Ethic and Spirit of Capitalism* highlighted that individuals act according to their interpretation of the meaning of their world. Developed by in the latter half of the 19th century by the Chicago School, symbolic interactionism is a theoretical approach that sought to understand the relationship between humans and society and emphasized the importance of individual motives and their actions in understand social behaviour. According to this perspective, 'society and these larger social structures must be understood through studying social interactions that are based on shared understandings, languages, and symbols.'[5] Denzin points out that-

> The term "symbolic" in the phrase symbolic interaction refers to the underlying linguistic foundations of human group life, just as the word "interaction" refers to the fact that people do not act toward one another, but interact with each other. By using the term "interaction" symbolic interactionists commit themselves to the study and analysis of the developmental course of action that occurs when two or more persons (or agents) with agency (reflexivity) join their individual lines of action together into joint action.

This school emphasized that symbols play an important role in understanding social relationships. Symbols convey meanings, motives and attitude of an individual towards others.

Symbolic Interactionism		
Key people	**Key works**	**Main ideas**
W.I.Thomas and Znaniecki	The Polish Peasants in Europe and America (1918)	Thomas and Znaniecki explored the relationship between individuals and society, focusing on groups such as families and neighborhoods, and community ties, which they believed were key to social change. They argued that 'under the impulse of industrialisation processes in Poland and emigration to the United States- peasants were increasingly becoming economically rational workers and drifting away from traditional modes of social organisation and behaviour.[6]
G.H.Mead	Mind, Self and Society (1934)	Mead explains that the 'individual is also a subject, not merely an object. The self, then, consists of an internalization of an overt obstructed social process, and it mediates between the old and the new, between the traditional and the newly initiated, between the past and the demands of a future, or between an ideology and a utopia'.[7]
Herbert Blumer	Symbolic Interaction: Perspective and Method (1969)	'The first premise is that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them…. The second premise is that the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows. The third premise is that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters.' [8]

Herbert Blumer argues that symbolic interactionism rests on three important premises-

1. Human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them;

2. Meanings of such things derive from the social interaction that one has with one's fellows;
3. Meanings are handled in, modified through, an interactive process used by the person in dealing with things he encounters.[9]

According to Carter and Fuller, the basic tenets of symbolic interactionism would state that:

- individuals act based on the meanings objects have for them;
- interaction occurs within a particular social and cultural context in which physical and social objects (persons), as well as situations, must be defined or categorized based on individual meanings;
- meanings emerge from interactions with other individuals and with society; and
- meanings are continuously created and recreated through the interpreting processes during interaction with others.
- **Acts Explained**

Hewitt examines the different phases of a social act as identified by G.H. Mead who meant *to call attention to the interplay between the internal processes and external manifestations exhibited in human behaviour*. The individual's act does not consist merely of what may be observed by others, but also entails an internal process of control in which the individual directs conduct toward some goal or object.[10]

Basic Concepts of Symbolic Interactionism-Phases of the social acts	
Impulse	An act starts with an impulse, which occurs when our existing adjustment or line of activity is disturbed. In other words, we might simply suggest that an act begins with a problem to be solved, a goal to be reached, something to be overcome by the human being in the environment.
Perception	Here, we begin to name or designate objects and thus give our acts direction. The important point that must not be lost is that human beings define their situations. This is the second stage of the act.
Manipulation	At this stage, we take concrete steps to reach our goal.
Consummation	Finally, the act ends with consummation, when our original adjustment or line of activity is restored.
John Hewitt, Self & Society, 9th Edition, Allyn & Bacon, 2002.	

- **Implications and Conclusions**

Fararo argues that 'for sociology, the events of interest are those that involve complexes of social actions. These events are behaviours with subjective meaning, thereby calling for interpretive understanding in order to provide causal explanations.[11] Weber's aim was to analyse the meanings and motives of individual behaviour. By clearly identifying different types of ideal types of social action, Weber thought that sociology as a subject could understand social action during particular historical periods as well as in contemporary times. While Weber focused his attention on individual behaviour, he was well aware that norms, rules and traditions play an important role in shaping social actions. Weber sought to explain how social structures are rooted in individual social action. This interpretive sociology led to research methods like participant observation, ethnography studies and phenomenological analysis.

Wolfgang J. Mommsen has highlighted that by the 1970S there was sudden revival in Max Weber studies. His contribution to sociology and beyond can be identified by the fact that the following avenues of inquiry in and beyond are being pursued:

- research into his ideal typical reconstruction of Western history and the process of rationalization;
- research into the relationship between religious attitudes, social conduct and economic activities in both Western and non-Western cultures;
- concept of social change and the dichotomy of value-oriented and instrumental social action which is closely linked to problem of formal and substantive rationality;
- Weber's contribution to the study of history and his theory of politics and legitimacy, which attaches priority to the question of how individual freedom can survive in modern bureaucratic societies, whether capitalist or socialist.[12]

Weber's contribution to sociological theory and interpretive analysis has been well summed up by Patrick Gunn, who pointed out that 'interpretive understanding, interpretive sociology, and other modern forms of 'Verstehen' have allowed all of the social sciences to move away from positivist, determinist endeavors—all of which have fallen flat in social and behavioural science—and toward a more nuanced, humanized form of study.[13]



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.3: What is 'affectual behaviour'?

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Q.4: Name two major works of Max Weber.

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Q.5: What is 'symbolic interactionism'?

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6.5 FEATURES OF SOCIAL ACTION

From the analysis of the Weberian theory of social action, the following features can be mentioned:

- Social action occur among individuals. It is possible only in the society. In other words, social action cannot occur in isolation.
- Subjective attitudes constitute social action only so far as they are oriented to the behaviour of others.
- Social action may be influenced by an act of past, present or future. It is the result or modification of some actions of some other individual but the modifying action may be occur in the past, present or future.
- Not every type of contact of human beings has a social character; this is rather confined to cases where the actor's behaviour is meaningfully oriented to that of others.

- Social action should have subjective meaning to another particular social action. For example, if two persons collide accidentally and without any motive, the collision will not be a social action. So, sociology is the study of social action and human behaviour which studies not only the behaviour but meaning. Thus, social action is the new name of sociology.
- Social action is that action of an individual which is influenced by the actions and behaviour of other persons and by which its direction determined. In other words, it is somehow influenced, guided or determined by the actions of other individuals.
- Social action is not identical either with the similar actions of many persons or with every action influenced by other persons.[14]

➢ **Concept of Verstehen**

According to Weber, "interpretative sociology considers the individual and his actions as the basic social unit," and he felt that the task of sociology was "to reduce [certain categories of human interaction] to 'understandable' action."[15] 'Verstehen' was originally developed by Wilhelm Dilthey and Georg Simmel as the method of 'Geisteswissenschaften'(i.e. humanities, which encompass philosophy, (art) history, philologies, musicology and religious studies) . According to Dilthey, 'Verstehen' explains the psychological reality of the individual, the ultimate basis of all human actions. While Dilthey and Simmel maintained that social actions must be understood in terms of the 'inner-motives' of the acting individuals, Weber defined 'Verstehen' as a method of empirical science which attempts to understand the 'meaning' of action, not the motives of acting individuals.[16] Weber argued that the sociologists should use 'Verstehen' ("to grasp by insight") in order to see beyond the social facts to the subjective meanings that people attach to their own behaviour.[17]



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.6: What is the meaning of 'Verstehen'?

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Q. 7: What is interpretive sociology?

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.....



6.6 LET US SUM UP

- The concept of 'social action' was the "central subject matter" of Weber's sociology.
- Most of Weber's writing deal with structures such as religion, authority and capitalism. He also emphasizes actions of the individuals and social interaction among individuals and groups.
- According to Weber, "interpretative sociology considers the individual and his actions as the basic social unit," and he felt that the task of sociology was "to reduce [certain categories of human interaction] to 'understandable' action."
- Weber defined 'Verstehen' as a method of empirical science which attempts to understand the 'meaning' of action, not the motives of acting individuals.
- Weber focuses on the patterns and regularities of individual action rather than on collective behaviour. He was however well aware that any social action may involve a combination of all or any of the four ideal types of action.
- Weber's aim was to analyse the meaning and motives of individual behaviour. By clearly identifying different types of ideal types of social action, Weber thought that sociology as a subject could understand social action during particular historical periods as well as in contemporary times.



6.7 FURTHER READING

1) Allen, K. (2004). *Max Weber: A critical introduction*. London: Pluto Press.
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3) Henslin, J.M. (2015). *Essentials of Sociology: A down-to-Earth approach* (Eleventh Edition). Pearson.
4) Turner, B.S. (1992). *Max Weber: From history to modernity*. NY: Routledge.
5) Turner, S.P. (Ed.). (1993). *Emile Durkheim: Sociologist and moralist.* NY: Routledge.



6.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Social action is that action of an individual which is influenced by the actions and behaviour of other persons and by which its direction determined. In other words, it is somehow influenced, guided or determined by the actions of other individuals.

Ans to Q No 2: The objective of sociology is very different from positive sciences which seek to discover the patterns and uniformity of behaviour. According to Weber, human behaviour is qualitatively very different from other biological organisms.

Ans to Q No 3: Affectual behaviour is therefore characterized by a utility-based evaluation of the ends or results of the behaviour but without a completely rational simultaneous selection procedure.

Ans to Q No 4: a. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.

b. General Economic History-The Social Causes of the Decay of Ancient Civilisation.

Ans to Q No 5: Symbolic interactionism is a theoretical approach that sought to understand the relationship between humans and

society and emphasized the importance of individual motives and their actions in understand social behaviour.

Ans to Q No 6: 'Verstehen' as a method of empirical science attempts to understand the' meaning' of action'. Weber argued that the sociologists should use 'Verstehen' ("to grasp by insight") in order to see beyond the social facts to the subjective meanings that people attach to their own behaviour.

Ans to Q No 7: According to Weber, "interpretative sociology considers the individual and his actions as the basic social unit".



6.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1 : Mention two features of social action.

Q. 2 : For Weber, the concept of _____ _____ was the central subject matter of his sociology. (Fill in the blanks)

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1 : What are the different types of social action?

Q. 2 : Briefly explain the concept of 'Verstehen'.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1 : Discuss weber's contribution to symbolic interactionism.

Q. 2 : Discuss the concept of 'ideal type'.

Q. 3 : Discuss Max Weber's theory of social action.

End notes:

[1] W. T. Tucker, 'Max Weber's Verstehen' *, The Sociological Quarterly,* 6(2), 1965, pp.157–165.

[2] Rob Stones, Theories of Social Action, Edited by Bryan S. Turner, The New Blackwell Companion To Social Theory, 2009 Blackwell Publishing Ltd, USA, p.83.

[3] Craig Calhoun, Joseph Gerteis, James Moody, Steven Pfaff and Indermohan Virk, *Classical Sociological Theory*, Blackwell Publishing, 2007, p. 218.

[4] For more details see Christian Etzrodt, Advanced Modern Versions of Max Weber's Action Concepts, *Ritsumeikan Social Sciences Review* , 2005.

[5] Kathy S. Stolley, *The Basics of Sociology*, Greenwood Press, Westport, 2005, p.28.

[6] Giulia Sinatti, *The Polish Peasant Revisited. Thomas and Znaniecki's Classic in the Light of Contemporary Transnational Migration Theory*, Acta Sociologica 2(2) · February 2008, p.1.

[7]D. L. Miller, 'George Herbert Mead: Symbolic Interaction and Social Change', *The Psychological Record,* 23(3),1973, p.303.

[8] Herbert Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*, Prentice Hall, New Jersey 1969, p. 2.

[9] ibid. p.2.

[10] John Hewitt, Self & Society, 9th Edition, Allyn & Bacon, 2002.

[11] Thomas J. Fararo, *Social action systems : foundation and synthesis in sociological theory*, Praeger Publishers,USA, 2002, p.49

[12] Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *The Political and Social Theory of Max Weber*, University of Chicago Press, 1989, p.194

[13]Patrick Gann, 'An Explication and Application of Max Weber's Theoretical Construct of Verstehen', *Journal of Social Work Values and Ethics*, Volume 14, Number 2 (2017) , p.33

[14] Craig Calhoun, Joseph Gerteis, James Moody, Steven Pfaff and Indermohan Virk, Classical Sociological Theory, Blackwell Publishing, 2007, p. 218-228.

[15] W. T. Tucker, 'Max Weber's Verstehen', *The Sociological Quarterly,* 6(2), 1965, p.157.

[16] S. Herva,'The Genesis of Max Weber's Verstehende Soziologie', *Acta Sociologica,* 31(2),1988, p.143.

[17] The sociological perspective, available at http://www.csun.edu/~hbsoc126/soc1/chapter%201%20outline.pdf, accessed on 18.9.2019.

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UNIT 7: TALCOTT PARSONS' THEORY OF SOCIAL ACTION

UNIT STRUCTURE

7.1 Learning Objectives

7.2 Introduction

7.3 Talcott Parsons' Structural-Functionalism

7.4 Parsons' Theory of Social Action

7.5 Let Us Sum Up

7.6 Further Reading

7.7. Answers to Check Your Progress

7.8 Possible Questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the concept of social action
- comprehend the concept of structural functionalism forwarded by Parsons
- understand the concept of AGIL.

7.2 INTRODUCTION

Talcott Parsons (1902-1979), born in Colorado Springs (Colorado), became an instructor in Harvard University in 1927. He is considered to be one of foremost contributors to the development of sociological theory. By the 1960s, Parsons had become the dominant figure in American sociology. Often labeled as a 'grand theorist' his major works include- The Structure of Social Action (1937) The Social System (1951) and Towards a General Theory of Action (1951). He was greatly influenced by Max weber, Emile Durkheim, W. Pareto and Alfred Marshal. Parsons sought to build an 'ecology of sociology' wherein a general theoretical structure for sociology would integrate all the social sciences. Parsons concluded that ideas represent only particle truth and there is a need for a more holistic understanding of a phenomenon.

7.3 TALCOTT PARSONS' STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM

Talcott Parsons' work *The Structure of Social Action* serves as the basic reference point of all his subsequent theoretical works. Employing the method of 'analytical realism', wherein 'the scientist commits himself to developing "systems of concepts" that 'adequately grasp' the central features of the world, Parsons elaborates on the issues of structures, functions and the need for equilibrium.[1] Kevin Dew in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Health, Illness, Behavior, and Society* (2014) highlights that 'a structural functionalist approach represents society as a system consisting of various subsystems.' Effectively, this theory focuses on two important things-'functions' and 'structures'. By "functions," theorists in the perspective generally mean consequences that benefit society as a whole, contribute to its operation, or increase its stability. "Structure," in its broadest sense, can refer to social arrangements 'such as stratification systems therefore are social structures, as are social institutions such as marriage'. According to the structural function, social systems are composed of interconnected parts. This theory argues that a society is a complex entity wherein different parts play an intricate role. The smoothness of functioning and greater coordination between the interdependent parts will lead to increased stability. The importance of various parts of a system can be analysed in terms of how each contributes to meeting the needs of the whole, thereby maintain stability and equilibrium. Any change in any part of the system will greatly affect the working of the system.

Why are there variations in cultural patterns? The answer to this question lies in the functioning of the system. Cultural patterns consist of norms, customs, traditions and institutions, and each of them play a key role in shaping individual as well as collective behaviour. Any disruption of such pattern will have a major impact on the society. Therefore, how does a system maintain itself or how is equilibrium maintained? This is what structural functionalism tries to answer. Structural functionalism largely argues that a society consists of structures and interrelated parts.

For Parsons, adoption of the structural functional approach was required to understand social reality. It must be recalled that Durkheim, through his concept of 'social facts', and later on Radcliffe -Brown had stretched upon this idea. Robert Merton also argues about functionalism through the concepts of power and coercion. For Parsons, the social system consists of actions of individuals. Social behaviour is about choices, and while responding to an act by another person, an individual is influenced as well as constrained by physical and cultural factors.

Allan in his book *The Social Lens: An Invitation to Social and Sociological Theory* (2007) points out that there are sanctions attached to our behaviour and social interaction are guided by certain motivations and values which impose certain role expectations on the individual concerned. Therefore, each person acts according to acceptable norms which they inhabit. As behaviour gets repeated, it becomes institutionalized, and a role is created. Thus, the role of a person emerges through a social interaction process, but that individual is expected to conform to certain norms governing their roles. If every person fulfills their roles and expectations are consistently met, it is the state of equilibrium. Therefore, socialization and social control become very important. Adaptation to new roles is possible through 'role bargaining', which then creates new norms and it guides social action. Thus, Talcott Parsons constructed a theory of social action which argued that individual action is rooted in the norms of society and constrained by its values.

- **AGIL model**

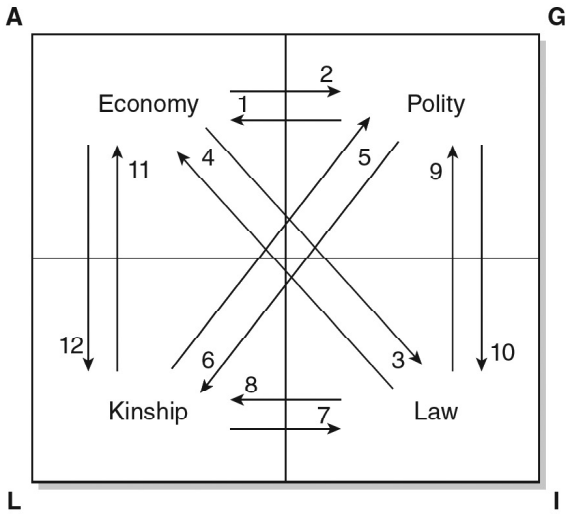
  Talcott Parsons believed that just like human beings, who perform certain functions to survive, society too has to perform certain things in order to function properly. The issue of maintenance of equilibrium depends on many factors. Change in any one part of the system will impact the other parts and subsequently affect stability and equilibrium of the system. According to Parsons, social roles and cultural expectations play an important part in influencing individual behaviour. Relations are interactive because every action of the individual has meanings and motivations attached to it.

In collaboration with Robert F. Bales and Edward A. Shils, Parsons formulated the AGIL schema in the Working Papers in the Theory of Action (1953). He argued that the system of action could be further broken down into subsystems of action. The behavioural organism helps in adaptation and transformation; the social system helps in integration; the personality system helps in goal attainment; and the cultural system helps pattern maintenance. Also known as the four function paradigm, Parsons believed that there are four functional imperatives that are necessary for all systems to survive.

- **Adaptation (A)** is an instrumental function by which a system adapts to its external environment or adapts the external environment to the system.
- **Goal attainment (G)** is a consummatory function that defines the goals and ends of a system and mobilizes resources to attain them. Goal attainment is generally oriented externally.
- **Integration (I)** is a consummatory function that manages the interrelationships of the parts of a system. The integration function maintains internal coherence and solidarity within the system.
- **Latent pattern maintenance (L)** is an instrumental function that supplies all actors in the system with a source of motivation. It provides normative patterns and manages the tensions of actors internal to the system.

Effectively, 'the four component parts or subsystems in the action frame of reference—culture, society, personality, and behaviour/organic energy— bring meaning to situations.' While these subsystems are distinct from one another, they help emphasise the fact that the system is an interactive whole where very part plays an important role. In advanced industrial societies, schools, courts, work place and families, all contribute to the maintenance of stability of the system. Analysing Parsons theory, Feuer and Black in their article *The Social Theories of Talcott Parsons: A Critical Examination* (1962) have further elaborated that 'every society, as a social system, must, according to the Parsonians, solve these four basic

system problems through subsystems of special roles: the polity provides the goal; the economy achieves the adaptation; and the integrative and tension management subsystems resolve emotional conflicts.' Furthermore, elucidating Parsons ideas, Turner argues that 'when actors from different sectors—and in this case, from differentiated institutional domains like economy, polity, law, family, and religion in the societal social system—interact, they often exchange their symbolic medium for that of another sector'.



*Only four institutional domains are presented to simplify interchanges
**Adapted from T. Parsons and N. J. Smelser, *Economy and Society* (New York, NY: Free Press, 1956)

Key Inter-Institutional Exchange

1–2 Economy gives productivity in exchange for capital made available by government
3–4 Economy gives new outputs and services in exchange for entrepreneurial services from law
5–6 Kinship gives political loyalty in exchange for polity´s allocation of rights kin authority in families
7–8 Kinship gives motivations to pattern conformity in exchange for pattern content of family forms
9–10 Law gives contingent support to polity in exchange for imperative coordination
11–12 Economy gives consumer goods and services to family in exchange for labor services

'Functions of Key Institutional Domains in a Societal Social System and Their Interchanges' by Jonathan H. Turner, Theoretical Sociology: A Concise Introduction to Twelve Sociological Theories, Sage 2014.

Highlighting Parsonian framework, Sharrock, Hughes and Martin in their book *Understanding Modern Sociology* (2003) reflect that 'the society will have to be organised in ways that both sustain and disseminate its main values throughout the sub-systems, so ensuring broad compatibility between them, and in ways that articulate them with the practical requirements of the various sub-systems themselves.[1] The society as a whole is centrally structured around a main set of 'shared values'. Issues of stability and cooperation are based on 'value consensus' that exists in a society. The pursuit of certain goals and values is essential for every society. Evaluating Parsons' theory, T. Burger in the article *Talcott Parsons, the Problem of Order in Society, and the Program of an Analytical Sociology* (1977) highlights that 'maintenance of equilibrium will be difficult because there is constant production of new norms as well as values and also there are is 'variety and competition in the normative realm'. Effectively, all order cannot be maintained through brute force alone, rather shared values and 'value consensuses will go to play an important role in promoting stability on the society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What is 'function'?

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Q.2: What does AGIL stand for?

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Q.3: What is 'value consensuses?

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7.4 PARSONS' THEORY OF SOCIAL ACTION

Parsons' central concern was to develop a comprehensive and coherent conceptual scheme for sociology that could be applied to every society and

historical epoch and to address every aspect of human social organization.[3] For Parsons, classical economic theory assumes that human beings are rational and largely ignores the non-rational aspects of human behaviour. Likewise, he thought that positivism ignores the subjective elements of human action. While Parsons appreciated the efforts of the idealists for it attempted to study human qualities, values and morals, the problem was that it also explained issues of a society according to its uniqueness. Therefore, generalization could not have been possible. For Parsons, sociological theories must take into account the subjective dimensions but at the same time, it should also be able to develop general laws.

1. Sociological theory should be an adequately general theory which could be applied to different societies;
2. Sociological theory must be based on the 'principle of emergence', i.e. systems emerge with certain properties which cannot be solely explained through the interaction of its parts.
3. Based on voluntaristic principles, sociological theory must be an action theory. Essentially, it must take into account values, norms, goals and action choices of the individual.

Parsons in his book *The Structure of Social Action* (1937) proposed a general conceptual scheme for social action and subsequently analyses the concept of system. For him social action consists of the following-

- Social action is that behaviour by which an individual interacts with external forces after understanding and interpreting its action.
- For Parsons, all action is behaviour, but not all behaviour constitute social action. It is closely linked with an actor's perception about things and their meanings. Action is an outcome of what an actor perceives about an event and how he or she responds. Action is defined by its meaningfulness and it must be interpreted from the actor's point of view.
- The environment plays an important role in an actor's behaviour. The environment consists of social objects-*i.e.* other actors, cultural

environment (symbols, norms, values, signs etv) and the physical environment.

- Human action is bounded by the physical environment and it acts as a constraint on the actor's behaviour.

To summarise, social action consists of three basic elements-

1. The subject- Actor, which can be an individual, group or a collectivity;
2. The situation: Physical and social objects to which the actor relates to;
3. Cultural symbols: norms, values etc, which influence an actors' behaviour.

System of Social action:

For Parsons, human action exhibits the characteristics of a system. System helps us understand reality. If sociology has to be a science, to understand a behaviour, it must resort to a systemic analysis. Therefore, a system is-

- A unified whole made up of interdependent parts. Each part is a sub-system in its own and may also be treated as a system;
- Units or subsystems are relatively stable and there is a definite pattern of relationship;
- Each system operates within a boundary; there is symbiotic relationship between a system and the environment;
- A system is not fixed but rather dynamic; every system has certain needs -certain imperatives or functional pre-requisites and derived needs which are peculiar to each system only.
- Every social action is a system in its own and it consists of a complex act which can be broken down into smaller units.
- For Parsons, the idea of human behaviour is culturally shaped. Norms, values, symbols, beliefs etc. largely shape the cultural patterns and it influences individual behaviour as well as collective action.
- Cultural patterns are dualistic in nature-it creates a dilemma, for it forces the actor to make a decision. Others too have explained this

form of duality in a variety of ways, the most prominent being Ferdinand Tonnies whose ideas on the dichotomy of 'gemeinschaft' (applicable to community life, usually associated with rural life) and 'gesellschaft'(applicable to individual centred society, especially urban life) worth mentioning. Durkheim too argues about the distinction between mechanical and organic society in his book *The Division of Labour* (1893). For Parsons, the duality of cultural patterns in manifested in different ways-

1. ***Universalism versus particularism***: actors relate to others on the basis of general criteria or criteria unique or specific to the individual concerned;
2. ***Ascribed versus achieved***: actors relate to others on the basis of criteria of performance or 'achievement' or criteria of some form of endowment of 'ascription';
3. ***Specificity versus diffuseness***: actors relate to others for a specific, restricted purpose or in a general or holistic manner;
4. ***Affective neutrality versus affectivity***: actors relate to each other in a detached or instrumental fashion or with the engagement of affect and emotion.[4]

For Parsons, the choice of one pattern over another depends largely on the culture, but cultural patters of both 'gemeinschaft' and 'gesellschaft' can co-exist.



LET US KNOW

Gemeinschaft signifies a system of social relations where the concept of kinship, blood ties, friendship and neighbourhood are predominant. Gemeinschaft types of society is mostly found in the villages. In contrast, 'gesellschaft' system is prevalent in cities and industrial hubs where individuals become bound only by contract and commercial exchange.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: What is the 'principle of emergence'?

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Q.5: Name two major works of Talcott Parsons.

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Q.6: What is social action?

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7.5 LET US SUM UP

- Parsons sought to build an 'ecology of sociology' wherein a general theoretical structure for sociology would integrate all the social sciences.
- Parsons' central concern was to develop a comprehensive and coherent conceptual scheme for sociology that could be applied to every society.
- For Parsons, sociological theories must take into account the subjective dimensions but should also be able to develop general laws.
- Parsons argued that all action is behaviour, but not all behaviour constitutes social action. It is closely linked with an actor's perception about things and their meanings.
- According to Parsons, human action exhibits the characteristics of a system. System helps us understand reality.
- Cultural patterns are dualistic in nature-it creates a dilemma, for it forces the actor to make a decision.
- For Parsons, adoption of the structural functional approach was required to understand social reality.

- Through AGIL model, known as the four function paradigm, Parsons believed that there are four functional imperatives that are necessary for all systems to survive.



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10) Valone, J. J. (1980). *'Parsons' contributions to sociological theory: Reflections on the Schutz-Parsons correspondence'. Human Studies,* 3(1), 375–386. doi:10.1007/bf02331823.



7.7 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: By "functions," generally mean consequences that benefit society as a whole, contribute to its operation, or increase its stability.

Ans to Q No 2: Adaptation (A), Goal Attainment (G) Integration (I) and Latent pattern maintenance (L)

Ans to Q No 3: Value consensus means that the society as a whole is centrally structured around a main set of 'shared values' and maintenance of the same is important to achieve stability in society.

Ans to Q No 4: According to Parsons, sociological theory must be based on the 'principle of emergence', i.e. systems emerge with certain properties which cannot be solely explained through the interaction of its parts; values, norms, goals and action choices also matter.

Ans to Q No 5: a. The Structure of Social Action (1937)

b. The Social System (1951)

Ans to Q No 6: Social action is that behaviour by which an individual interacts with external forces after understanding and interpreting its action.



7.8 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1 : State the meaning of the concept of social action.

Q. 2 : Who wrote the book The Structure of Social Action (1937)?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1 : What is duality of cultural patterns?

Q. 2 : Write a note on the concept of AGIL?

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1 : Discuss Parsons' framework of social action.

Q. 2 : According to Parsons, how is equilibrium in society maintained?

End notes:

[1] Valone, J. J. (1980). *Parsons' contributions to sociological theory: Reflections on the Schutz-Parsons correspondence. Human Studies, 3(1), 375–386.* doi:10.1007/bf02331823 , p.376

[2] Sharrock, W.W., Hughes, J.A. and Martin,P.J. (2003). Understanding Modern Sociology , Sage, London, 2003. p.33.

[3] Introduction Renée C. Fox, Victor M. Lidz, and Harold J. Bershady , available at https://www.russellsage.org/sites/default/files/fox_chapter1_pdf.pdf,p.2

[4] **Sociological Theorists: Talcott Parsons, available at http://www.grahamscambler.com/sociological-theorists-talcott-parsons/, accessed on 27.9.2019**

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UNIT 8: NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENT: NATURE AND DYNAMICS

UNIT STRUCTURE

8.1 Learning Objectives

8.2 Introduction

8.3 Meaning and Nature of New Social Movements

8.4 Dynamics of New Social Movements

8.5 Impact of New Social Movements

8.6 Let Us Sum Up

8.7 Further Reading

8.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

8.9 Possible Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- know about the meaning and nature of new social movements
- explain the dynamics of new social movements
- discuss the impact of new social movements.

8.2 INTRODUCTION

A collective action or effort of a group of people can be regarded as social movement. However, there is a difference between old social movement and new social movement. As argued by Offe that new social movements are different from the old social movement because the new ones focus on the negative effects of bureaucratic capitalism, according to which the society has been left out to be a sufferer. Moreover, the old paradigm of collective action cannot address issues like feminism and environmentalism, as a result of which the social movement inherited an new nature. The main characteristics of new social movement include, social and cultural issues as the primary issues, quality of life as the prime focus, membership largely different in scope, incorporation of anti-

authoritarian multiple issues, both local and global, and the use of information and communication technology. The new social movement gradually started to bring about radical changes in the society and also in the political and economic domain especially since the end of the Second World War in 1945. These new type of social movements or the new social movements includes the gay rights movements, women's rights movements, civil rights movements, anti-nuclear and peace movements and environmental movements.

8.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

- **Meaning**

A social movement is basically a collective effort of individuals or group of people in order to bring up a new change in the society or to resist something in the society from changing. Social movements are deeply associated with social change. It is one of the important means through which people participate in the process of social change, rather than performing the role of mere spectators. Through social movements people become an essential part of the collective action carried out to reach certain desired goals. For this reason, social movements are also called the mass movements. It includes movements like Peasants Movements, Tribal Movements, Dalit Movements, Backward Caste/Class Movements, Women's Movements, Industrial Working Class Movements, Students' Movements, Middle Class Movements, and Human Rights and Environmental Movements.

If we briefly trace the early history of the idea of social movement we will find that the so called social movement initiative developed in the middle of 18th century England. Later on, in the late 18th century, other movements that emerged and received an worldwide attention was the French and American revolutions. Then, in late 19th century, the labour and socialist movements were witnessed by the world. Finally after the World War II that is by the year 1945, the new forms and patterns of social movements

which were different from the earlier social movements emerged. These new types of social movements or the new social movements include the gay rights movements, women's rights movements, civil rights movements, anti-nuclear and peace movements and environmental movements.

The old social movements functioned within the framework of the political parties. In other words, the political parties are the main torch bearer of those moments. For example, in India, the historical independence movement was led by the Indian National Congress which was in fact a political grouping. In China too, the Communist Party led the Chinese Revolution. Therefore, in this regard, the new social movements are not about changing the distribution of power in society but about quality of the issues associated with the lives of the people. The new social movements on the other hand are not concentrated or limited to the control or leadership of any political party rather the participation and structure has widened and the civil society has played a tremendous role acting as non-party entity who put pressure on the state from outside.

The new social movements are referred to as new because they are different from the earlier movements in terms of their goals, organization and sources of support. The old social changes deal with the changes in public policy whereas the new social movements mainly emphasize a change in the culture, identity and lifestyles. In the new social movements, the social aspect of the life of people is more emphasized rather than just the economic and political aspects. F. Parkin, one of the popular thinkers in the study of social movements elucidated that the key actors in the new social movements are also different. Here the new actors are the new middle class whereas it was the lower class which was mainly dominating the old social movements. Moreover, the new social movements and its members are disorganized and they gather support bases from different corners of the world. Lastly, the new social movements are those movements which incorporate a wide range of issues with their movements.

Therefore, the new social movements are neither just about the old problems of inequality in terms of the economic sphere alone nor they are

organized along class lines. Identity politics, cultural anxieties and aspirations are essential elements in creating social movements and occur in ways that are difficult to trace the class-based inequality. Often, these social movements unite participants across class boundaries. The women movements, for example include urban, middle-class feminists as well as poor peasants. The regional movements for separate statehood are also responsible for bringing together different groups of people who do not share homogeneous class identities.

- **Definitions**

According to *Habermas*, new social movements are resistance against the bureaucratization and monetarisation of both the public and private sphere of life. The issues which form an important part of the new social movement include issues like participation and human rights, individual self-realization, quality of life, and equal rights.

Carl Boggs, interpreted the new social movements as an attempt to rebuild a community which had been affected for being the victim of extreme urbanization and economic modernization.

Offe, argues that new social movements are different from the old social movement because the new ones focus on the negative effects of bureaucratic capitalism, according to which, the society has been left out to be a sufferer. Moreover, the old paradigm of collective action cannot address issues like feminism and environmentalism, as a result of which the social movement inherited a new nature.

Krishan Kumar observes that most of the impulsion to the new collective action or new social movements has been received from the post-modern culture. He believed that this has a very negative and reactionary angle. Moreover, it is also anti-heretical and involves itself with the principles of radical democracy.

- **Nature**

The new social movements emerged by the end of the 1960s with the changes of many movements during the period in the western world. The changes mainly involved the change in composition, strategies and

focus. The globalization brought social changes of large scale and thus as a response to this new social movements came into sight. The social movement which was in practice before the new social movement took place had mainly existed in the industrial economic period, and in the post-industrial economic period it was the dawn for new social movements. So, let us now look into the basic nature of the new social movements.

- **Social and Cultural Issues are the Primary Issues**

One of the important features of the new social movement is that this movement mainly focuses on issues of social and cultural importance. However, it does not mean that the new social movements negate the idea of indulging in political and economic issue. But, political and economic issues are only secondary for the new social movements. New social movement like youth culture movement or gay liberation movement mainly deal with issues related to their rights, lifestyles and identities. As such, *Habermas,* elucidated that new social movement is different from the earlier social movement because it comprises problem of individual self-realization and human rights. On the other hand, the old movements were involved with economic, political, and military security issues and challenges.

- **Quality of Life is the Prime Focus**

The new social movements include movements like environment movement, peace movement, women rights movement, gay rights movement and etc. So, basically if we observe the nature of such movements we will find that the prime focus of the movements was quality of life. It wanted to bring about a change in the society which may be discriminatory or where the quality of life is not equal for all. We would find that these issues are mainly prevalent in the developed and devolving countries to some extent. Such societies have rejected the large influence of bureaucratic organization and have adopted the participatory style of collective action. The new social movements as such are concerned with post-material values that are common in the post-industrial scenario. Moreover, the resources and its production and distribution and conflict arising from it are not the source of the new social movements.

- **Membership Largely Different in Scope**

Membership or its support base in the earlier social movement was mainly from the working class or lower class. Their survival and opportunity were the primary demands. But gradually, with the dawn of new social movement, the support base of the new movements also changed. There was an emergence of the new middle-class people who deals with different questions of identity which ranges from issues like class, gender, race and sexual orientations. The membership as such in the new social movement is drawn from different people belonging to different social classes. It is limited not only to the working class but also to the peripheral class of people who come into the scenario. In this regard, thinkers like Offe believed that the association of new middle class with the working class has brought a drastic change in the social movements. This is because of the higher educational level and information access capabilities of the new-middle class. New questions regarding the value of society emerged through the new social movements where all students, unemployed people, housewives and youths extended their support in large numbers.

- **Anti-Authoritarian**

The new social movements are collective actions which are regarded as anti-authoritarian. This is because they bring the new issues related to the people who are marginalized or excluded in a society to the notice of the authority. They assert their demand by the use of locally based, centred on small social groups. Moreover, they preach their demands and views with the use of wide range of loosely personal or informational networks which includes the radio, newspapers and posters. The new social movements even question the legitimacy of power institutions and establishes their own research teams in order to understand the different emerging associated problems more clearly and give new directions to the new social movements.

- **Multiple Issues Get Incorporated**

The new social movements may start with a single issue but with times it incorporates multiple issue which come along the line. For instance,

the feminist movement started as part of the demand to regain the lost status of women in the society to be renewed. Along with them, the feminist movements also dealt with different questions of women and their relation to the environment. Another example of incorporating multiple issues is that the environmental movements which are basically new social movements have also dealt with questions that include environment and development along with environment justice.

- **Both Local and Global Issues**

The new social movements may start locally with some local issues of environment and move towards more global issues like global warming. Therefore, another important nature of the new social movement is that it is concerned with issues prevalent both at the local level as well as at the global level. This also brings about a change in their consecutiveness with the population. It deals with both the local, national or international population.

- **Use of Information and Communication Technology**

The use of ICT in new social movement is responsible for two factors. One is the knowledge of the new middle class people and the second is the global perspective of such movements. The information savvy people understood the importance of applying ICT usage to the movement which in the long run would help to build global connection and create new support base for the continuation and success of the new social movements.



LET US KNOW

Social movements generally mobilize the members or participants to seek redressal of a grievance, or to struggle for specific goals and objectives. They often involve only a particular section of a population and manifest themselves only in a part of the society. Social movements refer to a sustained and continuous collective action over a long period of time. Social movements generally aim at and result in change.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: The new social movements are referred to as new because they are different from the earlier movements in terms of their goals, organization and sources of support. (True/False)

.....

Q.2: According to Habermas, new social movements are resistance against the bureaucratization and monetarisation of both the public and _____ sphere of life. (Fill in the blank)

Q.3: Quality of life is the prime focus of new social movement. Explain.

.....

.....

.....

Q.4: List out the main characteristics of new social movement?

.....

.....

.....

8.4 DYNAMICS OF NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The group action or collective action of the people can be regarded as social movement. The main purpose behind a social movement is always to bring about a change in the society or to resist something prevalent in the society or about to be newly introduced in the society. If we look into the modern western social movements, we would find that those movements were only possible due to the spread of education and information among the people regarding different issues of the society. Another factor which also contributed towards such movement was the increase in the mobility of the labour which was due to the modernization as well as industrialization of the 19th century.

The contemporary social movements were possible only because of the freedom of expression, economic freedom and educational freedom which was the main elements of the western societies. Most of the times,

the social movements were involved in transforming the nations into a more democratic movements, but no one can deny that the social movements actually emerged and grown only after the nations became more democratized. The social movement in the last 200 years has become the most important medium for global and popular voice of dissent.

In the subject of political science, the study of the new social movement occupies a very important position. The main difference that has been observed between the new and old social movement was that in terms of participation of people and their course of actions, the new social movement has taken a more pro-active role. As already mentioned, tracing the early history of the idea of social movement we will find that the so called social movement initiative developed in the middle of 18th century England. In the late 18th century, other movements that emerged and received an worldwide attention was the French and American revolutions.

In the late 19th century, the labour and socialist movements were witnessed by the world. Finally, after the Second World War that is by the year 1945 the new forms and patterns of social movements which were different from the earlier social movements emerged. These new types of social movements or the new social movements include the gay rights movements, women's rights movements, civil rights movements, anti-nuclear and peace movements, and environmental movements.

So, basically the developing countries experienced a tremendous social deprivation among the people. A large number of people especially children were suffering from various sorts of diseases, lack of safe drinking water, corruption, centralization of power and authoritarian leadership. This gave a new shape and directions to the idea of social movement and different interrelated issues were picked up by the new social movements and thus widening the scope of the movements.

The new movements become more distinctive in their functioning as they completely function outside the traditional party system. In the west, the new social movements were dominated by the middle-class population. It was dominated by the working class in the third world. The new social

movements have actively associated themselves in upholding the interest and asserting the demands of the disadvantaged people in society. They also transform their organizational structures which reject the hierarchical model of functioning rather these movement and organizations become horizontal in nature.

The new social movement gradually started to bring about radical changes in the society and also in the political and economic domain. They helped to spread social sensitivity and consciousness among the people of the new modern societies. They also helped to provide new developmental strategies where the poor got a satisfactory level of importance. Today, the idea of the new social movement is closely linked with idea of civil society. The movements protect the civil society from State atrocities and also they act to reform the society from within.

The new social movements have passed through different phases of mankind. In each phase and period, these movements have effectively addressed different problems associated with the society and initiated positive social changes. It has always diagnosed the problems of the society, corrected the lacunas of the society and motivated the people to bring about positive changes in the society. Urbanization, Industrialization, mass education, communication technology, and democracy were all the factors contributed to the continuation of the role of the new social movement till date.



ACTIVITY 9.1

Try to list out and figure whether the Indian society has experienced any new social movement.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: The main purpose behind a social movement is always to bring about a change in the society or to resist something prevalent in the society. (True/ False)

.....

Q.6: The new social movement gradually started to bring about radical changes in the society and also in the political and _____ domain. (Fill in the blank)

Q.7: Write the main reasons of the contemporary social movements.

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q.8: Name the factors for which the new social movements are continuing?

.....

.....

8.5 IMPACT OF NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The new social movement incorporated different problems that touched human lives as such making a tremendous impact on the social, political and economic domain. Though the new social movements are primarily related to issues that concern social life, still no one could deny its political and economic implications. The following are some of the impacts of the new social movements.

- **Impact on the Political Economy**

There are different elements of power politics which are actually very closely related to the economic sphere. The new social movements are involved with many issues related to the politics of production and distribution which actually have a direct impact on the economic lives of the people as well as the state.

- **Impact on People's Grievances**

The most important and remarkable impact of the new social movement is that the people and their different grievances which were earlier ignored by the government, now have received a new and effective medium of expression. The resource mobilization capacities of the new social movements are so good that different grievances are effectively

voiced by the new social movement. The authorities are no also compelled to take into account the grievance of the people. Different injustice prevalent in the society and State were considered from new perspectives through the movements and as such justice was sought.

- **Impact on Struggles at Various Levels**

Different struggles at different levels of the society are being raised by the new social movements. But, most importantly, these struggles are purely democratic in nature. The movements have been able to build an alternative paradigm of politics outside the influence of the existing state and system. The new social movements are the new platform for dissents and oppositions.

- **New Social Movement and Globalization**

The new social movements are critical to the idea of globalization. According to them, globalization is a process through which the balance in the traditional communities has been disrupted. The poor are suffering and a wide gap between the rich and poor has also been encouraging. The new social movements as such focus on the interest of the marginalized or poor and strive hard to bring back the equality and stability in the society that has been affected due to the process of globalization. It also reacts to any sort of global hegemony in the world.

- **New Social Movement and Development**

In the third world countries, the new social movements have been guiding the States by preparing an own development model where all people from all sections of the society could participate. The new social movement should always see that in the name of development the socially and politically vulnerable groups do not come under threat.



LET US KNOW

All social movements are collective actions, but all collective actions need not necessarily be social movements. A social movement may lead to, or transform itself into a revolution. A social movement may or may not be a mobilization of people against the state or system of governance, and may or may not involve violence.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.9: There are different elements of power politics which are actually very closely related to the economic sphere. (True/False)

.....

Q.10: The new social movements are the new platforms for dissents and _____. (Fill in the blank)

Q.11: Explain the impacts of new social movements on people's grievances?

.....

.....

.....



8.6 LET US SUM UP

- A social movement is basically a collective effort of individuals or groups of people in order to bring up a new change in the society or to resist something in the society from changing.
- Social movements are deeply associated with social change. It is one of the important means through which people participate in the process of social change, rather performing the role of mere spectators.
- It includes movements like Peasants Movements, Tribal Movements, Dalit Movements, Backward Caste/Class Movements, Women's Movements, Industrial Working Class Movements, Students Movements, Middle Class Movements, Human Rights and Environmental Movements.
- After the Second World War that is by the year 1945, the new forms and patterns of social movements which were different from the earlier social movements emerged.
- The main characteristics of new social movement include the following- social and cultural issues are the primary issues, quality of life is the

prime focus, membership largely different in scope, anti-authoritarian, multiple issues get incorporated, both local and global issues are involved and use of information and communication technology.

- The social movements most of the time were involved in transforming the nations into a more democratic society but no one can also deny that the social movements actually emerged and grown only after the nations became more democratized.
- The new social movement gradually started to bring about radical changes in the society and also in the political and economic domain. They helped to spread social sensitivity and consciousness among the people of the new modern societies. They also helped to provide new developmental strategies where the poor got a satisfactory level of importance.
- The idea of the new social movement is closely linked with the idea of civil society. The movements protect the civil society from State atrocities and also it acts to reform the society from within.
- The new social movement incorporated different problems that touched the human lives as such making a tremendous impact on the social, political and economic domain. Though the new social movement is primarily related to issues that concerns social life, still no one could deny its political and economic implications.
- The new social movements influence in various aspects like- impact on the political economy, impact on the people's grievances etc.



8.7 FURTHER READING

1) Jayal, N.G. (2001). *Democracy in India.* New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

2) Rao, M.S.A. (2008). *Social movements in India.* New Delhi: Manohar Publishers.

3) Shah, G. (2004). *Social movements in India.* New Delhi: Sage Publications.



8.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: True

Ans to Q No 2: Private

Ans to Q No 3: The new social movements include movements like environment movement, peace movement, women's rights movement, gay rights movement and etc. So, basically if we observe the nature of such movements we will find that the prime focus of the movements was quality of life. It wanted to bring about a change in the society which may be discriminatory or where the quality of life is not equal for all.

Ans to Q No 4: The main characteristics of new social movement include, social and cultural issues are the primary issues, quality of life is the prime focus, membership is largely different in scope, anti-authoritarian, multiple issues get incorporated, both local and global issues are involved and use of information and communication technology.

Ans to Q No 5: True

Ans to Q No 6: Economic

Ans to Q No 7: Contemporary social movements are possible only because of the freedom of expression, economic freedom and educational freedom which are the main elements of the western societies.

Ans to Q No 8: Urbanization, Industrialization, mass education, communication technology, and democracy were all the factors that contributed to the continuation of the role of the new social movement till date.

Ans to Q No 9: True

Ans to Q No 10: Oppositions

Ans to Q No 11: The most important and remarkable impact of the new social movement is that the people and their different grievances

which were earlier ignored by the government, now have received a new and effective medium of expression. The resource mobilization capacities of the new social movements are so good that different grievances are effectively voiced by the new social movement. The authorities are no also compelled to take into account the grievance of the people. Different injustice prevalent in the society and State were considered from new perspectives through the movements and as such justice was sought.



8.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1 : In the late _____ century the labour and socialist movement were witnessed by the world. (Fill in the blank)

Q. 2: The new social movements are the collective actions which are regarded as anti-authoritarian. (True/False)

Q. 3: What is the difference between new social movement and old social movement?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1: Describe in brief any four features of new social movements.

Q. 2: Explain the dynamics of new social movements.

Q. 3: Describe in your own words any contemporary new social movement in India.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1: Explain the idea of new social movement and its impact.

Q. 2: Critically discuss the features of new social movements.

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UNIT 9: PEASANT MOVEMENT IN INDIA

UNIT STRUCTURE

9.1 Learning Objectives

9.2 Introduction

9.3 Peasant Movement: Meaning

9.4 Nature and Organisation of Peasant Movement

9.5 Origin and Development of Peasant Movement in Post-Independent India

9.6 The Naxalbari Movement

- 9.6.1 Origin and Development of the Naxalbari Movement
- 9.6.2 Impact of the Naxalbari Movement

9.7 Let Us Sum Up

9.8 Further Reading

9.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

9.10 Possible Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the nature of peasant movement in Post-Independent India
- know about the different causes and factors that compelled the farmers to raise their voice against the authority
- understand the underlying causes behind the outbreak of Naxalbari Movement
- get an overview of the impact of Naxalbari movement in Indian politics.

9.2 INTRODUCTION

Agriculture and peasantry have played a vital role in the Indian society and economy. However, in case of development, it is lagging behind in comparison to other segments of the Society. India has been facing lot of

problems ranging from exploitation, poverty, landlessness, indebtedness, lack of modern equipments, deprivation in getting remunerative price of their production and even committing suicide. Under such circumstances, they have been struggling for their existence since colonial period till date. With the ushering of a new political system in 1950, it was hoped that India's independence would lead to the emancipation of peasantry from the exploitation of the Zaminders and the conditions of peasantry would improve. But, the scenario has not changed up to the expectation. They are still exploited and deprived in different quarters, resulting in the farmer's struggle in the 21st century. Keeping the above in view, the present unit attempts to explain the various aspects of peasants' movements in the post-Independent India with a special reference to the Naxalbari movement.

9.3 PEASANT MOVEMENT: MEANING

On the basis of ownership and control over land and agriculture as the means of livelihood, there are different categories of people in rural Society - such as land lords, supervisor agriculturists, owner cultivators, share croppers, tenants and landless labourers etc. Excluding the landlords, in vernacular form, they are collectively termed as kishans.

In the pre-industrial period of the middle ages when feudalism prevailed, those who were slave, serf and free tenants were collectively known as peasants.

The Cambridge dictionary defines a peasant as 'a person who owns on rents a small piece of land and grows crops, keeps animals, etc. on it. A peasant is one who has a low income, very little education, and a low social position.

Ghanashyam Shah (2004) observes, 'The term peasant is used to denote those cultivators who have homogeneous entity, with small holdings operated mainly by family labour on the one hand and on the other, it includes all those who depend on land including landless labourers as well as supervisory agriculturists.'

Kathleen Gough, (as cited in Singh, 2016) defines peasant as 'people who engage in agriculture or related production with Primitive means and

who Surrender part of their produce ……..to landlords or to agents of state.' This definition make it clear that peasants are those class of people who are Subservient to the land lords.

Rajendra Singh (as cited in Rao, M.S.A. 2016) has defined the term peasant as a class of people which excludes the erstwhile rent and revenue collecting class of rajas, talukdars and Zaminders and the class of traders and includes kisan and khetihar mazdoor which consists of-

- all the ex-tenant cultivators,
- all the Khetihar mazdoor (agriculture labourers),
- most of the village artisans and
- those former rajas, talukdars and Zaminders who had suffered a loss of land ownership or reduced their control over land with the introduction of the abolition of zamindari in 1952.

Political Scientist like Anthony Pereira has defined a peasant movement as a "Social Movement made up of peasants (small land holders or farm workers on large farms), usually inspired by the goal of improving the situation of peasants in a nation or territory."

Rajendra Singh has defined peasant movement as "a relatively organised and continuous collective action involving violence, or the threat of violence, for securing more share in the control or ownership of land and its produce and to abolish injustices which have arisen thereof."

On the basis of the above discussions, we can define the peasant as a Socio-economic group of people who are by profession engaged in agriculture or cultivation. This group consists of poor and landless tillers and agricultural labourers, middle level peasants and rich peasants excluding landlords and traders.

A peasant movement can be defined as a movement by the peasants or peasantry to achieve its desired goals from the authority. The authority mentioned here, broadly speaking may be divided into two- government and non-government authority implying the landed aristocracy such as Zaminders.

- **A PARADIGM SHIFT**

A paradigm shift however has been noticed in the study of peasant and peasants' movement since 1980's in India. From the mid 1980's, some scholars like Ghanashyam Shah (2004) have used the term 'farmer' instead of 'peasant' due to market involvement of the farmers as community producers and also due to the fact that they take the role of purchasers of inputs.

In fact, the development of agriculture during the post-independence period, more specifically following the introduction of green revolution in the mid-1960s, a new category of cultivator evolved and they are called 'rich farmers.' Thereby, the term peasants are defined as a social group who live in subsistence level and produce for their subsistence and do away with market competition. On the other hand, farmers are those people who are involved in market competition and market surplus. The struggle that these rich farmers resorted to in post independent period is characterized as 'New farmers' movement' in place of peasant movement.

9.4 NATURE AND ORGANISATION OF PEASANT MOVEMENT

The nature of peasant movement in Post-independence period can be studied in the following ways:

1. The post independent India has witnessed two types of peasants' movement one is classical (old) peasant movement and the other is new farmers' movement. The classical peasant movement like Telangana and Naxalbari Movements were started by the poor landless farmers, tenants, share croppers and agricultural labourers for their land rights, better economic conditions and higher wages etc.

   On the contrary, the new farmers' movements are performed mainly by the rich peasants although the middle and poor peasants also joined hand with them. With the introduction of Green Revolution in mid-1960's, the use of modern technology, highyeilding seeds, use of electricity and power, modern means of irrigation in agriculture, a new class in rural area emerged. They are rich peasants and named

as farmers and their movement is known as farmers' movement. Their issues are different from old peasants' movements and their demands are remunerative price for their produce, greater marketing facilities, greater subsidy, loan waiving etc.

2. In the peasant uprising in Post-independence period which are classical in nature- leadership was provided by the kishan sabhas of left wing political parties like CPI, CPI(M), and by different groups of CPI (M-L).

   But, the rich capitalist farmers' movement in the Green Revolution or Post Green Revolution period occurred through organisations like Bharatiya Kishan Union (BKU) in UP, Punjab, Haryana, the shetkari sangathan in Maharsatra and so on.

3. One of the important characteristics of peasant movement in post independent period, as cited by Rajendra Singh (2001), is the presence of civil society organisations. The agrarian contradictions now begin to be located mostly around the civil society versus the state.

4. Just after the Independence, in the classical peasant movement, the adversary group or the principal enemy were the local exploiters, the Zaminders, Jagirdars and Talukdars, in short- the landlords. But, in case of post-independence rich capitalist farmers' movement, the adversary was not located in the village or in the district. The government, either at the centre or state, was targeted for attack. So, the site of confrontation transferred from the village Zaminders to the government in power both at the centre and states.

5. Again, two types of confrontations have been noticed within the rich capitalist farmers. One is against the state and other is middle and rich peasantry versus the rural poor and the landless people, located at the bottom of the economic and power hierarchy of the society. The poor in the form of agricultural labour in rich farmers' agricultural farms had to engage in struggle for high wages for their works.

6. The nature of peasant movements in the Post-independence period can be explained in terms of method of struggle. Some used violent and armed struggle, some used Gandhian and constitutional method

to arrive at their desired goals. For example, the peasant uprising Just after the Independence against Hyderabad Nizam under the banner of CPI and CPI (M), the Naxalbari peasant movement emerged under the banner of CPI (M-L) and now under the Maoist ideology which firmly believe in violent armed revolution to break the chain of Zaminders and for their land rights.

On the other hand, the Bhoodan Movement (land gift) led by Acharya Vinoba Bhave (1951-54) was conducted on the non-violent lines of Mahatma Gandhi in which the landlords voluntarily surrendered their excess land which were distributed to the landless peasants.

Likewise, the farmers' movements under the banner of rich capitalist farmers through their association like BKU were also conducted on Gandhian and constitutional means. They resorted to the method of road blockade, rail rakho, strike, Delhi challo rally, mass demonstration etc.

These are the major observations about the peasant movement in the Post-independence period.

- **Organisation of Peasant Movement**

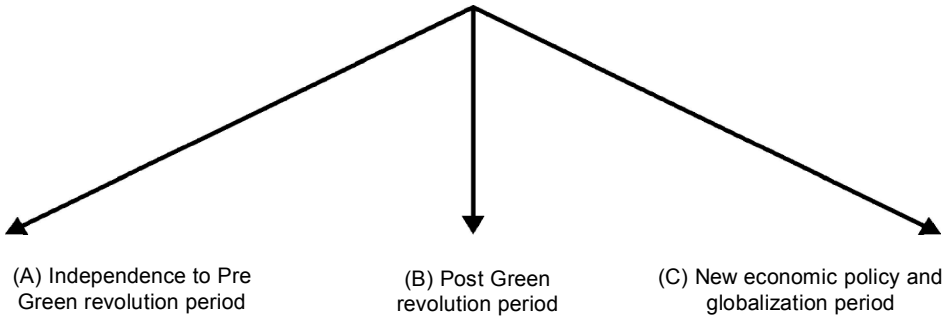
In the Post Independent period, most of the peasant organisations agitating on different issues are overtly or covertly led by different political forces. It is seen that all the communist parties such as- CPI, CPI (M), CPI (M-L) have their own peasant wings like trade union. Apart from the left wing political parties, the right wing political parties and even the regional political parties also have their own peasant wing through which they responded different problems of the peasants.

Some civil Society organisations are also functioning to mobilise the peasantry and the general people in support of some major issues related to problems of agriculture and agricultural cum rural society. For example, in the year 2000, the Kishan Mazdur Sanghrash Samittee led by Dr. Aruna Rai and the People's Union for civil liberty (PUCL) has organised a significant legal movement against the starvation of the peasantry and rural poor in Rajasthan.

In addition to these, we have noticed the presence of different farmers' organisations of their own which have played important role in post-independent peasant mobilisation. Rajya Raitha Sangha of Karnataka, Bharatiya Kisan Union (BKU) of UP, Punjab, Rajasthan, Gujrat, Himachal Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh etc., Shetkari Sangathana of Maharastra etc. are some of the examples.

9.5 ORGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF PEASANT MOVEMENT IN POST INDEPENDENT INDIA

For the convenience of the study of the origin and development of peasant movements or farmers' movements, whatever the name may be, we may classify the problem in three broad categories:



(A) Independence to Pre-Green Revolution Period (1947-1960):

Post-independence peasant movement originated in the heroic struggle of the Indian peasants to win over the rights over land towards the last decade of colonial rule. The peasant movement, in order to break the zamindary or permanent settlement system in Bengal; peasant upsurge in Andhra against zamindary under Nizam Sahi in Hyderabad; movement for land rights in Kashmir are some of the major instances of the struggle of the above kind. In that period, the left leadership in the peasant movement took place. Peasant movement of Telangana and Bengal was mostly led by the Kisan Sabhas organised by the undivided communist party of India. After the overthrowing of the British Raj, the new national govt. under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru in New Delhi had to face the situation created by the peasant unrest over the ownership right on land. To handle the

situation, the Home Ministry under the leadership of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel resorted to administrative steps to control the law and order situation that prevailed due to the conflicts between the peasant masses and local landlords. The conflict between the peasantry and the local landlords or rulers like Nizam of Hyderabad or Raja of Jammu Kashmir turned into the confrontation between the congress government of New Delhi and the peasant masses. Naturally, the domestic government had to change the earlier land policy applied by the colonial ruler. But, the rural elite, including a section of traditional land lords, put pressure to influence the government so that it could not take any radical land reform policy against the interest of big land owner and rich peasants.

In fact, the influential section of the agricultural society began to be the part of the ruling polity of the national government. In contrast to this situation, the necessity of new socio-political ideology in the peasant movement was felt. It is worth mentioning here that the leaders of the undivided communist party i.e. Rajeswar Rao of Andhra Pradesh, Harekrishna Konowar of Bengal emerged in the forefront of peasant movement of the contemporary India.

In this way, the left or anti-establishment forces mostly the communist party got the space to intervene in the scenario i.e. to lead the peasant movement towards a radical political end. The expansion of political influence of the left political movement in rural India became more and more intensive.

As a result of such movement, the government of India had to take strong reform policy in land tenure system. For example, by the first amendment of the constitution in 1951, the government of India passed the zamindary abolition act to abolish intermediaries in land tenure system and by the 4th amendment, the Government of India empowered the state legislature to implement the same. Accordingly, most of provinces had passed zamindari abolition and land ceiling legislation by 1956.

However, those steps were not up to the expectation for the peasant society. Because, taking the advantages of the loopholes in the legislation, the landlords had transferred their land in the name of their kith and kin and even in the name of their pets.

(B) Post Green Revolution to New Economic Policy (1960-1990)

The development of peasant movements in post Green revolution period can be discussed in following phases -

(1) 1960-1970

(2) 1970-1980

(3) 1980-1990

(1) **Peasant Movements In 1960-1970's**

This period is most remarkable from the point of agricultural development and peasant movement. Because, in the mid 1960's, green revolution took place. It implies the increase in crop production by the use of modern technology including artificial fertilizers, pesticides and high-yield crop varieties.

Green revolution was perhaps the first organised steps to make inroads for capitalist farming which led the agro economy to be more and more export base economic exercise. As a result, the question of domestic necessity like- sufficient food grain production was neglected, resulting in acute food crisis that took place throughout the country mostly in Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, and so on. Famine like situation arose throughout the entire northern India.

Under this green revolution, small peasants had to suffer. Because, in order to equip with modern technology, they required more money. And for that purpose, they had to rely on unofficial creditors and money lenders who charged exorbitant interest, often double the interest rate of banks. As such, a process of de-peasantization and class polarization took place in the country sides. At the expense of small peasants, tenants etc. the rich peasants and capitalist farmers became stronger and pushed them into the rank of the landless.

At the same time, the demand for land reform like land to the tiller had not been materialised which had created the conditions for peasant unrest and revolt. As such, the Green revolution became red revolution in this period. Depending on that situation, some radical political change took place. In 1967, the left government came into power in West Bengal with

a bold election manifesto of land reform and agro upliftment like land to all the landless. But in practice, those electoral assurances were not fulfilled. That situation had led to the historical Naxalbari peasant insurrection in West Bengal. It is to be noted that the peasant upsurge to take over the ownership of landlords' land by occupancy and possession holders, including the share cropper, was led by organised left forces. In this process, the left party, mainly CPI (M) had to face a major politico - ideological split. The communist party CPI (ML) came into being. Later on, they are known as the Maoist.

(2) Peasant Movement in 1970-1980

It was a remarkable period in the socio-political history of India. The major events of this period were-

1. Severe and overall economic crisis.
2. Impact of new political formation in the form of split of the ruling national congress into two namely congress (I) and Congress (o) in 1969.
3. Record breaking unemployment problem recreated by mixed economic planning.
4. Emergence of Janata Movement led by sarvodaya leader J.P. Narayan.
5. War with Pakistan (1971) thereby creation of Bangladesh.
6. The internal emergency declared by PM India Gandhi (1975-77) to Suppress overall socio-economic crisis.
7. For the first time, in the history of independent India, Non-Congress government came into power in 1977 after a huge mass movement against authoritarian rule.

Under the above circumstances along with all other segments of the society, the peasant or farmer community also had to consolidate their issue based movement for civil and political rights. All the socio-political forces from right reactionary to left ultras like the ideologues of Naxalbari armed peasant struggle had been compelled to come together to face the said authoritarian system of governance in the country. As a result, for the first time in the political history of Independent India, a non-congress Janata

government came into power in New Delhi. But it did not stay long. The congress, led by Indira Gandhi returned to power again.

(3) Development in 1980-1990

After coming to power, the government led by Indira Gandhi and later on by Rajiv Gandhi tried to revive the projects of green revolution. But it was failed. Frequent political changes, absence of sustainability in economic planning had resulted in the failure of tackling the crisis in the overall economy and particularly in the agrarian sector. The cost of production in agriculture had reached the peak during this period. The importance of statutory steps in fixing the price of agro products started to increase. Demands for minimum support price for all kinds of grains became more and more popular among the rich peasants. Organisation like BKU, led by rich peasants came into existence in this period. It is to be pointed out here that during that period, the rich peasants or new farmer class of the peasantry did not think to go against the government policy to fulfil their needs. But, that situation had changed. Like other section of the agrarian society, (poor and landless peasants, sharecropper) the rich peasants or a section of the capitalist farmers had also been compelled to take the path of agitation.

Throughout the whole era of post green revolution (1960-1990), we have seen the emergence of some new sub classes among the peasantry. Those were new landless recreated by farming and expansion of mining, agricultural labour in big numbers and their social identities were of dalits, OBC, minorities and Tribals. The programme of ongoing peasant movement could not address the problems of the above classes or sub classes of the peasantry. In this circumstances, the space for some new organizations on the basis of caste, community and unconventional organizations like kishan Majdur Sangharsh Samiti started to function among the peasantry.

Moreover, those classes of peasantry mentioned above became the main social base of Naxalite movement.

(C) New Economic Policy and Globalisation Period

The present period beginning from 1991 is broadly termed as the period of globalisation backed by new economic policy, liberalisation of

economy and structural- adjustment with international trade and commerce advocated by the government of India. The policy of globalisation in agriculture in India has brought the following features in the agro activities:

1. Ultra modernised mechanisation of agriculture.
2. Use of hybrid seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides produced mostly by foreign companies.
3. Beginning of contract farming, corporate farming, genetically modified crops etc.
4. Free market policy and import liberalisation in agricultural trade.
5. Curtailment of state backing of agricultural activities like subsidised loan.
6. Restriction on re-productions of peasant's own seeds by the system of patent right laws etc.

Under these circumstances, the farmer community faced new problems of managing the farm activities. The cost of production increased more and more. Without huge loan, it became impossible to run their production. That situation has compelled the rich and a section of middle class peasants to take loan from the banking institution and money lenders with enhanced rate of interest which led to indebtedness of the peasantry. As a result of this, thousands of farmers had to face the situation of committing suicide. Under these circumstances, nationwide peasant unrests began in the form of huge rally, road blockage, mass demonstration etc. Very often, those demonstration became violent and police had to resort to take lathi charge to firing to control the situation. In 2018, in such an agitational situation, six persons died in police firing in Madhya Pradesh.

- **Express Highway and Special Economic Zone (SEZ):**

It is to be noted here that the new industrial investment policy in the light of globalisation has moved the government to advocate some mechanisms to invite the foreign multinational companies as per their terms and conditions. For example, the construction of express and super highways along with Special Economic Zone (SEZ) Act, 2005. To construct

Express Highway and to have SEZ or industrial corridor for particular MNC or companies, the government decided to acquire thousands acres of land, displacing the agriculture and agricultural society from their native place in different areas of the country. As a result, lacs of peasants virtually become landless, jobless and even homeless. Under such circumstance, since 2006, we have seen huge resistance movement that occurred against SEZ. In 2007, we have seen the mass resistance in Singur and Nandi gram of West Bengal where agitating peasants and their supporters confronted with the armed police forces. 14 peasants died in police and para military forces' firing in the above incidents of peasants' resistance movement. Ultimately, a negotiation was made between the government of West Bengal and the agitators which abandoned the proposed SEZ.

In addition to these, due to aggressive policy of globalisation, displacement and eviction, the peasantry led the situation of unwarranted anger among the peasants community, thereby the ideology of Maoism penetrated into the peasant unrest.

It is told that the much debated globalization is the globalization of capitalism or imperialism which is concerned mainly worldwide free market economic policy. The opportunity and economic privileges' naturally go to the big investors, multinational companies and other big corporate agencies. This kind of new global economic order cannot serve the interest of even the middle class of people. In rural and agrarian society new land hungry corporate and multinational companies engaged in mining etc. became the main instrument of generating huge landlessness. The SEZ like mechanism is nothing but the systemising accommodation of multinational and corporate houses against which Nandigram like peasant upsurge took place which paved the way for some political leaders coming to power in West Bengal. Such kinds of political happenings are the result of new social mobilization of peasantry and middle class as a whole. It is not to be reiterated that this kind of class combination is the key instrument to have a new political change in the concerned state centering round the peasant movement there.

Taking the advantage of globalization and globally organized free market policy, any big investor can invest his capital in any corner of the globe. But, the workers engaged in his plant and also the peasant who transfers his valuable lands accommodate the investor cannot claim globally determined wage or price of land. In short, the richest of the rich of the first world countries, get the right and privileges to the extent of global status and the people who happens to be owner of labour resource and public infrastructure are deprived from all the rights and priorities which is enjoyed prior to globalization.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What Paradigm Shift has occurred in the definition of the Peasant with the introduction of Green revolution in India?

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Q.2: Write the full meaning of the term SEZ.

.....

Q.3: What do you mean by Green revolution and when did it take place?

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9.6 THE NAXALBARI MOVEMENT

The Naxalbari peasant movement is one of the most remarkable incidents in the socio-political history of independent India. It is remarkable in the sense that for the first time in Independent India, the common men took arms against the government. The very name 'Naxalbari' is associated with the name of a small village 'Naxalbari' in Darjeeling District of West Bengal where a dissident group of communist party of India (Marxist) (CPIM) known as communist party of India (ML) launched an armed peasant struggle in 1967 against the atrocities of the landlords. Later on, with the

merger of various arms groups in different states like Maoist Communist Centre (MCC), People's War Groups (PWG), and the CPI (ML) rechristened as the communist party of India (Maoists). Those, who engaged in that Naxalbari movement, were known as the Naxalities. Now, they are known in different names like Naxalite, Naxalwadi, Maoist etc. In fact, though the movement was suppressed in West Bengal, it spread in almost 10 states of India namely - Bihar, Jharkhand, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Odisha, Telangana, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Chhattisgarh. These Naxal effected areas are popularly known as 'Red Corridor' region.

9.6.1 Causes of the Origin of Naxalbari Movement and its Development

It is already mentioned that the Naxalbari movement originated in a small village named Naxalbari under Siliguri Sub-division of Darjeeling district of West Bengal in early 1967. In February 1967, the United Front government led by Indian National Congress with the participation of CPI (M) came into political power in West Bengal. The CPI (M) being the party of peasantry and working class had bold election manifesto of land reform like land to all the landless, land to those who till the land etc. But in practice, those assurances were not fulfilled, resulting in the peasant upsurge like Naxalbari peasant uprising and split within the party- that gave birth to CPI (ML) under the leadership of Charu Mazumdar, Kanu Sanyal, Souren Bose, Jangal Santhal etc. Their main motto was to grab the land from the landlords and re-distribute the same among the landless farmers and those who till the land.

The then population of North Bengal i.e. Darjeeling district comprised of tribal's like Oraons, Mundas and Santhals and Koch Rajbongsis. Most of them were landless and share cropper peasants. On May 24, 1967, a tribal youth share cropper having judicial order to plough was attacked and killed by the armed brand sent by the local landlords. A small police team was sent to enquire about the

incident. As they were marching to the spot, Jangal Santhal, the president of Siliguri Kishan Sabha, led a group of tribals and ambushed the police party with bows and arrows. A police Sub-Inspector was killed on that surprise attack. In retaliation to the death of that police personnel, in the very next day, the police arrived at the spot with their huge strength and fired randomly upon the peasants. Nine people were killed in that indiscriminate fire and children, women and even age old people met with several injuries.

Charu Mazumdar through his writing "Historic Eight Documents" inspired the youths which formed the basis of the Naxalite Ideology. Subsequently, the movement had spread in different parts of West Bengal. Peasant committees, were formed in every village and they were transformed into armed guards. They soon occupied land in the name of the peasant committees, and burnt all land record which had been used to cheat them of their dues, passed death sentences on oppressive landlords, formed armed bands by looting guns from the landlords, armed themselves with conventional weapons and set up a parallel administration to look after the villages with the active leadership of Charu Mazumdar and Kanu Sanyal. Most of the youths had Joined in the movement. During 70's, most of the students of schools, colleges and universities abandoned their studies and joined in the armed struggle against the landlords. Accordingly, not only the peasants, in course of time, but different segments of the society had also participated in and supported that Naxalbari movement.

Not only in West Bengal, with wide publicity through media, it was extended to different parts of India and even it had received international support. The president of China, Mao Tse-Tung declared his whole hearted support to this Naxalbari agrarian movement. But, being the ruling party CPI (M) did not show their favour to them.

The central government in Delhi had expressed deep concern on that matter and asked the West Bengal government to take necessary steps. Accordingly, the West Bengal government decided

to suppress the movement and launched operation steeplechare in the early 1970 with the active support of Army and police to suppress the revolt. As a result of this, most of the active Naxalities were killed, some were even arrested and kept in Jail. Leaders like Charu Mazumdar, Kanu Sanyal were put behind the bars. After the imprisonment of the leaders and more specially, after the death of Charu Mazumdar in Alipore Jail in Calcutta, the movement became leaderless and gradually the movement came to an end within a short span of time.

Though for the time being the Naxalbari movement came to an end, the ideology of Naxalism has attracted the attention of the poor, landless and downtrodden section of society- mostly the tribals and adivasi people who inhabited the said ' Red Corridor' region.

- **Reasons behind Naxalbari Movement**

Some of the important reasons that led to Naxalbari movement are discussed below:

1) **Defects in Land Reforms:** The main cause of the Naxalbari movement was the defects in land reforms. Though land reforms was introduced after Independence, but in practice, taking the opportunity of the loopholes of the prevailing Acts, the landlords retained their lands by transferring it to the ryots on lease basis and keeping land for their kith and kins. As a result of these, the proposed aims of the said land reforms were not materialized, i.e. land to landless, land to those who till the land remained mere slogan. Therefore, most of the poor and landless farmers and youth had joined in armed struggle led by Naxalwadi.

2) **Pathetic Economic Condition:** Frequent failure of crops and poverty that led to pathetic economic conditions of the peasants are also responsible for the Naxalbari peasant uprising. Most of the people belonging to this area are tribals, in comparison to other areas of farmers, they are poor. They have failed to feed

their growing family with their poor productivity. Under these circumstances, they thought the existing socio-political system is responsible for their miserable position and wished to replace it by a new regime with the ideologies of Mazumdar, Marx, Mao Tse Tung and the erstwhile USSR.

3) **Money Lender and Alienation of land:** The tribals and non-tribal peasants were not only exploited by the Zaminders but by the money lenders as well. In most of the cases, the tenants, the share croppers when they failed to pay in cash or kind to landlords for using their land, or failed to run their family due to poor production of their crops, they were compelled to borrow money from the money lenders. These money lenders gave them money in the form of loan with extravagant interest and kept land documents as mortgage. When they failed to repay the loan with interest, the landlords seized their lands. Thus, the tribals became alienated from land and they became landless and turned into bonded labourers in their own land. Hence, in order to get rid of the vicious circle of money landers and to be free from landlessness, most of the youth in this region joined in Naxalbari Movement.

4) **Unholy Nexus among Neta, Babu, Judiciary and Landlords:** The unholy nexus among the politicians, bureaucrats, Judiciary and Landlords is also responsible for the growth of Naxalbari movement in India. Most of the political leaders, bureaucrats and even the judiciary were pro-landlord. The lack of political will, indifferent attitude of the bureaucrats and indifference and partiality by the Judiciary towards the landless poor, made them unsatisfied with the existing socio- economic system. The frustrated youth began to feel that they had been suffering due to bourgeois control on state power and the only way to free the people was with the help of armed revolution and to build a socialist system by destroying the existing one.

5) **Government Control over Forest:** The Tribal and Adivasi communities have been living in the Nature's womb since time immemorial. They are more prone to live in forest and banjar land and engaged in shifting cultivation. But, when the state government in this region nationalized their forest land, put restrictions of access to forest lands, implemented government regulations on forest products etc., they had to suffer. Thus, the interference by the government on their life and livelihood caused deep discontentment among them and compelled them to join in armed struggle against the state.

6) **Eviction Drive in Bakshish Land:** The landlords often changed their tactics to retain the ownership over land. One of the tactics were land Bakshish to their agricultural labourers who rendered service to them. They did it when the tribal peasants launched movements against them under the banner of radical communist. But, few days back, the so called landlords asked them to return these 'Bakshish' i.e, gifted land. Then they resorted to violence to free these lands which resulted in a direct clash between the adivasis and the landlords. (as cited in Rao, C.N Sankar 2008, P-339). Such incident compelled the youths to join in Naxalbari movement.

7) **Red Corridor area and Naxalwadi:** Red corridor area is the richest region in India as it is full of minerals like iron ore and bauxite. In the name of development and extracting these minerals, the government made land acquisition drive and provided permits to different mining companies to unearth the same. As a result of these, the Adivasis who lived there had to leave that place. They were victimized by the state induced displacement. Government, forest officials, contractors, mining companies only exploited them rather than taking measures for their upliftment. Under such a situation, they were compelled to join the Naxalwadi Movement.

The small incident that occurred in Naxalbari, Siliguri, and West Bengal gradually spread in different parts of India and this is still going on. They are revolutionary communist and they believe in radical transformation of society through armed struggle.

9.6.2 Impact of the Naxalbari Movement

The Naxalbari movement has far reaching impact in the socio-political history of India. As a result of the Naxalbari movement, new developments occurred in the politics of peasants and working class movement. It can be regarded as the turning point in the Indian communist movement, because for the first time, a vertical split arose in communist ideology of India. The dissident group within the CPI (M) has lost their faith on the parliamentary leftists in power and they have gave birth to a new party on militant lines named as CPI (ML), later on they came to be known as the Maoist.

Secondly, as a result of Naxalbari movement, institutionalisation of violent method come into existence for fulfilling the demands of the peasantry. This situation ultimately created the ground for the penetration of Maoist ideologue in peasant struggle.

The enhancement of the mechanism of dominating the movement has invited the new efforts of gathering the support of civil society in the resistance movement of Naxalite or Maoist. Frequently discuss the urban Naxalite indicates the fact that growing support to this radical movement is getting its foot hold among a section of highly educated middle class intellectual. Because of which the government has been compelled to shift its operation to different urban centers like Mumbai, Hyderabad and so on. So, we may say that the theory of identifying a particular part of the country as 'red corridor' has gradually became a kind of disturbing one on the part of the government.

To a certain extent, violent peasant movement on the line of Naxalbari upsurge has created some social unrest in different corners

of the country. It has caused peace and security problem in India. The Naxalite problem is perhaps the most serious internal security challenge that the country faces today. Since its inception, attack and counter attacks are going on between the Naxalites and police and para military forces. Apart from the para military forces, the state government has used their own combating forces like Grey hounds (Andhra Pradesh), Thunderbolts (Kerela) etc. In addition to these, operation 'Green Hunt' was launched by the Government of India in 2009 against the Naxalites, and it was conducted in "Red Corridor" region of five states which caused serious setback to the Maoists and most of their cadres died.

From the side of Naxalites also serious attacks were made. Some of the famous attacks are:

- In 2010, ambush in Dantewada, chattisgarh killed 80 police men.
- In 2018, attack in sukma, dist, Chhattisgarh killed 24 policemen.
- In May 1, 2019, landmine blast at Gadchirole in Maharastra killed 15 police personnel along with a civilian etc.

While the security forces are better equipped, they often face obstacles due to local support for the Maoists and the strange terrain.

Under such situations, peace and development have collapsed in these Naxal affected states. Government efforts to develop necessary infrastructure like road construction has hindered to a great extent since the Naxalites have targeted the constructing companies and personals. Such activities on the part of the Maoist has stood as an obstacle in the path of economic development in the concerning states as no investor whether foreign or national have dared to invest there.

In fact, the destination of the Naxalites are impressive, but the ways and method they have chosen is wrong which have caused loss of human lives. The government should have realized that brute force will not put an end to the ongoing struggle. Violence solves nothing, it begets violence.

Therefore, both the parties should come closer to each other for its solution. The problem must be addressed in the roots. Instead of killing them or combating them with the use of violent method, the government should take some preventive measures like proper implementation of agrarian reforms, upliftment of the poor, education, infrastructure development, generate employment and to do more welfare activities in the Red Corridor region. Otherwise, after one is dead, another will join and the phenomenon will be continued. However, upper hand must be given to the government. Though the basic objective of the Naxalites is to help the poor and the landless yet, violence can never be an answer to find a solution in this regard. Therefore, the government has no way out but to crush them with an iron hand.

In fact, the agrarian society is the backbone of our country. Without proper handling of the problems and grievances of that segment of the society, we cannot imagine the development of our national economy. As a responsible government, we think it should come out with a pro-people and pragmatic policy to manage the agrarian society with all its seriousness.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.4: Where is Naxalbari situated? What is the immediate effect of the Naxalbari peasant movement?

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Q.5: What do you mean by Bakshish land? How does it relate to Naxalbari movement?

.....

.....

Q.6: What do you mean by Red corridor region of India? Why is it famous?

.....

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9.7 LET US SUM UP

- Peasant movement in India is not a New Phenomenon. Since the time of British East India Company to Independence and from Independence to the present, peasant movement is continuing in different parts of India.
- The Post-independence India has witnessed two types of peasant movement. One is classical peasant movement and the other is new peasant movement, known as farmers' movement which is the outcome of green revolution in India.
- During Independence and just after the Independence of India, Peasant Movement like Tebhaga peasant movement in West Bengal in 1946-47, Telengana, Hydrabad peasant struggle 1946-51, peasant movement in Kashmir were the examples of classical peasant movement in post independent period. These movements were occurred mainly against the abolition of the zamindari system and land rights.
- In the mid 1960's, the government of India launched Green revolution to meet the problem of food crisis. However, this green revolution turned into red revolution because it harmed the peasants to a great extent.
- In the 21st century also, peasants are compelled to suffer from different problems resulting in the introduction of new economic policy in 1991 and globalisation.
- Above all, the Naxalbari movement is one of the most significant incidents in the history of India. It is so significant because, for the first time in the Post Independent India, common people took to arms against the authority.



9.8 FURTHER READING

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9.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: In the post Independent period with the introduction of green revolution in mid-1960's, a paradigm shift has occurred in the definition of a peasant. In fact, the Green revolution has created a new class of cultivator, known as 'Rich farmers'. Thereby the term peasants are defined as a social group who live in subsistence level and produce for their subsistence and do away with the market competition. On the other hand, farmers are those categories which involve market competition and market surplus.

Ans to Q No 2: The full meaning of term SEZ is Special Economic Zone.

Ans to Q No 3: In the mid-1960s, Green revolution was launched by the government of India to develop and give new shape to agriculture. Simply, it implies the increase in crop production by the use of modern technologies including artificial fertilizers, pesticides and high - yield crop varieties.

Ans to Q No 4: Naxalbari is a small village that comes under Siliguri subdivision of Darjeeling district of west Bengal. The immediate output of Naxalbari peasant movement is the split within the left parties in India. In 1967, the breakaway group of the communist party of India, Marxist (CPI,M) became offended on the activities of their party comrades and formed a new party named the communist party of India, Marxist-Leninist (CPI,ML).

Ans to Q No 5: Bakshish land means gifted land. It was a new technique used by the landlords to retain land in their hands when land grab movement was launched by the tribal and Adivasi peasants under the leadership of left parties in Naxalbari areas. But, when the problem was over, the so called landlords tried to snatch the said land by way of eviction with the help of government officials. Peasants became landless and then they joined the ongoing Naxalbari movement for their land rights.

Ans to Q No 6: The Naxal affected 10 districts of India is known as "Red Corridor" region. This region is famous in India's politico-economy. It is the richest region in India as it is full of minerals like iron ore and bauxite.



9.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1 : Why and when did the government of India launch operation Green Hunt?

Q. 2: Mention three important farmers' organization in Post independent India.

Q. 3: How does Rajendra Singh define peasant?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1: Point out four basics differences between classical Peasant Movement and New farmers Movement.

Q. 2: Mention four important events that took place in the period 1970-80 in Indian politics.

Q. 3: When and why had the Government of India passed the Zamindari abolition act?

Q. 4: When and why was operation Steeplechase launched by the government of West Bengal?

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1: Define peasant movement. Explain the nature of peasant movement in Post Independent India.

Q. 2: What do mean by Green revolution? How did it affect the Indian peasants that led to peasant movement in Post Independent India?

Q. 3: What are the changes brought by the new economic policy and globalization on the Indian farmers that caused the Peasant Uprising in the 21st century?

Q. 4: What do you mean by Naxalbari Movement? Discuss why and how did the Naxalbari movement originate in West Bengal?

Q. 5: What are the factors responsible for the outbreak of Naxalbari movement in different parts of India? Point out the impacts of the Naxalbari Movement in Indian politics.

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UNIT 10: LABOUR AND TRADE UNION MOVEMENTS

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives

10.2 Introduction

10.3 Origin and Development of Trade Union Movements

- 10.3.1. Growth of Trade Union Movement in the UK
- 10.3.2 Growth of Trade Union Movement in the USA
- 10.3.3 Growth of Trade Union Movements in the Developing World

10.4 Nature and Kinds of Trade Union Movements

10.5 Significance of Trade Union Movements

10.6 Trade Union Movements in India

- 10.6.1 Trade Union Movement in India: Historical Overview
- 10.6.2 Contemporary Challenges to the Trade Union Movements in India

10.7 Let Us Sum Up

10.8 Further Reading

10.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

10.10 Possible Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the concept of trade unions
- discuss the nature and types of trade unions
- explain the significance of trade unions
- analyse the importance trade unions in India.

10.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit introduces you to the concept of trade unions and their importance in influencing state policies. In the book *Industrial Democracy* by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, a trade union was described as a term,

which represents 'a continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their employment'. The Webbs essentially conceived the idea of trade unions as 'agents of a progressive revolution' in industrial relation. Issues of 'market anarchy' and 'employer despotism' needed to be controlled and regulated, and trade unions as a form of collective union through 'collective bargaining' could play an important role in this regard. Trade Unions in India have been a major part of the freedom struggle and now their numbers have magnified, and so too have their struggles. Today, there are various types of trade unions across the world and they face different set of challenges in the era of market capitalism.

10.3 ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENTS

Richard Hyman in his book *Understanding European Trade Unionism Between market, class and society* (2001) reflects on the origins and development of trade unions in Europe. He points out that-

> Trade unions as substantial organizations were products of the industrial revolution, even though in some countries they evolved with no significant disjuncture from pre-capitalist artisanal associations. Indeed the very word *trade* union denotes a combination of workers with a common craft or skill. Initially their character and orientations reflected the circumstances of their formation: in most of Europe, brutal resistance by employers to assertions of independence and opposition on the part of the workforce, often accompanied by state repression. Such hostility in turn encouraged in trade unions militant, oppositional, sometimes explicitly anticapitalist dispositions towards employers; and radical political attitudes which – in circumstances of restricted franchise and autocratic government – were not clearly distinguishable from revolutionary

> socialism. This, not surprisingly, reinforced the antagonism of unions' opponents.[1]

The trajectory of growth of trade union movement varies from country to country and is closely linked with the socio-economic conditions of their times. The First and the Second World Wars were major events which gave a new direction and momentum to trade union movements across the globe. In the post 1945 era, there has been a proliferation of trade unions. This is largely due to the fact that technologies were changing, new industrial management styles were being adopted and social security issues were being negotiated between different contending parties. The politisation of trade unions has become a 'norm' and trade unions have openly as well as covertly supported particular parties, especially in democratic countries.

10.3.1 Growth of Trade Union Movement in the UK

The industrial revolution brought about not only economic changes, but also had a radical impact on society and politics of states across continents. The British trade unions were largely a product of the industrial revolution and the 'guilds' assumed the initial form of a union. They worked through negotiations and appeals to the Parliament. In spite of small Acts being passed from time to time, there was no improvement in condition of the workers. The Combination Acts of 1799-1800 made the condition of the workers more difficult for it prohibited any kind of discussion on the issues of employment. The first half of the nineteenth century had seen continued social unrest resulting from economic depressions and the strain of building up a great industrial system.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, formed in 1851, developed an organizational structure consisting of a centralized organization with district committees and collected union fees based on membership. In the 1860s, Permanent Trades Councils were set up which further consolidated the united movement. By the 1880s, socialistic ideas became more widespread and trade unionism further deepened through the inclusion of unskilled workers. The early part of the 20th century witnessed the growth of union membership in the

UK. In spite of the growing industrialization, the workers continued to languish and the public institutions too did not help the workers.

The trade union became more compact and organized during the interwar period. The membership of women into trade unions also rose substantially. The end of the Second World War gave new hope to trade unions as new ideas of 'welfare' became prominent. The World Trade Union Conference was held in London in February, 1945. Subsequently, the World Federation of Trade Unions was established to further the labour as well as social standards of workers across the Commonwealth. Since the 1970s, the trade union movement in the UK is in crises. Market economy, coupled with growing economic competition and incentivised economy, the influence of trade unions declined substantially.

10.3.2 Growth of Trade Union Movement in the USA

The early forms of labour organization in the United States were largely mutual aid societies or craft guilds that restricted entry into a craft and enforced workplace standards, as was also the case in Western Europe. It didn't raise too many hackles or cause too many hassles because craft workers were relatively few in number and most companies were small. But, industrial development in the early nineteenth century slowly widened the gap between employers and skilled workers, so the workers began to think of industrial factories as a threat to both their wages and status. The first effective national labour organization in the United States was the National Labour Union (NLU), established in Baltimore in 1866.[2] Later on, the the Knights of Labour became a mass movement with an ideology and program that united workers without regard for occupation, industry, race or gender.[3] Violence has marred the labour history of America. During the period 1877-1900, many a times, the army and national guards were called in to quell labour strikes. 1900-1932 was a period of corporatization of American economy, which started with the textile companies and gradually, it entered sectors such as railroads, coal

and telegraph. However, the outbreak of World War I changed the equilibrium between the different parties, the state not only became more interventionist but the organized labour and trade unions began to get more assertive. National War Labor Board in 1918 came into being to mediate corporate/union conflicts. In 1919, nearly, four million workers (21% of the workforce) took disruptive action in the face of employers reluctance to recognize or bargain with the unions. The National Labor Relations Act of 1935 gave most of the U.S. workers the right to join or form unions as a way for employees to bargain with their employers over pay and working conditions.[4] The Second World War saw immense contribution from the men and women engaged in factories in different parts of the world.

The end of the Second World War not only led to the collapse of the authoritarian regimes, but it also gave the trade unions a way to reorganize themselves. The idea of 'welfare state' had gained momentum in Europe and trade unions became the key players in extending labour rights as well as arguing for the need of universal suffrage. While new trade unions came into being, several others were the results of mergers between older trade unions. One of the key events during the interwar period, as part of the Treaty of Versailles, was the formation of the ILO in 1919. According to its first director, the French union leader Albert Thomas, its purpose was 'to act as co-ordinator and unifier of national trade unions, compel employers to deal with labour as equals, produce impeccable research and advice that would eliminate the possibility of anti-labour criticism, and seek to convert everybody to the need for social justice.[5]



LET US KNOW

The International Labour Organization became a UN specialized agency in1946, dealing with labour issues. Its main aims are to promote rights at work, encourage decent employment opportunities, enhance social protection and strengthen dialogue on work-related issues. In 1969, the Organization received the Nobel Peace Prize.

During the period of the Second World War, like other countries in Europe, union membership in the US also witnessed substantial growth. However, unlike in Europe, where the trade union movement gained momentum after the war, in the United States, trade unionism only declined. 'Decentralised bargaining' became the norm and more mechanization of industry ensured that the workers remain rather confined to their own domain. However, the trade union movement did support the cause of civil rights movement in America. Today, trade unions in the USA have every little impact on addressing the rights of workers and a non-unionised form of employment has become the norm.

10.3.3 Growth of Trade Union Movements in the Developing World

In other parts of the world, the trade union movement have a rich history, as they were part of the nationalist movement (India) or have been integral to the formation of government (South Africa). The Trade Union movement is witnessing a period of transformation. Democratic forces are beginning to play an important role; however, forces of globalization are beginning to dictate terms.

The relations between trade unions and the state vary from country to country. In Japan, trade unions are having a strong dependent relationship with employers. But in countries like South Korea and Taiwan, trade unions and the state authority are more closely tied up and very often espouse the cause of the state. Unlike other developing economies, trade unions in China and Vietnam, under the influence of Leninist principles, had played the dual role of supporting management as well as representing workers' interests.[6]

In the African continent, after the Second World war, trade unions took shape by the support given by the colonial powers. Often adopting the style and functioning of the British or the French model of unionism, the movement started to grow. Though the nationalist struggle soon led to disassociation with the colonial administration, trade unions

could not really have an independent entity as the authoritarian or military regimes took in many countries and the trade unions were subsumed by the state. In South Africa, the COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) which was founded in 1985, has over 1.7 million members, is a very powerful unit. During the post-apartheid period, COSATU was very much engaged with the African National Congress (ANC) in the formation of the government and a substantial number of leaders were members belonging to trade unions.

Points to remember

Apartheid: It is a policy or system of segregation or discrimination on grounds of race.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Who wrote the book - Understanding European Trade Unionism Between market, class and society?

.....

Q.2: What is the significance of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, UK (1851)?

.....

Q.3: When did the ILO win the Nobel Prize for Peace?

.....

Q.4: Write a short note on the growth of trade union movement in the developing countries. (within 50 words).

.....

.....

.....

10.4 NATURE AND KINDS OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENTS

- **Nature of Trade Union Movements**
  - **Legal status:** Trade union movements have acquired a legal status in most democratic countries. Trade unions have to register

themselves, submit taxes and maintain all proper records of its members. It can acquire property and have become powerful pressure groups which influence economic policies.

- **Density of Trade Unions:** The membership of trade unions varies according to the nature of industry. Large membership of trade unions helps their process of collective bargaining. Politically, they become more influential and very often the trade union members become public representatives as well.
- **Collective bargaining:** According to the ILO, the right to collective bargaining is a core labour standard. Collective bargaining helps address issues of arbitrary management, wage uncertainties and discrepancies and address issues of workers social security. However, it is a complicated issue for it creates barriers for 'others' especially those that do not belong to the same fraternity or craft. While through collective bargaining, the trade unions ensure the protection of interests of its own members and create barriers for others as it become rather self- interested in nature.
- **Voluntary nature of Trade Unions:** Such unions are a form of voluntary association. They make their own rules, have their own working constitution and have a hierarchical organizational structure as well. Financial resources of trade unions may be rather limited as they try to collect the same from annual and life membership and through voluntary donations.
- **Politicization of Trade Unions:** Most trade unions have a 'soft' affinity towards a political party. Ideologies such as Marxism and Communism, has ensured that the cause of trade unions is well incorporated into the political agenda of the Left parties in most countries. However, many trade unions also reflect their affinity towards the ruling dispensation. At times, the leaders of trade unions have also become legislators and parliamentarians as well.

- **Kinds of Trade Unions:** Trade unions are structured along various lines-

- Craft or occupation: Teachers Union
- Branch of industry: Tea Industry Unions
- White- or blue-collar workers: Lawyers Union. Bank Unions
- General unions, which include workers from various occupations and industries: AITUC
- Trade Unions are often divided territorially.
- Trade Unions with ideological underpinnings: Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh which is affiliated to the RSS.
- Public sector employees trade unions: Airport Authority of India Employees Union

10.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF TRADE UNION MOVEMENTS

Trade unions may be seen-

'primarily as economic agencies engaged in collective bargaining over routine terms and conditions of employment; as fighting organizations confronting employers in a struggle between hostile classes; or as components of the fabric of social order. In some times and places, they may be perceived in all these guises simultaneously[7].

The significance of trade unions can be seen from the identities it assumes. According to Richard Hyman, there is 'a triple tension at the heart of union identity and purpose[8]. Hyman classifies trade unions according to their ideological orientation.

- **Radical Oppositional:** Unions as 'schools of war' in a struggle between labour and capital;
- **Integrative:** Unions as 'vehicles' for raising workers' status in society and advancing social justice;
- **Business:** Trade unions are interests organisations with predominantly labour market function[9].

In simple terms, business unions focus on the market; integrative unions on society; radical-oppositional unions on class[10].

The importance of trade union also rests on the role they play in protecting the rights of laborers and workers through the process of

'collective bargaining'. W. Streeck has highlighted that trade unions try to influence the labour market from 'supply' as well as from the 'demand side'.

Labour 'supply':

- Firstly, trade unions by enabling workers to speak with a collective voice, replace individual with collective contracts and thereby correct the imbalance of power that distorts individual bargains between workers and employers. Unions furthermore control the amount of labour employers can extract from the workers, by setting and enforcing minimum wages and maximum hours.
- Secondly, unions that intervene in the supply of labor is *skill formation*.
- Third, unions often try to institutionalize rules of access to employment, based on a variety of criteria well beyond ability to do a job.
- Fourth, unions can regulate the supply of labour by limiting working time. Unions' involvement in social policy, including the administration of public unemployment insurance and labour market policies, enables them to lower the economic pressure on the workers to accept offers of employment that do not fit their skills or their economic needs, or that undercut current minimum standards of the employed workers.

Labour 'demand':

- Unions as political actors exert pressure, electoral and other, on governments for an economic policy that supports a high level of employment.
- Also to influence labour demand, the unions intervene in the organization of work.
- Trade unions were major contributors to the transformation of employment from a spot market contract to an ongoing organizational relationship, or from a contract of work to a contract of employment.
- Trade unions above all pressed for *standardization* of employment contracts, to protect workers from uncertainty, simplify collective regulation, decouple the economic situation of workers from that of their employing organization, and suspend as much as possible the competition between workers, so as to enable them to act in solidarity[11].



LET US KNOW

Collective bargaining: The term 'collective bargaining' was first used in 1891 by Beatrice Webb which was seen as a collective alternative to individual bargaining. Workers come to bargain about their right and terms of conditions with their employers, collectively. Collective bargaining may be varied and is exercised through the process of 'negotiation, joint decision-making, or joint regulation'. It is also characterized by a certain degree of strife between the workers and their management team wherein strikes, 'dharnas', picketing are adopted by workers.

In several countries, there are seats reserved for trade unions in their parliaments. e.g. Senegal. Again, in countries like France, Netherlands and Austria, trade unions play an important role in outlining the national policies and implementation of their programmes. In the European Union, trade unions are a powerful force and are able to lobby for the rights of the workers. The importance of trade unions is manifested in various ways. In Europe, union membership is on the decline and employed people are rather reluctant to be involved with the activities of the unions. In most European states, there are competing union confederations who are 'often divided on political grounds', but now ideological divisions between such unions have declined. Essentially, the strength of trade unions depends on their density and the sector of representation. In the democratic countries, they play a critical role and political parties have their own trade unions. In autocratic or communist countries, very often the trade unions are seen as institutions that legitimize state authority.

Bacarro, Benassi and Meardi have highlighted that 'as workers shift their electoral allegiance from social democratic to new populist parties with nationalist and welfare-chauvinistic agendas, unions decline in organizational terms and their influence shrinks. Yet exactly, the current difficulties of democratic polities offer trade unions an opportunity to reinvent themselves by filling widening gaps of representation, participation and legitimacy.[12] In present times, the emergence of 'service sector' as the main source of employment has definitely weakened the trade union

movement. Globalisation of economies and emergence of multinational companies have ensured that the bargaining capacities of trade unions remain rather limited. The emergence of companies like Flipkart, Amazon, Uber, and AirBnB which are not located in any particular region but are rather spread out, have created new challenges for the workers. Socialism has been largely discredited by political commentators and unionism has not proven to be an attractive narrative for the youths who now willingly adapt to new lifestyles and have been well integrated into the market economy.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: What is 'density of trade unions'?

.....

Q.6: What is collective bargaining?

.....

.....

Q.7: Mention any two types of trade unions?

.....

.....

10.6 TRADE UNION MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

Labour movement is a broader term and it encompasses trade union movements. Labour movements seek to promote and protect the rights of labourers and develop a spirit class-consciousness and solidarity amongst its members. While the terms 'labour movements' and 'trade union movements' seem similar, there is a subtle difference. Labour movement is 'for the workers' and trade union movement is 'by the workers'.

In India, the labour movement started in 1875 when a number of measures to improve the lot of the workers were taken by the Government, social reformers and enlightened employers, whereas, the Trade union movement was started in 1918, when the workers formed their association to improve their conditions. Essentially, a trade union movement is a movement by the workers through their trade unions or associations.

10.6.1 Trade Union Movement in India: Historical Overview

1875 to 1918: Industrialization in India also led to wide scale exploitation of women and children. With time, the condition of the workers further deteriorated. In 1875, under the leadership of Sorabji Shaparji along with other social workers , a concerted effort was taken which sought to draw the attention of the Government to the deplorable conditions of woman and child labour in the Indian industries. In 1877, in the town of Nagpur, workers of the Empress Mills observed a strike over wage rates. In 1881, the first Indian Factory Act was passed, applicable to the new factories which existed in Bombay and Calcutta and limited to the objective of preventing the employment of children below the age of nine. In 1884, under the leadership of N.M. Lokhande a memorandum was submitted to the Second Factory Commission to highlight the poor conditions of the workers. In 1890, the Bombay Mill Hand Association was formed which was the first trade union in India. N.M. Lokhande also started the workers' first newspaper, 'Dinabandhu' which sought to highlight the condition of workers and the state of prevailing economy. Subsequently, several associations came into being- The Printers' Union of Calcutta (1905), The Bombay Postal Union at Calcutta and Madras (1907),The Kamgar Hitwardhak Sabha (1909). But most of these were moderates in nature, as they did not really challenge the British Government. These associations however laid down the foundations of the trade union movement in India.

1918-1938: The interwar period witnessed the amalgamation of thoughts and activities of social workers, labour leaders and politicians in India. The labour unrest was a common phenomenon across the country.

(i) The First World War resulted in grave economic difficulties. The rising costs forced the workers to take up collective action;

(ii) The Swaraj Movement also intensified the movement,

(iii) The success of Russian Revolution 1917 also helped promote class consciousness among the workers;

(iv) The establishment of the International Labour Organisation in 1919 also sought to promote the rights and dignity of the workers.

(v) The non-cooperation movement (1920-21) led by Mahatma Gandhi during 1920-21 led to greater mobilization of workers to stand up for their rights and dignity.

During this period, under the leadership of B.P. Wadia, in 1918, The Madras Textile Labour union was formed. The formation of the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) on 30th October, 1920 was a key event in the Trade Union movement in India. In 1926, the Trade Union Act was passed and a period of regulated trade unionism started. However, the subsequent splits of the AITUC did not help the cause of Trade Union Movement in India. The creation of bodies like All India Trade Union Federation (AITUF which was renamed Nation Trade Union Federation (NTUF), Red Trade Union Congress (RTUC), All India Railway men's Federation (AIRF) and the National Federation of Labour (NFL) reflected the fragmented nature of traded union movement in India.

1939-1947: During the Second World War, while employers were rewarded for their support to the British Government, it also promulgated The Defence of India Rule 81-A which prohibited strikes and lockouts. In 1947, the Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC) was formed which was the labour wing of the Indian National Congress.

1947 onwards: In post-independence period, the formation of several political parties and their quest to control trade unions did not help the cause of ordinary workers and labourers. They continued to be neglected and exploited from all directions. Important acts such as Factories Act 1948, and the Minimum Wages Act 1948, the Employees' State Insurance Act 1948, the Plantations Labour Act 1951 have been passed. Over the years, several important trade unions have come together to solve their differences, only to be split up subsequently.

10.6.2 Contemporary Challenges to the Trade Union Movements in India

The trade unions in India have got legal status, and are regularly consulted by the state bodies in the planning process. However, it has also been realized that such unions are increasingly getting sidelined with the adoption of new economic policies and changing industrial policies of the government. Presently, there are five major central trade unions each having a membership of above 5 lakhs and all India character- The All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), The Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC), the Centre of Indian Trade Union (CITU), the Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS) and the Hind Mazdoor Sabha (HMS). Again, there are occupational trade unions which seek to represent only particular segments of the workers eg. The All India Bank Employees Association, National Federation of Indian Railway men, All India Mine Workers Federation etc.

The Indian labour market is very much dominated by informal labour and protecting the rights of such workers has proved to be a great challenge. 'Labour market flexibility' and 'social protection' are two of the key issues plaguing industrial relations in India. Generally, trade unions face several challenges today. Compared to the European countries, trade unions in India comprises less than 50 percent of workers. Most trade unions are rather having very limited members and seldom are able to bargain with their employers. Such unions are financially weak and their fund raising capacities are rather limited too. Political interference and their affiliation to political parties are a boon and a bane, and this has not helped trade unions bargain collectively. Political affiliation of trade unions has led to inter trade union rivalry which has jeopardised the rights of the workers. For many trade unions, important issues such as medical welfare, education and training facilities of workers and their wards too have not been attained. Trade unions have been criticized by many because they seldom address the issue of inefficiency amongst the workers. Low wages, illiteracy, migratory nature of workers have all contributed to the further

deterioration of condition of workers. Disputes between the workers and employers have become a major challenge. Mitchel, Mahy and Gahan in their work on labour relations have noted that 'the sheer volume of disputes to be dealt with by the labour courts and tribunals has led to inordinate delays at both the referral and settlement stages of the conciliation and adjudicative process. This has hurt the economy and the interests of the workers as well. Multiplicity of trade unions, duplication of work, inefficiency amongst the workers and neglect by state planning and training bodies has led to further problems for the Indian economy and for the workers themselves. Liberalisation of economy, privatization of industries including those in the public sector, and disinvestment policies of the government have resulted in growing anxiety amongst the workers. The emergence of 'Special Economic Zones', start-ups and growth of an incentivized economy has ensured that workers will not be in a position to bargain collectively as before. Contractual engagements, new pension schemes, and lack of social security will hurt the rights of workers in the coming years.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.8: What is name of the first trade union of India?

.....

Q.9: What is the full form of AITUC?

.....

Q.10: Write a brief note on trade union movement in India during 1918-1938.

.....

.....



10.7 LET US SUM UP

- The trajectory of growth of trade union movement varies from country to country and it is closely linked with the socio-economic conditions of their times.

- The British trade unions were largely a product of the industrial revolution and the 'guilds' assumed the initial form of a union.
- However, unlike in Europe, where trade union movement gained momentum after the war, in the United States, trade unionism only declined.
- Trade unions have acquired a legal status in most democratic countries. Trade unions have to register themselves, submit taxes and maintain all proper records of its members.
- Ideologies such as Marxism and Communism, has ensured that the cause of trade unions is well incorporated into the political agenda of the Left parties in most countries. However, many trade unions also reflect their affinity towards the ruling dispensation.
- The importance of trade union also rests on the role they play in protecting the rights of the laborers and workers through the process of 'collective bargaining'.
- Labour movement is 'for the workers' and trade union movement is 'by the workers'.
- N.M. Lokhande also started the workers' first newspaper, 'Dinabandhu' which sought to highlight the condition of workers and the state of the prevailing economy.
- The Indian labour market is very much dominated by informal labour and protecting the rights of such workers has proved to be a great challenge.
- Liberalisation of economy, privatization of industries including those in the public sector, and disinvestment policies of the government has resulted in the growing anxiety amongst the workers.



10.8 FURTHER READING

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10.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Richard Hyman

Ans to Q No 2: The Amalgamated Society of Engineers, formed in 1851, developed an organizational structure consisting of a centralized organization with district committees and collected union fees based on membership.

Ans to Q No 3: 1969

Ans to Q No 4: In the developing world, the trade union movements have a rich history, as they were part of the nationalist movement (India) or have been integral to the formation of government (South Africa). The Trade Union movement is witnessing a period of transformation. Democratic forces are beginning to play an important role; however, forces of globalization are beginning to dictate terms.

Ans to Q No 5: The membership of trade unions varies according to the nature of industry. Large membership of trade unions helps their process of collective bargaining.

Ans to Q No 6: The term 'collective bargaining' was first used in 1891 by Beatrice Webb which was seen as a collective alternative to individual bargaining. Workers come to bargain about their right and terms of conditions with their employers, collectively.

Ans to Q No 7: 1. White- or blue-collar workers: Lawyers Union, Bank Unions

2. General unions, which include workers from various occupations and industries: AITUC.

Ans to Q No 8: Bombay Mill Hand Association (1890)

Ans to Q No 9: All India Trade Union Congress

Ans to Q No 10: The interwar period witnessed the amalgamation of thoughts and activities of social workers, labour leaders and politicians in India. Labour unrest was a common phenomenon across the country. The Swaraj movement intensified the trade union movement in India.



10.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1 : The International Labour Organization received the Nobel Peace Prize in the year_____. (Fill in the blank)

Q. 2: Who used the term 'collective bargaining' for the first time?

Q. 3: State the meaning of apartheid.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1: Write a note on the challenges to the Trade Union Movement in India in contemporary times.

Q. 2: How has globalization and privatization of economy affected the functioning of trade unions?

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1: Discuss the growth of trade union movement in the USA.

Q. 2: Analyse the nature of Trade Unions.

Q. 3: Discuss the significance of Trade Unions.

End Notes:

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UNIT 11: ECOLOGICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA: CHIPKO MOVEMENT, NARMADA BACHAO ANDOLON

UNIT STRUCTURE

11.1 Learning Objectives

11.2 Introduction

11.3 Ecological and Environmental Movements: Meaning and Nature

11.4 Various Environmental Movements in India

11.4.1 Chipko Movement

11.4.2 Narmada Bachao Andolon

11.5 Significance of Environmental Movements in India

11.6 Let Us Sum Up

11.7 Further Reading

11.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

11.9 Possible Questions

11.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- know the meaning and nature of environmental movements in India
- narrate the major environmental movements that took place in India
- describe the significance of the environmental movements in India

11.2 INTRODUCTION

Environmental movement is a social movement that involves an array of individuals, groups and coalitions that perceive a common interest in environmental protection and act to bring about changes in environmental

policies and practices. 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 sustainable management 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, takes cognizance of humanity as a participant in maintaining the ecosystem. In this unit, we are going to discuss the ecological and environmental movements in India with special reference to Narmada Bachao Andolon and Chipko Movement.

11.3 ECOLOGICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS: MEANING AND NATURE

Ecological and environmental movement is an international uprising, represented by many organizations, ranging from the big to grassroots organisation, based in the nooks and corners of countries across the globe. Due to its huge participation, varying and resilient principles, environmental movement is not always integrated in its objectives. The movement also incorporates a 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.

Environment is derived from the French word *'Environner'* which means to encircle or surround. All the biological and non-biological entities surrounding us are included in environment. As per Environment (Protection) Act, 1986, environment includes all the physical and biological surroundings of an organism along with their interactions.

Environmental movement is a type of "social movement that involves an array of persons, groups and coalitions that observe a common interest

in environmental protection and act to bring about changes in environmental policies and practices" (Tong, Yanki 2005).

Environmentalism implies a political and ethical movement that seeks to improve and protect the quality of the natural environment through changes to environmentally harmful human activities.

Environment is thus defined as "the sum total of water, air and land and the interrelationships that exist among them and with the human beings, other living organisms and materials."

Regarding the nature of environmental movement, we may put forward the following points:

- The environment in which we are living plays a significant part in our existence. The environment comprises all the usual assets such as air water, land, forests, minerals and more.
- It is vital to reiterate that the environmental movements are a manifestation of the socio-ecological fallout of scarcely imagined development policies based on temporary criteria of exploitation. 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.
- The environmental movements which are also termed as the ecology movements address diverse environmental issues through socio-political and scientific movement.
- It is centered on ecology, health and human rights and advocates the sustainable management of resources and stewardship of the environment through changes in public policy and individual behaviour.
- Environmental movements are international in nature where various organisations of various countries participate with their specific interests.
- The goals of the environmental movements are not similar. It is because of their specific focus, issues, different organizational structure and beliefs etc. In other words, it includes common people, professionals, scientists, NGOs etc.

- The scope of the environmental movement is wide which include any issues related to environment and its protection.

11.4 VARIOUS ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

The origin of the environmental movement lay in the response to increasing levels of smoke pollution in the atmosphere during the Industrial Revolution. The emergence of great factories and the concomitant immense growth in coal consumption gave rise to an unprecedented level of air pollution in industrial centers; after 1900 the large volume of industrial chemical discharges added to the growing load of untreated human waste. The environmental movement began to take shape in North America when John Muir, one of the earliest environmentalists, convinced the U.S. congress to create the Yosemite National Park to preserve the beautiful valley. Many other conservation efforts began to take place across the continent with people trying to protect the dwindling American bison population. In 1916, then President of U.S., Woodrow Wilson founded the National Park Service, which deeply supported the growing environmental movement. The environmental movement only continued to grow in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s with many influential books being published. Among these the Silent Spring (1962)' was one. Silent Spring was written by American biologist Rachel Carson. It was especially influential as it exposed the harmful and dangerous effects of the pesticide DDT. The book was so important for the environmental movement that it leads to the creation of the Environmental Protection Agency in 1970 and DDT was banned in 1972. The 1970s were greatly important for the green movement with many groups. The first Earth Day and the UN's first environmental conference also happened in the 70s. Into the 1980s, a growing awareness on global warming brought the environmental movement even more into the mainstream.

The origin of the environmental based movement in India can be traced back to the early twentieth century when people protested against the commercialisation of forest resources during the British colonial period. In India, the first environmental movement was believed to be started by Bishnoi community.

However, it was from 1970, environmental movement started in large numbers in India. Some of the movements have widened their focus from basic survival needs to ecological concerns. In modern India, two prominent environmental movements are namely, the Chipko Movement and the Narmada Bachao Andolon. A brief description of some of the prominent environmental movements in India and detail description of Chipko movement and Narmada Bachao Andolon are given below:

- **Bishnoi Movement**

  As said above, the first environmental movement was believed to be started by Bishnoi community in India. 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.

  Bishnoi is a religious sect found in the Western Thar Desert and northern states of India. This religious sect was founded by Guru Maharaj Jambaji in 1485 AD in the Marwar (Jodhpur) desert region. Jambaji recognised the importance of trees and banned cutting down of trees. This community carries the ideology of Jambaji, therefore worship nature. The Bishnoi movement was led by Amrita Devi in 1731. The movement erupted as a protest against the native king Ajit Singh of Jodhpur who ordered to take away the trees from the forest region near the village of Khejarli, where Bishnoi villagers fostered an abundance of khejri (acacia) trees, for construction of a palace. Around 363 villagers sacrificed their lives to protect the forest by clinging to them. Later, the king apologised for the incident and declared the region as protected area.

- **Jungle Bachao Andolon**

  The Jungle Bachao Andolon took place in the 1980s in the Singhbhum district of Bihar. The Jungle Bachao Andolon 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". Far along 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 being 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 commonly 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 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.

- **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 was 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 oppositions include, seismic sensitivity of the area, submergence of forest parts along with Tehri town and more. In spite of the backing from other noteable leaders like Sunderlal Bahuguna, the movement was unsuccessful to gather enough widespread support at national as well as global levels.

- **Save Silent Valley Movement**

  This movement was started in the year 1978 in the area of silent valley which is an evergreen tropical forest in the Palakkad district of Kerala. It was led by the Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad (KSSP) an NGO, and the poet-activist Sughathakumari to protect the Silent Valley.

  This movement took place against the proposed hydroelectric dam project by the Kerala State Electricity Board (KSEB) across the Kunthipuzha River which runs through Silent Valley. Due to the pressure from several corners, in January, 1981, Indira Gandhi made a declaration of protecting the Valley. But, in June, 1983, under the chairmanship of Prof. M. G. K. Menon Commission the Centre re-examined the proposed project. However, it was abandoned in November, 1983 and in 1985, former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi inaugurated the Silent Valley National Park formally.

11.4.1 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 educating them about the significance of trees in the

ecosystem which prevents the erosion of soil, cause rains and delivers pure air. Following which 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.

Destruction of livelihood of poor through exploitation of natural resources by the rulers or the dominant class, faulty developmental policies of the government which threat the basic survival needs of the poor, damage to environment are some of the vital reasons of the emergence of environmental movements in India. Several forest based environmental movements have been recorded in the post-independent India. Chipko is one major movement among such protest movements. This movement is based upon the implications of state management of forest resource on the peoples' livelihood opportunities and the issue of exploitation of the local communities by dominant section of the society. Details of the Chipko movement will follow in the next section.

The Chipko movement originated in Uttarakhand region of India. It is a mountainous region with noticeably high mountains ranging from 1000 ft. to 25000 ft. above the mean sea level. Himalayas had rich forests, which had long been central to the livelihood strategies of the mountain people. Terrace agriculture and animal husbandry constituted the dominant economic activity of the people. The forests provided essential inputs like leaf manure for farming, grazing and

fodder for cattle, and fuel and foodstuff for household consumption; thereby meeting the basic subsistence needs of the local public.

The Chipko movement began to protect the Himalayan forests from destruction. Many protests were organised against the colonial forest policy during the early decades of the twentieth century. The forest policy of both colonial and independent India was adverse to the livelihood opportunities of the people. Even with the collapse of the colonial structure the policy, the pattern of resource use by the state continued along the colonial lines. The design of the 1952 Forest Policy followed the outlines of the Forest Policy of 1894, thereby reinforcing the state's right to exclusive control over forest resources and their management. The Forest Department resorted to the monoculture plantation of Chir Pine at the cost of far more productive trees for local agro-forestry. The commercial exploitation of forest by outside entrepreneurs with government approval resulted in indiscriminate felling of trees with devastating ecological consequences. The main demand of the local people in these protests was to entitle the benefits of the forests, especially the right to fodder, to local people.

Studies show that in early 1973, the forest department allotted ash trees to a private company. This incident provoked the Dasholi Gram Swarajya Sangha (DGSS) a local cooperative organisation to fight against this injustice through lying down in front of timber trucks and burning resin and timber depots as was done in the quit India movement. As leaders of the movement were the ardent follower of Gandhian thought of non-violence, they did not support of earlier act of protest. It is reported that the strategy of 'embracing' the trees in the forest to prevent tree from being felled by the contractors was thought of by Chandi Prasad Bhatt, one of the leaders, in a meeting in the Mandai on April 1st 1973. The name of the Movement, that is, 'Chipko' comes from the word 'embrace' in Hindi. With its success, the movement was spread to other neighboring areas and popularly known as Chipko movement.

The contribution of Sunderlal Bahuguna, another prominent leader of Chipko movement, is also significant. He brought the movement to prominence through a trans-Himalayan march of about 5000 km during 1981-83 to gather support from the villagers. The march ended with a meeting with then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi who later passed legislation to protect some areas of the Himalayan forest. Bahuguna coined the Chipko's slogan "Ecology is permanent economy." Chipko Movement is largely influenced by the above mentioned Bishnoi Movement.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: What is environmental movement?

.....

Q.2: When did the first environmental movements start?

.....

Q.3: When and where did Chipko Movement take place?

.....

Q.4: Fill in the blanks :

a)The Chipko movement originated in the ……. region.

b)The Chipko comes from the word '…….' In Hindi.

Q.5: How does the Chipko movement depict the Gandhian ideology of non-violence? (in 50 words)

.....

.....

.....

11.4.2 Narmada Bachao Andolon

The Narmada Bachao Andolon took place in 1984 in the Narmada River, which flows through the states of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra.

Medha Patker, Baba Amte, supported by adivasis, farmers, environmentalists and human rights activists became the leaders of

the Narmada Bachao Andolon. The objective of the Narmada Bachao Andolon was a social movement challenging the construction of a large dams across the Narmada River. The movement first began as a demonstration for not providing proper rehabilitation and relocation for the people who have been expatriated owing to the construction of Sardar Sarovar Dam. Later on, the movement shifted its attention on 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. By contrast the height was much higher than the 88 m which anti-dam campaigners had demanded, but it is 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 projected to be completely ready by 2025.

The Narmada Basin covers an area of approximately 94, 500 square kilometers between the Vindhya and the Satpura ranges in Central India. It is the site of the Narmada Valley Development Project (NVDP), an ambitious project that seeks to harness the river Narmada that flows through the three states of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat, which envisages that thirty big dams; one hundred and thirty-five medium dams, and three thousand small dams will be constructed on the Narmada river and its forty-one tributaries. However, the Narmada basin has such characteristic that has led the people to oppose the project envisaged by the state. This is because between gorges flanked by densely forested basaltic hills, the 1312 kilometers long Narmada Valley contains large alluvial plains in Madhya Pradesh. To the West, the Narmada River meanders through Gujarat widening into a 25-kilometer long estuary as it flows into the Gulf of Cambay. More than 22 million people live in the valley and several tribal groups,

particularly Bhils and Gonds occupy the forested uplands. The project is estimated to affect over 2.5 lakh of people. The Sardar Sarovar Project (SSP) and the Narmada Sagar Project (NSP) are the two biggest dams to be constructed in the Narmada River, and the SSP alone will submerge 245 villages: 19 in Gujarat, 33 in Maharashtra, and 193 in Madhya Pradesh. Thus these two projects have remained controversial owing to their large-scale displacement and problems of humane rehabilitation. This has resulted in the emergence of a protest movement unique of its kind called the 'Narmada Bachao Andolon'.

The movement has drawn upon a multiplicity of discourses for protests such as displacement risks and resettlement provisions; environmental impact and sustainability issues; financial implications of the project; forceful evictions and violations of civil liberties; issues pertaining to river valley planning and management; implications of western growth model, and alternative development and appropriate 'technology, among many others. The movement uses various tools of protest such as Satyagraha (political action based on truth and non-violence as coined by Gandhi), Jal Samarpan (sacrificial drowning in the rivers), Rasta Roko (road blockade at strategic points), Gaon Bandhi (refusing the entry of government officials in to the villages), demonstrations and rallies, hunger strikes and blockade of projects.

The Narmada Bachao Andolon has successfully brought to public domain the hitherto closed and protected discourse on mega development projects, thereby opening new vistas for environmental movements. The protest also has pointed out the necessity to address the shortcomings in institutional frameworks governing big developmental projects.

In the environmental realm, the Narmada Bachao Andolon is involved in a struggle to protect local ecological resources like forests and rivers. In the economic realm, it articulates a conflict over access to productive natural resources like forests, land and water that are under threat of exploitation by the three riparian states and the

transnational corporations. In the cultural front, it articulates to protect the identities and solidarities of the communities affected by the project which are grounded around issues of kinship, neighbourhood and the everyday social interactions. Hence, the movement involves interplay of various socio-political, economic and environmental variables at different levels. This movement provides a challenging and a unique opportunity for a social scientist to comprehend its dynamic and transformative character and its consequent implications to public policy and the society.

11.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

The environment in which we are living plays a significant part in our existence. The environment comprises all the usual assets such like air water, land, forests, minerals and more. 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 SuchetaKriplani 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 7,00,000 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.



11.7 LET US SUM UP

- Environmental movement is a social movement that involves an array of individuals, groups and coalitions that perceive a common interest in environmental protection.
- Most often environmental movement is also referred to as ecology

movement, which is a movement inclusive of preservation and green politics.

- The scope of the environmental movement is wide which include any issues related to environment and its protection.
- The origin of the environmental based movement in India can be traced back to the early twentieth century when people protested against the commercialisation of forest resources during the British colonial period.
- In India, the first environmental movement was believed to be started by Bishnoi community. This movement took place in the 1700s, at Khejarli, Marwar region, in the Rajasthan state. However, it was from 1970, environmental movement started in large numbers in India.
- The Chipko movement took place in 1973, in the Chamoli district and later at Tehri-Garhwal district of Uttarakhand. 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.
- The Narmada Bachao Andolon took place in 1984 in the Narmada River, which flows through the states of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra.
- The objective of the Narmada Bachao Andolon was a social movement challenging the construction of a large dams across the Narmada River.



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11.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Environmental movement is as a social or political movement, for the preservation of environment or developing the environment for the future generations.

Ans to Q No 2: 1973, Chamoli district and later at Tehri-Garhwal district of Uttarakhand.

Ans to Q No 3: 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.

Ans to Q No 4: a) Uttarakhand b) Embrace

Ans to Q No 5: The strategy of embracing trees is said to have been agreed to after a deliberation which had to decide a method of resisting the axe-men from the felling of trees in the forests keeping in consonance with the Gandhian ideology of non-violence as the entire programme was being espoused by the Savodaya workers. Thus the name 'Chipko' was derived from the consensual strategy of clinging on to the trees as a non-violent direct action.



11.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1 : What do you understand by the term environmental movement?

Q. 2: The ---------- movement originated in Uttarakhand region of India. (Fill in the blank)

Q. 3: Mention the main objective of the Chipko Movement.

Q. 4: The Narmada Bachao Andolon took place in the year ----------. (Fill in the blank)

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q 1: What are factors related to environmental movement?

Q 2: What are the parameters that denotes the term 'environment'? Elaborate

Q 3: Write a short note on various environmental movements in India.

Q 4: Explain the significance of the environmental movements in India.

C) Long Questions (Answer within 300-500 words)

Q 1: Explain the Chipko Movement.

Q 2: Explain the Narmada Bachao Movement.

Q 3: Describe the overall consequences of the Chipko and the Narmada Bachao Movement in India.

Q 4: Write a small history of environmental movements in the World and in India.

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UNIT 12: AUTONOMY MOVEMENTS IN ASSAM: KARBI-DIMASA AND BODO MOVEMENTS

UNIT STRUCTURE

12.1 Learning Objectives

12.2 Introduction

12.3 Concept of Ethnicity

12.4 Origin and Developments of Autonomy Movements in Assam

12.5 Factors Responsible for the Growth of Autonomy Movement in Assam

12.6 Karbi-Dimasa Movement

12.7 Bodo Movement

12.8 Let Us Sum Up

12.9 Further Reading

12.10 Answers to Check Your Progress

12.11 Possible Questions

12.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- know about the concept of ethnicity
- explain the origin and developments of autonomy movements in Assam
- discuss the factors responsible for the growth of autonomy movements in Assam
- describe the Karbi Dimasa Movement and Bodo Movement.

12.2 INTRODUCTION

Autonomy movements are the movements which are carried out by people and which emerge from issues related with ethnicity. Ethnicity refers to the self- consciousness of a group of people who share among them similar cultural and national traditions, language, religion, clothing, cuisine

and social background. However, one must understand that the ethnic groups are different from each other. Each group has its own sort of problems and issues. In Assam too, there is the presence of a large number of ethnic groups. This has caught the attention of the centre at different periods in the past and it still continues. The presence ethnic groups in the region has led to developments of different autonomy movements in the State. The Karbi-Dimasa and Bodo movements are important events in the history of Assam. This chapter is therefore concerned about dealing with the issues in-depth.

12.3 CONCEPT OF ETHNICITY

- **Meaning**

The word ethnicity actually signifies a race. However, there is still a difference between race and ethnicity. It does not have a strict racial connotation, as race is something which is based on physical similarities among people. Ethnicity refers to the self- consciousness of a group of people who share among them similar cultural, national traditions, language, religion, clothing, cuisine and social background. These groups are referred to as ethnic groups. Race is more or less biological in nature whereas ethnicity is cultural. Ethnicity is a concept which deals with a similar way of life or shared culture. For example, Han Chinese is the largest ethnic group in the world. Moreover, there are also many small indigenous groups spread across different nations. This groups share the same social traits among themselves or within their community.

Ethnicity is one of such important ideas which is responsible for social cohesion. However, different conflicts arise also due to ethnicity related issues. Generally, the ethnic people ensure that their identity is always preserved and protected from the other groups or people. This often leads to a variety of conflicts in the society, especially between the minor ethnic groups and the mainstream. Moreover, there are also evidences in which one group tries to end the existence of another group in the name of protecting their own identity. This problem is known as ethnic cleansing.

This is the reason why many thinkers and scholars have viewed the concept of ethnicity as something negative in nature. On the other hand, ethnicity has a positive view too. It gives a proper identity to a group of people, which makes it easier to reach out to those people.

One must not confuse the ideas of ethnicity with nationality. Nationality is all about citizenship and many ethnic communities can reside within a nation, each different from one another. That means there are nations which are ethnically heterogeneous in nature. Examples are United States, Philippines, Australia, and Panama. Moreover, there are also nations with homogenous ethnic groups like China, Germany, Finland, and Egypt. Many countries like Nigeria, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka experienced various sort of ethnic problems in the past as well as present. India is also facing different challenges related to ethnicity which have surfaced in the form of autonomous movements in various states. As such, the concept of ethnicity occupies an important position in the study of politics and society of a region.

- **Definitions**

According to *Wsevolod W. Isajiw*, ethnicity is a concept which deals with four main approaches. Ethnicity is conceived as a primordial phenomenon as per the first approach; ethnicity is conceived as an epiphenomenon; ethnicity is conceived as a situational phenomenon, and ethnicity is conceived as a purely subjective phenomenon.

Banton considers ethnicity as a rational choice option of an individual under any situation.

Bell and *Ross* elucidated ethnicity as actions of a particular group which deal with the mobilization of the resources with an aim to put or assert pressure on the political system in order to allocate goods with the interest of ensuring benefits of the members of the group.

Okamura and *Nagata* seek to explain the concept of ethnicity as the flexible activities of the ethnic identity which involves itself in organizing the basic meaning of the social relationships within the requirements of variously structured social situations.

According to the *Cambridge Dictionary,* ethnicity is a distinct group of people who have the same origins of race and culture.

The *Merriam Webster Dictionary* has elucidated ethnicity as the affiliation of the people to a particular ethnic group.

- **Characteristics**

  The ethnic groups are not identical with each other. That means there are differences in terms of culture, belief, traditions among the ethnic groups. But, more or less their basic characteristics are similar. The following are some of the characteristics that have been identified.

- **Ascriptive Identities**

  Ascriptive identities like language, caste, region, religion, and etc are the core elements of ethnicity or an ethnic group. The main cause of conflict between the ethnic groups is the inequality of power sharing among the groups.

- **Relative Deprivation**

  The ethnic groups are believed to suffer from relative deprivation. This is because most of the ethnic groups are minorities in a State due to their population size. Moreover, they are the groups who are confined in a fixed territory. This makes them appear distinct.

- **Ethnic Movements**

  Ethnicity gives birth to ethic movements whenever the ethnic people are deprived of the developmental process of the State. Moreover, unequal development is also another reason for the ethnic people to join movements to assert their claims.

- **Political Interest**

  The ethnic group is also an important element of political interest. For instance, ethnicity in Indian politics plays a major role in grassroots dissent and can ascertain political future of the country. Moreover, they themselves (the ethnic groups) take an active part in interest group politics.

- **Dynamic**

  Ethnicity is not a static concept. It is dynamic in nature especially in terms of their identity and boundary. Their identity and boundary also changes with the changing circumstances.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: Ascriptive identities like language, caste, region, religion etc. are the core elements of ethnicity. (True/False)

.....

Q.2: Ethnicity gives birth to _____ movements. (Fill in the blank)

Q.3: Define Ethnicity.

.....

.....

.....

.....

Q.4: Briefly explain the characteristics of ethnicity?

.....

.....

.....

.....

12.4 ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENTS OF AUTONOMY MOVEMENTS IN ASSAM

Assam is a very important state of North-East India both in terms of geography and history. The state of Assam is purely a multi-religion, language and ethnic society. The presence of a large number of ethnic people in the region has caught the attention of the centre at different periods in the past and it still continues. The presence of the ethnicity in the region has led to developments of different autonomy movements in the State. Before going to the central topic of discussion let us understand in brief the historical background of the State.

In August 15, 1947, India achieved her Independence. But, the Independence of the Nation was at the cost of Partition. The Partition of the Indian State actually bifurcated the territory creating two sovereign nations, India and Pakistan. This resulted in restructuring of the boundaries

of most of the states of India too. One of such restructuring also took vehemently in Assam. The process of partition transferred two district of Sylhet to Pakistan. The Chittagong Hill Tract also went to Pakistan. After the drawing of the final boundary, the story did not end there. The complex ethnicity of the region led to the birth of new forms of ethnic discontent against the Indian State. One of such popular discontents was the growth of the autonomy movements in Assam. These are the movements through which different particular ethnic groups demanded special privileges and autonomy for themselves which ranges from different social, economic and political protections up to the demands for separate statehood.

The centre of the ethnic discontent was the ethnic group of people who were then living in the hill areas of colonial Assam. To note here, all hill tribal areas and the people were not originally the part of Assam. At different periods, the hill tribes were brought under the colonial control. During the British rule, there was a policy of exclusion which was practiced with those people. They were kept aloof from the plain people. This policy of segregation in the colonial Assam introduced by the Britishers, gave birth to the problem of ethnicity which later was passed to the post-colonial period leading to the demands for separation from the Indian colony. The Britishers considered the tribals as primitive community. They differentiated them under categories like excluded or backward or partially excluded. There were introduction of several laws by the British administration to keep the tribals aloof. This includes laws like District Act of 1884, Frontiers Trait Regulation Act of 1880, Bengal Eastern Frontier Regulation Act, Section 52 A of the Government of India Act, 1919 through which the Governor General in Council was empowered to declare any territory to be a backward tract and pass any legislative act in the areas concerned. However, with times and expansion of Christianity and English education led to the emergence of a middle class among those hill tribes which understood the core realities of the policies and thus they demanded autonomy for the community people and establishment of a separate identity was raised.

At the time of Independence, the new Indian government gave serious considerations to end the deadlock between the mainstream and the tribal

people. Under the chairmanship of *Gopinath Bardoloi,* the then Assam Premier, a sub-committee was established. The committee visited the tribal areas and understood the sensitivity of their problems and issues. As such, the committee recommended the creation of District Council (under the Six-Schedule of the Indian Constitution). It was envisaged that the District Council will deliver them autonomy in their local administration and politics. The sixth schedule therefore came into existence (Sixth Schedules were discussed and passed by Constituent Assembly between September 5-7, 1949) in order to address the ethnic discontent in the newly independent India.

The tribal autonomy which was introduced in the form of District Council created with the provisions of the sixth schedule of the constitution however did not for a long time address discontent among the ethnic tribes. In 1960, the Assam Legislative Assembly passed the Official Language Bill through which Assamese was made an official language in Assam but the same did not gone well with the hill or ethnic people. It widened the gap between the plain and hill people. As a result, in August 21, 1960 the All People Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC) demanded the creation of a separate hill state of Assam. Though the central government at the time tried their level best to contain the problem, but all their efforts failed and in 1960, Nagaland was created as a separate state. It was followed by creation of Meghalaya in 1972, Mizoram in 1986 and North-East Frontier Tract (NEFT) was renamed as Arunachal Pradesh. This was how Assam stood divided.

The problem of ethnic discontent was not only limited to the hill people but also among the plain people. The plain tribes also demanded autonomy in similar fashion like the hill tribes. Among the plain tribes, it was the *Bodo* people who were prominent. There were also some other plain tribes which also demanded autonomy. They were the *Tiwas, Rabhas, Missings, Deuris, and Sonowals Kacharis.* If we look into the colonial history of Assam, we will not find any stance of autonomy or ethnic discontent among the plain tribes. Later on, with the emergence of a new middle class, many prominent plain tribal leaders became politically mature and conscious. Moreover, the Migration of Muslim peasants from East Bengal and their settlement in the tribal areas were the cause of the starting of discontent. In 1933, finally

the Plains Tribal League (PTL) was formed to raise the socio-economic problems of their community. They demanded certain political, social and economic equality but separate statehood was not in their list of demand. It is to be noted here that after the introduction of the sixth schedule in the Independent India, the plain tribes were excluded from its provisions.

In 1967, the newly formed Plains Tribal Council of Assam demanded a separate political arrangement for the plain tribal people of Assam. They wanted to have a separate state named '*Udayachal'* which would encompass the plain tribal areas of the Northern parts of Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Lakhimpur and Sibsagar districts. However, the demand did not become a reality. At the same time, a new demand for the creation of Bodoland by dividing Assam in equal proportion was started by the All Bodo Student Union (ABSU) and Bodo Sahitya Sabha, which subsequently also saw a violent uprising. Later on, the Bodoland Autonomous Council came into existence and finally the Bodoland Territorial Council (BTC) was formed (in the year 2003) under the sixth schedule of the constitution of India, which includes the districts of Kokrajhar, Chirang, Udalguri, and Baksa.



ACTIVITY 13.1

Try to list out and figure the major social changes that took place as a result of development of autonomy movements in Assam.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: The tribal autonomy introduced in the form of District Council was created with the provisions of the sixth schedule of the constitution. (True/False)

.....

Q.6: In _____ finally the Plains Tribal League (PTL) was formed to raise the socio-economic problems of their community. (Fill in the blank)

Q.7: Nagaland was created a separate state in the year _____.

(Fill in the blank)

Q.8: Write the demand regarding *Udayachal*?

.....

.....

.....

12.5 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROWTH OF AUTONOMY MOVEMENT IN ASSAM

There are different factors that are responsible for the growth of autonomy movements in Assam. This factors range from social to economic and political issues. Let us understand it under the following headings.

- **History**

  The first migration of people which took place in the region was that of the tribals. In fact they are the original inhabitants of the region. This is the primary claim on the basis of which the tribals sought autonomy. Moreover, it has been observed that the tribes are generally concentrated over a particular geographical area. They are not scattered in nature. The concentration in fixed area for a period of time enable them to mobilise their community and assert their demands and highlight their grievances.

- **Inspiration from Other Movements**

  It has been observed that the tribal movements got inspired from one other movements. For instance, the Assam Movement paved the way to the Bodo Movement. This is also the reason behind the rise of most of the autonomy movements which are similar in nature. If any autonomous tribal movement is able to achieve their demands, then automatically, it provides a guiding framework for other movements to follow its footprints.

- **Plain Tribes**

  Under the sixth schedule, autonomy is being provided to the tribals of North-East India. The vision behind the implementation of

the sixth schedule was to attain the goals of integrating the nation and its people. But, one of the major reasons for discontentment of the sixth schedule was that the plain tribes were not incorporated under the provision. This however, led to the emergence for new demands for autonomy by the plain tribes. The first tribe to raise such demand were the *Bodos* and later the *Tiwas, Rabhas,* and *Missings.* As such, the provisions of the sixth schedule of the Indian constitution also responsible for the entire circumstances.

- **Middle Class**

Originally the tribal people were not so educated or learned. But gradually, with times, a section of the tribal people got access to education and knowledge of the world. This newly educated people in the community were the new middle class. They were by now aware of their conditions and sufferings. As a result, a discontent arose among the tribal people. Most of the people associated themselves with the social movements asserting their demands for self-development and upliftment. The tribal people also understood that the solution to the problems of their lives lies in the autonomy and new and separate political arrangements. Moreover, the plain tribes of Assam, though merged with the Assamese culture, some of them tried to maintain their uniqueness and thus were much conscious of identity and self-determination. This led to the emergence of the numerous autonomous movements and the middle class actively participated in it.

- **Tribal Pressure Groups**

There has also been the presence of different tribal pressure groups especially among the plain tribes which was another important factor responsible for the growth of autonomy movement in Assam. In 1933, the Plains Tribals League was formed. The land issue was vehemently pursued by the particular plain tribal organization. There was the birth of another organization named

the Tribal Sangha in 1954. The main agenda of the Tribal Sangha was the tribal autonmy question. Later on, the Plains Tribal Council was formed which paved the way for a separate statehood.

- **Socio-Economic Conditions**

The tribal people were economically not that sound. They were mostly poor and were associated with the agricultural sector. But, the lack of a profitable market and communication system thwarted their developments. As a result, they remained underdeveloped and deprived. Moreover, land problems also emerged. The government failed to protect the tribal lands from outsiders (non-tribals). In some cases, the government themselves allotted the tribal lands to others in the name of development. In terms of employment, they too faced discrimination. The conflict even started between the plain and hill tribes. Gradually, many of the tribal people started losing faith in the system of governance and they felt that unless and until they get autonomy and protection, development of their people and region is not possible.

- **Language Policy**

As already mentioned above, in 1960, the Assam Legislative Assembly passed the Official Language Bill through which Assamese was made an official language in Assam. But this did not go well with the hill or ethnic people. It widened the gap between the plain and hill people. As a result, in August 21, 1960, the All People Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC) demanded for the creation of a separate hill state of Assam. Though the central government at the time tried their level best to contain the problem but all their efforts failed and in 1960, Nagaland was created as a separate state. It was followed by the creation of Meghalaya in 1972, Mizoram in 1986 and North-East Frontier Tract (NEFT) which was renamed as Arunachal Pradesh. This was how Assam stood divided.



LET US KNOW

The Autonomous Councils are given varying degrees of autonomy within the State Legislature. In Assam, there are 3 Autonomous Councils under the Sixth-Schedule of the Indian Constitution. The 3 Autonomous Councils are Bodoland Territorial Council, Dima Hasao Autonomous District Council and Karbi Anglong Autonomous District Council.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.9: Language policy was not a factor for the growth of autonomy movement in Assam. (True/False)

.....

Q.10: Write briefly about how one autonomy movement led to another movement.

.....

.....

.....

Q.11: What are the different factors which contributed to the growth of autonomy movement in Assam?

.....

.....

.....

12.6 KARBI-DIMASA MOVEMENT

The sixth schedule of the Indian constitution led to the emergence of the autonomous councils in Assam in some parts. But, the provisions were not that effective to contain the discontent which was caused due to the inadequacies of the councils in uplifting the lives of the people and addressing their grievances. This led to the Karbi-Dimasa autonomy movement which went through different developments in course of time even leading to violent militancy.

Under the sixth schedule, Karbi Anglong has been an autonomous distinct. In 1995, the Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council (KAAC) came into existence. Karbi Anglong is one of the largest districts in Assam and a home to a large number of ethnic people. The ethnic population comprises the *Karbis, Kukis, Dimasas, Rengma Nagas, Bodos, Hmars, Garos, Tiwas,* and *Man (Tai Speaking).* The entire region has for a long time in the past witnessed different ethnic conflicts. The location of the district lies in the central Assam. East Karbi Anglong (EKA) and West Karbi Anglong (WKA) are the two divided regions. The administrative headquarters of Karbi Anglong is located at Diphu. (in East Karbi Anglong).

Karbi Anglong has been the most backward regions in Assam. There were corruptions and the people have been the victim of the ineffectiveness of the Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council (KAAC). The KAAC failed to address the local issues of the Karbi Tribe and did not bring any upliftment in the political, cultural and linguistic identity. Moreover, there has been inequality in terms of government allocation of funds. All these factors thwarted the development of the region. Moreover, the non-Karbis of the region were also not satisfied with the overall government functioning.

In 1960, the Assam Legislative Assembly passed the Official Language Bill through which Assamese was made an official language in Assam. But, it did not go well with the hill or ethnic people. It widened the gap between the plain and hill people. As a result, in August 21, 1960 the All People Hill Leaders Conference (APHLC) demanded for the creation of a separate hill state of Assam. In 1979, Karbi Anglong People's Conference (KAPC) also demanded the need for a separate state for the hilly population of Assam. Gradually, the movement also took a violent turn when two militant groups, Karbi National Volunteers (KNV) and Karbi People's Force (KPF) raised their demand for separate statehood.

The demand for a separate state hood was also raised during 1960s by the Dimasa people. The Dimasa people are basically the inhabitants of the North-Cachar Hills Autonomous District Council, Karbi Anglong Autonomous District Council, Cachar District, Nagaon District of Assam and the Dhansiri region of Nagaland State. From a very long time, the

Dimasa people were unhappy with the governance and felt deprived in many sectors. There were also various clashes that took place between the Dimasa and Karbi people. The existing district of Dima Hasao which was earlier popular as the North Cachar Hills District actually came into existences as a part of ancient Kamarupa. The demand for more and more autonomy and various other associated causes also led to violent clash in 2003 between the *Hmars* and the Dimasas in 2003 and in 2005 between the Karbis and the Dimasas. The relationship between the ethnic groups of both the North Cachar Hills and Karbi Anglong District deteriorated and suffered since then.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.12: In 1960, the Assam Legislative Assembly passed the Official Language Bill through which Assamese was made an official language in Assam. (True/False)

.....

Q.13: The demand for a separate state hood was also raised during the period of 1960s also by the _____people. (Fill in the blank)

12.7 BODO MOVEMENT

Bodoland is an area located in the north bank of the Brahmaputra River in the State of Assam. Currently, the map of Bodoland includes the Bodoland Territorial Autonomous Districts (BTAD), including districts of Kokrajhar, Baksa, Chirang and Udalguri. The Bodos has remained for centuries as a backward class, as farmers or weavers. Cultural assimilation with Assamese was not productive. Following India's Independence, the Bodos were given opportunities to take the advantages of Scheduled Tribe status. This process has led to the creation of tribal belts and blocks.

In the early 1960s, the Plain Tribal Council of Assam (PTCA), a political party representing the Bodos and other plain tribes of Assam realized that the tribal belts and blocks are gradually being acquired by the rich landlords

and the new immigrants through illegal means. Moreover, the Bodos had little or no access to economic aid that was given by the Central government. Finally, in 1967, PTCA demanded a Union Territory called Udayachal to carve out of Assam. Udyachal would comprise those areas of tribal belts and blocks. But the demand was not materialized. By 1970, it became clear that Bodos had little influence in the Indian political system. Moreover, in Assam, the Bodos were neglected. The financial packages meant for the them were diverted and misused.

In 1987, All Bodo Students Union (ABSU) became very conscious about decades of neglect and jointly with the Bodo political parties demanded separate state, named Bodoland. This was the beginning of the Bodo Movement. The official Bodo Movement for an independent Sate of Bodoland started on March 2, 1987 under the leadership of Upendranath Brahma of the ABSU. The ABSU also created a political organization i.e. the Bodo People Action Committee (BPAC) to spread the movement. The ABSU/BPAC movement began with the slogan divide Assam into 50-50. In the mid-1980's, armed struggle also was led which stressed on the cleansing of the non-Bodos along the north bank of Brahmaputra. When the attempts made by All Assam Students' Union (AASU) to drive out illegal migrants (1979-85) was slowing down, the demand for separate Bodoland was gaining momentum.

In 1993, the ABSU/BPAC leadership ended with the Bodo Accord and creation of Bodoland Autonomous Council initiated. But the accord soon collapsed due to the split between ABSU and political parties. In the late 90s, the Bodoland movement came under the control of the extremist groups like Bodoland Liberation Tiger Force (BLTF) and National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB). Violence at various intervals started. In 2003, the Bodoland Territory Council (BTC) Accord was signed to end the one and half decade long Bodo Movement. BTAD was established, with districts Kokrajhar, Baksa, Chirang and Udalguri. But, even today, such demands for separate statehood exist and protests takes place accordingly.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.14: In 1993, the ABSU/BPAC leadership of the movement ended with the Bodo Accord and the creation of Bodoland Autonomous Council initiated. (True/False)

.....

Q.15: The official Bodo Movement for an independent Sate of Bodoland started on March 2, 1987 under the leadership of _____of the ABSU. (Fill in the blank)



12.8 LET US SUM UP

- Ethnicity refers to the self- consciousness of a group of people who share among them similar cultural, national traditions, language, religion, clothing, cuisine and social background. These groups are referred as ethnic groups.
- One must not confuse the ideas of ethnicity with nationality. Nationality is all about citizenship and many ethnic communities can reside within a nation, each different from one another.
- The ethnic groups are not identical with each other. That means there are differences in terms of culture, belief, traditions between the ethnic groups. But, more or less their basic characteristics are similar.
- Assam is a very important state of North-East India both in terms of geography and history. The state of Assam is purely a multi-religion, language and ethnic society.
- The presence of a large number of ethnic people in the region has caught the attention of the centre at different periods in the past and it still continues. The presence of the ethnicity in the region has led to the developments of different autonomy movements in the State.
- There are different factors that are responsible for the growth of autonomy movements in Assam. This factors range from social to

economic to political issues. They are History, Inspiration from other Movements, Plain Tribes, Middle Class, Tribal Pressure Groups, Socio-Economic Conditions and Language Policy.



12.9 FURTHER READING

1) Dutta, N. (2012). *Questions of identity in Assam.* New Delhi: Sage Publications.

2) Hussain, M. (1993). The Assam movement: class, ideology, and identity. Delhi: Manak Publications.

3) Talukdar, M. (2017). *Assam after Independence.* Guwahati: Nanda Talukdar Foundations.



12.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: True

Ans to Q No 2: Ethic

Ans to Q No 3: According to *Wsevolod W. Isajiw*, ethnicity is a concept which deals with four main approaches. Ethnicity is conceived as a primordial phenomenon as per the first approach, next, ethnicity is conceived as an epiphenomenon, third, ethnicity conceived as a situational phenomenon, and last, ethnicity conceived as a purely a subjective phenomenon.

Ans to Q No 4: Some of the characteristics of ethnicity are:

Ascriptive identities like language, caste, region, religion, and etc are the core elements of ethnicity or an ethnic group. The main cause of conflict between the ethnic groups is the inequality of power sharing among the groups.

The ethnic groups are believed to suffer from relative deprivation. This is because most of the ethnic groups are minorities in a

State due to their population size. Moreover, they are the groups who are confined to a fixed territory and are mobilized socially. This makes them appear distinct.

Ethnicity gives birth to ethic movements whenever the ethnic people are deprived of the developmental process of the State. Moreover, unequal development is also another reason for the ethnic people to join movements to assert their claims.

The ethnic group is also an important element of political interest. For instance, ethnicity in Indian politics play a major role in grassroots dissent and can even ascertain political future of the country. Moreover, they themselves (the ethnic groups) take an active part in interest group politics.

Ethnicity is not a static concept. It is dynamic in nature especially in terms of their identity and boundary. Their identity and boundary also change with the changing circumstances.

Ans to Q No 5: True

Ans to Q No 6: 1933

Ans to Q No 7: 1960

Ans to Q No 8: In 1967, the newly formed Plains Tribal Council of Assam demanded a separate political arrangement for the plain tribal people of Assam. They wanted to have a separate state named as '*Udayachal'* which would encompass the plain tribal areas of northern parts of Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Lakhimpur and Sibsagar. However, the demand did not become a reality.

Ans to Q No 9: False

Ans to Q No 10: It has been observed that one tribal movements got inspired from other movement. For instance, the Assam Movement paved the way to the Bodo Movement. This is also the reason for which most of the autonomy movements are similar in nature. If any autonomous tribal movement is able to achieve their demands, then automatically, it provides a guiding framework for the other movements to follow its footprints.

Ans to Q No 11: The different factors are History, Inspiration from Other Movements, Plain Tribes, Middle Class, Tribal Pressure Groups, Socio-Economic Conditions, and Language Policy.

Ans to Q No 12: True

Ans to Q No 13: Dimasa

Ans to Q No 14: True

Ans to Q No 15: Upendranath Brahma



12.11 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1 : Under the sixth schedule, autonomy is being provided to the tribals of _____India. (Fill in the blank)

Q. 2: The ethnic groups are believed to suffer from relative deprivation. (True/False)

Q. 3: What is ethnicity according to Bell and Ross?

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1: Describe in brief the Bodo Movement.

Q. 2: Explain the Karbi-Dimasa Movement.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1: Explain the origin and developments of autonomy movements in Assam.

Q. 2: Discuss the factors responsible for the growth of autonomy movements in Assam.

Q. 3: Describe in your own words the problems associated with the autonomy movements in Assam.

*** ***** ***

UNIT 13: IDENTITY MOVEMENT IN ASSAM: ASSAM MOVEMENT

UNIT STRUCTURE

13.1 Learning Objectives

13.2 Introduction

13.3 Meaning and Nature of Identity Movement in Assam

13.4 Origin and Development of the Assam Movement

13.5 Features of the Assam Movement

13.6 Consequences of the Assam Movement

13.7 Let Us Sum Up

13.8 Further Reading

13.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

13.10 Possible Questions

13.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- know about the meaning and nature of identity movements in Assam
- explain the origin and development of the Assam movement in Assam
- discuss the features of the Assam movement
- understand the consequences of the Assam movement .

13.2 INTRODUCTION

Identity politics generally denotes the type of politics that takes place on the basis of identity. The anti-foreigner movement or Assam Movement that started in mid- 1979-1985 was certainly one of the biggest identity movements in the political history of Assam. The movement which sparked out of the political chaos and vacant Lok Sabha seat of Mangaldoi which proved the theory of growth of influx in Assam. While preparing the voter list for the election, the first flag was raised over inclusion of 45,000 doubtful

citizens in the electoral roll of that constituency. Subsequently, under the active public participation, the entire nation witnessed a massive popular movement. The Assam Movement is not at all an isolated event. It had made significant impact in the entire nation. More importantly, the Assam Movement was responsible for shaping the politics of Assam for the next subsequent years. It had also provided new debates on the issue of illegal residents of Bangladesh occupying different regions of Assam. This chapter will therefore highlight the events and implications of the identity movement of Assam.

13.3 MEANING AND NATURE OF IDENTITY MOVEMENT IN ASSAM

- **Meaning**

The term 'identity' literally refers to the idea of who a person is or what he/she is. It is something which provides a tag to the people so that they could be easily noticed or identified. Since human being became conscious of their existence in this world and became aware of their capabilities, they started identifying themselves more precisely. This identity, gradually with times, occupied a significant position in the domain of politics. Identity politics thus took its course. This identity politics encompasses questions of religion, gender, race, ethnicity, social, cultural or any other identity. Once people started identifying themselves in certain social or other categories, identity politics starts. It is not a narrow approach. In fact, it is much wider than traditional party politics. It gets itself associated with other people or groups of people sharing the same identity and together asserting their rights of which they are deprived of. This process as a result gives birth to different social movements which by now are known as the identity movements especially shaped and carried out in order to preserve and protect respective identity questions of a people.

Identity movements are also social movements. But, identity movements generally emerge with the assumption of the deprivation of a

certain group in the mainstream and the fear of losing their identity which motivate them to unite and move towards the movement for reclaiming their identity. For example, the identity movement of the Assamese people in the 70s, was a reaction against the illegal migration that took place from Bangladesh. Another prominent example of identity movement is the gay movement or the feminist movement in the west which asserted the rights and opportunities for their community. As such, identity movements are the movements against injustice of a particular social group. Through the identity movements, which have a history of emergence in the second half of the twentieth century, more political freedom for the marginalized groups and sometimes even demands for the right to self-determination emerged.

- **Nature**

Identity politics generally denotes the type of politics that takes place on basis of identity because of which it is also known as identity-based politics. Identity based politics is a phrase that occupies an important position in the social sciences and humanities. In the domain, it is used to describe the use of the category of identity as the main tool to establish political claims. Identity politics is also used to promote political ideologies and to direct political actions. This happens with the prevalence of inequality and injustice among the people. Identity politics helps in asserting group uniqueness and acquiring power and recognition.

Another important characteristic of identity politics is that it has been always a platform for those people who are oppressed and suffering for a long time. It emerges with the raising of consciousness and collective action among the oppressed. The continuing and active suffering of the people under a society where there exist systemic social inequities is the first step towards the politics of identity. The politics on identity helps in articulating the sufferings and oppressions. Identity politics therefore involves tensions and struggles over the right to equality and fair treatment in the society.

The phrase identity politics has gained momentum in the second half of the twentieth century. This was due to the emergence of various

social movements and their diversities. The women's movement, lesbian and gay movement, African American movement and their development etc. contributed to the shaping of the question on identity. Moreover, the nationalist and post-colonial movements are also responsible. Throughout these movements, the question on sameness and differences occupied the central theme in the identity movements. Later, in the twenty-first century with the development of other spheres of human life, the identity movement also intensified with a raising awareness and knowledge among the people.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: This identity politics encompass questions of religion, gender, race, ethnicity, social, cultural or any other identity. (True/False)

.....

Q.2: Identity politics generally denotes the type of politics that takes place on the basis of _____. (Fill in the blank)

Q.3: What do you understand by the term identity politics?

.....

.....

Q.4: 'The phrase of identity politics has gained momentum in the second half of the twentieth century'. Elucidate.

.....

.....

.....

13.4 ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ASSAM MOVEMENT

The unrest in Assam was initially a result of fear among the Assamese people of losing their identity and culture following the influx of a large number of Bengali Muslims from the erstwhile East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) in search of land and employment, a practice which has been

continuing since much before the Partition, when the over-populated province of Bengal began settling its indigent inhabitants in the sparsely-populated Assam. In the mid-1979, there was beginning of the students' movement against the foreigners which actually became the most read political history in Assam. Let us now understand the origin and development of the Assam movement in our discussion below.

The Assam Movement or the anti-foreigner movement took place between the years 1979 to 1985. However, the increase in the number of foreigners spread a fear psychosis in Assam that this population from Bangladesh is a severe threat to the identity of the indigenous inherited rights of the inhabitants since the Independence. It was in October 1946 when the region saw the first influx of Hindu refugees in considerable number following the Noakhali riots. There were large scale migrations from Bangladesh (then East Pakistan) to Assam between 1948 and 1971. The Assam movement took a concrete form with the vacancy that was created in the seat of Mangaldoi Lok Sabha constituency with the death of the incumbent Hiralal Patwari in 1978. Before the time of preparation of by-election for that particular seat, it was observed that the number of voters had drastically increased. It was apprehended that there were actually presence of voters who were basically not of Indian origin (foreigners). This resulted in the demand for postponement of the election by All Assam Students Union (AASU) until the foreigners are detected and deported. This is the issue which developed the Assam movement that finally lasted till six long years.

The voter list which was prepared for the by-election alleged to have included 45, 000 of doubtful citizens to the electoral list of that constituency. The Mangaldai Students Union managed to get access to the voter list of 1967 and 1977. They alleged that there were foreigners whose names were not in the first voter list of 1967, but in the second list of 1977, they were included. The Mangaldai students union opposed the holding of the election. The two main persons who were responsible for the detection of the presence of foreigners was *Hiranya Kumar*

Bhattacharjee, then DIG of Assam Police and *Premkanta Mahanta,* then Superintendent of Police. These two personas were in fact also known as the key founders of the Assam Agitation. They were the ones who met the Mangaldai students' leaders and urged them to file objections. The objections were heard on the basis of the Form 6, and this was the time, when uproar started with the summoning of those 45, 000 people before the Magistrate.

The All Assam Student Union stepped in and together with the leaders of Mangaldai student body took up the issue more seriously and went forward to make it a state-wide campaign against the foreigners. The situation became tensed with the declaration of dates for fiiling nomination papers for the seventh Lok Sabha election. The AASU demanded that until and unless the names of illegal immigrant are removed from electoral roll, there shall be no election. On 27 November 1979, the AASU and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) came together under one platform and asked all educational institutes be closed as a mark for the protest. Moreover, there was picketing in almost all the offices of the state as well as central government. There was mass picketing in the polling offices, in order to prevent any candidate from filing nomination papers. There was also state wide bandh declared in the last day of nomination. There was curfew deployed over the main areas of Assam including Guwahati.

The Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act was passed by the Indian parliament and implemented in Assam. But, due to severe criticism, the act finally led to the dissolution of the act in 2005 by Supreme Court of India. Finally, the movement came to an end with the signing of the Assam Accord by then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1985. There was also the emergence of the first regional party of Assam the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) which won the 1985 elections. There were 855 martyrs who died fighting for the cause of preserving the identity of Assamese people during the course of the people's movement of Assam.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: The Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act was passed by Indian parliament and implemented in Entire India except Jammu and Kashmir. (True/False)

.....

Q.6: On_____, the AASU and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) came together under one platform and asked all educational institute be closed as a mark for the protest. (Fill in the blank)

Q.7: Which is the main event that paved way for the Assam Movement.?

.....

.....

13.5 FEATURES OF ASSAM MOVEMENT

The Assam Movement (1979-85) was a popular movement in Assam. It was a movement where thousands of people voluntarily participated for the cause. Moreover, this movement also gave a special credit to the student union of Assam i.e. the AASU for being able to mobilize the people from all corners of the State and leading the movement from the forefront. The Assam movement always provides a critical understanding to the situations in Modern Assam. Some main features of the movement such as the role of the AASU, the principles of the movement, two theories that emerged during the course of the movement and the intervention of the RSS and changing dynamics are to be discussed in some details.

- **Against Foreigners**

The first feature of the Assam Movement is that the movement was basically against the illegal immigrants of Assam. The Illegal immigrants are those people who have been residing in India without official permission. The largest groups of such people are the Bangladeshis. From time to time, different reports have claimed the presence of illegal immigrants which

act as a threat to the demographic and political identity of the Assamese people. Therefore, the anti-foreigner movement or Assam Movement that started in mid- 1979-1985 was certainly one of the biggest milestones of the political history of Assam. The movement which sparked out of the political chaos and vacant Lok Sabha seat of Mangaldoi proved the theory of growth of influx in Assam. While preparing the voter list for the election, the first flag was raised over the inclusion of 45,000 doubtful citizens in the electoral roll of that constituency.

- **Non-Violence versus Violence**

Another notable feature of the Assam Movement is that though the movement started with the principles of non-violence, but at some occasions, violence was observed. On November 6th, 1979 a mass Satyagraha was organized in the Judges Field. After this, the entire course of agitation started. Satyagraha was also observed from November 12th to 17th that year and from November 19th to 21st, besides picketing in the government offices. The movement, led by All Assam Students Union (AASU) and the All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP), demanded the Indian government to identify and expel those immigrants and to put efforts to protect and provide the constitutional, legislative and administrative safeguards to the indigenous Assamese people. The articulation of the movement was largely peaceful but incidents like Nellie massacre (1983) and Khoirabari massacre (1983) were points when the movement went extreme violent. The Nellie massacre claimed lives of 2,191 people officially and Khoirabari massacre claimed almost 100 to 500 lives.

- **Two Emerging Theories**

There have always been two theories in respect of the nature and reasons of the Assam Movement. The first theory views the Assam Movement as an outcome of the fear of the indigenous people being transformed into minority in their own land due to the heavy influx of the foreigners. This was the generally accepted theory which took an extreme form in the rise of the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA). On the

other hand, the second theory has emerged from the people associated or belonging to the left ideology of politics. According to them, there was an expansion of the leftist ideology in the State of Assam during that time and to prevent its spread in other states of the North-Eastern region of India, the Assam movement was a pre-planned strategy. Since, the leftists have a strong hold in Bengal and Tripura, the advocates of the theory argue that the rise of left politics in Assam was negated because it believed that the left ideology would take the region further close to China. Therefore, in the name of foreigners' movement, the left ideology and its spread was thwarted and crushed.

- **Advent of the RSS**

This has been another significant development which took place during the Assam movement. The advent of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh in Assam during the Assam agitation began with the arrival of then secretary of RSS, Rajendra Singh and the regional organizer of the North-East India, K.S. Sudarshan. They entered the scene while there was a debate on the issue of linguistic hatred towards others in Assam. Their intervention started a new discourse which added a religious dimension to the ongoing protest against the foreigners. Now, there was an emergence of a section of leaders who wanted to shift the movement against the religious minorities i.e. the Muslim Bangladeshis. Therefore, to sum up we could say that the popular Assam movement which was linguistic in nature at the beginning also saw shifting positions at times with focus on religion due to the active role of the Janasangh and RSS.

- **The AASU**

One of the important mouth pieces of the people of Assam is the All Assam Students' Union. The entire Assam Movement was led by different leaders of AASU who transformed it into a peoples' movement. The people of Assam came under the banner of AASU and fought against the illegal migrants in order to protect their identity. The AASU has also played an important role in signing of the Assam Accord. The AASU began to raise the voices against the inclusion of illegal immigrants in the voter list and

mobilized the people to participate in their programmes in large numbers. While there were preparations for the Lok Sabha election, the AASU demanded the identification and deportation of Bangladeshi people from Assam and then to hold the elections. They had even warned the political parties not to contest election of otherwise to face strict consequences. The All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) was formed by the AASU in August 1979 which included the AASU, Assam Sahitya Sabha, and Purbanchaliya Lok Parishad. Later on, the Jatiyatabadi Dal, Asom Yubak Samaj and Young Lawyers Forum also joined the Gana Parishad. Massive Satyagrahas were also observed by the AASU. For six long years, the AASU has remained in the forefront runner of the Assam Agitation, which not only led the movement but also shaped Assam's future politics.



LET US KNOW

Clause 6 of the historic Assam Accord states: "Constitutional, legislative and administrative safeguards, as may be appropriate, shall be provided to protect, preserve and promote the cultural, social, linguistic identity and heritage of the Assamese people".



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.8: The people of Assam came under the banner of AASU and fought against the illegal migrants in order to protect their identity. (True/False)

.....

Q.9: The All Assam Gana Sangram Parishad (AAGSP) was formed by the AASU in _____. (Fill in the blank)

Q.10: What happened with the advent of RSS into the Assam Movement?

.....

.....

.....

13.6 CONSEQUENCES OF THE ASSAM MOVEMENT

The Assam Movement is not at all an isolated event. It had made significant impact in the entire nation. More importantly, the Assam Movement was responsible for shaping the politics of Assam for the subsequent years. It had also provided new debates on the issue of illegal residents of Bangladesh occupying the regions of Assam. Let, us try to understand the consequences of the Assam Movement.

- **Assam Accord**

The first immediate consequence of the Assam Movement is the Assam Accord. The Assam Accord was a Memorandum of Settlement (MoS) which was signed in the year 1985, on 15th August, between the representatives of the Government of India and the leaders of the Assam Agitation. The six year long Assam Movement came to an end with the signing of the Accord which is basically some agreements made by the two parties in terms of the foreigners issue in Assam. The Accord led to the dissolution of the protest and violence but the clauses which are there in the Accord have not been implemented fully till date. Foreigners Issue, Constitutional, Legislative & Administrative safeguards, Economic Development, Security of International Border, Prevention of Encroachment of Government lands, Restricting acquisition of immovable property by the foreigners and Registration of births and deaths are some of the important clauses under Assam Accord.

- **Emergence of the Hardliners**

Another important development that took place in the eve of the Assam Agitation was that there was the emergence of a militant outfit out of the movement i.e. the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA). The ULFA raised an armed struggle to achieve the objectives of raising their grievances against the foreigners. Moreover, the organization also demanded a separate state of Assam. The organization was therefore banned in the year 1990, as being declared as a terrorist organization.

- **New Face of Regionalism**

The Assam Movement also led to the emergence of regionalism in Assam in the form of the regional party the Asom Gana Parishad (AGP). The identity question of the Assamese people has always remained the dominant factor of regionalism in Assam. This has led to the formation of the AGP in the year 1985 with the end of the Assam Agitation. Therefore, the party itself is a product of the Assam movement. The leaders of the Assam movement got massive understanding of their ground realities of the region. They felt the need of a regional party which would be able to cater to their demands and fulfill their needs. The regionalist feelings of the Assamese people during the Assam movement and the formation of the AGP carved a new chapter in the history of Assam. The AGP was committed to aggressively pursuing the goal to solve the problem of foreigners in Assam.

- **Loss of Lives**

The Assam movement has also some darker sides. Although it was claimed that the Assam movement was a non-violent dissent but still no one could deny the outbreak of violence. We have glaring examples of the Nellie violence that caught the attention of many people. The period of election during 1983 elections was really very disturbing. There were also ethnic clashes which took place at Gohpur. Violence erupted during the clashes between the protesters and government authorities. Even some agitators also targeted left parties workers during the movement. A government record reveals that there were 3, 023 people who were killed in poll related violence in 1983.

- **The IMDT Act**

The Assam movement resulted in The Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunal) (IMDT) Act in the year 1983. To set up tribunals for determination of the question whether a person is or is not an illegal migrant, the government of India passed an Ordinance on October 15, 1983. This subsequently led to the IMDT Act which was introduced and passed in the Parliament on December 12, 1983. The act was applicable only in Assam.

Initially, the act was assumed to be the deterrent for the foreigners but soon the act fell into different controversies and emerged as a saviour rather than a deterrent to the foreigners. However, the act was later struct down by the Supreme Court in the year 2005, in the verdict of the case of Sarbananda Sonowal v. Union of India. The fact is that the IMDT Act did not serve the real cause.

- **Cutoff Date Controversy**

The Assam movement however also led to a controversy with regard to the cutoff date. There were indifferences which erupted among the leaders of the Assam Movement on the cutoff date of foreigners' detection. The movement leaders supported the year 1951 as the base year whereas the central government wanted 1971 as the base year. However, the central government brought down the cutoff date to year 1965. But, again in mid-1983, a senior bureaucrat of the Government of India offered some suggestions in order to solve the problems and subsequently put forwarded March 24, 1971 as the base year.

- **Educational losses and an uncertain future**

The Assam movement did hamper the educational atmosphere in the State to a large extent. Many of the youngsters were also disappointed by the ongoing movement and their educational losses. In the year 1980, not a single board or university examination was held. Even after the year 1980, many students started moving out to other states for higher education due to the prevailing tension conditions of the state of Assam. There were also apprehensions of an uncertain future of Assam during the course and the end of movement started. The failure of the IMDT act, the unreachable goals of the Accord within a time frame, the failure of the AGP leadership to give a proper shape to the state of Assam and etc, all these factors contributed towards a future which is still struggling hard to reach at an end to the problems of foreigners and preserving the identity of Assam and its people.



LET US KNOW

The Citizenship (Amendment) Bill, 2016 is the Bill which amends the Citizenship Act, 1955 to make illegal migrants who are Hindus, Sikhs, Buddhists, Jains, Parsis and Christians from Afghanistan, Bangladesh and Pakistan, eligible for citizenship.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.11: The ULFA raised an armed struggle to achieve the objectives of raising their grievances against the foreigners. (True/False)

.....

Q.12: The leaders of the movement supported _____ years as the base year whereas the central government wanted _____ year as the base year. (Fill in the blanks)

Q.13: What is the IMDT Act?

.....

.....



13.7 LET US SUM UP

- The term 'identity' literally refers to the idea of who a person is or what he/she is. It is something which provides a tag to the people so that they could be easily noticed or identified. This identity gradually with times occupied a significant position in the domain of politics. Identity politics thus took its course.
- Identity movements are also social movements. They generally emerge with the assumption of the deprivation of a certain group in the mainstream and the fear of losing their identity which motivate them to unite and move towards the movement for reclaiming their identity.

- Identity politics generally denotes the type of to politics that takes place on the basis of identity. For this, it is also known as the identity-based politics.
- Identity based politics is a phrase that occupies an important position in the social sciences and humanities. Identity politics is also used to promote political ideologies and to direct political actions.
- The unrest in Assam was initially a result of fear of the Assamese people losing their identity and culture with the influx of a large number of Bengali Muslims from the erstwhile East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) in search of land and employment.
- In the mid-1979 there was beginning of the students' movement against the foreigners which actually became the most read political history in Assam.
- The Assam Movement (1979-85) was a popular movement in Assam. It was a movement in the region where thousands of people voluntarily participated for the cause. The Assam movement always provides a critical understanding to the situations in Modern Assam.
- The Assam Movement is not at all an isolated event. It had made significant impact in the entire nation.
- More importantly, the Assam Movement was responsible for shaping the politics of Assam for the subsequent years. It had also provided new debates on the issue of illegal residents of Bangladesh occupying the regions of Assam.



13.8 FURTHER READING

1) Dutta, N. (2012). *Questions of identity in Assam.* New Delhi: Sage Publications.
2) Hussain, M. (1993). The Assam movement: class, ideology, and identity. Delhi: Manak Publications.
3) Talukdar, M. (2017). *Assam after Independence.* Guwahati: Nanda Talukdar Foundations.



13.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: True

Ans to Q No 2: Identity

Ans to Q No 3: Identity movements are also a social movements. It generally emerges with the assumption of deprivation of a certain group in the mainstream and fear of losing their identity which motivate them to unite and move towards the movement for reclaiming their identity. For example, the identity movement of the Assamese people in the 70s, was a reaction against the illegal migration that took place from Bangladesh.

Ans to Q No 4: The phrase identity politics has gained momentum in the second half of the twentieth century. This was due to the emergence of social movement and their diversities. The women's movement, lesbian and gay movement, African American movement and their development all contributed to the shaping of the question on identity. Moreover, the nationalist and post colonist movement are also responsible. Throughout this movement the question on sameness and differences occupied the central theme in the identity movements. Later, in the twenty-first century, with the development of other spheres of human life, the identity movement also intensified with a raising awareness and knowledge among the people.

Ans to Q No 5: False

Ans to Q No 6: 27th November 1979

Ans to Q No 7: The Assam movement took a concrete form with the vacancy that was created in the seat of Mangaldoi Lok Sabha Constituency with the death of the incumbent Hiralal Patwari in 1978.

Ans to Q No 8: True

Ans to Q No 9: August 1979

Ans to Q No 10: The advent of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh in Assam during the Assam agitation began with the arrival of then secretary of RSS, Rajendra Singh and the regional organizer of the North-East India, K.S. Sudarshan. They entered the scene while there was a debate on the issue of linguistic hatred towards others in Assam. Their intervention started a new discourse which added a religious dimension to the ongoing protest against the foreigners. Now, there was an emergence of a section of the leaders who wanted to shift the movement against the religious minorities i.e. the Muslim Bangladeshis.

Ans to Q No 11: True

Ans to Q No 12: 1951 and 1971

Ans to Q No 13: The Assam movement resulted in The Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunal) (IMDT) Act in the year 1983. To set up tribunals for determination of the question whether a person is or is not an illegal migrant, the government of India passed an Ordinance on October 15, 1983. This subsequently led to the IMDT Act which was introduced and passed in the Parliament on December 12, 1983. The act was applicable only in Assam.



13.10 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1 : The Assam Movement also led to the emergence of regionalism in Assam in the form of the regional party the _____. (Fill in the blank)

Q. 2: The identity movement also intensified with a raising awareness and knowledge among the people. (True/False)

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1: Describe in brief the issue of identity movement in Assam.

Q. 2: Explain the origin and development of the Assam Agitation.

Q. 3: Describe in your own words whether the Assam movement was a successful movement against foreigners or a failed one?

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1: Explain the term Assam Movement. How did it emerge?

Q. 2: Discuss the consequences of the Assam Movement.

Q. 3: What is Assam Accord? Discuss with a reference to its various pros and cons.

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UNIT 14: WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN NORTHEAST INDIA: MEIRA PAIBIS, NAGA MOTHERS' ASSOCIATION

UNIT STRUCTURE

14.1 Learning Objectives

14.2 Introduction

14.3 Emergence of Women's Movement in North East India

14.4 Characteristics of Women's Movements in North East India

14.5 Role of Meira Paibis and Naga Mothers' Association (NMA)

14.6 Let Us Sum Up

14.7 Further Reading

14.8 Answers to Check Your Progress

14.9 Possible Questions

14.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- discuss women's Movement in North East India
- explain role of Meira Paibis in shaping society and politics in the state of Manipur
- explain role of Naga Mothers' Association (NMA) in shaping society and politics in the state of Nagaland.

14.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit introduces you to the importance of women's movements in Northeast India. Comprising of eight states (Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Mizoram, Meghalaya, Tripura, and Sikkim), the region of Northeast India is an amalgamation of cultures and is a treasure trove of history. The presence of numerous ethnic groups, dense biodiversity and rich heritage, this region continues to mesmerize one and all. However, this region continues to face peculiar challenges. While the societies in Northeast India do treat women with high regard and women occupy important

positions in individual households, there is very little presence of women in public institutions. The visibility of women continues to be low in spite of their contribution to freedom movement. Again, Northeast India is a region where students' movements as well as environmental movements have gained momentum. Women have been active players in these movements. But when it comes to popular representation, there are very few women legislators in the Assemblies of Northeast India. Many tribal communities have traditional councils; here too women do not get their due recognition. Essentially, determining the status of women in Northeast India continues to be a complex issue. The visibility of women in the 'private' and 'public' domain continue to grow in the opposite directions. In such conditions, women's movements in Northeast India have brought back the issue of contribution of women to society and politics in the states of Northeast India. Ethnic tensions, insurgency, social evils still continue to plague this region and women's movements across the eight states of the Northeast India have taken it as a challenge to address these issues.

14.3 EMERGENCE OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN NORTH EAST INDIA

Mangala Subramaniam in her article *The Indian Women's Movement* (2004) writes:

> The Indian women's movement illustrates the intersection of a multitude of interests: caste, class, ethnicity, religion, and region (rural/urban). The movement currently faces a host of challenges to the efforts to define social change for women, build solidarity, and create new waves of activism in the complex circumstances of the twenty-first century.[1]

Perhaps, the contribution of women to society and politics in the states of Northeast India, as well as the complex nature of challenges they encounter, cannot be discounted or undermined by any stretch of imagination. Women's movements in Northeast India have only gained

momentum and its impact can be felt in different aspects of the society. Women have been at the forefront in addressing issues of alcoholism, drug abuse, peace building and reconciliation in the states of Northeast India. While they were an integral part of India's freedom struggle; as this region emerges from the shadow of violence and insurgency, they have provided 'space' for negotiations between contending parties and have proven to be important tools for reconciliation.

Assam:

Women were an integral part of India's freedom struggle. But a new direction and momentum came in the 1970s when civil liberties movement became stronger. The emergency period of 1975-77 also witnessed the growing political activism amongst women across India and in Assam as well. The declaration of International Women's Year in 1975 by the UNO gave a major boost to women's aspiration and brought into focus issues of their social and political empowerment. Women organizations like *Assam Pradeshik Mahila Samiti* were already making the presence felt. It further boosted the growth of other such organisations like the *All Assam Lekhika Samaroh*. This organization played a key role in putting forward the issue of violence and discrimination against women. Magazines such as *Ardha Akash, Sachetana , Lekhika Aideus Jonaki Bat* also came into circulation where topics of rape, dowry, insurgency etc. were put into spotlight.

The anti-foreigners movement in 1983 also saw the vigorous involvement of women. In 1984, the All Assam Convention of Women's Coordinating Committee was held to discuss the issue of anti-foreigners movement in Assam. There was also the growth of ethnic women movement organisations like Karbi Nimso Chinto Achui. The Bhamuka rape case in Kokrajhar witnessed major agitations led by women. But it is very clear, women movements in Assam lack identity. While women organisations have focused on certain key issues like violence, rape and other social evils, there has not been any sustained movement 'against' or 'for' the ruling establishment. Women's organisations are largely small. Those with

large numbers are ususally affiliated to some political party. The anti-foreigner's movement witnessed spontaneous involvement of women, however, in post Assam Accord, they were completely sidelined in the formation of the government.

Arunachal Pradesh:

Declared a state on 20 February, 1987, is known for its natural beauty and is home to over 26 major tribes.

> **Political History of Arunachal Pradesh**: In 1954, North East Frontier Agency (NEFA), replaced the former name North East Frontier Tracts. Constitutionally a part of Assam, the NEFA administration was not fully integrated with that of Assam. It was administered directly by the Governor of Assam, as a representative of the President of India. The Legislative Assembly of Assam could not enact laws for NEFA. In order to intensify the developmental efforts, NEFA was made a Union Territory in 1972 and if named Arunachal Pradesh. The Union Territory became the 24th State of India in 1987.Source: *Arunachal Pradesh, Human Development Report, 2005*, Department of Planning Government of Arunachal Pradesh, 2006. p.12

Since tribal customs and traditions are dominant in Arunachal Pradesh, the presence of a primitive mode of production, has ensured that women in general do not enjoy the same privileges like those of men. However, the rise of female literacy has led to major changes in the way the Arunachali society perceives women. Now the women of Arunachal Pradesh are seen as extremely mobile and are now challenging the dominant practices that are prevalent in their societies. One of the earliest organisations was the Arunachal Women's Welfare Association which was established in 1979. Looking into the issues of craft adult education centres and women empowerment, this organization has become more visible with the passage of time. However social customs such as 'bride price' and polygamy are still very prevalent. Customary laws have not helped the cause of women to a large extent. Structural inequalities have created barriers to the process of empowerment of women in Arunachal Pradesh. In most cases, women do not inherit parental property and they are largely

marginalized in traditional community based institutions or village councils. Instead of a three tier system, following the adoption of a two tier PRI system in 2018, there is a general expectation amongst all the sections of the society that substantial progress in the field of women empowerment will be achieved very shortly.

Meghalaya:

The state of Meghalaya has a matrilineal society rather than a matriarchal society. Compared to other states of India, women occupy an important position in the society. There are several important women's associations such as the Mothers' Union, Ka Seng Longkmie Laitumkhrah etc. who have worked tireless for empowering women in Meghalaya. Largely based on the principles of Christianity, they have strongly advocated the need for strong moral character of children and the need for their education.

Matrilineal society: 'Three characteristics of matrilinearity exist in present-day matrilineal societies. These are descend through the mother (family name through the mother), matrilocal residence system (husband lives in wife's house), and the inheritance of ancestral property by a daughter. These three characteristics are strongly prevalent among the Khasi, Garo, and Jaintia tribes in Meghalaya, which makes them matrilineal societies.'Source: Bhutia, Y., & Liarakou, G. (2018). *Gender and nature in the matrilineal society of Meghalaya, India: Searching for ecofeminist perspectives. The Journal of Environmental Education, 49(4), 328–335.* doi:10.1080/00958964.2017.1407283, p.2.

Mizoram:

The late 1950s was a period of turmoil in Mizoram. State violence and growth of insurgency had begun to take toll on the Mizo society and women were often the victims of such violent conflict. The Mizo society is patriarchal and this has created certain barriers for the empowerment of women in Mizoram. But this does not mean that women have been docile in Mizoram. Ropuiliani, a Mizo chieftain led the Mizoram Resistance

Movement against the British in 1872. But today the reality is that women are highly under-represented in all political institutions and key decision making bodies in the state.

The Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl (MHIP) which now is an apex body representing several local women's groups, has pushed forward the need for reforms of those laws which severely undermine the status of women in Mizoram. It was created in 1974. With the logo of 'hmui', a charkha, that symbolises Mizo women's creativity and sense of self-reliance and a spirit of 'binding', the MHIP has extensively questioned patriarchal norms of the society. Under the pressure from various corners, The Mizo Marriage, Divorce and Inheritance of Property Bill 2013 was passed by the Mizoram Assembly in 2014.

Manipur:

Composed of two distinct geo-ethnic parts, the state of Manipur is facing challenges from all directions. The tribals groups dominate the hilly region, whereas the Imphal valley is dominated by the non-tribal Meities. Manipur has a long history of resistance and often violence has taken a heavy toll in the society and economy of the state. Women have become the victims. State repression and repressive laws such as the AFSPA have further undermined the rights of the people. Famous for its two *Nupilans* (Female's warfare), women have now become important tools of peace building and reconciliation. In the post-independence period, since the 1980s, Manipur has seen the growth of insurgency and this has especially become a challenge for all. Groups like the Meira Paiboas (women torch bearers) and the Naga Women's Union of Manipur have come to the forefront to address the issue of peace and promote reconciliation between the different warring factions.

Tripura:

Formation of the State of Tripura: 'Tripura was a princely State whose dynasty of tribal kings stretching back to antiquity. After the rule by the Khilji dynasty was established in Bengal in 1240, Tripura became a tributary State to the rulers of Bengal. Later, the East India

Company extracted a tribute on the accession of every new prince, sending him a deed of acknowledgment and robe of honour in return. After 1857, there was no treaty between the British government and the rulers of Hill Tipperah (as the British then called Tripura) but the Rajas paid a succession duty to the Government (Hunter 1873: 461). After India became independent, on 15 October 1949, the Regent Maharani of Tripura acceded to the Indian Union as a 'C' category State. Tripura became a Union Territory in November 1956. A popularly elected ministry was formed in Tripura in July 1963 and since then the State has had a government elected on the basis of universal adult franchise. Tripura attained full Statehood on 21st January, 1972.

Source: Tripura Human Development Report, Government of Tripura, 2007, p.3

Tribal groups constitute 31.1% of the population in Tripura. Though patrilineal, women play an important economic role amongst the tribal communities. Though mostly Hindus, they continue to maintain their own traditions and customs. Tripura has witnessed important demographic changes and immigration of East Bengal has affected the society in different ways. Social tensions have now come to the forefront.

Ghosh and Chudhury write-

Under demographic compulsion, rural natives and particularly women face lives of excessive hardship, poverty and unemployment. In the traditional subsistence economy of the tribals, gender disparity was a marginal possibility, although they mostly followed the Hindu tradition of patriarchy. But today, development has contributed to heightened disparities along gender, class and space lines.[2]

Historically, women of Tripura have raised their voices against the 'Titun system' or bonded labour activities. The women of Tripura have made their presence felt through organisations like Tripura Rajya Nari Samity and the Tripura Gana Mukti Parishad. However, in current terms, women continue to have negligible presence in the state assembly. Statistically, there is a high voter turn-out amongst women in Tripura. Female literacy rate is 96.79 percent and sex ratio is 961 females per 1000 males. It indicates

that the women in Tripura are relatively in a better position when compared to other states of the country.

Nagaland:

The state of Nagaland is encountering challenges from all directions. Nationalist aspirations coupled with the growing fratricidal clashes have hurt the Naga society and more so affected the women in numerous ways. Consisting of 40 sub-groups, the Naga population is found in four states- Assam, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland. Although the impact of Christianity and education has affected the Naga society, it still continues to encourage community participation and in spite of being patriarchal in nature, women in some tribes occupy higher status to that of men. However, the growth of insurgency and the different fractions amongst the different groups have not brought peace to the region.

There are several organisations in Nagaland which have made their mark in empowering the women and have strengthened their resolve to bring peace to this region. Naga Mothers' Association is acting as a bridge between the different warring camps. They are protesting against the AFSPA, raising their voice against drug abuse and alcoholism that have crept into their society.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: In which year did Arunachal Pradesh become a state?

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Q.2: What is the full form of NEFA?

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Q.3: What is Nupilan?

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Q.4: Write a short note on the Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl. (within 50 words).

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14.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS IN NORTH EAST INDIA

Several key features emerge when we seek to understand women's movements in Northeast India. Though not all movements operate similarly or work towards common goals, the pertinent thing that emerges is that women of Northeast India are willing to take an extra step forward in order to achieve sustainable peace. Women face challenges because they are not a coherent group, but that does not undermine their contribution towards this region.

- **Rich heritage to resistance movements:** Women as individuals and as part of a greater community have set a strong tradition towards state resistance. In the state of Assam, Kanaklata Baruah was a part of *Quit India Movement* and fought fearlessly against the British. Chandraprabha Saikiani was the founder of Assam Pradeshik Mahila Samiti in 1926. She actively participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement . In 1930, **Bhogeswari Phukanani** took part in the Civil Disobedience Movement. In other states too, several women have fearlessly fought the British rule in India. Rani Gaidinliu of Nagaland, led a revolt against British rule in India. In Manipur, the two 'Nupilans' or females' warfare (1904 and 1939) also reflects the rich heritage to state resistance.
- **Social Issues:** Women's organisations have been at the forefront of addressing social evils. Alcoholism, drug addiction, gambling etc. are major challenges for the youths of this region. Women organisations have resorted to picketing and bandhs to protest against social evils. Child abuse as well as child labour have been brought into focus by these organisations through the conduct of street plays, dramas and books. The 'Nisha Bandhi' campaign has also be pushed forward by the women of Manipur. Women's

organisations are seeking to achieve equality in the private domain which includes issues of access to parental property and its inheritance and the right to religion.

- **Peace building and negotiations**: The women's organisations in the states of North east india have made a sustained effort in bringing peace to the region. Insurgency and state repression have taken a toll on all parties concerned. Women's organizations like the NWUM have acted as mediators between the warring factions. Peace building has been a slow process, but organisations have started pressuring the state and non-state bodies to resolve disputes in a peaceful manner. Likewise, the All Tribal Women's Organization (ATWO) of Manipur has sought to look into the interests of the displaced persons and those injured in conflict. Likewise, Mamoni Raisom Goswami, has played a key role in mediation between mediated for peace between the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA) and the Government of India. But, there are certain inherent problems. Joyati Bhattacharjee notes "Women are accepted as 'healers' or 'pacifiers' but not as one important when they attempt to play a more decisive role and endeavour to link the question of peace with the basic concept of democracy."[3]
- **Sporadic nature of activism:** While there are several women's organisations seeking to address the question of empowerment of women, the activism on their part has been sporadic rather than sustained. A 'movement' implies sustained pressure on the authorities and other parties concerned. But very often women's organisations are dealing with social issues only to fizzle out later. While women are part of numerous students' unions and civil society organisations, their activism is rather intermittent.
- **Low political representation:** Women in general vote in large numbers, during assembly or Lok Sabha elections. It indicates a healthy trend of empowerment. However, though procedural equality has been established, substantial progress is yet to be achieved. In four states of Northeast India, women electorate outnumber men;

Arunachal Pradesh (women 401,596, men 392,566), Manipur (women 990,960, men 939,926), Meghalaya (women 956,135, men 936,579), Mizoram (women 402,408, men 381.991. However, the number of women at the decision making level, is rather low. There are only three women MPs from the region of Northeast India in the 2019 Lok Sabha. Till date, no woman has been elected to the Nagaland state assembly.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.5: Write a brief note on women's representation from Northeast India in Lok sabha.

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Q.6: Who founded the Assam Pradeshik Mahila Samiti ?

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Q.7: Write a brief note on Mamoni Raisom Goswami.

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14.5 ROLE OF MEIRA PAIBIS AND NAGA MOTHERS' ASSOCIATION (NMA)

14.5.1 Role of Meira Paibis

Situated along the India-Myanmar border, the state of Manipur is besieged with social and political problems. Insurgency, state extremism and inter-community tensions have crippled the economy. Protests against the AFSPA and the presence of over thirty insurgent groups have proven to be a challenge for all. Furthermore, the demand for 'Nagalim' has only led to further complexities.

Historically, Manipur has witnessed the role of women in challenging the dominant authority. The British annexed Manipur in 1891 by virtue of the '*Doctrine of Lapse*'. Manipur has witnessed two *Nupilans* or 'female's warfare' in 1904 and 1939. So the role of women in leading resistance movements is well documented.



LET US KNOW

Doctrine of Lapse: It was a formula widely followed by Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of India (1848–56), to deal with questions of succession to Hindu Indian states. According to this doctrine, if the ruler did not have a legal male heir; it would be annexed by the company. It led to annexation of several Indian states.

The name 'Meira Paibis' is rather symbolic, meaning 'women torchbearers' became popular in Manipur, for they stood up against injustices. It emerged in the 1970s to protest against social evils. Though informal as an organization, it started to grow in each locality to fight alcoholism, drug abuse and sexual violence in Manipur valley. The All Manipur Women Social Reformation and Development Society formed in 1976, also known as the Nupi Samaj or the Women's Society, was one such organised group by the Meira Paibas in Manipur. It played a key role in organizing and mobilizing the 'Nisha Bandhis' or anti-liquor campaign in various parts of Manipur. It was around 1980 when incidence of forced disappearance and arbitrary arrests as well as killings by the security forces started. The Meira Paibos gained significant ground when it protested against the brutalities of the army and the paramilitary committed at Patsoi. In addition to the All Manipur Women Social Reformation and Development Society, there are other Meira Paibi organisations as well, such as Poirei Leimaro, Kanglamei and the Meekhol.

Discussing the notion of 'political motherhood', Panchali Ray highlights that 'the members of the Meira Paibis operate within a

benevolent patriarchy, and draw their strength and legitimacy as mothers from sacred and religious traditions to take on roles of crusaders and peacemakers in a conflict zone'.[4] The Meira Paibias have assumed the role of a 'watchdog of civil rights violations at the community level, initiating and engaging in campaigns against rights violations, such as arbitrary detention, cordon and search operations, and torture, committed by the security personnel of the federal government of India'.[5] Through street demonstrations, distribution of pamphlets, the Meira Paibas have engaged in tackling social evils like gambling, controlling alcoholism, checking price rise, promoting welfare programmes for women and children and at times engaged with negotiations with the government in order to bring about peace in Manipur. The 2004 'naked protests' by the Meira Paibis in Imphal against army atrocities has been one of the strongest show of protest by the women.



LET US KNOW

AFSPA: Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act (**AFSPA**), passed on September 11, 1958, is an act of the Parliament of India that grant special powers to the Indian Armed Forces to maintain public order in "disturbed areas". It is contentious because it prohibits any legal action against the armed forces in case of any wrongful action.

The significance of the Meira Paibis is well encapsulated by M. Basnet in her article Disrobed and dissenting bodies of the Meira Paibi: Postcolonial counterpublic activism (2019, wherein the movement 'represents postcolonial counterpublic status on three levels:

(1) Marginalization of the entire region by the Indian democracy;

(2) The brutality and human rights violations which receive very little coverage by mainstream media; and

(3) Sexual violence by the army, a state institution.[6]

For their contribution to society, in 2013, along with the Naga Mothers' Association, the Meira Paibi was co-awarded the 'Social Impact Awards: Lifetime Contribution' by the Times of India. 28 May is observed as the 'Meira Paibi Day'.

14.5.2 Role of Naga Mothers' Association (NMA)

The conflict in Nagaland has affected its society and politics in different ways. The Indo-Naga Peace process has gained momentum, but the scars of violent conflict have been felt by all sections of the Naga society and especially by the women of Nagaland. Women have been the victim of violent conflict, often perpetrated by state as well as non-state bodies. The culture of violence and the search for 'peace' has led to women of Nagaland to reframe their identities to that of being 'arbitrator' of conflict.[7] This is not a new role, but this role has been well performed and has prevented antagonism between different tribal groups in Nagaland. Insurgency in Nagaland and draconian state laws have compelled the women of Nagaland to reconsolidate themselves and direct their effort towards promotion of peace and reconciliation of differences between different parties.

The Shillong Accord of 1975 led to major intra group rivalry in Nagaland further causing major divisions in the Naga society. It was in 1979, to protest against the rape of a women, the Angami Women's Welfare Association organised a strong movement for the removal of the BSF from their village. Subsequently, along with such atrocities committed by state forces, women also have mobilised themselves to eradicate social evils like alcoholism and drug abuse. During the 1980s, the Naga movement only became more violent and insurgency further crippled the state economy and greater fissures in the society.

The early 1980s witnessed the decline of the influence of NNC and the emergence of NSCN. But during this phase, women not

only started mobilising themselves against being victimised, they also started protesting against all kinds of violence. In 1984, the Naga Mothers Association was established in Kohima which aimed to eradicate social evils. Neidomo Angami , who was the General Secretary of the NMA from 1984-94 stressed the need to eradicate violence and facilitate peace in Nagaland. The significance of the NMA was that it was a 'endogenous force' which emerged to challenge the violence which was prevalent in Nagaland; it started campaigning and extending support to other grassroots organisations in Nagaland. In 1988, the split in the NSCN to NSCN-K and NSCM-IM reconfirmed the need for such a body which would bring together warring parties and facilitate peace in the long run. Such insurgent groups were primarily led by men and invariably the victims were mostly women. Essentially, the NMA sought to keep the 'channels of communication'[8] open between different insurgent groups.

The NMA has projected itself as a symbol of peace. It has sought to motivate common people to speak up against violence and other social evils. It has received widespread support from the Naga civil society. Furthermore, it has undertaken workshops and training programme for women. At the political level, they are trying to reconcile the differences between the different insurgent groups. Furthermore, the NMA has supported the call for ceasefire of milirat operations and protested against the AFSPA as well as started mobilisation wherein children were prevented to join any such militant group. Through the campaign 'shed no more blood', in 1994, the NMA launched a peace team, that encouraged 'people to people dialogue'.

Though politically, the NMA have been sidelined; The Naga Village Councils seldom have recognised the role of NMA in peace building process in the state of Nagaland. However, the presence of NMA has ensured that there is more 'space' for dialogues between the different contending parties.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.8: What is the full form of AFSPA?

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Q.9: Who started the campaign "Shed no blood".

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Q.10: Explain the "Doctrine of Lapse" (within 50 words).

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14.6 LET US SUM UP

- While the societies in Northeast India do treat women with high regard and women occupy important positions in individual households, there is very little presence of women in the public institutions.
- The status of women in Northeast India continues to be a complex issue. The visibility of women in the 'private' and 'public' domains continues to grow in opposite directions.
- The anti-foreigners movement in 1983 also saw the vigorous involvement of women. In 1984, the All Assam Convention of Women's Coordinating Committee was held to discuss the issue of anti-foreigners movement in Assam.
- Customary laws have not helped the cause of women to a large extent. Structural inequalities have created barriers to the process of empowerment of women in Arunachal Pradesh.
- There are several important women's associations such as the Mothers' Union, Ka Seng Longkmie Laitumkhrah etc. who have worked tirelessly for empowering the women in Meghalaya. Largely based on principles

of Christianity, they have strongly advocated the need for strong moral character of children and the need for their education.

- Famous for its two Nupilans (Female's warfare), women of Manipur have now become important tools of peace building and reconciliation.
- Though not all movements operate similarly or work towards common goals, the pertinent thing that emerges is that women of Northeast India are willing to take an extra step forward in order to achieve sustainable peace.
- The Meira Paibis have assumed the role of a 'watchdog of civil rights violations at the community level.
- The NMA has supported the call for ceasefire of militant operations and protested against the AFSPA and started mobilisation wherein the children were prevented to join any such militant groups.



14.7 FURTHER READING

1) Ashild, K. (2018). *Women, peace and security in Northeast India.* New Delhi: Zubaan Books.
2) Deka, M. (2013). *Women's agency and social change: Assam and beyond*. India: Sage India.
3) Gassah, L.S. (2008). *Women empowerment movement in North-East India.* New Delhi: Omsons Publications.
4) Karna, M.N. (1998). *Social movements in Northeast India.* New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company.
5) Mandal, R.K. and Minto, E. (2010). *Women in North East India.* New Delhi: Mittal Publications.



14.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: 1987

Ans to Q No 2: Northeast Frontier Agency

Ans to Q No 3: It refers to female's warfare in Manipur (1904 and 1939).

Ans to Q No 4: The Mizo Hmeichhe Insuihkhawm Pawl (MHIP) is the apex body representing several local women's groups, has pushed forward the need for reforms of those laws which severely undermine the status of women in Mizoram.

Ans to Q No 5: Women in general vote in large numbers, assembly or Lok Sabha. Though procedural equality has been established, substantial progress is yet to be achieved. In four states of Northeast India, women electorates outnumber men but the number of women at the decision making level, is rather low. There are only three women MPs from the region of Northeast India in the 2019 Lok Sabha. Till date, no woman has been elected to the Nagaland state assembly.

Ans to Q No 6: Chandraprabha Saikiani

Ans to Q No 7: Indira Goswami (14 November 1942-29 November 2011) also known as Mamoni Raisom Goswami is a Jnanpith award winning Assamese editor, poet, professor, scholar and writer. She was involved in the peace making process between the ULFA-government.

Ans to Q No 8: Armed Forces Special Powers Act

Ans to Q No 9: Naga Mothers' Association

Ans to Q No 10: It was a formula widely followed by Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of India (1848-56), to deal with questions of succession to Hindu Indian states. According to this doctrine, if the ruler did not have a legal male heir; it would be annexed by the company. Subsequently, it led to annexation of several Indian states.



15.9 POSSIBLE QUESTIONS

A) Very Short Questions

Q. 1 : Who are the Meira Paibis?

Q. 2: State the meaning of AFSPA.

Q. 3: Write two characteristics of Women's' Movements in North East India.

B) Short Questions (Answer each question in about 150 words)

Q. 1: Write a brief note on the contribution of women from Assam to India's Freedom movement.

Q. 2: Briefly explain the contribution of women's movements in addressing issues of peace and reconciliation in Northeast India.

Q. 3: Write a brief note on the Naga Mothers' Association.

C) Long Questions (Answer each question in about 300-500 words)

Q. 1: Discuss the characteristics of women's movements in Northeast India.

Q. 2: Analyse the contributions of women's movements in the state of Manipur.

Q. 3: Discuss the role and contribution of the Naga Mother's Association in Nagaland.

End Notes:

[1]Mangala Subramaniam, 'The Indian Women's Movement', Contemporary Sociology, Vol. 33, No. 6 (Nov., 2004), p.638

[2]Biswajit Ghosh, Tanima Choudhuri, 'Gender, Space and Development: Tribal Women in Tripura', Economic and political weekly , April 16, 2011 vol xlvi no 16, p.78

[3]Joyati Bhattacharya, 'Conflict and Peace Building: A Study of Women Organizations of Northeast India' , 12th PARIS International Conference on Marketing, Education, Humanities & Social Sciences (MEHSS-18) Sept. 17-19, 2018 , p.69

[4]Panchali Ray, 'Political motherhood and a spectacular resistance: (Re) examining the Kangla Fort Protest', Manipur, South Asian History and Culture, 2018, DOI: 10.1080/19472498.2018.1535543, p.2

[5]Vandana Singh , 'The Role of Women in Peace-building with reference to Manipur state of India' , p.350

[6]M. Basnet, 'Disrobed and dissenting bodies of the Meira Paibi: Postcolonial counterpublic activism' Communication and the Public, 4(3), 2019, doi:10.1177/2057047319871022 ,p.240

[7]Soumitra Patra and Samita Manna, 'Integrative Reconciliation: Mothers in the Naga Movement', Economic and Political Weekly,Vol.323, No.10 (March 8-14, 2008) ,p.21

[8]Ibid. p. 21.

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(www.britannica.com/topic/social-movement/The-consequences-of-social-movements)
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(https://www.sociologyguide.com/social-change/social-movements-type.php)
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Learner's Feedback on Course

Dear Learner,

Regarding the course as mentioned above, we would like to know your opinions and comments so as to improve the quality of self learning materials in future. Please respond to the following statements by ticking the number you feel most reflect your opinion. After completion of the additional comments, please detach the page and send/mail the same to us at the address given below.

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1) Approximately how many hours did you spend for studying the units in the course? ☐☐☐

2) Please give your opinions (by ✓ mark) to the following items based on your reading of the block:

Sl. No.	Statements	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I)	The SLMs of the course fulfil the learning objectives set out in the beginning of each unit					
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VI)	Used enough Illustrations (Diagrams, tables etc.) for conceptual clarity					
VII)	Quality of content is engaging, relevant, and up-to-date					
VIII)	The self check questions are very helpful					
IX)	The Possible/model questions and the answers to check my progress have benefited me a lot					

Additional Comments: *(Please feel free to provide your open comments)*

1) Which aspects of the SLM, according to you, worked well?

.....

.....

2) What sort of changes/improvements do you feel KKHSOU could implement to improve the overall quality of the SLM?

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Thank you for taking the time to complete this form.