Chapter I

Introduction

The perspective of research on social movements has been changing over time. At the end of the 1940 and beginning of 1950, crowd behaviour was the major area of research. In 1960-1970s studies on social movements have more focus on the aspect of social change. Since the end of 1980s research on social movement has been concentrated on theoretical and empirical writings on collective action.

Reviewing the Concept of Social Movement

A social movement is ‘collective, organized, sustained and non-institutional challenge to authority or power holder or cultural belief and practices’ (Jasper and Goodwin 2003:3). The involved people seek a change in the existing system by using extra-institutional means and they do it with full of conscious, concerted, and sustained efforts. The early studies emphasize on the collective action as the fundamental thrust of the social movements (Zald and Ash (1996), McCarthy and Zald (1977), Oberschall (2008); Tilley (2008). Herbert Blumer (2008:64) explains that the social movement is collective enterprises to establish new social life. The condition of unrest creates motive power behind the actors on the one hand and on the other hand dissatisfaction from their current form of life is the main causes of wishing to a new way of life.

Many scholars define social movements as an organization. Others simply see a social movement as a number of people. Social movement refers to, among other things, the ‘sequences of contentious politics’. Most of the available definitions perceive ‘goals’ as a definitional criterion. For some authors any common goal is sufficient. The ‘goal to effect change’ is part of definitions just posits that a social movement takes form as soon as a group tries to solve a problem. Another component of definitions of social movement is ‘presence of an antagonist’. This implies that
members of the group do not want to or cannot achieve their goals on their own but want to influence the decisions of others.

In addition, four social movement themes that have been identified by Della Porta and Daini added to the list of criteria with which social movement can be defined. These themes include ‘informal interaction networks’ based upon ‘shared belief’ and ‘solidarity’, engaging in collective action with a focus upon ‘conflict and use of protest’ (Della Porta and Daini 2006,2009). Mario Diani (2008) viewed social movement as ‘a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and organisations, engaged in a socio-political or cultural conflict on the basis of shared collective identity’.

Diani framework does not include presence of a single formal organization as constitutional criteria. So the trade union, a religious or a political organization alone would not define social movement, although they have to participate in mobilization. Movement according to Della Porta is by definition ‘fluid phenomena’. On the other hand, Crossley (2002:7) suggested that social movement includes social movement organization. Social movements share a family resemblance rather than fixed essence and their definition inevitably rests upon the fuzzy logic of ordinary language use (Crossley 2002:7) Finally, a social movement is not only a collective of individuals but there must be joint (coordinated) action, and there must be an ‘effort’ or an ‘attempt’ to implement goals or an “organized effort” to bring social change.

**Shifting of Focus: From Old to New**

The history of social movement from late 19th to 20th century passes through two main periods: industrial and post-industrial. The industrial period produced numerous working classes for mobilizations that involved improving working conditions, rights and wages. The post-industrial period produced a new class of social movements such as civil right movements, women movements, and environmental movements, distinct from old social movements on their objectives. Old social movements, mostly associated with the end of the nineteenth and beginning of twentieth century, are characterised by their isolated and alienated membership.
The series of tribal uprisings in colonial period come under the old social movements. The Permanent Settlements Act of 1873 introduced by the British created the private interest in land wherein the zamindar, moneylender, and the merchants settling on the land traditionally occupied by the tribes, started taking interest in land ownership. The small tribal groups, living in minority, withdrew themselves further into jungles, while the large tribal groups of middle India such as Santhal, Gonds, Kols, Bhils, and Mundas, etc decided to resist colonial exploitation of land and forest resources. These uprisings took place in three phases. The first phase extended from 1795 to 1860 and the major uprisings are the Chuar Rebellion of 1795-1800, the uprising of Chero zamidars and disturbances in Chotanagpur in 1820, the Kol and Bhumij insurrections, the resistance offered by Gond zamidars in 1819-1842, the Khond resistance to the abolition of Mariah sacrifice from the mid 1830, and the Santhal insurrection of 1855-56. The second phase covers the period of 1860 to 1920. The major uprisings of this phase are Kharwar movement (1871-1895). Munda-Oraon Sardar movement (1869-1895) led by Birsa Munda, and Tanabhagat reformativ movement (1895-1921). The third phase covers the period beginning 1920 till the achievement of independence in 1947. The movements of this phase witnessed involvement of tribes in national and agrarian movements, separatist movement in Chotanagpur, political autonomy and cultural movements based on script and language (Singh 1985).

New social movements, comparatively larger on scale, generally date to the latter half of the twentieth century, are characterised as a loosely organised network. A close comparison between the old and new social movements shows that new social movements first developed in response to new challenges, and possibly, in reaction against old social movements. The primary difference between the new and old movements was the way in which they ascribed membership. The old social movements attracted membership through targeted analysis of personality traits, grievances, lack of expectation and ideology (Klandermans 2008). They would target members on the basis of their economic inequality concerns. This kind of targeting was not found in the new movements. Membership base of the new movements was a new middle class. They had a loosely organised network. The social base of these movement moved away from class, emphasising on identity based movements. They
also had gender and sexual sensitivities besides their concerns towards marginalized communities.

From the theoretical perspective, the new social movements are recent development that emphasise both the macro-and micro-historical elements of social movements. On the macro level, this paradigm concentrates on the relationship between contemporary social movements and the larger economic structures and role of culture in social movements. At the micro level, the paradigm is concerned with binding of identity issues and personal behaviours (Pichardo 1997:411). Steven M Buechler (1995) cites capitalism as the main target in old social movement, while new social movement theories view state as the target. They believed that state had the capacity to develop the knowledge system and intervene in technological development thereby deciding the direction of history. Second, new social movement theory rejected the Marxist emphasis on structural determinacy. Instead, they promote autonomy and self-determination as strategies for maximising influence of power in civil society and culture. Third, new social movement theories focused on role of extra-material values like quality of life, gender equality and sexuality and ecology. Their orientation is less towards conflicts and more towards collective action and harmony within different groups having similar concerns. Fourth, new social movement theories have the centralised organised power of social network for the successful collective mobilisation. Fifth, new social movement theories go beyond the old model of social totality and operate in a new model of social totality that emerged in post-industrial society in which information and communication systems reach to mobilise mass (Alien Touraine; 1985, 1988).

Advocates of new social movement view that the issue of social movement has two dimensions, loosely derived from Marx’s and Weber’s thought. The first is the notion of ‘central conflict’ in society; for the Marxists, this was the struggle between labour and capital in industrial society but Touraine argues that in post-industrial society labour-capital conflict generated new identities and new way of life became the core concern of social movements. He explicitly argues that forms of collective behaviour that defined social struggle are directed towards the state. German sociologist Clause Offe (1985) has studied social movements in the context of breakdown of industrial society which consequently leads to a new social
movement. Another contribution of new social movement comes from Melucci (1980, 1985, and 1993-94) who describes contemporary society as highly differentiated system in which creation of autonomous individual is in the centre for action. In his view, new social movement evolves to ‘oppose the involvement of state and market in social life, reclaiming individual rights to define ones identity and determine private and effective life against the manipulation of systems’.

The post-industrial society increases frustration as a result of attempts to improve private profitability through industrial restructuring and through measures to control public spending on welfare. The new conflicts, according to Habermas, one of the thinkers who particularly influenced new social movement theories, were ‘not ignited by distribution problems (such as wages struggles) but by questions having to do with the grammar of forms of life’ (Habermas 1987: 392, quoted in Crossley 2002: 160). This gave the second-wave feminist slogan, ‘the personal is political’ a particular meaning.

**Approaches to the Study of Social Movements**

Two distinct theoretical paradigms dominate the study of social movements in contemporary societies: the first is the European new social movement (NSM) approach; the second is the North American perspective known as resource mobilization (RM) approach. Both seek to explain the emergence and the significance of contemporary social movements in post-industrial societies. The theoretical issues that each of these perspectives addresses are to a great amount determined by different scientific traditions and contemporary debates in their respective regions of origin. NSM theory developed between 1960s and 1970s, questions reductionist Marxism, which assigned the working class a privileged place in the unfolding of history. NSM, in summary, started from explaining people’s participation in social movements in terms of the pursuit of their own self-interest (an approach that would be consistent with neoliberal assumptions about individuals as rational actors and consumers in the marketplace).

RM theory, in contrast, criticizes Durkheim’s view of collective action as anomic and irrational behavior resulting from rapid social change, and it also questions ‘relative deprivation’ theory, which assumes a direct link between perceived
deprivation and collective action. It has tended to focus upon social movements as precursor of social transformation, emphasizing the development of new identities, and less bureaucratized, and more fully participatory forms of organization.

Political process approaches put emphasis upon the importance of movement networks as well as access to external resources, the focus upon the wider political context and their links with other mobilizations. The notions of ‘framing’, ‘repertoires of contention’, and the links between such contentions with development of ‘collective consciousness and commitments’, in ‘cycles of contention’, over time are some of the important contributions of this approach.

Another relevant addition to the political approach was theories of space and place. This approach highlighted the relevance and role of geographic and spatial locations in inspiring and guiding social movements. It explores how movements develop around concepts such as the ‘local’ or ‘global’, are linked to spatial locations such as the body, physical environment or the economy, choose and form networks across geographies (e.g. South–South, regional and transnational networking) including through the use of communication technologies, and invest these actions across space and place with political meaning. (Buechler 2011; Benhabib 1996, Castells 2010; Ghimire, 2005; Leach and Scoones 2007; Harcourt and Escobar 2005)

**Social Movement Organization (SMO)**

In the beginning of social movements, it is very loosely organised, does not have any definite form and they emerged spontaneously. But as social movements moved further they tended to acquire organizational forms with established leadership styles to deal with new way of life (Blumer 2008:64). It is stated that formal or complex SMO with its informal networks (so essential in the formative stages) cannot co-ordinate the complex challenges facing social movements after their emergence. Thus the task of determining the movement’s goals, programs, strategies and tactics, will tend to be carried out by formal SMOs. Zald and Ash (1966) argue that centralized structures can be more effective for institutional change, but have more difficulty in promoting grassroots participation.
In the theory of framing, the term ‘frame bridging’ refers to the linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames. Bridging occurs when potential participants are provided with the organisational tool to express their grievances. By the ‘frame amplification’ the authors meant clarification and strengthening of interpretive frame, whereas with ‘frame extension’ they refer to the effort made by social movement organisation to encompass previously overlooked values and belief of potential adherence. Finally, ‘frame transformation’ is required when support and participation are weak and new values have to be nurtured and old meanings reframed. With the help of these psychological constructs, the authors attempt to provide a conceptual bridge that links social psychological interpretation of the structural and organisational aspects of social movement participation (Snow 1986).

Leadership in Social Movements

The leaders are the ‘strategic decision makers who inspire and organize others to participate in social movement.’ They at the emotional level, inspire people to participate and at the organizational level provide people to the framework to act collectively. (Morris and Staggenborg: 2002). The leader identifies political opportunities, mobilises people, frame the movement, and influences outcomes (Morris 2000, Gunz 2010).

Dip Kapoor (2009, 2011) has the opinion that the process of self and collective reflection, and inquiry (movement issue, purpose and achievement) encourage movement leadership to analyse past struggle and current motivational strategies used among participant villagers through sharing of story, song, and narratives.

Perspectives of Movement Studies in India: Micro Movements

From early 1980s and onwards, micro-movements in India have become points of convergence for different themes of protests that have significantly resisted increasing commoditisation and monopolisation of life-supporting resources such as land, water and forest, and centralisation of decision-making and disempowerment of communities caused by the related development processes. Movements by the landless, peasants, fishermen, adivasi/tribal and displaced people have taken up issues
of livelihood, opportunities, dignity and development. These people’s movements are also against the violation of human, civil, political and natural rights and they demand systemic equality and justice within the larger framework of development. (Sheth: 1984; 1999)

The new social movements in India have been theorized as ‘micro-movements’, which emerged as the ‘new politics’ setting a path of general alternative politics. The micro movement is defensive response to neo liberal model of market democracy and the Indian state aligning itself to the vertical hierarchy of global economic powers. The political and social movements at the grassroots have emerged as significant countervailing processes and forces, making new provincial and national level alliances aimed at countering the state policies of globalisation (Sheth 2004).

In Indian context, the NSMs are generated due to overall crises of political economic and ideological change. This change arises due to historical response of exploitation of capitalist society. On the other way neoliberal ideology does not fill the vacuum rather focus on environmental, social justice, gender and livelihood related issues (Omvedt 2005).

The movement against the development paradigm led to people’s movement of landless, unorganised labour in rural and urban areas, adivasi, dalit and displaced people and their livelihood opportunities and dignity. Two kinds of politics have emerged--party politics and people politics --on the basis of issues raised in people’s movements aimed at redefining the development process (Sangvai 2007; Kumar 2014). The resistance movement by the development induced displaced people and their degree of mobilization shows strong correlation between extents of politicization of movement by non ruling party in local interest for social justice (Pattnaik 2013). With reference to the trends of non-party political process Kothari (1986) highlights that the grass-root movements deal with the unconventional issues such as corruption, criminalisation, de-politicization of large masses, and livelihood condition with respect to declining role of state in social transformation in India.
Conceptualizing the Local Movement

The local movement is different from other forms of movements in various fronts. First, young people are no more in a subaltern position particularly with respect to technological changes. The emergence of local movements cannot be attributed to an epicentre, one central issue or particular occurrence but it deals with multiple issues in one time. Local movements defend local community issues in which local people participate with the help of local organization and community leadership. In the local movements the people are organized around informal network facilitated by new information and communication system. Second, they are local, regional and national in geographical reach and selecting the issues of movement for the solution. The movement leaders/ activists are increasing their links in order to connect their locally rooted struggle to diverse form of movements anywhere. Finally they involve non-traditional and direct action protests.

Global movement supports multiple and articulating networks of local movement. In this configuration local has been contentiously emphasised and attempts have been made, with varied success, not to impose, pre determined ideas and practices formulated in global capitals of local movements. This hierarchal relationship implies that in articulation between global and local, the global dominates although issues are identified and movements are evolved at local level. Thus, the local community, which is neglected in the birth of new democracy, has suddenly started re- asserting itself in the process.

Local movements view society divided into three components--state, economy and civil society in which changing relationships exist over time across the countries. During twentieth century, the mobilisation against state was the primary target. By the end of twentieth century and beginning of twenty-first century, the state started providing social welfare to the citizen, but after a while power of economic domain shifted towards market forces. In the twenty-first century, the economic power, in comparison to the power of the state and civil society has increased, while the state’s capacity to grant concessions has diminished. This ironically has enhanced the potential importance of participatory organisations in civil society. Since penetration of market forces adversely affected poor population at a local level, therefore, state on
the one hand promotes the social welfare of the marginalised community, and on the other hand promotes the development in the name of construction of big dams, highways and expansion of mining industries. Many of them are based locally and enjoy support of poor marginalised communities (Voss Kim: 2012).

**Statement of Problem**

The post-independent development in India caused displacement many of the tribes from their homeland. Since liberalization in 1980s, the market forces have multifarious impacts in the society and the people at lower stratum of the society were adversely affected by it. The role of state is not clear. On the one hand, the state promotes rights based development programmes for the poor tribes, and on other, it displaces them from their homeland under the mining, dam and industrial projects. Now the situation is the combination of both; frustration and hope for better future. The local space is gradually becoming democratised. At the same time, when the state power does not allow the larger and organized movement to take place, it creates enough space for local movements. The present study will explore how the tribes in our study area respond to the trend of such local movement and get organized under it.

**Research Questions**

How and why some of the local movements have succeeded in reaching the higher levels for movement actions and why some of them died down at the initial stage?

**Objective of the study**

The study has concentrated on the following objectives:-

1) It will examine the factors and consequences of local movement.

2) It will explore the relationship of local movement with rights based development.
Hypothesis

The study will test the following hypothesis:

1) The local movements remain sustainable and active when they are operated under political movement organization. Contradictorily, the NGO activism makes the local movement temporary and short lived.

2) A local movement gains strength when its issues refer to structural inequalities and rights based development.

Sampling

On the basis of purposive sampling method, the Kol dominated villages in Mirzapur-Sonebhadra district and Patha region of Chitrakoot district in Bundelkhand are selected. Two villages from each district were selected on the basis of movement activities in past and present. On the basis of purposive sampling method Kol tribes have been selected in these two districts. In Sonebhadra district Ghorawal block has been selected because of higher concentration of Kol population. Two villages of Ghorawal block, Shivdwar and Lohandi are selected for higher incidents of local movements. In the Patha region, the selected villages are Uchadeeh and Rampuriya, which fall in the Manikpur Block of Bundelkhand.

Research Methods

The study is primarily based on qualitative data collected through ethnographic methods. In the first phase, I interacted with the people who actively participated in the movement in order to understand the existing trend. In the second phase, I did the case study of movement participants and leaders of the movements. Some selected villagers have also been interviewed with open-ended questions. In the participant observation, I have attended in many of the movement activities including dharana pradersan at Tehsil, district and state level, and in the village level meetings. The details of field diary have been maintained and photographs had been taken during the fieldwork.
Chapter Plan

There are seven chapters in the thesis including introduction in the first chapter. The second chapter will discuss about the history of the tribal movements held in the surrounding areas of the study villages, mostly in Central India to explore the link of the past movements with the local movements under study. It will also provide details of crises appeared in land and forest resources in the study areas, as the background of the present movements, and a short demography and social composition of the study villages. The third chapter will discuss about the articulation of issues at the village, Tehsil, district, state and national level and later becoming the part of agenda of the local movement. The fourth chapter will highlight about organizations and leadership pattern in local movements. The strategies adopted for ensuring participation of the people in the movements, the series of songs and slogans reflecting the issues, the role of administration and media will be the subject of the fifth chapter. The sixth chapter will discuss about the link of local movement with electoral politics in the context of Parliament, Assembly and Panchayat levels. It will help us to understand how the movement activities in tribal villages are influenced by the political culture of the state. The thesis will conclude with pointing out the factors of leading to greater articulation of the local movements and dying down some of these movements at the stage of inception.

- 12 -