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COURSE: SOCIAL ACTION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

4th Semester, Bachelor of Social Work (BSW)

DISCIPLINE: SOCIAL WORK

SURYA KUMAR BHUYAN SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES



KRISHNA KANTA HANDIQUI STATE OPEN UNIVERSITY

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COURSE INTRODUCTION: SOCIAL ACTION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

This course is for the fourth semester of Bachelor of Social Work (BSW) programme. The course is titled- Social Action and Social Movements. Social Action is one of the important secondary method of social work. Social movement as an area of study in the social science emerged fairly recently when the role of masses in social transformation was recognized by historians, psychologists, political scientists and sociologists. Social action involves various strategies of resource management and its optimum utilization for the benefits of different targets groups in the society. Thus, knowledge of social action as a method that brings about social change and the dynamics of social movements is of utmost necessity for social workers.

The main objectives of this course are to familiarize learners with concepts in defining social action and social movements; to provide an over view of evolution of social action as method in social work and to acquaint learners with various theoretical perspectives on social movement.

In this course, there is detailed discussion of the different aspects of social action perspectives, social change and various social movements. The First Unit introduces the concept of social action. The Second Unit discusses the various strategies and models of social action. The Third Unit explains the emergence of radical social work. The Fourth Unit discusses the integrated social work practice approaches. The Fifth Unit highlights the theoretical perspectives of various social scientists on social action. Sixth Unit analyses the concept of social movements and social change. In the Seventh Unit, there is explanation on the types of social movements and cases in India. The Eighth Unit describes the peasant uprising, the Naxalbari movement, the labour movement, women's movement, Dalit uprising in India. The Ninth Unit gives an elaborate description of the various environment related social movements. The Tenth Unit focuses on the social movements in Assam in relation to autonomy, ethnic identity.

While going through the units of the block, you will find that unit is further divided into certain sections and sub-sections, wherever necessary, for your better understanding. Again, the units may carry certain activities after a particular section where needed. These "ACTIVITIES" will provide you the opportunity to practically apply your own thoughts based on the knowledge gained from reading the text in a particular section. 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 "MODEL QUESTIONS" is intended to give you a hint of the type of questions you are likely to get in the examination.

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UNIT 1: INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL ACTION

Unit Structure:

1.1 Learning Objectives
1.2 Introduction
1.3 Concept
1.4 Meaning and Definition of Social Action
1.5 Social Action as a method of Social Work
1.6 Typology of Social Action
1.7 Scope of Social Action
1.8 Principles of Social Action
1.9 Let Us Sum Up
1.10 Further Reading
1.11 Check Your Progress
1.12 Model Questions

1.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- The concept of social action and its principles
- Categorize the typology of social action
- The scope of social action in social work

1.2 INTRODUCTION

Social action is a part of the process of development of human society. An academic status has been conferred to social action by recognising it as one of the methods of Social Work by Social Work Education. Social action is a very powerful instrument in the hands of the people to secure social justice and human rights. It is regarded as an important method through which the deprived and the oppressed sections of society seek changes to achieve social justice. It empowers the deprived through mobilization and collective action against vested interests and against exploitation by existing power groups such as political groups, social groups, economic interests, industry, trade etc. In short, we can say that social action is to bring out basic changes in social systems, processes and also in social structure. Narmada Bachao Andolan is one of the finest examples of social action carried out for the betterment of the masses. Let us look into the concept of social action in some detail.

1.3 CONCEPT

The term Social Action is used to depict a spectrum of voluntary action or initiatives that aim to address relevant social, economic, political, ecological and ethical issues. It is one of the very challenging and powerful methods of

social work practice which is used for mobilizing masses in order to bring about structural changes in the social system or to prevent negative changes. In simple words, social action may be as public promotion of a cause, measure, or objective in an effort to obtain support or official action. Ordinarily, social action involves organised efforts to influence public opinion or official policy or executive action through enlistment of the support of groups or individuals.

Social action is about people coming together to help, improve their lives and solve the problems that are important in their communities.

1.4 Meaning and Definition of Social Action

Let us understand the concept of social action through some of the definitions in the social work literature. Social action is a method of social work used for mobilizing masses in order to bring about structural changes in the social system or to prevent adverse changes. It is an organised effort to change or improve social and economic institutions. Some of the social problems like dowry system, destruction of natural resources, alcoholism, poor housing, health etc can be tackled through social action.

Social action is about people coming together to help improve their lives and solve the problems that are important in their communities. It can broadly be defined as practical action in the service of others such as:

(i) It is carried out by individuals or groups of people working together

(ii) it is not mandated and not for profit,

(iii) it is done for the good of others – individuals, communities and/or society

(iv) it is bringing about social change and or value

In 1922, Mary Richmond had used the term social action in social work for the first time. She has defined social action as ‘’mass betterment through propaganda and social legislation’’.

Gabriel Britto brings out the ‘conflict’ element when he states that “social action is a conflictual process of varying intensity initiated and conducted by the masses or by a group of elites, with or without the participation of the masses in the action against the structures or institutions or policies or programmes or procedures of the government and/or relevant agencies and/or power groups to eradicate/ control any mass socio-economic-political problem with a view to bringing betterment to any section of the under-privileged at a level larger than that of a sociologically defined community”. This definition brings out also the role of leaders from outside the affected groups initiating and conducting social action movements.

Roger Baldwin defines social action as “organised effort to change social and economic institutions as distinguished from social work or social service, the fields which characteristically cover essential changes in the established institutions. Social action covers movements of political reform, industrial democracy, social legislation, racial and social justice, religious freedom and civil liberty; its techniques include propaganda, research nd

lobbying". This definition does not specifically refer to social action as seeking change in a manner consistent with social work values. However, it mentions that the action for change will be within the parameters of the existing institutional framework.

However, in the same line Friedlander (1977) defines social action as an individual, group or community effort within the framework of social work philosophy and practice that aims to achieve social progress, to modify social policies and to improve social legislation and health and welfare services.

Further, social action is a term applied to that aspect of organised social welfare actively directed towards shaping, modifying or maintaining the social institutions and policies that collectively constitute the social environment (Wickendon, 1956).



Social action in the field of social work is a process of individual, group or inter-group endeavour, within the context of social work philosophy, knowledge and skill.

Solender (1957) states that social action in the field of social work is a process of individual, group or inter-group endeavour, within the context of social work philosophy, knowledge and skill. Its objective is to enhance the welfare of society through modifying social policy and the functioning of social structure, working to obtain greater progress and better services. It is, therefore, evident that social action has been viewed as a method of bringing about structural changes along with social legislation.

According to Talcott Parsons a social action is a process in the actor-situation system which has motivational significance to the individual actor or in the case of collectivity, its component individuals.

Indian Sociologists on Social Action

Indian social work authors also have put forward some viewpoints about the definition and scope of social action.

M.V. Moorthy (1966) states that the scope of social action includes work during catastrophic situations such as fires, floods, epidemics, famines, etc., besides securing social legislation.

M.C. Nanawati(1965) views social action as "a process of bringing about the desired changes by deliberate group and community efforts. Social action does not end with the enactment of social legislation, but the execution of the policies was the real test of success or failure of social action".

The institute of Gandhian studies defines social action as the term commonly applied to social welfare activity which is directed towards shaping or modifying the social institutions and policies that constitute the social environment in which we live.

Surender Singh (1986) maintains that social action is a process in which conscious, systematic and organised efforts are made by some elites and/ or people themselves to bring about change in the system which is instrumental in solving problems and improving conditions which limit the social functioning of weaker and vulnerable sections. It is, on the practical plane, nearer to social reform than to social revolution, which aims at smashing the entire existing social structure and to build up a new social set- up. It is conflictual in nature but at the same time non-violent.



Check your Progress

1. Define Social Action.
2. Explain social action as a method of social work.

1.5 SOCIAL ACTION AS A METHOD OF SOCIAL WORK

Every profession has a tested body of knowledge, which includes principles, techniques, methods, procedures, tools and terminology of its own. The same is true with professional social work. In social work profession, there are six methods divided into primary and secondary methods. One of the secondary method is Social Action. This method brings about betterment in structure of the society and also helps in preventing negative changes which may happen. Thus social action as a method of social work is a very significant method. It helps the masses to come together and bring changes in the society in which one is living.

Social action, as a method of professional social work practice, is an organised effort to change or improve social and economic institutions through organisation and mobilization of the community people. Unlike other social work methods, social action emphasizes on long-term essential changes in established social institutions. Social action covers movements of social, religious and political reform, social legislation, racial and social justice, human rights, freedom and civic liberty. Previously social action was considered as a tool within the field of community organisation, but now it has been considered as a separate technique of social work.

Why social action is considered a method of professional social work? A method of professional social work is a technique or approach having characteristics like: an established process with easily recognizable stages, based on the philosophy of social work, having principles or guidelines or theories, skills of working with people which are learned and refined through professional guidance. Let us view social action within these parameters.

Social action process, more or less, passes through the recognizable and systematic stages. First of all, a scientific analysis or research on the social problem affecting the community people is carried out. Then, awareness is generated regarding various aspects of the problem and people are encouraged to take collective and collaborative action to solve the problem. Third stage is centred on organising people for coordinated and directed intervention whereas in further stage suitable strategies are developed to achieve the goals and lastly, action is taken. Every social action process passes through these stages and professional social workers or actionists are well-equipped with knowledge and skills required in different stages.

As a method of social work, social action adheres to the philosophy of professional social work. It does not blame people for the deficiency or

problem. It strongly believes in the worth and dignity of human beings. The unfit person has the same fundamental rights as do the more fit, and the rich or powerful is not necessarily fit, and nor a poor or weak is indeed unfit. It adopts a commitment to the capacity of all the people to take action to improve their life circumstances. It grounds this action on a process of open participation in which people, preferably collectively explore the underlying social issues of their life situations as the foundation for action. Practitioners do not lead, but, through a non-elitist highly skilled process, they facilitate members in making choices and taking action for themselves.

Like any other method of professional social work, social action does have certain principles. These principles are

Firstly, the community people must have the faith and confidence in the social worker (**principle of credibility building**).

The social actionist or social worker should make the people believe that their actions to achieve the set goals are legitimate (**principle of legitimization**).

Certain strategies adopted like *dharna*, *morcha*, slogans, emotional powerful speeches, rallies create dramatic effects in social action (**principle of dramatization**).

Social action does not depend on a single strategy, rather it adopts many different ways and means to achieve the goal (**principle of multiple strategies**).

Social action must not rest only on conflictual activities with authorities. It should also concentrate on constructive developmental activities along with confrontation (**principle of dual approach**).

Social action does not confine itself to a single aspect of the social issue. Rather, it emphasizes on programmes having multi-pronged aspects like social, economic, cultural, etc. (**principle of manifold programmes**).

Social workers or actionists, during social action, make use of these principles for achieving the overall goal of social justice.

Social action has a definite set of goals and objectives. The goal of social action is redistribution with regard to resources and power to provide social justice to all. Its objective is the proper shaping and development of socio-cultural environment in which a richer and fuller life may be possible for all the citizens.

Social action as a method of social work, is an organised effort to change or improve social and economic institutions, as distinguished from other methods of social work, which do not characteristically cover essential changes in established institutions through confrontation with the authorities. It may be described as organised group effort to solve mass problems or to further socially desirable objectives by attempting to influence or change basic social and economic conditions or practices. It always involves public pressure in one form or the other. However, it does not approve of physical coercion or violence. Another aim of social action, which has been mentioned by many social work scholars, is formulation of or change in existing social



Social action, as a method of social work profession, is a powerful tool of bringing about positive changes in the social system for the betterment of the masses.

legislation. Once the legislation comes into force, its implementation at the ground level is another salient task of social actionists or social workers. Thus we see that social action, as a method of social work profession, is a powerful tool of bringing about positive changes in the social system for the betterment of the masses.

1.6 TYPOLOGY OF SOCIAL ACTION

Britto has identified two types of social action:

1. Elitist Model
2. Popular Action Model

1. Elitist Model:

Social action is a conflictual process of varying intensity, initiated and conducted by the masses or by a group of elites, with or without the participation of the masses in the action against the structures or institutions or policies or programmes or procedures of the government and / or relevant agencies and / or power groups to eradicate / control any mass socio-economic-political problem with a view to bringing betterment to any section of under-privileged at a level larger than that of sociologically defined community.

In this model only elites i.e the people with higher status and responsible position initiate and conduct the action or movement for the benefit of the masses. Here the general or target population is not involved directly in the process but sometimes, people from the mass also participate and put their effort together for bringing about suitable change in the system by influencing it through social legislation. Whenever social action is carried out by the elite, exclusively or with marginal participation of the masses, it is termed 'elitist social action'.

Elitist Model of Social Action has 3 sub models:

(A) Legislative Social Action Model: In this model, elites try to modify the social policy by creating public opinion against the problems and bring a suitable legislation. Strategies like media advocacy, lobbying, networking, judicial advocacy etc. are used in this model. Legislative social action is the process in which some elites either by themselves or in coalition with like-minded individuals, legislators or agencies resort to lobbying and allied activities in order to achieve some benefits for the entire segment of people or prevent some maladies from affecting their clientele or to remove some problem that is hindering their growth.

The usual method is sitting in commissions conducting studies on the gravity, extent and urgency of the problem; preparing scientific, 'feasible' suggestions; creating public opinion; lobbying; entering into conference with the concerned officials and Ministers; getting the rule/law/appropriation approved; and assisting in proper implementation of the new policy by monitoring. For instance,

initiatives for the prevention of 'Sati' Act, 1929 by Raja Ram Mohn Roy, movement for Right to Information Act, 2005, Gandhi's stayagraha in the Chamaparan on behalf of the indigo workers in 1921 are some of the classic examples of legislative social action models in India. The attempt of Desai and her Colleagues from 1961 to get a law enacted for adoption is also an example of legislative social action.

(B) Economic Sanction Model: In this process, the elites gain, control over some economic resource and use it as a threat to obtain benefits for their clientele. The elites such as Social Activists, Social Workers, Union Leaders etc by gaining control over some economic, social, political and religious weapon try to obtain benefits for the society. For instance, when some labour officers have bargained for pay hikes,

medical insurance, education facilities for children, safe drinking water etc. with the responsible management. Protests by NGOs and other civic bodies against Special Economic Zone by taking the possession of their land are some of such social action models in India.

(C) Direct Physical Model: The elites take the law into their own hands and punish or threaten to punish those who are either the cause of injustice or as those perpetuating the causes and thus try to bring about benefit to their clientele. This model is sometimes criticized by some people on the ground that the elites under this model take law into their hands to punish the violators of law who cause suffering to the people.

(2) Popular Social Action Model:

In this model, the people who are victimized or who suffer due to the defective system, stand in the front of action and lead the movement against the unjust and defective system, structure, policies, agencies or individuals. Unlike the elitist model, the elites in this model may help the people through guidance, education, facilitation and advocacy but do not directly involve in the movement.

This model has also 3 sub categories of its own:

(A) Conscientisation Model: Paulo Freire developed the concept of conscientisation. He believed that education can be a tool for re-education. His main focus is to create awareness among masses through education. Conscientisation process results not merely in the production of literary skills, but it is intended to assist the participants to become subjects of their own history; to liberate themselves from all structures which inhibit the rationalisation of their full humanity through action.

(B) Dialectical Model: It promotes conflict to exploit the contradictions in a system, with the belief that a better system will emerge as a result. Dialectic means the art of logical disputation. When

individuals or groups take up extreme positions and argue, the position of one may be taken as the thesis and that of the other as the antithesis. As a result of their argumentation, if they come to a certain conclusion acceptable by both, the result may be termed as synthesis. Thus the positing of contradictory positions and arriving at a better conclusion is termed as dialectics in logic. They assume that all social forces in nature and human institutions clash and develop.

(C) Direct Mobilization Model: In this process, specific issues are taken up by the actionists and the masses are mobilized to resort to protests and strikes to achieve the objectives. The elites pick up specific grievances and issues pertaining to the oppressed. They analyse the causes which are at the root of injustice and formulate the alternative policies and procedures and mobilise the masses for protest activities for the purpose of achieving the set objective.

1.7 SCOPE OF SOCIAL ACTION:

The scope of any method emanates from the way the profession shapes itself, its aims and goals, its commitments and how it defines its subject matter.

The scope of Social Action is very vast and it is one of the most apt methods of social work practices in today's context as the approach of social work practice has shifted from charity to empowerment. The innovative approaches, participatory techniques, outreach, and holistic thinking are critically important in creating a better world, which is in indeed the vision of social work profession.

It is important to understand the systems from the perspective of social work intervention which determines the scope of Social Action. They are Change Agent system, client system, Target system and Action system. As a method of professional social work, social action has remained an issue with wide ranging of opinions regarding its scope, strategies and tactics to be used, its status as a method and its relevance to social work practice. Some of the scope of Social Action are the following:

i) Cure as well as prevention of social problems

Scope of social action depends on how its aims are formulated. Its aim is dependent on the aim of social work profession. If social work profession is concerned with providing wholesome, rich and abundant life for everyone, then it is logical for social workers to try to probe beyond end results, to uncover causes and to seek prevention rather than that of merely cure or treatment. It also depends on how the causative factors for human problems are understood. Also if the aim of social action is modification of earlier legislation, bringing in new legislation or the bringing about a revolution, then the social action centres on these activities. However, if the liberal tradition informs the democratic systems, and there is focus on generating more economic growth and develop more social services to meet those problems – then social action will focus on the inadequacy of social services,

social legislation and other similar issues. But if there are questions regarding whether growth is justified at the cost of equality, or whether it is required at all, and whether there are alternatives available to the development model proposed, then the scope of social action is linked to these questions and seeking solutions for these. Then it also goes beyond existing legal norms as the concept of legality in itself is a relative concept.

ii) Welfare provisions of the state

The scope of the method has to be seen in the light of the constitutional and other welfare provisions of the state as also the existing disparities and social concerns, emanating from the social context. These may include such areas as poverty, unemployment and livelihood issues – the watershed management and public health, ecological disasters, displacement and relocation issues of both rural and urban population and land acquisition issues, equity in educational provisions, the right to development, right to livelihood and the reduced space for the marginalized in the increasingly favourable climate for privatization of resources and services, demanding equity and access in energy resources are all areas which call for a mass, intermediate and micro level social action. There is a need to demand not only what is due but also prevent what is threatened in terms of loss of livelihoods, in the light of increasing spending on mega infrastructure projects, which may take away land of the poor and the marginalized in the urban fringes. Expansion and development of urbanization with Master Plans favouring the rich and the resourceful which at the same time reduce urban livelihood options for the self-employed such as vendors. Such issues are fertile grounds for social action.



Issues of farmers' plight and their concerns, plant and seed patents and farmer's rights, access to water and power, WTO implications for agriculture are areas worthy of social action.

iii) Matters related to systems, institutions, policy, practices, procedures could become by and large the focus of social action.

Discrimination by state and other vested interests, showing outright prejudice towards certain sections of population such as the religious minorities or the politically marginalized are yet another area for social action to alleviate distress and injustice. Questions of breach of civil, Political and social rights, and many other areas which impinge on the interface between ethics and human beings and their rights for rightful living are all areas that have considerable scope for social action. Issues of farmers' plight and their concerns, plant and seed patents and farmer's rights, access to water and power, WTO implications for agriculture are areas worthy of social action.

1.8 PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL ACTION:

The principles of Social Action are as follows:

1. Principle of Credibility Building:

The social action principle has to be based on the felt needs of the community. The felt needs of the community have to be derived from social justice and natural law. In any community, when there is a violation of social justice and natural law, there is a need for social action process.

It is the task of creating public image of leadership, the organisation and the participants of the movement as champions of justice, rectitude and truth. It helps in securing due recognition from the opponent, the reference-public and the peripheral participants of the movement. Credibility can be built through one or many of the following ways:

a) Gestures of goodwill towards the opponent

b) Example setting(

c) Selection of typical, urgently felt problems for struggles(

d) Success: Successful efforts help in setting up credibility of the leader and the philosophy he/ she is preaching.

2. Principle of Legitimisation:

Legitimisation is the process of convincing the target group and the general public that the movement-objectives are morally right. It emphasizes a kind of legal backing for any action initiated by the community. In other words, any action by the mass for a change requires the acceptance and the commitment of the people. The people have to be aware of the action, which is initiated and decided by the community, and the members are part of the action and also have an understanding of the consequences of actions.

The ideal would be making a case for the movement as a moral imperative. Leaders of the movement might use theological, philosophical, legal-technical, public opinion paths to establish the tenability of the movement's objectives. Legitimisation is a continuous process. Before launching the programme, the leaders justify their action. Subsequently, as the conflict exhilarates to higher stages and as the leader adds new dimension to their programme, further justification is added and fresh arguments are put forth. Such justification is not done by leaders alone. In the course of their participation, followers too, contribute to the legitimisation process. Following are the three approaches to legitimisation:

a) Theological and religious approach to legitimisation:

b) Moral approach to legitimisation:

c) Legal-technical approach to legitimization:

3. Principle of Dramatisation:

Dramatisation is the principle of mass mobilisation by which the leaders of a movement galvanize the population into action by emotional appeals to heroism, sensational news- management, novel procedures, pungent slogans and such other techniques. Almost every leader mobilising the masses, uses this principle of dramatisation. Tilak, Marx, and the Assam agitation leaders, resorted to this principle. Some of the mechanisms of dramatisation could be:

a) Use of songs

b) Powerful speeches

c) Role of women

d) Boycott

e) Slogans

4. Principle of Multiple Strategies:

There are two basic approaches to development: conflictual and non-conflictual. Taking the main thrust of a programme, one can classify it as political, economic or social. This principle indicates the adoption of a multiple strategy, using combined approaches and also a combination of different types of programmes. Zeltman and Duncan have identified four development strategies from their experience of community development. These are framed as:

a) Educational strategy

b) Persuasive strategy

c) Facilitative strategy

d) Power strategy

5. Principle of Dual Approach:

In the process of social action, while working with the oppressed and the suppressed people, the social activists need to adopt more than one approach. These approaches have duality in nature. One approach may create a conflict whereas the other one has to work towards stability. This principle indicates that while doing one thing one should not forget the other. It can also be stated that people should be made aware that the social action process may be for a conflict or for stability.

6. Principle of Manifold Programmes:

It means developing a variety of programmes with the ultimate objective of mass mobilization. These can be broadly categorized into three parts: Social, Economic and Political programme. Dr.Rajendra Singh has taken up the issue of water conservation as a composite of manifold programmes. His water conservation helped the villagers, particularly women, who had to go miles to fetch water. It helped in better development of crops, better animal husbandry, implying more economic benefits. During the movement, there were direct and indirect conflict resolutions with the local leaders, panchayat bodies and state government.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

3. Write a scope of social action.

4. Describe dramatization.



1.9 LET US SUM UP

Social action is a method of professional social work aimed at solving social problems through redistribution of power and resources. Its objective is to achieve social justice and empowerment of the community. Social action mobilizes the general population to bring about structural changes in the social system. Social action is weighed through certain parameters to establish that it is a method of professional social work. It has a recognized process with easily identifiable stages. It rests on the philosophy that every individual is worthy and has the capacity to improve his life conditions. Like any other method of professional social work, social action does have certain principles and social workers or actionists, during social action, make use of these principles for achieving the overall goal of social justice. Social action does have a definite set of goals of providing social justice to all. It employs certain strategies and tactics like negotiation, persuasion, competition, disruption, collaboration, bargain, strikes, boycotts to attain its objectives, which makes it different from other social work methods. However, it rejects violence and blood-shedding. Social workers practicing social action are well versed with certain skills that are developed through teaching-learning and training.



1.10 FURTHER READING

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1.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1 According to Talcott Parsons a social action is a process in the actor-situation system which has motivational significance to the individual actor or in the case of collectivity, its component individuals.

2 Social action is a method of social work used for mobilizing masses in order to bring about structural changes in the social system or to prevent adverse changes. It is an organised effort to change or improve social and economic institutions.

3 Scope of social action depends on how its aims are formulated. Its aim is dependent on the aim of social work profession. If social work profession is concerned with providing wholesome, rich and abundant life for everyone, then it is logical for social workers to try to probe beyond end results, to uncover causes and to seek prevention rather than that of merely cure or treatment.

4 Dramatisation is the principle of mass mobilisation by which the leaders of a movement galvanize the population into action by emotional appeals to heroism, sensational news- management, novel procedures, pungent slogans and such other techniques. Almost every leader mobilising the masses, uses this principle of dramatisation.



1.12 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. What do you understand by Social Action?
2. Explain Social Action as a Social Work Method.
3. Mention the principles of Social Action.
4. Describe the scope of Social Action.

UNIT 2- STRATEGIES AND MODELS OF SOCIAL ACTION

Unit Structure:

2.1 Learning Objectives
2.2 Introduction
2.3 Strategy of Social Action
2.4 Models of Social Action
2.5 Social Action and Social Change
2.6 Social Work and Social Action
2.7 Let Us Sum Up
2.8 Further Reading
2.9 Check Your Progress
2.10 Model Questions

2.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- The strategy of social action
- The models of social action
- The inter-relationship between Social Action and Social Change
- The importance of Social Action in Social Work

2.2 INTRODUCTION

Social action, as a process, can be suitably employed when other methods of social work like group work and community organisation unable to meet the needs of the clientele group. Social action comes into force when the resources are in the hands of a few people and they dictate their own terms and conditions, when power equation is imbalanced and rights are denied to a particular section of the community. Social action aims at equitable distribution of resources and power among different stakeholders. Professional social work, for long, has relied on primary methods (casework, group work and community organisation) in resolving remedies to human problems. However, in the sixties of the 20th century, there was growing realization about human environmental situation as an integrated whole. It required holistic approach and more dependence on the primary methods of social work was being questioned. Social institutions and social structure were found inadequate to fulfil the needs of individuals and groups. Therefore, the relevance of social action is being increasingly realised. Social action helps in mobilizing masses to bring about structural changes in the social system. It is an organised effort to change or improve social and economic

institutions. It encompasses movements of political reform, industrial democracy, social legislation and social justice. Social action, like any other method of social work, uses certain strategies and employs certain tactics during its process to bring about the desired results.

2.3 STRATEGY OF SOCIAL ACTION

Strategy means 'a plan of action designed to achieve a long-term or overall aim'. It is used as a means of social action. The strategy determines the tactics used. Tactics is an action carefully planned to achieve a specific end. Tactics used in social action are strikes, boycott, tax-refusal, persuasion, picketing, marches, fraternization, haunting, leafleting, sit-in, reversal strike, obstruction, renouncing honours, etc.

In any community, if there is a need for adopting social action method, it has to take into account certain definite steps. The community can adopt plan of action only after these. The preliminary steps for deciding about a strategy are:

- **Redefine A Problem:**

The community has to clearly understand the situation after studying and analyzing the problem. They must have to redefine the problem by dividing it into smaller components so that it can be a manageable one. Otherwise, the problem is complex and cannot be managed easily. Therefore, defining a problem is very essential.

- **Formulation Of Achievable Objective:**

The redefining of the problem would enable us to formulate objectives, which are easily achievable. This stage would help us to make a specific objective, which could be translated into meaningful action plan for easy implementation.

- **Design A Plan To Achieve These Objectives:**

This is an important stage in any social action strategy because without this the action cannot be put into practice. The formulated objectives have to be converted into plan of action keeping in mind the various resources like time, money and personnel.

Here it may be noted that people's participation in prioritizing their own needs and determining the objectives as well as the strategies for social action is of utmost importance.

The following are the social action strategies formulated by few Social Activists:

(A) **Zeltman and Duncan** have identified four developmental strategies from their experience of community development. These are; **education strategy, persuasive strategy, facilitative strategy, and power strategy.**

1. **Education Strategy**

a) Adult Education

Gandhiji adopted this strategy in almost all his campaigns. In this strategy, the prospective participants are educated at the individual, group and mass level.

- **Individual level work:** At the Bardoli, the Satyagraha volunteers went to the farmers individually and explained to them the causes, functions and implications of their involvement in the Satyagraha.

- **Group level work:** Gandhi also operated at the group level. He propagated for this purpose a new type of adult education which he called 'political education'.

- **Mass level work:** To conduct mass level education, Gandhi and his followers used oral and printed media. Mass meetings were held on innumerable occasions and in places for localized and national campaign.

b) Education by Demonstration

There is ample literature in extension science on the utility of the demonstration technique for increasing knowledge, developing a positive attitude, and for including the largest population to adopt the innovation. Gandhi used demonstration in his campaign for i) Converting the Congress ii) Conversion to the Congress iii) Converting the opponents.

2. **Persuasive Strategy**

Persuasive strategy is the adoption of a set of procedure to bring about change by reasoning, urging and inducing others to accept a viewpoint. Gandhi used this strategy constantly seeking opportunities for dialogue with opponents. At Vaikom, an intense attempt was made to convert the state authorities and Brahman opponents. The volunteers in their training were oriented towards understanding the viewpoint of their orthodox opponents and upon winning them over by persuasion.

3. Facilitative Strategy

This refers to a set of procedures and activities to facilitate the participation of all sections of the society in the mass movement. Gandhi's preference for non- violent action eliminated the necessity for expensive weapons. This preference made his campaign compatible with monetary realities of the participants and it reduced the moral qualms arising out of the general social ethos of ahimsa of the country. This preference also facilitates women to participate fully in the programme. In Salt-Satyagraha, Gandhi did not go into the technicalities of salt making. He simply asked the followers to make consumable salt by boiling the seawater. Its simplicity did facilitate greater participation

4. Power Strategy

It involves the use of coercion to obtain the desired objectives. The forms of coercion may vary. Gandhi used social ostracism as one of the technique of the power strategy; Satyagrahis were instructed not to injure the dissenter physically and not to cut the flow of necessities to him. They made the delinquent a political outcast and put them beyond the pale of social intercourse. Gandhi gave a call to the titleholders to relinquish their honorary positions though it did not bear fruit in the initial stage. But by using the technique of social ostracism, much progress was made. The programme of picketing and *dharna* are the part of power strategy adopted by the Gandhi.



The programme of picketing and *dharna* are the part of power strategy adopted by Gandhi.

(B) Sarvodaya Strategy

In the Indian context, the Sarvodaya Movement is one of the best example of social action. The process used by Sarvodaya workers is quite similar to the process of social action.The stages are:

1) **Prachar (Publicity):** It involves creating awareness at the mass level. The propaganda is meant for mass mobilization for taking action at the integrated level.

2) **Parichaya (Introduction):** This is a stage of introduction to the clientele and their social needs and problems. In this stage, social issues and strategies are introduced to the masses.

3) **Adhyayan (Survey or Study):** Information is gathered from the population on the burning issues and its impact on the socio-economic and cultural aspects of life are discussed in great detail.

4) **Sahavasa (Association):** Cooperation is sought from different people and organisations working in the same area and or on similar issues.

5) **Seva (Service):** Welfare and developmental services are offered to the target population. It helps in establishing support.

6) **Pratikar (Resistance):** It involves coercive measures against the existing authority, which require change of power, structure and/or functioning.
7) **Construction work or community service:** Emphasis is on the constructive activities carried out at the community level. This enhances the credibility of the movement.

8) **Building the climate of change:** Social environment is made conducive to positive change.

The constructive social service and peaceful non-violent ways of achieving social change are the basic principles followed in Gandhian approach.. In fact, Gandhians strongly advocate the constructive work'. This includes activities like relief work in emergencies such as floods, setting up basic education schools, the promotion of *Khadi* and other cottage industries and crafts, anti-liquor propaganda, and social work among the *Harijans* and the women.

Das Gupta while speaking about the non-violent social action model observed that although non-violent social action uses conflicts and struggles as weapons, its purpose is not to 'defeat' an enemy but to 'win' him over. The aim is not to crush an individual, or to destroy an opponent however importantly placed he may be in a system, but to change the system and to protect the body and the psyche of the so called 'enemy' – both for his own good as also for the good whom the person opposes. Its aim is not to win only a struggle but to establish new values and norms, which may pioneer the way to a new society. Means are ends in the non-violent battle and the ends are means. Since the two are equated in the structure of the method of non-violent action, the latter cannot, and does not, use ends to justify the means but harps on the need for adopting pure means for reaching pure goals.

(C) Desai (1984) has classified the strategies available to social workers into three categories:

1. Collaborative:

This is based on the assumption that people in power will agree to change even when a conflict approach is not adopted. Change can be brought about because "the intended change is either the lesser of the two evils or they have themselves identified the factors which affect the very existence of the institution or the achievement of its goals; they are disenchanted, or dissatisfied and therefore willing to engage in the change effort though some part of the system may show initial resistance".

2. Bargaining, Negotiating and Advocacy:

The assumption here is that since resistance is anticipated, some kind of mild pressure would be necessary. In the words of Desai: "These could

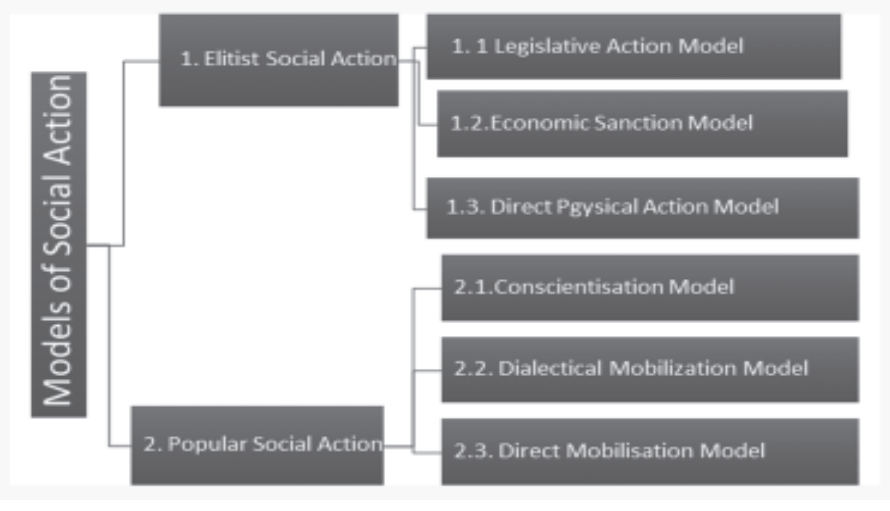
include techniques of bargaining and negotiation, publicity which leads to discomfort for the target of change, advocacy through the media and attempts to isolate the target group from the opinions of the community at large. The techniques utilized may, to some extent, deviate from the usual interpersonal behaviours, and include methods such as satyagraha, morcha, and other methods of dramatizing the situation and developing public opinion".

3. Conflictual/Confrontational:

The assumption here is that there is a fundamental difference in positions and viewpoints and therefore strong pressure tactics become necessary (such as, demonstration and civil disobedience, or direct action). Since conflict in its more extreme manifestations could mean annihilation, elimination, defeat or subjugation, these have not been mentioned by Desai as possible tactics, probably because they are not in harmony with the educational philosophy of social work.

2.4 MODELS OF SOCIAL ACTION

A 'model' of social action means a peculiar way or process of achieving set goals with certain identifiable stages and characteristics. Stated differently, social action, in its process of achieving its objectives, adopts certain manner or modality, which is termed as 'model of social action'. Britto has identified two types of social action. The first he terms as **Elitist Social Action** while the second is termed as **Popular Social Action.** Each of the two have three sub divisions.



1. Elitist Social Action

He describes Elitist Social Action as the action initiated and conducted by the elites for the benefits of the masses. He identified three sub-models of Elitist social action;

1.1 Legislative Action Model:

A process in which some elites either by themselves of in coalition with like-minded individuals, legislators or agencies resort to lobbying and allied activities in order to achieve some benefits for the entire segments of the people or prevent some maladies form affecting their clientele or to remove some problem that is hindering their growth. The usual method is elite groups are conducting studies on the gravity, extent and urgency of the problems, creating public opinion and lobbying and try to modify social policy or legislations.

1.2 Economic Sanction Model:

In this process, the elites by gaining control over some economic, social and political or religious institutions and try to obtain benefits of the society. Saul Alinskey's 'proxies for the people' is a programme of this kind. He approached the middle class group, and the churchmen who owned stocks in Eastman Kodak Company and obtained several proxies for his organization, FIGHT. With the strength of these proxies, FIGHT forced the Board of Directors of the company to open a training centre and to provide a job programme for the Blacks.

1.3 Direct Physical Action Model:

A process where elites take the law in their own hands and punish those who responsible for the cause of injustice and thus try to bring about benefit to their clientele. The Mau Mau Movement and the Forty groups in Kenya did much to hasten the day of freedom for that country by their 'terroristic' activities. Naxalites adopted the same process on the perpetrators of feudal oppression. Their action has drawn national attention to the problems of the rural poor and enlightened self-interest has urged the rulers to announce several reform measures after the outbreak of Naxalbari activities. A more typical example of this model would be what Indian revolutionary groups did during the freedom struggle (Gupta, 1972).

(2) Popular Social Action

The second type of social action he termed as Popular Social Action, and identified three sub models:

2.1 Conscientization Model:

Paulo Friere developed the concept of conscientization initially in the South American context. Later, through his experience in the U.S. and Guinea-Bissau, he has further clarified the pedagogy of the oppressed. Friere felt that this situation contained exciting possibilities for the true liberation of humankind as well as for the efficient demonstration of man (Friere, 1972). He believed education can be a tool for and it is based on concept of creating awareness among masses through education.

2.2 **Dialectical Mobilization Model**:

Dialectic means the art of logical disputation. When individuals or groups take up extreme positions and argue, the position of one may be taken as the thesis and that of the others as the antithesis. Supposing that, as a result of their argumentation, they come to a certain conclusion acceptable to both, the result may be termed synthesis. It is promoting conflict to exploit the contradictions in a system, with the belief that a better system will emerge as a result

2.3 **Direct Mobilization Model**:

In this process, the action takes up specific issues pertaining to the oppressed, they analyse the causes which are the root of injustice; they formulate the alternative policies and procedures to mobilize the masses for protest activities for the purpose of achieving the set objective

2.5 SOCIAL ACTION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Social Change:

The idea of "social change" and the effort to find an explanation to it are challenging but elusive. The understanding of the phenomenon of social change has been a constant challenge to man. In spite of all the progress, both in technology and social theory, one is still unable to answer the 'why' and the 'how of social change. Parsons says: "A general theory of the process of change of social system is not possible in the present state of knowledge".



Social change is a transformation of cultures, institutions and functions of society. Most of the changes are not instantaneous. In society, change is often very slow.

Social change is a transformation of cultures, institutions and functions of society. Most of the changes are not instantaneous. In society, change is often very slow. There are a variety of parts and forces at work, many of which resist disruptions of the status quo. All societies go through these types of changes at one point. No society stays static for forever. Social change has three main triggers: Conflict, Demographic Change, and Cultural Change.

Social change occurs due to various factors. Factors can be viewed either as Endogenous (i.e, internal to the society concerned) or Exogenous.

i) **Endogenous or Internal factors** include the infrastructural facilities, their distribution among people and people's access to them. Social change occurs due to interaction and conflict caused by different values of the old and the young, the literate and the illiterate, the urban and the rural folk.

ii) **Exogenous or External factors** of change emphasise such forces in a society which are beyond human control like natural disasters. Some other factors that affect social change are demographic factors, technology, cultural factors, political factors, economic

factors, and education. In short, Social change refers to the transformation of culture and social institutions over time.

Social action is aimed at social change as well as lead to social change:

Social action is any behaviour of an individual influenced by or directed toward other individuals, groups, or objects. Social action leads to social movements; rather social movements are social actions. Social movements refer to collective activities designed to bring about or resist primary changes in an existing society or group. Social action is directed towards social change. Social action mobilizes the general population to bring about structural changes in the social system. Social Action has a great deal of potential to bring about the systemic change in society. Social action is essentially an effort at initiating suitable changes and reforms to improve socio-economic conditions and to better the social climate. Social action, with its dynamism and passion for pro-people change could act as a transformative force. Social action mobilizes the general population to bring about structural changes in the social system.

On the other hand, it is true to say that social change can lead to social action. Social change is the end result of the cumulative actions of the individuals and groups. Social change often occurs as a result of social movements. Many social changes are results of social movements and actions of individuals a groups. Society rarely changes by itself. The changes are the result of the concerted effort and collective action of a large number of individuals, which we call social action.

Thus, social action and social change are closely linked. Social action is essentially an effort at initiating suitable changes and reforms to improve socio-economic conditions and to better the social climate.

2.6 SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIAL ACTION

Social action is a method of professional social work aimed at solving social problems through redistribution of power and resources. Its objective is to achieve social justice and empowerment of the community. Social action mobilizes the general population to bring about structural changes in the social system. Social Action is seen within Social Work as one of its auxiliary methods. It is often seen as a difficult method to practice because Social Action is perceived to be very radical and confrontationist and to be inviting problems in a tradition-bound society.

Social work education historically was started by laying emphasis on curative methods. Hence, social action as a method of Social Work was not given much space either in education or in practice. In the 1950's, most of the voluntary organizations 'were either relief providers (satisfying the immediate needs of the people) or institutionalized programmes sponsored by schools and hospitals' (Fernandes, 1980). But in the 1960s many realized that this

approach fails to reach the neediest and, still more, to make them self-reliant. Efforts were therefore focused on functional literacy and technical education as well as growth-oriented economic and technological inputs. In the 1970s, this approach was also found wanting. A new type of education, geared to making the weakest sections aware of their situation, to enable them to become active agents of their own development and change in their society, was thus considered essential. Education and organization of people, especially the disadvantaged, were considered essential ingredients to counteract the better-off from monopolizing the benefits of development. During 1975-76 voluntary organizations (VO) adopted another approach, that of education and organization of the disadvantaged. And in this process VOs were often renamed as "Social Action Groups" (SAGs) and "Social Workers" of VOs became "Social Activists".



VOs were often renamed as "Social Action Groups" (SAGs) and "Social Workers" of VOs became "Social Activists".

SAGs, known by various names like VOs, Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs), Grassroots Initiatives, Non-Party Political Formations, Semi-Political Formations, Transformative Action Groups, etc. in the 1970s widely spoke of and utilized social action approach.

Position of Social Action within Social Work in India

Social work education was initially based on an individual-urban based model. The late sixties have revealed that industrialization cannot eliminate poverty even from the affluent societies. It has brought to the fore the global need to emphasize the teaching of social action, social policy and social administration, since it is the social milieu and not only the individual, that is the major client of the profession.

The reorganization of social work itself and market situation for social work have led to the marginalization of social action as a method of social work. Given these trends, social action as a method will remain on the periphery rather than become a central method. In the quest to attain 'professional' status social work had to face the dilemma of finding compatibility between social work which could play conformist role and social action which demanded a confrontationist role. Hence, very often than not, the process of professionalization of social work led to the weakening of social action as a method.

Need for Mainstreaming Social Action within Social Work

Social work reflects the society that produces it (Dominelli, 2004). It is a profession that is conducted within a society driven by inequalities which are both produced and reinforced in and through social work itself. Hence, social workers have to oppose existing structural inequalities and oppression, including those which they perpetuate, if they are to become more inclusive. To do this, social work has to go beyond the regional and inward-looking approach. In this context, social action, with its dynamism and passion for pro-people change could be act as a transformative force

in the interest of professional social work. It could enable social work to renew its commitment to human rights and justice, and also to effectively face the challenges of neoliberal globalization.

Importance of social action within the field of social work is well expressed K.K. Jacob (1965) when he states that: Social action is essentially an effort at initiating suitable changes and reforms to improve socio-economic conditions and to better the social climate, which objective is shared by the social work profession. Hence, it is easy to see that social workers have to play an important role in social action. In fact, they should be the central figures who should get the interested individuals and groups together and function as the prime movers in this primary movement for making the neighbourhood and the country at large, a better place in which to live and function.

A Method, A Model, An Approach ?

It is to be accepted that there is quite a lot of confusion among the social work writers as to whether Social Action is a method, model or approach of Social Work. Mary Richmond (1922) and many others (Jacob, 1965; Siddiqui, 1984, etc.) argue that Social Action is an accepted method of Social Work. Rothman's (1974) discusses Social Action as one of the three models of Community Organization (other two being locality development and social planning). Saldanha (2008), however, believes that it is better to look at social action as an approach of social work.

Further, Social action might be pedagogically transacted, instead of as an isolated method, as a methodological approach that foregrounds the tactics/ methods employed by this strategy/approach while being inclusive of other methods (similar to the approach of integrated social work practice). While case work and group work may be visualised as functioning primarily at the level of individual human inter-subjectivity and interaction; and community organization may be seen as organising interest-based, social formations larger than groups for intervention; social action as an approach may justifiably be conceptualized as an approach/methodology that is inclusive of the foregoing methods and yet having its own distinct methods based on class and other identities (caste, tribe, gender, race, and so on) for addressing structural issues of redistribution. Whatever may be the difference of opinion on the position of Social Action within Social Work profession it needs to be emphasized that there is, by and large, unanimity on its relevance and importance.

Methods like Social Case Work, Group Work and Community Organization do not suffice to reduce mass problems like poverty and income inequality which have deep rooted systemic causes. They are also intertwined with the highly prevalent problems such as feudalism, patriarchy, ritualism, casteism, illiteracy, nepotism, red-tapism, corruption, looting of natural resources, and indiscriminate eviction of indigenous people. These problems are compounded by the Structural adjustment policies and crony capitalism promoted by successive governments, irrespective of their identity and

ideological claims. In such a context, it is imperative to examine the traditional approaches used in Social Work Education and Practice, and accept, once and for all, Social Action as the most appropriate approach (and not as a method) for Social Work Profession.



2.7 LET US SUM UP

Social action as a method of social work becomes a method in certain conditions while it is studied as a model in certain other contexts, though at large it is treated as a social work approach. As an approach, it is an effective tool in the hands of social workers for solving social problems. As a method of social work, it has evolved its own distinct strategy and has evolved as a model of social work. Social action as a method is instrumental in bringing about social change and at the same time social change can cause social actions and movements. Therefore, in recent years social action has become an essential element of social work in western and eastern societies.



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2.9 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What do you mean by Strategy?
2. What is tactics?
3. What are the preliminary steps for deciding a social action strategy?
4. What is Persuasive Strategy?
5. What is Power Strategy?
6. What are the processes of Social Action used by Sarvodaya workers?
7. Name the Models of Social Action?
8. What is Social Change?



2.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Describe the strategies and tactics of Social Action?
2. Discuss the models of Social Action?
3. Discuss the influence of Social Action in Social Change.
4. Throw light on Social Action as a method of Social Work.

UNIT 3- HISTORY OF RADICAL SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

UNIT STRUCTURE

3.1 Learning Objectives
3.2 Introduction
3.3 Settlement House Movement
3.4 Anti-Oppressive Social Work Practice
3.5 Critical Social Work
3.6 Structural Social Work
3.7 Let us sum up
3.8 Further Reading
3.9 Check Your Progress
3.10 Model Questions

3.1. LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you shall be able to

- Understand the beginning of radical social work;
- Analyse the approach of the Settlement House Movement and significance of anti-oppressive practice;
- Comprehend the importance for structural changes that cause oppression.

3.2. INTRODUCTION

Radical Social Work (RSW) emerged in the 1970's due to influence of Marxist theory in Europe and Latin America. Actually, this approach has existed since the start of the profession as seen in the Settlement House Movement to the feminist and anti-racist social approaches. In 1975, radical social work gained more recognition with the publication of the edited book *Radical Social Work* by Roy Bailey and Mike Brake who criticized the traditional social work practice that focussed more on individuals and not addressing the social cause of distress. Radical Social Work aims to improve people's lives not only helping by individuals and families but also by striving for structural change.

Radical Social Work proposed that social distress arises from oppression of the working class by the capitalist elites. Its ideology is to achieve goals of equality and solutions to social problems is to eliminate and make major changes in the existing institutions. Its objective is to increase service or benefit levels, equalize power between clients and bureaucracy. Apart from dealing with clients, it assists them to locate their position and problems within wider social groups and political processes. Techniques for bringing about changes in peaceful ways were passive resistance, demonstrations and strikes, political and social

activism. New social problems such as gender issues, LGBTQ rights, homelessness, battered women etc are given importance in the current radical practice.

Social work has a radical element. In the 1930s and 1940s, Bertha Reynolds, an American Marxist social work academic and activist said that to be a good social worker, one had to be a radical. Radical social work is consistent with the ethics and values of the profession. Different shades of socialism coexist under radical social work label. Different names are applied to radical social work – critical social work, Marxist social work, political social work, progressive social work, socialist social work, socialist welfare and structural social work. This unit shall focus on the early social reform movements and the contemporary practice related to radical social work.

3.3. SETTLEMENT HOUSE MOVEMENT

The Settlement House Movement (SHM) reflects radical social work perspectives, in that it believed in reforming the society rather than the individual. In this way, it differed from the approach of the Charity Organization Society (COS) which believed that individual character needs to be modified in order to resolve social problems. The efforts of the SHM were more community oriented to bring about improvement in the lives of the poor, destitute and the disabled. The SHM's approach to the problem of poverty and to those experiencing it rested on a different assumption from that of the COS movement. Rather than seeing the poor as makers of their own misfortune, it believed that they were victims of an unjust social order that discriminated against large numbers of people so that a few might benefit. Their focus was to reform society rather than the person. Focus of the Movement according to Jane Adams, a key player in SHM is the realm of social ethic and not an individual ethic. She and her friends called for attention to the larger public issues that needed social reform. She established one of the settlements called Hull House in Chicago in 1889 with the goal of finding solutions to social and economic problems and alleviate those issues that affected the entire communities or neighbourhoods.



The SHM's approach to the problem of poverty and to those experiencing it rested on a different assumption from that of the COS movement.

The Settlement House Movement, which combined social advocacy and social services, was a response to the social disorganization that resulted from widespread industrialization, urbanization and immigration. Through group work and neighbourhood organizing strategies, the settlement house workers established neighbourhood centres and offered services such as citizenship training, adult education, counselling, recreation and day care and worked directly with people in attempts to do something about poor sanitary conditions, slum housing, crime, poverty, work conditions, and so on. The staff members were linked to the community because they lived there. Rather than provide charity, they sought to help the communities of immigrants with all their

problems in a geographic area. They used persuasion to get local politicians to provide basic services to the areas they served. People's participation was crucial. It also focused on eliminating class distinctions in the neighbourhood. The settlement house leaders believed that by changing neighbourhood they can improve communities and by changing communities they can develop a better society.

The main purpose was to unite people and organize the poor and working middle-class society to speak up, be their own advocates. These settlements also provided a space for the formation of trade unions and reform movements, to organize meetings and other activities. As people were considered victims of an unjust society, the goal was to reform society. The SHM therefore focused primarily on addressing the causes of poverty and empowering those in need.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



1. What is the main objective of radical social work?
2. What are settlement houses?

3.4. ANTI – OPPRESSIVE SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

In order to understand what anti-oppressive practice (AOP) is, we need to first know what is meant by oppression. Mullaly (2010) defines oppression as occurring when individuals are denied access to opportunities for self-development or survival, excluded from participating in society, assigned an inferior status based on their social group membership or identity, or lack rights that members of a privileged group take for granted. According to Baines (2007), oppression takes place when a person acts or a policy is enacted unjustly against an individual or group because of their affiliation to a specific group. This can be depriving people of a way to make a fair living, or participate in all aspects of social life and experience their basic freedom and rights entitled as human beings.

Young (1990) highlights **five major forms of oppression which include exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism and violence**. It is important to note that there is no hierarchy of oppressed groups, i.e., one social group or category is not more oppressed than another.

So now, let us understand what anti-oppressive social work is. In a broad perspective, it is providing service to people who seek help and make them understand that their problems are associated to social inequality, and realise why they are oppressed and how they can work

towards bringing about a change. Anti-oppressive practice is informed by radical, progressive antiracist, anti-discriminatory, critical, feminist, postmodern and structural social work theory. The main focus is to promote equity, inclusion, transformation and social justice. The structural power dynamics are addressed so that all social groups attain equity and the factors contributing to discrimination and oppression are also dealt with.

According to Dominelli (1996), Anti Oppressive Practice can be defined as a form of social work practice which addresses social divisions and structural inequalities in the work that is done with people. AOP aims to provide more appropriate and sensitive services by responding to people's needs regardless of their social status.

The approach is person centred, trying to reduce the negative effects of structural inequalities on people's lives trying to attain an egalitarian system. Its aim is to empower people and challenge inequalities. Opportunities to bring about change are created only by challenging the oppressive structures. Social divisions are seen in race, class, gender, disability, sexual orientation and age.

Anti-oppressive practice (AOP) is one of the main forms of social justice-oriented social work theory in practice today. Rather than a single approach, AOP is an umbrella term for a number of social justice-oriented approaches to social work, like feminist, Marxist, postmodernist, Indigenous, anti-colonial, anti-racist etc. It believes that social services should be available with a liberatory understanding of social problems through social activism and collective organizing.



In contrast to mainstream social work, critical social work views many of the problems that social workers encounter (eg. poverty, marital stress) as the outcome of hardships rooted in economic, social, political, and cultural stratification.

3.5. CRITICAL SOCIAL WORK

Critical Social Work (CSW) began with the writings of R. Bailey and M. Brake. It is primarily concerned with practice that challenges domination, exploitation and oppression. Critical theory emerged in the late 1990s reviving the radical theory (from the 1970s) which was influenced by Marxist (socio-economic class – causing inequality of oppression). By incorporating feminist, anti-discrimination, empowerment, post-modernism etc, critical practice incorporates a broader range of social criticism than radical theory. It focuses on structural rather than personal or interpersonal explanations of social problems.

CSW is primarily concerned with practising in ways which challenge domination, exploitation and oppression. It is influenced by a wide range of critical perspectives that included feminism, racism, post-modernism and post-structuralism. It is a profession that seeks to challenge oppressive practices which consists of a variety of service user's problems that can sustain and reinforce oppressive practices.

In contrast to mainstream social work, critical social work views many of the problems that social workers encounter (eg. poverty, marital stress) as the outcome of hardships rooted in economic, social, political, and cultural stratification.CSW is highly critical of the current social and economic power structures that shape cultures, social institutions, language and discourses. This is based on the view that inequality and oppression are not because of any inherent human features but rather are the products of oppressive social processes and structures. All social relationships at micro, mezzo and macro levels are political, ie., everything involves struggle over power, resources and affirming identities.

3.5.1. Concept of Critical Social Work Practice

- **Holistic approach** to understand and ameliorate people's problems. It works on both individual and society levels.
    - **Individual** – change internalized patterns of dominance and oppression, making people conscious of oppression.
    - **Society** – strengthen sense of community, expand awareness of oppressive practices among communities.

- **Sensitivity to power imbalance** between social workers and service users. Social workers are generally considered experts, have more authority in decision making, have more power etc. But in CSW, social workers openly discuss power. They narrow power gaps with clients and utilise their power to avail resources for clients; make them conscious about power relations that affect them.

- **Partnership and Dialogue:** Clients, families, community members and other professionals (service users) are considered as partners who have the knowledge and the ability to understand the situation, problem and accordingly intervene.

  Dialogue: This partnership provides opportunity for client to be heard. This partnership is based on respect, mutuality and commitment.

- **Social worker's awareness and attention to the power of language.** Avoid language that creates distance between social worker and client or creates uneven power relations between them.

3.5.2. Values of CSW practice

Values of CSW are equity and equality, community inclusiveness, democracy, diversity celebrated human rights, social justice etc. Social change is possible and human beings have the ability to promote change and resist oppressive power relations.

3.5.3. Barriers to CSW

Some of the barriers in practicing CSW are

- the education social workers have received
- the organizational culture wherein they work from
- the huge caseloads
- situations demanding them to decide for clients who are socially powerless and if social workers are serving the government, it becomes difficult for them to criticize it.

3.6. STRUCTURAL SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

Structural Social Work (SSW) mostly had its beginnings in Canada. The term was first used by Middleman & Goldberg in 1974. They identified social environment (which is capitalism) as the source of social problems and therefore it falls within ecological approach.

Maurice Moreau in mid 70s at the School of Social Work, Carleton University, began the most developmental Structural Social Work. According to Moreau, this approach is an umbrella term that spanned and included major radical themes on Marxism, feminism, radical humanism and radical structuralism. This does not prioritize different forms of oppression – classism, racism, patriarchy, heterosexism and on into a hierarchical list from least to large aspects which is a unique feature of SSW. Rather, structural approach views various forms of oppression as intersecting with each other at numerous points, creating a total system of oppression. Structural approach does not restrict itself to working only with social situations. It is a generalist model of practice requiring knowledge and skills for working with individuals, families, groups, and communities always making the connection between the personal and political.

SSW is based on socialist ideology and located within radical social work. SSW views social problems as arising from a specific social context whether it is liberal or neo-conservative capitalism – rather than from the failings of individuals. Based on this view of social problems, Structural Social Workers seek to change the social system and not the individuals who receive, though no fault of their own, the negative results of defective social arrangements.

The essence of socialist ideology and of the radical social work perspective is that **inequality**:

- Is natural, inherent (ie. Structural part of capitalism).
- Falls along lines of class, gender, race, sexual orientation, age, disability, and geographical religion.
- Excludes these groups from opportunities, meaningful participation in society and a satisfactory quality of life.
- Is self-perpetuating (inequalities in wealth have political implications, providing the wealthiest individuals with access to economic, social and sometimes political power).

Economic and social inequalities are inextricably intertwined, and the distributions of income and wealth, the extent of poverty and privilege, have their effects on living standards, life changes and opportunities. Individual's health and well-being are influenced by their position in the labour market, income and access to economic resources.

Given this view of social problems, structural social workers seek to change the societal system and not the individuals who receive, through no fault of their own, the negative results of defective social arrangements.

3.6.1. Goal of Structural Social Work

The goal of SSW is twofold:

- To alleviate the negative effects on people of an exploitative and alienating social order
- To transform the conditions and social structures that causes these negative effects.

The focus is on providing immediate relief or reducing the problems on one side along with working towards a long term institutional and structural change that can bring about permanent solution. The ultimate goal of SSW is transformation of liberal-capitalist society to one that is more congruent with socialist principles.

3.6.2. Concept of Structural Social Work

The term 'structural' in SSW can be both descriptive and prescriptive.

- **Descriptive**– the major source of social problems is described as being located in the way our society is structured built in as part of the social order.
- **Prescriptive**– because social problems are rooted in our social structures, then the structures must be changed and not the individual, family or sub culture adversely affected by social problems.

Even if we change people affected by social structures, the source of these problems which is our social structures would still be there to harm, oppress and alienate more people along lines of class, gender, race and so on. It is not only concerned with one group of oppressed people, but with all groups who are victims of the present social order. Foundation of society itself consists of a dominant ideology (capitalism/ socialism) which is transmitted to all members of the society through process of socialization and determines the nature of a society's institutions and the relations among its people. SSW is therefore more flexible and realistic compared to other radical approaches. Social workers need to understand the nature of state power and role of social work as an element of state control and oppressionto construct an approach to practice which isdirected at challenging and changing the oppressing structures.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



3. What is the meaning of Anti-Oppressive Practice in social work?

3.7. LET US SUM UP

- Radical social work(RSW) has existed since the start of the social work profession as seen in the Settlement House Movement;
- RSW proposed that social distress arises from oppression of the working class by the capitalist elites. Its ideology is to achieve goals of equality and solutions to social problems is to eliminate and make major changes in the existing institutions;
- The Settlement House Movement (SHM) reflects radical social work perspectives - it believed in reforming the society rather than the individual; SHM established houses in slum neighbourhoods and worked directly with people in attempts to change their living conditions with people's participation;
- Anti Oppressive Practice addresses social divisions and structural inequalities in the work that is done with people to provide more appropriate and sensitive services by responding to people's needs regardless of their social status;
- Critical Social Work is primarily concerned with practising in ways which challenge domination, exploitation and oppression. It is influenced by a wide range of critical perspectives that included feminism, racism, post-modernism and post-structuralism.
- Structural social work approach views various forms of oppression as intersecting with each other at numerous points, creating a total system of oppression. Structural approach does not restrict itself to working only with social situations;
- Structural Social Workers seek to change the social system and not the individuals who receive, though no fault of their own, the negative results of defective social arrangements.

3.8. FURTHER READING

Adams, R., Dominelli, L., & Payne, M. (2000). *Critical Practice in Social Work.* [Ed].Palgrave Macmillan: New York.
Desai, M. (2012). *Ideologies and Social Work: Historical and Contemporary Analyses*. Rawat Publications: Jaipur.



3.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. The objective of radical social work is to increase service or benefit levels, equalize power between clients and bureaucracy. Apart from dealing with clients, it assists them to locate their position and problems within wider social groups and political processes. Techniques for bringing about changes in peaceful ways were passive resistance, demonstrations and strikes, political and social activism. New social problems such as gender issues, LGBTQ rights, homelessness, battered women etc are given importance in the current radical practice.
2. The Settlement House Movement, which combined social advocacy and social services, was a response to the social disorganization that resulted from widespread industrialization, urbanization and immigration.
3. Anti Oppressive Practice can be defined as a form of social work practice which addresses social divisions and structural inequalities in the work that is done with people. AOP aims to provide more appropriate and sensitive services by responding to people's needs regardless of their social status.
4. The goal of Structural Social Work is twofold:
    - To alleviate the negative effects on people of an exploitative and alienating social order
    - To transform the conditions and social structures that causes these negative effects.



3.10 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. Discuss in brief the differences between the approaches of Charity Organization Society and the Settlement House Movement.
2. Discuss oppression and come up with a rationale for anti-oppressive social work practice from your experience.
3. How is critical social work different from traditional social work?
4. Explain the concept that outlines critical social work practice.
5. What is socialist ideology?
6. What do you understand from the word ‘Structural?’
7. Why is dialogue important in critical social work?
8. What is the goal of structural social work?

UNIT 4-INTEGRATED SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

UNIT STRUCTURE

4.1 Learning Objectives
4.2 Introduction
4.3 Integrated Social Work Practice
4.4 Integrated Model of Practice – Four Systems
4.5 Strategies and Tactics in Social Action
4.6 Let us sum up
4.7 Further Reading
4.8 Answers to Check Your Progress
4.9 Model Questions

4.1. LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you shall be able to

- understand the meaning and relevance of integrated social work;
- analyse the interaction and influence of different systems in social work practice;
- understand the strategies and tactics to be deployed to bring about change effort.

4.2. INTRODUCTION

Social work profession aims at enabling people to handle their problems at the individual, family, group, community level and also resolve social issues. Primary methods of social work like casework, group work and community organization are immediately put into action while trying to bring about changes in the client. Along with methods, social work theories, values and ethics are also adopted as part of the process. It has been found that no single method or one level of intervention is adequate to bring about the expected changes. Hence, the integrated approach to social work practice came into being which believes in higher degree of integration of methods so that more options and choices are available to the professional social worker. This unit shall provide an in-depth understanding of the concept of integrated social work, the efficacy of working with clients using systems theory approach and strategies and tactics to be adopted while trying to bring about changes in the client system.

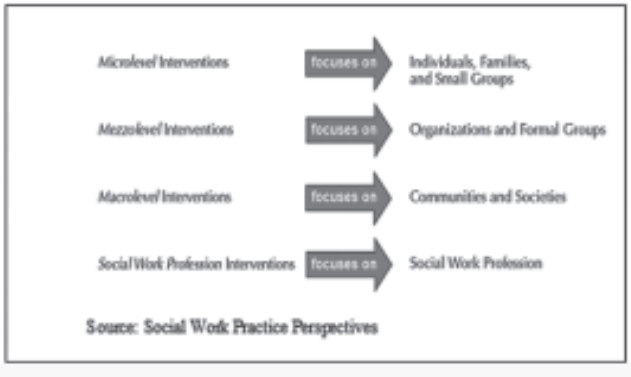
4.3. INTEGRATED SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

Social work practice has different levels of interventions such as micro, mezzo and macro levels. Social workers focus on the particular client group

depending on the level of intervention and adopt any of the methods to handle the problem. Over the course of time, it was found that this approach did not adequately solve the client's problem. This traditional approach was criticized by Pincus and Minahan and they introduced the integrated approach to social work practice. In the 1970s and 80s, this concept was developed which is largely based on social systems theory where changes in one system has the potential to influence the others to which it is relating or interacting. The assumption is that each system is open to exchange and influence by other systems in the environment. It is a holistic approach where all the methods of social work are put into operation to find a lasting solution to the problems faced by the client. It is also referred as unitary approach which is the combination of different approaches that gives social worker the flexibility to work with different systems, using different theories and methods to assess the problem, understand the interactions of the systems at various levels – from micro to macro and then intervene. It is applicable not merely to an individual or family problem at the micro level but also provides tools for analysing the problem in the context of larger issues which have implications for national and international policy and programmes.

Integrated approach framework assumes that the root of all social problems begins in the larger environmental context. It provides an integrated and multileveled approach for meeting the purpose of social work. There is an interplay of personal and collective issues, prompting practitioners to work with a variety of human systems—societies, communities, neighbourhoods, complex organizations, formal groups, families, and individuals—to create changes that maximize human system functioning. It provides a clear understanding of the way different systems interact and influence social work interventions. It not only enables working with clients at the micro levels but also in assessing problems at the macro level that have policy implications.

Systems Levels for Social Work Intervention



4.4. INTEGRATED MODEL OF PRACTICE

Pincus and Minahan advocated for a multi-systemic, multi-theoretical Integrative Model on the assumption that human problems are complex and needs to be understood from many levels and that no single theory or

method can fully explain human behaviour and problems. Hence, it calls for integration of different methods and theories. It can be used in diverse contexts and settings and does not have a specific focus on skills and activities of the social worker. It provides the conceptual tools for understanding social problems and social work practice in a holistic manner. It lends itself to the study of action and interaction of systems and sub-systems and the relationships between them. This is presented in the understanding of the four systems in social work intervention.

4.4.1.Four Basic Systems in Social Work Practice

Social workers work with many different kinds of people in their planned change efforts. Each social worker must decide what his purposes and relationships should be in working with all the various people he encounters. He needs to be clear about who will benefit from his change efforts, who have given him sanction to work for change, who will need to be changed or influenced, and whom he will need to work with in order to achieve different goals in his change efforts. The activities of the social worker can be viewed in relation to four types of systems: change agent, client, target, and action.

- **The Change Agent System**

Change agent refers to any person or group, professional or non-professional, inside or outside a system, who is attempting to bring about change in that system. A change agent is a helper who is specifically employed for the purpose of creating planned system. It may be an agency, NGO or social worker.

- **The Client System**

Client is any expected beneficiary of the services of a change agent. Therefore, client system may refer to any individual, family, group, organization or community in a system that asks for help and engages the services of a social worker as a change agent. In other words, it refers to people who sanction or ask for the change agent's services, who are the expected beneficiaries of service, and who have a working agreement or contract with the change agent.

- **The Target System**

This system includes the people the change agent needs to change or influence in order to accomplish his goals from the target system
Sometimes, client system and target system can overlap or be completely separate. The change agent may deal with several targets to reach different goals.

- **The Action System**

It refers to the people the change agent works with to accomplish his goals and influence the target system. Change agent works with other people and not in isolation. Hence, those with whom he deals with in his efforts to achieve the goals forms the action system.

We need to be clear about the following aspects related to these four systems:

- Who will be entrusted for the purpose of creating planned system? = Change Agent system
- Who will benefit from the change effort? = Client system
- Who will need to be changed or influenced? = Target system
- Whom we need to work with in order to achieve different goals? = Action system

4.4.2. KINDS OF RESOURCE SYSTEMS

- **Informal or natural:**

  It consists of family, friends, neighbours, co-workers, other helpers etc. The aid given by such informal relationships includes emotional support and affection, advice and information, and concrete services or resources such as baby-sitting or loan of money. Such systems can also assist in gaining access to and using formal and societal resource systems by providing help in locating appropriate resources

- **Formal resource systems:**

  It refers to membership organizations or formal associations which promote the interests of their members. These systems may supply resources directly to members or help them negotiate with different societal systems. For example, labour unions may provide recreational and social activities for their members as well as help them to deal with employers. The negotiation of a membership organization with societal systems may benefit not only its members, but also other people who need help from such systems.

  Another example is an organization of parents of mentally retarded children may influence a school board to expand school services for retarded children, which will benefit not only families in the organization but all families of retarded children in a community.

- **Societal Resource Systems**:

  Through public activities and voluntary citizen action, society has established a great variety of societal resource systems. People become linked to several of these systems such as hospitals, adoption agencies, vocational training programs, and legal services are designed to meet short-term or special needs. People become linked to other societal resource systems such as schools, day-care centres, place of employment, and social security programs by virtue of their age or some on-going social role they perform.

4.4.3. Social Worker's Activity in the Four Systems

Social worker's function is to facilitate interaction and modify and build relationships between people within resource systems; determine the purpose and the relationship between the systems; and identify the system in which the problem exists or where the need is located (it could be in the client system, target system, action system or change agent system).

The focus of social work practice is on the interactions between people and systems in the social environment. People are dependent on systems for help in obtaining the material, emotional, or spiritual resources and the services and opportunities they need to realize their aspirations and to help them cope with their life tasks.

The specific tasks or role of the social worker can be discussed as follows:

- Work directly with client systems at all levels to
  - connect clients to available resources,
  - intervene with organizations to enhance the responsiveness of resource systems,
  - advocate just social policies to ensure the equitable distribution of resources, and
  - research all aspects of social work practice.
- It should be noted that change agents are focussed to change people, not the community, organization or system. The focus is on people who make up these systems, be it the community, family or group. When people in the system are influenced to change, then the web or patterned relationships between people and the way they interact with one another also change. Change agent is an integral part of the change agent system and not part of the other systems.
- In the process of change effort, social worker has to interact with persons from diverse systems. This interaction is seen as a purposeful activity which is a part of the change effort.
- A framework (systems framework) is essential – which helps in analysing and determining the goals and relationships with people in all the systems. His function is to enhance problem-solving and coping capacities of people; facilitate interaction between and within informal, formal and societal resource systems, and contribute to development and modification of social policy.
- Identify the tasks to be accomplished in a change effort. Eg: contract to be made with the potential client system or establish an action system. This would give perspective to what task has to be done, the sequence etc. First, he can identify the target system, and then form the action system that can be most effective. Additional clients can be identified in

the process, new targets and new action systems can also be formed. Then, he needs to utilise the necessary skills and techniques needed.

- It cannot be assumed that those who ask for help are not the major targets of intervention. The social worker has to help a system apart from the client to change.

- It is difficult to decide on the size and type of the action system initially. Only after goals of the change efforts are set, the worker can decide if a one-to-one relationship, or a face-to-face group, or the type of action system would be appropriate. Methods of social work are not dictated by the size of participants in the interacting system, rather it depends on the nature of work to be done.

- To perform the tasks, he has to establish relationship with people apart from the client.

- Emphasis to be on the action system as it is the system the worker works with and through to influence the target and hence it has to be operated smoothly. Continuous diagnosis of the way it is operating to achieve the desired change needs to be there and if needed, alterations should be made. Eg: imaging a child in a childcare institution – this child who is emotionally disturbed becomes the target for change and the action system identified comprises of the administrators, childcare workers, social workers, teachers, custodians, attendees, cook etc. Here, if there is no coordination in the efforts among these members of the action system to operate in a unified manner to change the child, it can lead to a lot of confusion and send conflicting messages to the child. The child may also start manipulating each of the action system members to fulfil his wants and thereby the goals cannot be achieved.

- Appropriate use of strategies be it collaborative, bargaining and conflictual relationship between social worker and the other systems. Is the worker using manipulation on behalf of clients as opposed to being a communicator, teacher, enabler or guides are to be noted? The appropriateness of the use of different relationships, roles and strategies by the change agent can be clarified by examining the particular pattern of overlapping and separate types of systems the worker must deal with in a given problem. By establishing contracts or working agreements with client systems, change agent maintains a collaborative relationship with clients. If the client system is the same as the target and action systems, the worker may choose collaborative strategies and play the role of enabler, teacher etc. If the target system is outside the client and action systems, the worker has a choice of relationships and roles. The social worker may play the role of communication builder or adversary, or whether he will form collaborative or conflictual relationships. He may select manipulation if he believes this tactic will influence the target system to change and eventually help the client system.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Describe Integrated Model of Social Work
2. Discuss the role of social worker as a change agent.

4.5. STRATEGIES AND TACTICS IN SOCIAL ACTION

Social action is a secondary method of social work used for mobilizing people to bring about structural changes in the social system. It is an organized effort to change existing social institutions. Social action is put to use when other methods do not help in resolving the problem. The strategies and tactics used in achieving changes in the social system are discussed in this section.

Strategy is basically a plan or the modality by which an approach can be used. Tactics on the other hand refers to a method or specific means adopted to achieve the goal. Many a times, these two words are used together and not much of difference is made between them. It is seen that strategy is a broader framework compared to tactics. Social worker needs to be aware of the type of strategy or tactics he can use while relating to the different systems.

Lees has described following main strategies:

- **Collaboration:**

  While adopting this strategy, social workers should try and collaborate with those in authority, be it the local authority or authority of the concerned institution. There should be a common understanding of the values and interests so that a suitable agreement can be made. By collaborating with the concerned authority, changes in the social system can be brought about in peaceful ways. It needs to be kept in mind that to change power equation, collaboration works as those in power may respond and cooperate in providing equitable resources and share with those in need. Social workers can adopt tactics like education, persuasion, demonstration and experimentation to bring about the required change.

- **Competition or bargaining:**

  These set of strategies are adopted when there is some kind of resistance to change. When the power structures cannot be persuaded or made to understand the need to make changes, some sort of pressure is applied which is through constant bargaining, trying to negotiate and advocate at different levels. The tactics such

as negotiate, lobby, submit petitions, information and publicity campaigns, bargain, persuade are utilised until an agreement is arrived at which is amicable.

- **Disruption or confrontation:**

  This strategy is more based on the dynamics of conflict where there is resistance to change and struggle as a result of it between the two sides. It involves a more tough approach and tactics may include strikes, demonstrations, boycotts, fasts, tax-refusal, sit-in protest etc. As social workers are involved, keeping in view the values of the profession, they avoid riots and warfare.

As suggested by Lee, the tactics to be used in the process of social action are research, education, cooperation, organization, arbitration, negotiation, mild coercion, violation of legal norms and joint action. These tactics are part of each strategy used. Hence, it is good to begin with a mild collaborative approach to sort out the issue and try making changes in the system. If it is not feasible, then gradually the other strategies of competition and finally disruption or confrontation can be utilised to achieve the desired goals.

Some social action tactics advocated by Hornstein are:

- **Direct action tactics:** Picketing, marches, fraternization, haunting, leafleting and renouncing honours.
- **Non-cooperation**: Strikes, boycott, tax-refusal.
- **Intervention**: Sit in, reversal strike, obstruction

According to Mahatma Gandhi who spearheaded important social action movements in India, non-violent protest, persuasion, non-cooperation, non-violent intervention are some of the strategies he adopted which is very much in line with the values and ethics of the social work profession. It may be noted that though social action requires confrontation, negotiation or persuasion, it does not approve of any violence, or hostility, cruelty and blood shedding. Hence, even confrontation or discontent should also be demonstrated in a peaceful way.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

3. How is bargaining used as a tactic?

4. Why is a framework necessary in social work?



4.6. LET US SUM UP

- Integrated social work practice is the combination of different approaches that gives social worker the flexibility to work with

different systems, using different theories and methods to assess, understand and then intervene.

- The integrative model of social work advocated by Pincus and Minahan is based on the social systems theory and specifies four different systems viz., change agent system, client system, target system and action system.
- Each social worker must decide what his purposes and relationships should be in working with all the various people he encounters.
- Informal, formal and societal are the three kinds of resource systems that are linked to one another.
- Emphasis to be on the action system as it is the system the worker works with and through to influence the target and hence it has to be operated smoothly.
- Social worker's function is to facilitate interaction and modify and build relationships between people within resource systems.
- Collaborative, bargaining and disruption are the three main strategies advocated by Lees to bring about social changes.



4.7. FURTHER READING

- Pincus, A., & Minahan, A. (1973). *Social Work Practice: Model and Method*. Itasca: F.E. Feacock Publishers.
- Siddiqui, H.Y. (1984): *Social Work and Social Action.* (ed.): Harnam Publications.



4.8. CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. The Integrated Model provides the conceptual tools for understanding social problems and social work practice in a holistic manner. It lends itself to the study of action and interaction of systems and sub-systems and the relationships between them.

2. It should be noted that change agents are focussed to change people, not the community, organization or system. The focus is on people who make up these systems, be it the community, family or group. When people in the system are influenced to change, then the web or patterned relationships between people and the way they interact with one another also change. Change agent is an integral part of the change agent system and not part of the other systems.

3. When the power structures cannot be persuaded or made to understand the need to make changes, some sort of pressure is applied which is through constant bargaining, trying to negotiate and advocate at different levels.

The tactics such as negotiate, lobby, submit petitions, information and publicity campaigns, bargain, persuade are utilised until an agreement is arrived at which is amicable.

4. A framework (systems framework) is essential as it helps in analysing and determining the goals and relationships with people in all the systems. His function is to enhance problem-solving and coping capacities of people; facilitate interaction between and within informal, formal and societal resource systems, and contribute to development and modification of social policy



4.9. MODEL QUESTIONS

1. What is the relevance of integrated social work practice?
2. Explain the four systems model.
3. What are strategies? Discuss with examples.
4. Discuss the role of the change agent while working with different systems.
5. Name the kinds of resource systems.
6. What are the strategies advocated by Lees?

UNIT 5: PERSPECTIVES OF SOCIAL ACTION

UNIT STRUCTURE

5.1 Learning Objectives
5.2 Introduction
5.3 Concept of Conscientisation And Critical Awareness
5.4 Paulo Freire
5.5 B.R. Ambedkar
5.6 Mahatma Gandhi
5.7 Saul Alinsky's Contribution to Social Action
5.8 Let us sum up
5.9 Further Readings
5.10 Check Your Progress
5.11 Model Questions

5.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

After going through this unit, you shall be able to understand

- the concept of conscientisation and critical awareness
- the strategies developed by Paulo Freire in education
- the B.R.Ambedkar's contribution towards raising consciousness about the oppressive caste practices in India
- tactics of social action drawn from Gandhian practices
- the Saul Alinsky's contribution to social action

5.2 INTRODUCTION:

Social action as a method in social work practice was recognized by Mary Richmond in 1922. It is based on individual, group, and community intervention which galvanize mass movements and advocacy initiatives. It originated in the civil liberties movement in USA, people's movements for justice and equality in South America, anti apartheid movements in African continent, freedom movement in Indian sub-continent and anti-caste movements in Indian heartlands. Social action was also a tool of resistance for environmental degradation, social inequality, corruption and violence against women and children. It has its theoretical base in Max Weber's theory of social action which consists of traditional action, affective action and rational action. Within the framework of critical theory and Marxism, social action finds its direct correlation.

Social action within the social work context is primarily non-violent, participatory and public interest driven. It is goal driven and context specific.

It includes all the other social work methods together. It engages the individuals, institutions, communities and groups also to motivate actions which will lead to social and structural change. In the context of India legislative advocacy, legal activism, socio-political strategies have led to drastic political shifts in the recent years. Social action can be also triggered through isolated or collective incidents of violence, injustice and indignity which could inspire leaders to lead. Social action has been a public tool for social workers to bring about social justice, equality, peace and transformation which is felt by the client system. In this case the client system could be a family, workplace, group, community or even a constituency. Social action could turn violent when the strategies of action are misrepresented and manipulated for individual gain. In diverse situations, direct action is a preferred strategy with regulated use of violence as deterrence through legitimate processes for the larger good of the respective stakeholder. Social action is sometimes interchangeably used as social advocacy and social awareness and in most cases as critical awareness as well. Social action is resisted with strict state action which limits the practice of social action. Social action requires thorough understanding of all possible alternatives for making an impact. It can lead to consistent transformation but it might also dissolve the primary demands of the agency. Social action is driven by external or internal change agents who can be from the affected community or can be a complete stranger. Sometimes the impact of social action also creates victims of change whose capacities are limited by the structural limitations in case of a system change. Social action creates charismatic leadership along its practice whose vision and capacities lead to social reconstruction, empowerment of the masses and engages in strategies which liberate people and regressive practices.

Mary Richmond in 1922 defined social action as mass betterment through propaganda and social legislation.

Sydney Maslin in 1947 said that social action as a process of social work concerning securing legislation to meet mass problems.

Baldwin in 1966 also shared about social action as an organized effort to change social and economic institutions, movements of social reform, industrial democracy, racial and social justice, religious freedom and civil liberty. Its techniques include propaganda, research and lobbying.

According to Friedlander in 1977, social action aims to achieve social progress, modify social policies and improve social legislations, health and welfare services.

Nanavati in 1965 viewed social action as a process of bringing about desired changes by deliberate group and community effort.

The Institute of Gandhian Studies defines social action as the term directed towards shaping or modifying the social institutions and policies that constitutes the social environment in which we live.

In all these definitions, smocial, action is a specific goal oriented positive action which is intended to steer some impact either to bring about change

or resist change. In recent years people are gearing towards virtual medium also to generate social and political change in society. Social action is possible when common interests are made to matter most under any given circumstance. These could be community driven or individual driven but sometimes such common interests are collectivized as public interest and in some cases even as national interests. Thus, social action becomes a goal for mass mobilization. In India, there are diverse examples of social action which have reformation specific, reactionary, restoration oriented and transformation centric impact in the past. Social action at times does not resolve a particular social problem rather it continues to highlight various implications of the same problem which persists. Social action is a process not an end which stops after any planned action. It continues to reflexively challenge existing normative structures which marginalize any person, group, institution, community, country and the world as a whole. At a given time and space social action has transformed the limits of social coherence, tolerant co-existence and community support towards any form of injustice meted out.

Social action depends on leadership strengths, committed causes and prolonged mobilization practices. It has the strength to oppose existing norms, values and prevalent practices. Propaganda, mass awareness, credibility erosion and suppression, solidarity support, resource restructuring, agitation, dramatic demonstrations, disruptive and non-cooperative practices, collapse of essential services, support measures, resources, transport and communication, all are part of social action tactics. Self-immolation, violent protests and property destruction, mob-violence, communal riots and ethnic cleansing practices also become common in the name of social action. But such practices are violent and destructive which do not lead to adequate social action practice. Conscious public action and community organization is extremely important in social action. Role of media, state functionaries, support organizations, implementing agencies and leaders of movements is critical in keeping the social action practices relevant, impactful, creative and non-violent. Coercive and oppressive transformation is not a goal for social action. It has to be self-motivated, voluntary and consent driven. Otherwise social action becomes an act to fulfill fascist motives which could be having self-destructive implications. It becomes pertinent to understand the gender specific construction within community organizing work where social action remains a crucial part. Women are strategically used as objects of practice and oppression but hardly recognized for their invisible, intensive engagement with communities from a personal sphere. 'What people see is the flashy demonstration, not knowing the many hours of preparation entailed in building relationships and providing for participants' basic needs. Indeed, community organizing is the part of social movement work that occurs closest to the grass roots and is more often done by women (Krauss 1997; Robnett 1996, 1997). Even when men such as Saul Alinsky do it, it receives short shrift. The Alinsky model begins with "community organizing" -the public sphere battles between the haves and have-nots. The women-centered model begins with "organizing community"-building expanded private sphere



Role of media, state functionaries, support organizations, implementing agencies and leaders of movements is critical in keeping the social action practices relevant, impactful, creative and non-violent.

relationships and empowering individuals through those relationships,' (Stall, Stoecker, 1998).

5.3 CONCEPT OF CONSCIENTISATION AND CRITICAL AWARENESS

5.3.1 Conscientisation:

Social action cannot happen without conscientisation and critical awareness. Conscientisation is a term introduced by Brazilian educationist, activist and reformer Paulo Freire in his book ***Pedagogy of the Oppressed***. This book has proved to be a guiding resort for many educationists across the world who believes that education process cannot be a one-sided process. '…conscientisation doesn't stop at the mere subjective perception of a situation, but through action prepares men for the struggle against the obstacles of their humanization,' (Freire, 1970). Every action that helps in transformation is a process of conscientisation.

Conscientisation is a self reflective, inward reflective process which enables an individual to become completely aware of their context specific realities. 'It is a practice of liberation,' (Mies, 1973). Diverse perspectives of dignity, freedom, social justice and equality have emerged from the practice and promotion of conscientisation. Conscientisation is a lens which can be realized by any individual at a given point in time and space only when it is applied. It liberates the oppressed people from the oppressive acts of the oppressors. It resists all forms of domination, coercion, authority, dictatorial rule and hegemonic assertion. It values the powerless, excluded, voiceless masses whose domination is rampant by the rich elites. Such a process ensures considerable measures which makes equality a reality in society. Conscientisation strengthens the humanization process. In an unequal relationship between the oppressor and the oppressed, no amount of external influence can change the situation unless the oppressed follow the path of conscientisation. Conscientisation leads to a transformation process which affects changes in the oppressed and the oppressors are also liberated from their roles of being dominant.

'The process of developing a critical awareness of one's social reality through reflection and action is Conscientisation. Action is fundamental because it is the process of changing the reality. Paulo Freire says that we all acquire social myths which have a dominant tendency, and so learning is a critical process which depends upon uncovering real problems and actual needs.'

5.3.2 Critical Awareness:

Critical awareness is a process that helps individuals, groups and communities from being conscious about the consequences of their actions which could be either positive or negative. It steers the concerned person

or persons towards a stable and informed choice which is not hidden from realities. Critical awareness ensures people to be self-conscious about their own limitations and inhibitions which could lead to adverse consequences. In case of a state authority, while implementing diverse policies and programmes, it becomes extremely essential to ascertain the risks, problems and threats which might arise during the course of implementation of aforesaid policy/programme. Thus critical awareness provides the base for evaluation of existing programmes and encourages changes which might benefit the communities and individuals in the process. Generation of critical awareness depends on the individuals, groups and communities as a whole. Critical awareness does not arise without engagement with discontent and experience of distress. People's perceptions about their realities of life are dependent on diverse elements which define their essence. They influenced by family, traditional practices, customary norms, political coercion, economic restrictions and social bondages. In all these aspects role of media, faith, peer pressure and prevalent themes also become very relevant. Critical awareness cannot be assured without engaging with all these factors. It becomes critical for the individuals to resist the conformist narrative of existing facts without critical awareness. Critical awareness can only exist when there is inclusive atmosphere for change and diversity of thoughts. In most countries including India diversity is a constitutional principle which forms a very strong foundation for democratic decision making and consensus building through critical awareness. Democracy cannot survive without critical awareness. Indian democracy is the oldest and the largest in the world. It is possible to co-exist with diversity of views, customs, ideas and ideologies due to critical awareness of the leaders, citizens and communities within India. All democratic positions are determined through a strategy of critical awareness used to define the pros and cons of any decision taken henceforth for public interest.



Critical awareness ensures people to be self-conscious about their own limitations and inhibitions which could lead to adverse consequences.

5.4 PAULO FREIRE:

Social action is incomplete without referring to Brazilian educationist Paulo Freire. 'Popular education can take the form of small-group consciousness-raising. In the Squatters Settlements of Brazil, Freire (1970) brought together small groups of people for "education for critical consciousness." They describe the themes that dominate their daily lives, convey these as problems to be examined by the group, select several problems for dialogue and reflection on their root causes, and formulate plans to address the problems. The aim is to alter consciousness from conforming to reforming to transforming society.'(Checkoway, 1995) His contribution to understanding and applying the tenets of social action lies in the context of praxis. 'Praxis' is a concept coined by Freire to materialize reflection through action and again reflection to make changes. Such praxis is possible through social action and mobilisation of the oppressed through conscientisation. Social action cannot be done without breaking the culture of silence by the common masses. There is great convenience in maintaining the culture of

silence to ensure a safe status quo. But it is extremely difficult to change the social understanding rooted in tradition, family values and socio-cultural beliefs. Social action again needs a thorough education of the communities, individuals and groups on the impact, implications and all related consequences of any form of intervention, strategy or plan. Such education practice cannot be a vertical process where a teacher or leader teaches and the followers or students learn. In such a practice, learning is static and there is no innovation in the pedagogy. Freire emphasized on the understanding, contribution and support of the communities in this context the students and oppressed masses equally in any form of praxis to situate social change. Social action begins with the realization of oppression and inequality which is voiced by the masses through diverse processes. That realization is possible only when conscientisation dawns upon the oppressed masses. Every person who is a survivor of oppression of any form has to fight their own battle of existence and survival. There can be initiators, supporters, mobilisers, motivators for any kind of procedural social action but the actual consciousness has to be by the oppressed people themselves. Paulo Freire's perspectives strengthened social action practices and transcended it to another level. He ensured that participatory democracy is maintained in the educational system and freed the learning pedagogy from being an oppressive practice which tilted towards only the teacher. Freire opened new community based learning practices which enabled participation in social action through conscientisation and critical awareness. In this context, the role of education and participation in pedagogical learning has a huge influence on social action from a social work context. A social worker without engaging with the oppressed individual, child, group, community cannot practice social action as a method in social work practice. The role of the social worker gets defined in raising conscientisation amongst the oppressed masses so that social action can take place. Even the essence of praxis is realized by the social worker to the fullest extent in the field work that they are associated with.

5.5 B.R. AMBEDKAR:

In Indian context, the contribution of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar is enormous when it comes to raising the Dalit consciousness of the country. 'Dr.B.R. Ambedkar, the leader of the depressed classes of his time (1891 -1956) should be viewed as a social scientist, reformist, thinker, writer, statesman and a constitutional authority. He is known as the messiah of the social revolution against all kinds of oppressive and discriminative practices prevailing in our social structure. He was vehemently opposed to the caste system and the practice of untouchability as propounded by the Hindu religion. To do away with these social evils Dr. Ambedkar evolved a theory of safeguards and protections for the backward classes and weaker sections of society for the cause of social justice and equality, which he evolved on the basis of his experience of discrimination and inequalities during his childhood. He, therefore, developed a concept of social justice and security of its own kind along with political equality and sought its due place in the constitutional

law of India.' (Gehlot, 1993) He is known as the father of the Indian Constitution which ensures the inclusive, protectionist and democratic essence of Indian state in its true spirit. His contribution towards raising consciousness about the oppressive caste practices in India prevalent till date goes a very long way in the history of India. Dr. Ambedkar was an apostle of dignity and liberation. He stood against the tide in addressing the issues of lower caste communities across India to address with social justice. India is a country with diverse caste, tribes and cultural practices and such diversity is both strength and at times a major distraction for vested interest groups who need power at any cost. Caste based discrimination and violence had ruined the country from being truly independent of its limitations during the pre-independence period when Ambedkar was actively involved with the freedom movement. He knew that India needed two kinds of freedom. One was from the colonial rule of the British and the other was from the dominations of caste system which propagated untouchability and social exclusion of Dalits and Adivasis. 'All this early struggles, to secure for the lower castes such as a right to enter temples, to draw water from common wells, and later his fight for the Hindu Code Bill, were directed towards this objective. Dr. Ambedkar's strategies and tactics ought to be viewed against this background. If he openly regarded the British as the "deliverers" of the untouchables, it was essentially a tactic. He cared little if the Hindu orthodoxy was alienated because he was certain that the caste system left no scope for the high castes to help the untouchables.'(Gehlot,1993). While opposing such practices, Dr. Ambedkar also ensured that there was a strong representation of the scheduled caste and schedule tribe community across all possible state authorities through the constitutional provisions of the country. His assumptions about caste based inequality and oppression of the Dalits seemed to be relevant till today. Hence he encouraged the critical awareness and constant struggle towards justice and equality through the Dalit and Adivasi communities themselves not through any other upper caste or elitist. He was a firm believer of social action which engaged the communities on the threads of Dalit consciousness. He was the architect of modern India where caste and creed would not favour some and deprive many. His faith in the Indian democracy is justified through the articles of action, reflection and implementation through diverse legislations in this context. Legal advocacy and legislative practices also became very prominent during the time of Dr. Ambedkar and common people were very happy with such developments. Dalit consciousness and using such consciousness to fight the country's dual battle of freedom from slavery and untouchability was something which Dr. Ambedkar stood for. He was a champion of equality and social justice who was ensured through education, social affinities and communities. In this context, to be able to challenge the elitist leadership whose common strategies was essential for the country's freedom from colonial rule was a form of social action from within the country. It is in fact because of such social action today the country can rise in pride and reverence to the modern architect of justice relevant in today's context as well. Dr. Ambedkar believed in equality and dignity for the Dalit community specifically in India. He critiqued



Caste based discrimination and violence had ruined the country from being truly independent of its limitations during the pre-independence period when Ambedkar was actively involved with the freedom movement.

the Gandhian connotation of terming Dalits as Harijans. He found the idea of sympathy for Dalits an oppressive association which will further distance people each other. Thus, Ambedkar practiced social action to maintain a diversity of thought, action and opinions for the socially and culturally estranged communities of this country. His essay on 'Annihilation of Caste' is a vivid reflection of his perspectives which needs to be used as reference for understanding Ambedkar's philosophy.

5.6 MAHATMA GANDHI:

Mahatma Gandhi was a practicing philosopher and lawyer whose mission in life became freedom for his country India. His journey towards being the Father of the Nation is influenced by a strategic practice of Social Action. Gandhian traditions are still relevant in the construction of a post-colonial independent India which has its foundations in the achievement of Swaraj or Self-Rule. The biggest achievement of Gandhi which is crucial for a social action practitioner is the application of non-violence in any form of resistance. Gandhi believed in the principles of non-violence as a means to any end whether it was fighting the armed forces of British companies or it was the internal battle of disharmony between Indians on issues of caste and religion. Gandhi demonstrated the use of diverse forms of protest against the British which have been used by leaders of social movements even in the current era. Most of the tactics which are part of techniques of social action are drawn from Gandhian practices in India. Direct action, non-cooperation, slogan use, fasting unto death and civil disobedience movements are all tried by the masses during the freedom movement. Social action is a process of mass mobilisation which culminates into massive changes in the society. Sometimes such changes do not fulfill the real objectives of the original goal of social action. Even though Gandhi believed in equality, mutual respect and co-existence of diverse communities in India, yet in today's context, there are distinct differences which become violent outbursts in the name of multiple identities. Gandhi was a crusader for peace, freedom and truth. 'Gandhi's ideal of *sarvodaya* (the welfare of all) envisaged a reconstructed Indian village society with people using simple hand tools in agriculture and industry, engaged in production for local use rather than profit. It was to be a society of equals, a kind of pure communism wherein each individual would place the common welfare above their own selfish interests, and the principle of 'from each according to their ability, to each according to their need' would be paramount. This vision of a society of small, largely self-sufficient village communities, a just and nonviolent political, social and economic order, was far removed from the modern industrial society that Nehru and many of the other congress leaders eagerly anticipated.' (Rigby, 1985) His techniques were transformational and his leadership was charismatic which could attract people from all over the world. Gandhian principles have designed the destiny of this country to a larger extent even after its independence from British rule. Social action is used to resist any form of oppression, inequality and discrimination with proactive action and mass movements. Gandhian model of development

is culturally and constitutionally applied in some parts of India but it cannot be replicated in every part of India as there is a need to multiply the growth and capacity of India in the global platform. Social action gets stronger with people's participation and involvement in thoughts, words and action. In similar context, Gandhian practices also mobilized the masses to apply the teachings in their personal and political lives. Such mass appeal was used as a means to achieve the end of getting India free from British rule. People's consciousness was raised in such a way that the aspiration for freedom became a matter of pride for the common people and they could execute all the plans which were prepared together in the name of freedom through non-violent means. In social action, even though the mobilisation process is leader driven yet people own the processes and execution strengthens the actual implementation. During the Gandhian era, communities and masses in rural India owned the strategies towards freedom as their own. That is how one can draw the similarities between the two contexts. Gandhi used social action from the day his consciousness was raised in South Africa where he suffered from the consequences of apartheid. He used all forms of communication media like writing in newsletters, publishing vernacular media articles, speaking in public spaces and organizing communities and people to resist colonial rule. He was successful in steering different people in diverse ways to build a consensus on creating a common ground which could resist the British oppression on the Indian masses. Gandhi is critiqued for his imposition of strict rules related to celibacy, vegetarianism and specific religious beliefs on all his followers. But such practices were part of the strategy to create an alternative self-image in opposition to the dominant British in that era. Gandhi was successful in motivating the masses as he himself practiced what he professed. Such coherence of thoughts, words and actions can be related to a praxis which is the key ingredient for social action. Social Action is a strategy which could be applied to both individuals and masses. In the context of Gandhian practice, social action is applied to both individuals and masses. Even today there are various Gandhian believers and action achievers in India who could realize the mission of Mahatma Gandhi through their personal and community initiatives in some of the most critical areas of oppression and injustice. Some world leaders like Nelson Mandela in Africa, Martin Luther King in North America, and Aung San Suu Kyi in Myanmar led struggles for freedom, democracy and justice through social and political action inspired by Mahatma Gandhi and his philosophy. In India also there are instances of great works done by Gandhians through social action like Vinoba Bhave, Jayaprakash Narayan, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Ela Bhatt, Aruna Roy, MedhaPatkar, Baba Amte, Sundarlal Bahuguna, Chandi Prasad Bhatt, Bunkar Roy, Anna Hazare across India and Amal Prabha Das, Pushpalata Das, Hemo Bharali, Hemo Kakoty, Shakuntala Choudhury, Rabindra Nath Upadhyay, Lentila Ao Thakkar and Natwar Thakkar, Irom Sharmila in North East India. All these people believed in Gandhian traditions and continued to engage with the people and their problems through social action and community organisation practice.



During the Gandhian era, communities and masses in rural India owned the strategies towards freedom as their own.

5.7 SAUL ALINSKY'S CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIAL ACTION

American civil rights movement is indebted to the contribution of Saul Alinksy. Alinsky's most important contribution towards the techniques of social action is the book titled **'Rules of Radicals'**. Alinsky could motivate the oppressed masses to fight for their rights to dignity and equality through such public action. Social action is a method of social work for social change and system transformation. 'Alinsky has laid down 13 rules for use of tactics to strategically destabilize the powerful dominant forces. These rules are given as follows:

1. Power is not only what you have but what the enemy thinks you have.
2. Never go outside the experience of your people.
3. Whenever possible go outside the experience of the enemy.
4. Make the enemy live up to their own book of rules.
5. Ridicule is man's most potent weapon.
6. A good tactic is one that your people enjoy.
7. A tactic that drags on too long becomes a drag.
8. Keep the pressure on.
9. The threat is usually more terrifying than the thing itself.
10. The major premise for tactics is the development for operations that will maintain a constant pressure upon the opposition.
11. If you push a negative hard and deep enough it will break through into its counter side.
12. The price of a successful attack is a constructive alternative.
13. Pick the target, freeze it, personalize it and polarize it.'(Alinsky, 1971, pp 126-140)

Alinsky analyzed the dichotomy between 'haves', 'have-nots' and the 'have less want more' categories which leads to social discontent and unrest. He further said, 'tactics means doing what you can with what you have. Tactics are those conscious deliberate acts by which human beings live with each other and deal with the world around them. In the world of give and take, tactics is the art of how to take and how to give. Here our concern is with the tactic of taking; how the Have-Nots can take power away from the Haves.' (Alinsky, 1971) His model of local action is a mix of neighbourhood development and mass movement which made sure that urban communities in Chicago city of USA became more aware and fought for their rights. In social action practice of social work hegemonic power centers are challenged through collective force of democratic power. Alinsky worked tirelessly towards civil rights of American working class and he achieved his goals through such a practice.

'Some analysts associate social action with Saul Alinsky, who spent several years building grassroots organizations and using conflict to confront local authorities. According to Alinsky, "the first step towards a solution is the

development of a people's organization through escalating conflict and "rubbing raw the sores of discontent."Alinsky was an influential practitioner with a lasting legacy, but it would be mistaken to associate social action with him alone or to ignore his critics and limitations today (Horwitt, 1989; Reitzes and Reitzes, 1980).'(Checkoway,1995).

In the sphere of social work practice, social action is at times used as a technique for community organisation as well. Thus, social action and community organisation has very strong linkages. All the eminent thinkers, practitioners, social reformers and social educationists mentioned above have used social action as a strategy to mobilize the masses towards proactive action for social and political change. They have used education, legal and constitutional reforms, mass movements and direct action also as methods to engage people and authorities into transforming the existing norms and situations of discontent.



5.8 LET US SUM UP :

There are different perspectives on Social Action with respect to being an independent method of social work practice or being a part of community organisation method of work. The context of conscientisation and critical awareness was propounded by Brazilian educationist Paulo Freire who believed that such a context is a practice of liberation. The strategies developed by Paulo Freire in education, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in asserting Dalit identity and constitutional reforms, Mahatma Gandhi in ensuring India's non-violent yet potent freedom movement and Saul Alinsky's tactics for mass mobilisation to ensure an impactful social action practice is discussed thoroughly. Social Action as a social work practices has been pivotal in asserting the suppressed voices, experiences and ideological thought processes which needs to create a democratic social reform in restricted times.



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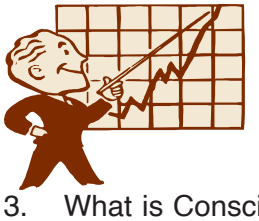
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5.10 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Who has recognized Social Action as a method in Social Work Practice?
2. Who wrote the book "*Pedagogy of the Oppressed*"?
3. What is Conscientisation?
4. What is Critical Awareness?
5. Who is known as the father of the Indian Constitution?
6. Who believed in the principles of non-violence?
7. Who wrote the book 'Rules of Radicals'?



5.11 MODEL QUESTIONS:

1. What are the perspectives of social action in social work education, research and practice?
2. Explain the significance of Conscientisation in Social Action Process.
3. How does critical awareness enable social workers to function in a social setting?
4. What is the contribution of Paulo Freire in Social Action?
5. How did Dr. B.R. Ambedkar fight for Dalit social justice in pre-independent India?
6. Analyse Mahatma Gandhi's strategies during the Indian Independence Movement from the social action perspective.
7. Explain the social action tactics of Saul Alinsky in ensuring civil liberties for urban communities.

Unit 6: INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

UNIT STRUCTURE

6.1 Learning Objectives
6.2 Introduction
6.3 Social Movement: Meaning and Definition
6.4 Nature and Components of Social Movements
6.5 Meaning and Definition of Social Change
6.6 Social Movements and Social Change
6.7 Norms of Social Movements
6.8 Let us sum up
6.9 Further Reading
6.10 Answers to Check your Progress
6.11 Model Questions

6.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES:

After going through this unit, the learner would be able to

- Define social change and social movement and their features
- Explain the basis on which social change is classified, its sources and its different processes
- Explain the nature and causes of social movements

6.2 INTRODUCTION

This unit talks about the conceptual categories of social change and social movement, different typologies used for their classification and the inter-connections between these various typologies. By defining the broader picture in which social change takes place, it attempts to provide the learner with an idea about how through collective intended action movements are formulated that bring about change within social practices and different institutions of society.

6.3 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: MEANING AND DEFINITION

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). Social movement as an area of study in the social science emerged fairly recently when the role of masses in social transformation was recognized by historians, psychologists, political

scientists and sociologists. Any form of collective action cannot be defined as social movement it is only when collective action aims to transform certain oppressive social relationships, only than it can be called as social movement. 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.

As H. Blumer says, "it is only when an elementary collective action, acquires organization and form, a body of customs and traditions, established leadership, an enduring division of labour, social rules and social values, in short a culture, a social organization and new scheme of life, it becomes a social movement." It can also be defined as, "social mobilization over a sustained period of time with collectively having consensus to struggle (in terms of ideas as well as action) to achieve certain goals can be defined as a movement."

6.4 NATURE AND COMPONENTS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In order for any collective action to be considered as a movement it needs to have the following feautres:

- **Sustained collective action:** Social movement is marked by sustained collective action, any isolated episode of protest cannot be considered as social movement as it flares up and dies down without any impact. A sustained collective effort can be directed to demand change from any discriminatory public policy or oppressive social practices.

- **Organization:** Spontaneous, disorganized acts of protest do not qualify as a movement. It needs some form of organization including a clearly defined leadership who provide impetus to the movement and a structure. Without a structure, it would difficult for members to relate to one another, take decisions and implement them.

- **Objective and ideology**: It should have clearly articulated objective and ideology outlining the goals of the movement. Its ideology would be the defining feature that would direct the course of the movement and provide a means to connect with the masses.

- **Shared Understanding:** It is very important to have a shared understanding in order to bring about social change on a public issue. Different strategies like holding public meetings, seminars,

workshop, campaigning and lobbying are used to create "a feeling of consensus or agreement" on perusal of a collective agenda of the movement.

- **Distinct modes of protest**: A social movement might develop a distinct mode of protest like candle light vigil, used of white or black cloth, street play, graffiti, songs, poetry. Gandhi used satyagraha and ahimsa as a mode of protest.

6.5 MEANING AND DEFINITION OF SOCIAL CHANGE:

Social movements 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. Change is an inevitable aspect of any society; it is the only unchanging phenomenon. However the study of social change as a social fact emerged with the establishment of sociology as a discipline in the mid nineteenth century.

While talking about social change it needs to be mentioned that any kind of change be does not fall under the purview of social change, rather it is only when certain significant change occurs that transforms the very foundations of anything or any structure, it can be considered as social change. As Giddens mentioned it is those changes which "alter the underlying structure of an object or situation over a period of time." Its effect is felt at a large scale in different sections of society influencing the modes of living of individuals and their inter-relationship. Therefore it is both intensive and extensive.



Social change can be classified according to its pace, its nature or impact in society, direction and source or causes. In terms of pace, it can be classified into **evolutionary or revolutionary**.

Social change can be classified according to its pace, its nature or impact in society, direction and source or causes. In terms of pace, it can be classified into **evolutionary or revolutionary**. Evolutionary change is a slow process that occurs over a long period. The term evolution is derived from Darwin's theory of evolution that proved how living organisms evolve by adapting to their natural surroundings. Though Darwin's theory was based on the natural world, it has been adopted by the social world to study adaptive changes. Revolutionary change on the other hand refers to sudden changes in the society brought about by transformations due to changes in its political, social and economic structures. It might be a result of sudden change in the political structure due to the overthrow of ruling class like the Russian Revolution or change brought about because of transformation in mode of production due to introduction of technology like industrial revolution.

Change classified according to its nature or impact in society comprise of structural changes in the institutions functioning in society and changes in ideas, values and beliefs. Structural change is brought about by change in rules that govern the functioning of institutions in society. For instance: the introduction of the concept of paper money as a form of currency changed the nature of economic transactions giving rise to numerous institutions and transforming economic life. Change in values, ideas refers to change in norms of living and behaving with one another due to values and beliefs attached with a particular concept. For instance, the concept of childhood

is a fairly recent phenomenon which emerged in the 19th century, before this, children were considered as young adults who worked to earn their living.

Social change can be classified according to their sources or causes which can be categorized into four types: environment, technology and economy, politics and culture.

Environment: Environment, nature or ecology has shaped society and its structure, especially in the past, when the effects of nature couldn't be controlled or overcome. It had an impact on the food habits, clothes, social interaction, means to earn a livelihood, kind of houses that people lived in. But with the development of technology, its effect has been slowly decreasing as it enables us to overcome or adapt to nature, thus altering our relationship with nature.

It effects social change both constructively and destructively. Constructively, the discovery of natural resources or the utilization of nature's abundance as a means of earning one's livelihood has transformed societies affecting their economic, social and political structure. For instance, the discovery of tea in Assam led to the establishment of numerous tea estates, creating the need for manpower and introducing a network of communications and transport, thereby changing the economic and social structure of the state.

Destructively, it causes social change during natural disasters like floods, earthquakes, volcanos. It not only cause physical destruction, but also changes the social fabric as people's livelihoods are dependent on natural resources. For instance, the yearly floods in Assam not only damage houses but also destroy crops causing loss to farmers.

Technology and economy: Developments in both technology and economy has been responsible for large scale social changes. As mentioned above, the forces of nature can be harnessed, resisted or controlled with the help of technology. Combined with the economic institution of market, it can create far reaching changes in the society, its culture and demography. The discovery of steam power transformed the transportation system by powering ships and railway engines; encouraging the establishment of networks of communication system thus changing the rules governing global economy. Certain technological inventions or discoveries may not have an immediate impact but once they have an enabling circumstance or a changed economic contest, their significance can be felt. Like the discovery of writing paper in China which did not have much of an impact on its own but with the invention of printing press, it changed the face of society.

Change in economic organization also causes change in social and political structures. The introduction of tea plantation farming in Assam led to the forced migration of Adivasi people from Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh changing Assamese society.

Politics: Political forces, that is, the actions of politically powerful people are one of the most important sources of social change as they not only represent individual action but rather reflect the political, social and economic

trends. Alongwith this, conflict caused due to actions of political domination like war, bring about social change; the conquered might influence the ways of life of the conquered or vice versa. For instance, the Mughals when they conquered the Indian Subcontinent, did not impose their religious faith on the Indian people rather they let them practice their own religion and culture but their impact can be felt in the areas of architecture, language, art and fashion. The transformation of political structures across the globe from monarchy to democracy and the introduction of universal adult franchise after a long struggle has slowly changed the norms of society. As it makes the people's political representatives answerable for their actions, it exerts considerable pressure on every government to work for the greater good rather than personal gain. This has had far reaching changes in society.

Culture: Culture refers to a wide area of ideas, beliefs and values encompassing a way of life that enable one to live life. According to E B Taylor, it includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, custom, laws, etc and its transformations will lead to changes in society. For instance religion, an example of socio-cultural institution has had tremendous impact on society as religious beliefs help organize it. This is observed in Max Weber's study "Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of capitalism" which proves how the religious beliefs advocated by certain sects of Protestant have helped in the spread of capitalism.

Therefore, it can be seen that there are various factors of social change, both internal and external. Also, these sources of change do not function in isolation rather they are inter-related with one another, technological sources may be affected by economic or environment and environment might affect culture. Hence it becomes necessary to understand the various forms and dimensions of change.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q1: What is a social movement?

.....

.....

Q2: What are the main causes of social change?

.....

.....

6.6 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

As discussed in the previous section, social movements are actions that are legally permitted and widely accepted as binding in society or in a particular society is institutionalized. Social change is a continuous and ongoing process; it is a historical process that encompasses both individual social action and collective action of social groups across time and space. On the other hand, social movements are directed towards achievement of specific objectives and have a minimum degree of organization. It involves collective action by its followers or members through an ongoing process of social effort. Social change may be an inevitable result of social

movement. Therefore, it can be seen that social movement is one of the most significant means to reach to the end of social change. Sometimes, these methods are accompanied by other collective actions and are used as a strategy. Most often people's resistance against dominance, direction and commands of dominant groups.

Therefore, let us see the three major categories of social movements that evolve and strive for social change

Redemptive: Redemptive movement attempts to bring about social change in the "personal consciousness and actions of its individual members." For example: The Neo- Vaishnavite movement pioneered by Shankardev who ushered in an era of socio-cultural renaissance with an emphasis on ethnic integration, societal reforms and spiritual upliftment through an innovative mode of religious conduct based on indigenous elements of this region. He preached devotion to a single God, Lord Krishna, incarnation of Lord Vishnu, (Eka Sarana) who can be worshiped solely by uttering His various names. He was against idol worshipping and introduced the institution of Nâm -ghars or prayer-halls which accessible to everyone irrespective of their caste or status. He established numerous Sattras. Sattras were decentralised monasteries headed by a Guru (teacher) where disciples reside and are initiated into the Neo-Vaishnavite culture.



The Neo-Vaishnavite movement pioneered by Shankardev who ushered in an era of socio-cultural renaissance with an emphasis on ethnic integration, societal reforms and spiritual upliftment

Reformative: Reformative social movement aim to change the existing social and political structures by gradual changes. For instance, the Bachpan Bachao Andolan initiated in 1980 by Nobel Laureate Kailash Satyarthi who has been campaigning for child rights in terms of ending child labour and establishing right to education for all children. In 2001, a nation-wide Shiksha yatra was organized by the BBA to demand for right to education to become a fundamental right which led to the constitutional amendment. After decades of struggle the RTE gets implemented as a fundamental right in 2010.

Revolutionary: Revolutionary movement aims to radically transform structures by capturing state power. For instance, the Naxalite movement, a peasant movement which began in 1967 at the Naxalbari Police station in West Bengal under the leadership of the cadres of Communist Party of India (Maoist) spread to several states of India. By 1969, Charu Majumdar became the leader of the newly formed Marxist Party (Marxist- Leninist) an off-shoot of the CPI(M) and advocated for long-drawn-out guerrilla warfare to bring about revolutionary change within the country as they felt that the kind of democracy practiced in India was a sham. Hence they forcibly took away land from rich landowners and gave it to the landless. By now, 9 states with predominantly Adivasi population are affected by the Naxalite movement. The major supporters of the movement were landless cultivators, share-croppers or small farmers who have been exploited by money-lenders as well as the state machinery.

Though the above typology can be used to classify movements, it can be observed that a movement will have a mixture of redemptive, reformist or revolutionary elements. A movement might start off with reformist objectives and might end up with revolutionary objectives if their demands do not get

fulfilled with non-violent means. It can begin with mass mobilization to fulfill grievances and become institutionalized; Krishi Mukti Sangram Samiti is a classic example of this. Also, the classification of a movement into any of the above typologies is a matter of interpreting and attaching meaning to it. For instance, in 1857, Indian nationalist claimed to wage the first war of independence but it was perceived to be a mutiny by the British officials.

6.7 NORMS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Regarding the norms of social movements, the following points may be mentioned:

Form of collective action: Social movements are a form of collective action. It is different from a crowd, gang or an interest group. As a form of collective action, it is 'goal oriented', in pursuit of some common goal through joint action.

Collective behaviour: Social movements may be institutionalized or non-institutionalized. Traditionally, social movements encompasses non-institutional collective action, which include protests, marches, demonstrations, dharna and dissent. It encompasses Anti-war movements, Human rights movements, Anti-Nuclear Movements which have taken place at different times across the globe.

Interest groups: Social movements overlap certain interest groups too. Interests groups often raise important issues which affect society and politics in a variety of ways. While interest groups are mainly associated with politics and political processes, social movements are much wider in scope. Interest groups further their interests through institutionalized means, but social movements adopt a variety of methods to achieve their goals, which include the use of non-institutional means too. However, over a period of years, social movements become more institutionalized and some begin to look as well as behave as interest groups too.

Organised activity:

It involves pursuit of goals through joint action. It also implies that there has to be an organization framework which will shape the nature of struggle and will give direction to the movement. Leadership plays an important role in social movements. However, all social movements need not have a structure; it is essentially a 'network of interaction between different actors', and whether it may have an formal institutional framework or not, largely depends on the goals and the nature of circumstances.

Temporal continuity:
All social movements have some degree of temporal continuity, rather than being purely ad-hoc or temporary in character. Social movements tend to last a little longer and some may continue through phases of 'cycle of protest'. It is rather a sustained kind of collective activity wherein larger goals are addressed.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q3: What are interest groups?

.....

.....

Q4: What are three different kinds of social movement?

.....

.....

6.8 LET US SUM UP

- When certain significant change occurs that transform the very foundations of anything or any structure, it can be considered as social change.
- Social change can be classified according to its pace, its nature or impact in society, direction and source or causes. Its sources or causes are categorized into four types: environment, economy and technology and, politics and culture.
- Various processes of social change are industrialisation, urbanization, sanskritisation, westernization and modernisation.
- Social movement is defined as, "social mobilization over a sustained period of time with a collectivity having consensus to struggle (in terms of ideas as well as action) to achieve certain goals can be defined as a movement."
- Features of social movements: sustained collective action, organization, objective and ideology, shared understanding and distinct mode of protest.
- There are three kinds of social movements: Redemptive, Reformative and Revolutionary
- Various kinds of movements like ecological, political and women's movement

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6.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: Social movement refers to social mobilization over a sustained period of time with a collectivity having consensus to struggle (in terms of ideas as well as action) to achieve certain goals.

Ans to Q No 2: The main causes of social change are industrialisation, urbanization, sanskritisation, westernization and modernisation.

Ans to Q No 3: Interest groups are mainly associated with politics and political processes. Interests groups often raise important issues which affect society and politics in a variety of ways.

Ans to Q No 4: There are three kinds of social movements: Redemptive, Reformative and Revolutionary



6.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

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

Q1: Define Social Change.

Q2: Define social movement with its features.

Q3: Describe the different types of social movements

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

Q1: On what basis can social change be classified? Explain the sources of social change in details

Q2: Explain the various processes of Social Change.

Q3: What are the different kinds of movement? Explain with examples in your own words.

UNIT 7- CLASSIFICATION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Unit Structure

7.1 Learning Objectives
7.2 Introduction
7.3 New and Old Social Movements
7.4 Characteristics of New Social Movements
7.5 Important Social Movements in India
7.6 Let us Sum up
7. 7 Further Reading
7.8 Answers to check your progress
7.9. Model questions

7.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- define what are social movements
- analyse the difference between the approaches of old and new movements
- discuss some of the important social movements in India.

7.2 INTRODUCTION

A social movement may be defined as an organized effort by a large number of people to bring about social, political, economic or cultural change in the society. Defined in this way, social movements might sound similar to special-interest groups, and they do have some things in common. But a major difference between social movements and special-interest groups lies in the nature of their actions. Special-interest groups normally work *within the system* via conventional political activities such as lobbying and election campaigning. In contrast, social movements often work *outside the system* by engaging in various kinds of protest, including demonstrations, picket lines, sit-ins, and sometimes outright violence. In this unit, we will discuss about social movements and some of the important social movements of India.

7.3 NEW AND OLD SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The new social movements explain the emergence and nature of the recent movements by examining grievances which they arise from the structural condition of post-industrial society. Social scientists claim that recent social movements represent an entirely new form of social protest and reflect

properties of advanced industrial societies. The rapid economic expansion of the 1950s and 1960s and the redistributive policies of the welfare state secured a level of prosperity capable of satisfying basic human needs. The delivery of this economic security was not, however, without its problems. The bureaucracies and formal organizations designed to implement the welfare state and maintain economic growth began to enhance the process. In other words, in contrast to the industrial phase of capitalism, state control in post-industrial society reaches beyond the productive sphere and into areas of consumption, services, and social relations. in these new movements seek to regain control over their personal and collective sense of identity.

The Old Social Movements fought to secure political and economic rights from the state and other institutional actors, new social movements target their activities away from the state. The movement itself and its participants become the focus of its members' energies. The personal becomes political. According to new social movement theorists, the new social movements differ from past movements not only with respect to what or whom they direct their energies against, but also with respect to whose interests they represent. The "old" social movements were movements of a particular class, generally the working class, and articulated the interests or demands of that class (the right to organize, the vote, the length of the workday).



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q.1: State whether True (T) or False (F)

(i) The new social movements explain the emergence and nature of the recent movements by examining grievances which they arise from the structural condition of post-industrial society.. (T/ F)

(ii) According to new social movement theorists, the new social movements differ from past movements not only with respect to what or whom they direct their energies against, but also with respect to whose interests they represent. (T/ F)

Q.2: Distinguish between social movements and special-interest groups. (Answer in about 50 words).

7.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The characteristics of these new movements can be divided into four general areas: goal orientation, forms, participants, and values. Each characteristic reflects this discomfort with the intervention by the system of state social control and a desire to replace these disturbing formal organizations with cooperative community networks. They reflect the desire for self-actualization within re-formed primary group relations.

The new social movements are interested in the provision of collective or intangible goods that would enhance the quality of life for all sectors of society. It is argued that membership in contemporary movements does not follow traditional class lines but rather falls into two categories: those who are paying the costs of modernization and have been marginalized by the development of the welfare state and the new middle class. Constituents of the latter group, who comprise the majority of new social movement participants, span the political range and tend to be young, well-educated, and employed. Participants in new social movements is often based on ascriptive characteristics such as gender, race, or ethnicity. Differences between labor and business and between left and right, typical of old social movements, dissolve as participants in new social movements converge on such universal, nonpartisan issues as ecology, "life-chance" considerations, and disarmament.

A blurring of the line between the public and private spheres is reflected in the forms that these new social movements assume. The form of the movement is both symbolic of the rejection of bureaucratized society and involved in creating a cushion behind which collective bonding and self-development can occur, beyond the hold of the state's system of social control. While a highly structured, hierarchical organization may be considered the most effective mechanism for mobilizing a constituency and commanding attention from state actors, new social movements choose a less traditional form of organization. The emphasis of new social movements is on direct democracy, spontaneity, non-hierarchical structures, and small-scale, decentralized organizations. Given the importance that members of the new social movements place on participatory, spontaneous, and non-hierarchical organization, it is hardly surprising that their strategies and tactics are not those characteristic of conventional politics. Traditional party politics and lobbying activities remain peripheral to their actions, since these movements eschew established channels of political action. Instead, the movements adopt a variety of unconventional tactics: mass rallies, site occupations, and sit-ins.



The values of new social movements reflect and extend their universalistic goals, new middle class participants, and organizational forms.

The values of new social movements reflect and extend their universalistic goals, new middle class participants, and organizational forms. Economic growth and the material rewards that it provides are no longer endorsed if they entail the destruction of the natural environment and the control of collective and personal identities. Instead, the new social movements seek the achievement of preservation of social bonds, collective goods and the quality of production and consumption. For example, whereas old labor movements sought wage increases or social security benefits, new social movements focus on the establishment of cooperatives or alternative economic institutions where the quality of life at the workplace would increase job satisfaction and worker control. The development of a more balanced relationship between the sexes and a greater respect for the natural environment are accorded greater weight than a rational and efficient utilization of natural and human resources. Hence "new" feminist organizations would, according to new social movement theorists, focus less on pursuing political rights or equal pay than on restructuring political,

economic, and social activity such that the potential for personal development and autonomy are enhanced. Therefore, in conclusion, according to the new social movement theorists, the movements of the 1960s and 1970s are bound to their historical epoch. They represent particular manifestations of the particular structural arrangements of advanced capitalism. A product of an ever-expanding bureaucratic/welfare state, their participants are creations of this new social order, and their forms and values represent a reaction to this new order.

7.5 IMPORTANT SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

In the following, we will discuss some of the social movements in India.

- **Swadeshi Movement, 1905**
  It was the revolution that sparked India's struggle for liberty centred on throwing the British Empire out of control by becoming self-sufficient Swadesh. There were many Indians joining the campaign and boycotting foreign products. Both their imported clothes have been burned, British items boycotted and domestic goods are regenerated. This motivated people to speak against their authority and the courage to share their opinions.
- **Satyagraha**

  Satyagraha was one of Indian history's most noted campaigns that peacefully brought together thousands of people. Mahatma Gandhi started the Non-Violence Movement to return the British to their country and free India from foreign rule.
- **Chipko Movement, 1973**

  The Chipko movement and the Chipko Andolan, on the basis of the Gandhian ideals, saw people fighting against deforestation by embracing trees to avoid their cutting. The agitation started at the beginning of the 70s, led by Chandni Prasad Bhatt and Sunderlal Bahuguna, as a group of women resisted tree felling.
- **The Narmada Bachao Andolan**

  A large number of *Adivasis*, environmental activists and human rights activists came together in this rally, to protest against a great number of dams along the Narmada River. The movement included popular people and began hunger strikes to demonstrate support for this cause. The decision is pending, but the court originally ruled that the decision was in favour of Andolan and thus made an immediate halt to the work on the dam and ordered the States concerned to first complete the process of reconstruction and replacement. The court then allowed the building to continue.
- **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.

- **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.

- **The Naxalbari Peasant Movement**

It 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.

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.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS



Q. 3: State whether True (T) or False (F)

(i) The values of new social movements reflect and extend their universalistic goals, new middle class participants, and organizational forms. (T/F)

(ii) Naxal effected areas are popularly known as 'Red Corridor' region. (T/F)

Q.4: Who led the Chipko movement?

Q.5: Where the Naxalwadi activities first started in India?



7.6 LET US SUM UP

• A social movement may be defined as an organized effort by a large number of people to bring about social, political, economic or cultural change in the society.

- There is a major difference between social movements and special-interest groups lies in the nature of their actions.
- The new social movements explain the emergence and nature of the recent movements by examining grievances which they arise from the structural condition of post-industrial society.
- The Old Social Movements fought to secure political and economic rights from the state and other institutional actors, new social movements target their activities away from the state.
- The characteristics of these new movements can be divided into four general areas: goal orientation, forms, participants, and values. Each characteristic reflects this discomfort with the intervention by the system of state social control and a desire to replace these disturbing formal organizations with cooperative community networks.
- The Chipko movement and the Chipko Andolan, on the basis of the Gandhian ideals, saw people fighting against deforestation by embracing trees to avoid their cutting.
- A large number of *Adivasis*, environmental activists and human rights activists came together in this rally, to protest against a great number of dams along the Narmada River. The movement included popular people and began hunger strikes to demonstrate support for this cause.

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7.8 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: (i) True (ii) True

Ans to Q No 2: The major difference between social movements and special-interest groups lies in the nature of their actions. Special-interest groups normally work *within the system* via conventional political activities such as lobbying and election campaigning. On the other hand, social movements often work *outside the system* by engaging in various kinds of protest, including demonstrations, picket lines, sit-ins, and sometimes outright violence

Ans to Q No 3: (i) True (ii) True

Ans to Q No 4: Chandni Prasad Bhatt and Sunderlal Bahuguna

Ans to Q No 5: In West Bengal.



7.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

Short Questions (Answer each question in about 200 words)

Q 1: State the concept of social movements

Q 2: Distinguish between the old and new approaches of social movements.

Q 3: Briefly explain the role of women in Chipko movement.

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

Q 1: Explain Chipko movement and Narmada Bachao Andolan as community movement.

Q 2: Discuss some of the important social movements in India.

Q 3: Discuss the Naxalbari Peasant Movement as one of the most remarkable incidents in the socio-political history of independent India.

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UNIT 8: SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN INDIA

Unit Structure:

8.1 Learning Objectives
8.2 Introduction
8.3 Overview of Social Movements in India
8.4 Peasant Movement
8.5 The Naxalbari Movement
8.6 Labour Movements
8.7 Women's Movement in India
8.8 Dalit Movement
8.9 Let Us Sum Up
8.10 Further Reading
8.11 Answers to Check Your Progress
8.12 Model Questions

8.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- understand the nature of peasant movement
- understand the underlying causes behind the outbreak of Naxalbari Movement
- get an overview of the women's movements
- describe the Dalit movement

8.2 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, we will discuss about the uprising of the peasants, the labour class, the Naxal movement, Dalit uprising and women's movements. 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.

8.3 OVERVIEW OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

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. Unit 1 Social Movement Social Movements 13 Besides, Bhakti movement was another significant socio-religious movement to protect Hinduism, originated in South India during the 7th to 8 th 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.

8.4 PEASANT MOVEMENT

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.*

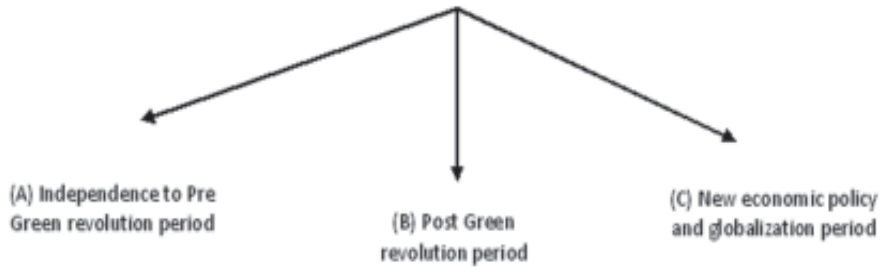
In the pre-industrial period of the middle ages when feudalism prevailed, those who were slave, serf and free tenants were collectively known as peasants. Rajendra Singh (as cited in Rao, M.S.A. 2016) has defined the term peasant as a class of people which excludes the erstwhile rent and revenue collecting 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.

The peasants as a Socio-economic group consists of poor and landless tillers and agricultural labourers, middle level peasants and rich peasants excluding landlords and traders. The authority divided into two- government and non-government authority implying the landed aristocracy such as Zaminders.

ORGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF PEASANT MOVEMENT

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



(A) Independence to Pre-Green Revolution Period (1941-1960)

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. That is why, the movement for land rights did not stop, rather its influence throughout the country became more intensive and expansive.

(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.



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.

Under this green revolution, small peasants had to suffer. 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. 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 were 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-

Severe and overall economic crisis.

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.

Record breaking unemployment problem recreated by mixed economic planning.

Emergence of Janata Movement led by sarvodaya leader J.P. Narayan.

War with Pakistan (1971) thereby creation of Bangladesh.

The internal emergency declared by PM India Gandhi (1975-77) to Suppress overall socio-economic crisis.

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.

(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. But the rich peasants or new farmer class of the peasantry did not think to go against the government policy to fulfil their needs. Gradually, 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.

(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:

Ultra modernised mechanisation of agriculture.

Use of hybrid seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides produced mostly by foreign companies.

Beginning of contract farming, corporate farming, genetically modified crops etc.

Free market policy and import liberalisation in agricultural trade.

Curtailment of state backing of agricultural activities like subsidised loan.

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 agitated situation, six persons died in police firing in Madhya Pradesh.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

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

.....

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?

.....

8.5 THE NAXALBARI MOVEMENT

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.

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 a halt within a short span of time. However, 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.**

Thus, some of the important reasons that led to Naxalbari movement are discussed below:

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.



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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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

8.7 WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

The development of women's movement in India is a remarkable event in the Indian society. Women's movements in India focus on the socio-political and religious laws which are discriminatory towards women. In the pre-independence period it became a reform movement of traditional society and struggle against the colonial power which was gripped by the many socio-political evils about the women like - sati, dowry, child marriage etc. Noted Indian political thinkers and reformers like- Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Keshab Chandra Sen, Phule, Pandita Ramabai,

Swarnakumari Devi etc. tried to bring reforms the society. Their efforts spanned action to abolish the practice of sati, the custom of child marriage, the custom of disfiguring widows, the ban on the remarriage of widows and a host of other evil practices that affected women. These reformers were also actively engaged in advancing the status of women by promoting their participation in politics and education, by obtaining for them legal rights to property. Raja Ram Mohan Roy founded the Brahmo Samaj in 1828. He fought against the evils of caste system and the oppression of women. Vidyasagar took up the cause of widows, and started a movement in support for remarriage in the 1850s. it resulted in Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act of 1856. Keshab Chandra Sen was greatly interested in social reforms. He basically talked about the status of women and removing the inequalities of caste. The passing of the Brahmo Marriage Bill was the greatest triumph in his career as a social reformer. As a result of this Act, early marriage was abolished, polygamy was made penal offence and it sanctioned widow remarriage and inter-caste marriages. Mahadeva Gobinda Ranade who joined the Parthana Samaj in 1869, worked against social evils such as child marriage, the purdah system and prohibition of widow-remarriage. Swami Dayanand Saraswati, who founded Arya Samaj, too opposed child marriage and supported widow remarriage and girl's education. Vivekananda also emphasised on women's education. He emphasised that women should be taught the value of liberty, self-initiative and heroism. The women social reformer Maharani Tapasvini is reported to have taken part in the Revolt of 1857. She is one of the prominent persons who further the cause of women's education in Bangal. Pandita Ramabai develop a series of "Mahila Samajs" in Bombay Presidency and also speared the women's awareness about the society and social value among the women's group and society to overcome the social evils. She also had begun series of project involving girls schools, orphanages and widow's home. Swarnakumari Devi formed the "Sakhi Samiti' to foster among Indian women an active and enlightened interest in the welfare of the country. Ramabai Rande supported the suffrage movement in India and she had lead a number of meeting with demands for the right to vote. Thus, the movement of pre-independence period was a kind of reform movement.



Swarnakumari Devi formed the "Sakhi Samiti' to foster among Indian women an active and enlightened interest in the welfare of the country.

The first modern organisation, the Women's Indian Association, formed in Madras in 1917 by Mrs. Margaret Cousins under the inspiration and leader of Annie Besant. The Women's India Association, through their campaign for suffrage, had acknowledged the inspiration received from the movement for the right to vote in west. The All India Women Conference (known as the Akhil Hind Mahila Parishad) was established in 1927 to mobilise women for advancing their status through education, social reform and politics. The All India Women's Conference, as an apex women's organisation, played an important role in pressurising the colonial government for giving women political and legal rights and amendments in Hindu laws pertaining to marriage, divorce and property. However, as it was dominated by Hindu women form upper and middle classes and castes. In practice, the dominant section of women's movement during the colonial period shared views of the social reformers and Gandhi on the status of women and did not question



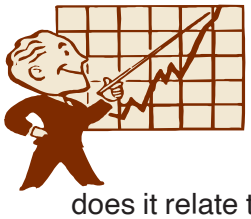
The first modern organisation, the Women's Indian Association, formed in Madras in 1917 by Mrs. Margaret Cousins under the inspiration and leader of Annie Besant.

patriarchal social relations within the family and society. The concept of education as pre-requisite for women's equality was in fact, the first demand of the earlier women's movement that developed during the 1920's and 1930's. After independence, Indian women attained the bonafide citizenship of the new nation.

After independence, a vigorous women's movement had taken place in India. Women from diverse castes, classes and communities participated in the movement along with activists drawn from a variety of political trends, parties and groups belonging to various ideologies making the movement highly heterogeneous. There are enormous variety of positions, ideologies, strategies and mass bases.

8.8 DALIT MOVEMENT

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

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?

8.6 LABOUR MOVEMENTS

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'.

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.

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.

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.

Labour and 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.[1] 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.



In 1890, the Bombay Mill Hand Association was formed which was the first trade union 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.

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. 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. 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?

.....



8.9 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.



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8.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOURS 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.

Ans to Q. No 7: All India Trade Union Congress

Ans to Q. No. 8: Bombay Mill Hand Association



8.12 MODEL 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?

Q. 4: Define peasant movement. Explain the nature of peasant movement in Post Independent India.

Q. 5: What do mean by Green revolution? How did it affect the Indian peasants that led to peasant movement in Post Independent India?

Q. 6: 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. 7: What do you mean by Naxalbari Movement? Discuss why and how did the Naxalbari movement originate in West Bengal?

Q.8. Describe Women's movements and Dalit movements.

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UNIT 9: ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

Unit Structure:

9.1 Learning Objectives
9.2 Introduction
9.3 Ecological and Environmental Movements: Meaning and Nature
9.4 Various Environmental Movements in India
9.4.1 Chipko Movement
9.4.2 Narmada Bachao Andolon
9.5 Significance of Environmental Movements in India
9.6 Let Us Sum Up
9.7 Further Readings
9.8 Check Your Progress
9.9 Model Questions

9.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

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

- know the meaning and nature of environmental movements
- narrate the major environmental movements that took place in India
- describe the significance of the environmental movements in India

9.2 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.

9.3 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 differ because of their specific focus, issues, different organizational structures, 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.

9.4 VARIOUS ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

The origin of the environmental movement lay in 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)' written by American biologist Rachel Carson was one. 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 were also held in the 70s. In 1980s, a growing awareness on global warming brought the environmental movement even more into the mainstream.



In 1916, then President of U.S., Woodrow Wilson founded the National Park Service, which deeply supported the growing environmental movement.

The origin of the environmental based movement in India can be traced back to the early twentieth century when people protested against the commercialization 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 stated 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 recognized 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 apologized 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 of afforestation on stripped lands. The movement at a later stage also focused on the balanced usage of ecosphere by familiarizing the people about alternative energy resources so that the pressure on the forest can be reduced. The movement became a huge success and managed to stop the project of the forest department.

- **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 Sughatha Kumari 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.

9.4.1 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 was 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 the earlier act of protest. It is reported that the strategy of 'embracing' the trees in the forest to prevent tree from being fell 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.



Bahuguna coined the Chipko's slogan "Ecology is permanent economy." Chipko Movement is largely influenced by the above mentioned Bishnoi 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.

9.4.2 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 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



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

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.

9.5 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 Sucheta Kriplani and established on a land bequeathed by Shyma Devi. This enterprise was ultimately followed up with the Chipko movement starting in 1973.

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

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

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

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

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.



9.6 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 commercialization 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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9.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. What is environmental movement?

2. When did the first environmental movements start?

3. When and where did Chipko Movement take place?

4. Mention the main objective of the Chipko Movement.

5. In which year did the Narmada Bachao Andolon take place?

6. What are the parameters that denotes the term 'environment'?

7. Write a short note on various environmental movements in India.



9.9 MODEL QUESTIONS

1. How does the Chipko movement depict the Gandhian ideology of non-violence?
2. Explain the Chipko Movement.
3. Explain the Narmada Bachao Movement.
4. Describe the overall consequences of the Chipko and the Narmada Bachao Movement in India.
5. Explain the significance of the environmental movements in India.
6. Write the history of environmental movements in India.

UNIT 10-SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN ASSAM

UNIT STRUCTURE

10.1 Learning Objectives
10.2 Introduction
10.3 Concept of Ethnicity
10.4 The Assam Movement
10.4.1 The Students' Movement in Assam
10.4.2 Features of the Assam Movement
10.4.3 Consequences of the Assam Movement
10.5 Factors Responsible for the Growth of Autonomy Movements in Assam
10.6 Karbi-Dimasa Movement
10.7 Bodo Movement
10.8 Let Us Sum Up
10.9 Further Reading
10.10 Answers to Check Your Progress
10.11 Model Questions

10.1 LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you will be able to:

- Explain the concept of ethnic identity
- Describe the causes and consequences of the Assam Movement
- Analyze the upsurge of the Bodo Movement and the Karbi-Dimasa Movement in Assam

10.2 INTRODUCTION

Autonomy movements are the movements which are carried out by people and which emerge from issues related with ethnic identity. 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. 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.

10.3 CONCEPT OF ETHNICITY

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. These groups share the same social traits among themselves or within their community. In this unit we will discuss some of the important social movements that took place for the question of ethnic identity of certain ethnic groups belonging to North east and specifically to Assam.

Generally, the ethnic group 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.

10.4 THE ASSAM MOVEMENT- FOR ETHNIC IDENTITY

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.

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. \

10.4.1 THE STUDENTS MOVEMENT IN ASSAM

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.

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

Q1: The Illegal Migrants (Determination by Tribunals) Act was passed by Indian parliament and implemented in Entire India except Jammu and Kashmir. (True/False)

Q. 2 The .....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)

10.4.2 FEATURES OF THE 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.

Manmade Displacements- 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

Non-Violence versus Violence

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

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.



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".

10.4.3 CONSEQUENCES OF THE ASSAM MOVEMENT

The Assam Movement is not at all an isolated event. It had made significant impact in 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.

- **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. 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.

- **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. 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 amended 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

Q3: State the important clauses of the Assam Accord.

10.5 FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GROWTH OF AUTONOMY MOVEMENTS 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. 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. Therefore 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 so in 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.

10.6 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). However, 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.



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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.



CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Q. 4: In 1960, the Assam Legislative Assembly passed the Official Language Bill through which Assamese was made an official language in Assam. (True/False)

Q. 5: The demand for a separate state hood was also raised during the period of 1960s also by the _____people. (Fill in the blank)

10.7 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.

In 1993, the ABSU/BPAC leadership ended with the Bodo Accord and creation of Bodoland Autonomous Council initiated. However, 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. 6: 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. 7: 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)



10.8 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.

- 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.



10.9 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.



10.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Ans to Q No 1: **True**

Ans to Q No 2: AASU

Ans to Q 3: 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.

Ans to Q No 4: True

Ans to Q No 5: Dimasa

Ans to Q No 6: True

Ans to Q No 7: Upendranath Brahma



10.11 MODEL QUESTIONS

Q. 1: Analyse the causes and consequences of the Assam Movement.

Q. 2: The ethnic groups are believed to suffer from relative deprivation. (True/False)

Q. 3: Describe in brief the Bodo Movement.

Q. 4: Explain the Karbi-Dimasa Movement.

Q. 5: Explain the origin and developments of autonomy movements in Assam.

Q. 6: Discuss the factors responsible for the growth of autonomy movements in Assam.

Q. 7: Describe in your own words the problems associated with the autonomy movements in Assam.

Q.8: What happened with the advent of RSS into the Assam Movement?

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