Chapter-8

Protest movement of Peasants of Bagur-Navile Region: A Case of Leftist Mobilization

This chapter examines in the beginning the key theoretical concepts of social movements and switches over to protest movement of peasants of Bagur-Navile region later. Peasant movement of Bagur-Navile is analyzed in two chapters that is extended into chapter-9. Chapter eight analyzes the peasant movement till movement attains water denial phase. Water denial phase was an intensified phase of peasants’ movement of Bagur-Navile. Therefore, this chapter traces the roots of movement and formation of movement.

Social movements are distinctive methods humans employ and launch in overcoming the undesired state of affairs in society. Social movements as a concept is of ontological and epistemological significance in relation to ongoing debated controversy of what is the nature and structure of reality? Human societies have experienced unprecedented changes after the enlightenment in Europe. French revolution, rise and fall of dictatorships and fascism and unification of several nation-states represent the new dimension of collective behaviour which is of immense importance in comparatively new sub discipline of Sociology that is social movements. Rudolph Heberle observes:

"We can notice patterns of concerted social action and more or less organized groups which are commonly referred to as social and political movements"( Heberle, Rudolph 1951:1)

The term social movements was first used by Saint-Simon (Marshall, Gordon, 2006:615)² to denote the movements of social protest and referred to new political forces which stood in contrast to those concerned with status quo hitherto. Social
movements are defined in different ways. Social movements are defined in simple terms as 'collective attempts to promote or resist change in a society or group. (Beaford d. Robert et.al 2000:800813, italics are added) Oxford dictionary of sociology defines social movements:

"As an organized effort by a significant number of people to change (or resist change in) some major aspects of society." (Marshall, Gordon, op.cit:615)

According to Rudolph Heberle the term Social movements is used to convey the 'wide variety of collective attempts to bring about a change in certain social institutions or to create an entirely order' (Heberle, Rudolph, 1968:438). For him social movements are:

"Social movements are a specific kind of concerted-action groups; they last longer and are more integrated than mobs, masses, and crowds and yet are not organized like political clubs and other associations" (Ibid: 439).

Though the term social movements is used sometimes as distinct from religious and political movements, it is advised to consider them as social movements as they occur, operate in society and affect social order (Ibid).

Joseph R. Gusfield has defined social movements as:

"As socially shared demands for change in some aspect of the social order (Gusfield, Joseph:445)"

Though social movements are carried by associations they are not mere associational phenomenon. It is rather 'system of generalized beliefs and commitment to the beliefs characterizes social movements.
Joseph Gusfield in his edited work 'Protest, Reform and Revolt' has preferred to couple the term social movements with collective behavior. Concern with collective behavior is its implications for social movement and social change. He defined social movements as:

"Socially shared activities and beliefs directed toward the demand for change in some aspect of the social order" (Gusfield, Joseph, 1970:2)

The term social movements conceptually have to be distinguished from similar and akin concepts and terms such as social trends, public opinion, voluntary associations and elementary collective behaviour. Though social trends are related to social change and social conflict, they need not be centred upon as a social issue as a matter of controversy between advocates and opponents. Public opinion refers to aggregate of people distinguished by its common focus on an issue. Movements generate public opinion on issues they are fighting. But public opinions are not social movement as they are attitudes, views of individuals on an issue concerned and not necessarily involved in action of groups to bring change. Voluntary associations are not identical with social movements. Social movements are not identical with voluntary associations as they pose problems in the continuity of movements. Social movements do not exhibit the same degree of organization, definiteness and permanent establishments possessed by voluntary associations. Elementary collective behaviour such as crowds, fashion, fad etc.
lack purposive actions and lacks the relevance for the analysis of social conflict, conflict resolution and social change. (Ibid:4-8, italics are added)11

Social movements cannot be separated from social progression. Organized protest is the vehicle of social movements. Social movements are resistance against the domination and injustice. An important dimension of social movements is it creates the new way of thoughts and rejuvenates the process of change and transformation in society. They demand for and bring forth public scrutiny and hidden realities (Singha Roy, Debal, 2004:8).12

Social movements are shared in the sense that they are the products of the mutually influencing interactions of the people. Social movements embody activities and beliefs. It is in fact translation of discontent into action and beliefs of what is wrong with society culture or the institutions. Mere translation of discontent into action with beliefs does not suffice. Participants of the movements struggle for change with their own prescriptive demands which serve as the focal points of conflict in society and generate public issues. Men’s collective attempt to bring changes through social movements affect institutional framework of society and hence social movements are inextricably linked up with the social order (Gusfield, Joseph, op.cit p:2-3)13

Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani have focused on ‘how ideas, individuals, events and organizations are linked to each other in broader processes of collective action with some continuity over time. They have formulated four set of questions while analyzing social movements:

a. First set of questions are related to social conflict and social movements. They raise the following questions in the wake of structural change and social transformation: how far social movements are expressions of social conflict? What sort of conflicts? Changes in main conflicts addressed by social movements?
b. Second set of questions refers to role of cultural representations in social conflict and development of collective sense and of identity.

c. Third set of questions are related to transformation of values interests and ideas into collective action. and

d. Fourth set of questions refer to how social and/or cultural context affect the chances of success and the form movement takes. What explains varying the intensity of collective violence and people challenges against power centers? How do tactics and strategies of protest change over time and why?(della Porta, Donatella and Diani Mario, 2006:5-6)

J. Craig Jenkins and William Form have echoed the view that understanding social movement. Most of the studies of social movements have been inward focused and movement-centred neglecting the broader institutional and cultural changes as a part of long term objectives. They prefer the term social movement change in lieu of social movement success as movements may not always give rise to intended consequences but also unintended consequences and there exists frequent internal disagreements about the outcomes.(Jenkins, Craig and Form William, 2005:331) They observed:

“Analyzing social movement change requires a causal analysis that not only demonstrates an association between the movement and specific outcomes but also shows that movement processes contribute independently or in addition to other potential causes. Such an analysis also identifies the mechanisms involved in bringing about change. The analysis involves placing movements in a broader societal context that includes ongoing social changes, the structure of the state, prevailing political alliances, existing ideologies and cultural resources, and the structure of major social institutions relevant to the change in question”(Ibid:332)
There is a brisk relationship between social movements and political power. Since social movements act as the catalysts for social change in democratic politics, they are inherently political in nature affecting distribution of power and authority. (Ibid:337)17

Though the social movements are collective enterprise, we cannot bring all collective events under the rubric of social movements. Social movements are hence characterized by sense of group identity and solidarity among acting individuals who are aware of goals and sentiments. When acting individuals feel united through these goals and sentiments, we can identify there exists a social movement. (Heberle, Rudolph, op.cit :-7)18

Collective behaviour exhibits two sides of actions: one refers to group behaviour which is organized on the basis of rules and the tradition and whereas disparate individual behaviour. Social movements represent the study of area 'with a considerable degree of organization, the emergence of rules and tradition, and stability and continuity in time.' (Turner, Ralph and Killian M. Lewis, 1957:307)19

Turner and Killian defined social movements as:

"A Social movement is collectivity acting with some continuity to promote a change or resist a change in the society or group of which it is a part"( Turner, Ralph and Killian M. Lewis, op.cit:308) 20

Paul Wilkinson defined social movements in the following words:"A Social Movement is a deliberative collective endeavour to promote change in any direction and by any means, not excluding violence, illegality, revolution or withdrawal into 'utopian' community. Social movements are thus clearly different from historical movements, tendencies or trends. It is important to note, however, that such tendencies and trends and the influence of the unconscious or irrational factors in human behavior, may be of
crucial importance in illuminating the problems of interpreting and explaining social movement" (Wilkinson, Paul, 1971)\(^\text{21}\)

According to Collins Dictionary of Sociology, social movements are:

“Any broad social alliance of people who are associated in seeking to effect or to block an aspect of social change within a society. Unlike political parties or some more highly organized interest or pressure groups, such movements may be only informally organized, although they may have links with political party” (Jary David and Jary Julia, 2000:571)\(^\text{22}\)

Neil J. Smelser dealing with social movements under the rubric of collective behavior has tried to reconcile the sociological and psychological explanations of collective behavior. Smelser admitted

“Any given behavioural datum is inherently neither “psychological” nor “social”; indeed, the same event may be both, depending on the body of constructs within which it is interpreted” (Smelser, Neil J, 1968:92-94)\(^\text{23}\)

He defined collective behavior as

“Purposive, socially oriented activity by which people attempt to reconstitute their socio-cultural environment (Ibid: 96)

The approach Smelser adopted for analyzing protest movements under social scale is value added approach which comprises several determinants each is not sufficient to explain the episode of social movements. They are structural conduciveness, strain, generalized belief, mobilize, social control. On psychological level he examined the collective behavior from Sigmund Freud’s group psychology. Sociological explanation of collective behavior fails to explain psychological premises. For an emergence of social movements it is not
mere social factors exert their influence on individual minds instead it is also the individual human mind along with social forces cause the emergence of social movements. It is at the peril of arriving at unwarranted psychological generalization we can turn blind toward psychological dimension of social movements. As this leads to ignoring diversity of psychological means of the same event for different individuals. For instance problem of unemployment has different impact on individuals as individuals vary in their response at the problem of unemployment. Aspects such as different types of participation; why some participants become leaders; others become passive followers; others as sympathizers (Smelser, Neil J, op. cit: 100-101)

According to M.S. A. Rao social movement essentially involves collective action. But collective action itself is not sufficient condition. Hence social movement involves 'collective action along with sustained collective mobilization either through informal or formal organization and oriented towards change'. (Rao, MSA, 200:2) He further elaborates the concept of social movements by inserting the variable of ideology. He defined:

"Thus social movement is an organized attempt on the part of a section of society to bring about either partial or total change in society through collective mobilization bases on an ideology”(Ibid:2).

Partha Nath Mukherji analyzed social movements as an agent of social change emerging from social structure and also it tries to change the very structure from which it originated. Sociological analysis of social movements should take into consideration both the aspects or otherwise it would remain incomplete.(Mukherjee, Partha Nath:1977:3) He further constructed two theoretical questions in relation to social movements
a. Does any change in society constitute structural change, considering that change is ubiquitous?

b. Is any social mobilization to be taken as a social movement

(Mukjerjee, Partha Natha:1987:1607)26

The conceptual status of social movement would be greatly undermined if we fail to critically analyze the above premises. All social changes that occur in society need not stem from social movements and all social mobilization that take place in society need not lead to structural changes in society. Therefore the concept of social movements has to be given theoretical and conceptual precision. He defined social movements on the criterion of structural change:

"Any social mobilization for action directed explicitly towards an alteration or transformation of the structure(s) of a system, or against an explicit threat to an alteration or transformation of a system, can be properly understood as a social movement. Mobilizations aimed at changes within a system are quasi-movements. Social movements of an explicitly transformative character are revolutionary movements(Ibid, italics are added)"27

Conceptual analysis of Social movements has to take into consideration social movements not only bring social changes but also the products of social change. One of the tasks of the Sociologists in analyzing social movements is to identify what sort of social changes have generated discontent and it's uncover its relationship to the movement.(Gusfield, Joseph, opt.cit;446)28

M S Gore has analyzed the major premise of social movements from functional paradigm. Though social movements are obviously connected with social process it has to be distinguished from the way social process expressed usually expressed in mainstream of sociological literature such as education, socialization, etc. They convey the meaning of continuous actions. Social
movements are not social processes in this sense. Despite of this fact social movements are not idiosyncratic events. Gore, M.S 1998:77-88. He views social movements from the aperture of changes it invokes in the value systems as well as social relationships in one or more sections of society. Changes in social relationships involve changes in both material and emotional transactions (Ibid:89-90).

The tradition of analyzing social movements has been enshrouded in the study of the process of social change (Oommen, T.K 1977:1). Social movements are indicative of attempts of men deprived in terms of wealth, power or privilege to move from periphery to center of the system. Social movements are the channel for mitigating the deprivation of men and securing justice (Ibid:15, italics are added).

Relationship between Social movements and types of political-authority structures are analyzed. Types of political-authority structures range from stateless phase, era of empires, phase of industrial revolution and class struggles, age of capitalism to consolidation of capitalism and the decline of socialism. Each political-authority structure has concomitant variations on the nature of social movements. Social movements can be supported by state when state wants to foster a change or desired state of affairs.

T.K. Oommen has echoed the view that there is Sociology of law and not Sociology for Law. He feels that the study of social movements has gained prominence in the context of nexus between social movements and social policy changing conceptualization of the state is a key factor in fostering the confluence between movements and policy and sociology could not play a creative role in this context because of its limited empirical base. (Oommen T.K, 2004:179)

All social movements which challenge the authority are oppressed effectively. In the frame work of relationship between state-social movements,
three situations are found. First authoritarian regimes led either by military dictatorship racist or fundamentalist oppress the social movements. Second same is the case with few one-party systems. Whereas the multiparty systems permit the social movements to originate, albeit, it also resorts to repression of movements which challenge the authority.(Ibid:182-183, italics are added))34

7.2 Classification of Social Movements

Sociologists have evolved different classification of social movements. Herbert Bulmer has classified social movements into two types:

a. General
b. Specific

Anthony Giddens have classified the social movements at global level

a. Democratic movements- concerned with establishing political rights
b. Labour movements - aim at distribution of economic goods
c. Ecological movements- critical of developmental policies and attempts to prevent environmental degradation and social world
d. Peace movements -opposed to growing aggrandizement of military power and aggressive forces (Jaria, David and Jary, Julia, op.cit)1

Turner and Killian have classified social movements into three types

a. Value-oriented
b. Power-oriented
c. Participation -oriented
Heberle classified movements into two types

a. Social Movements
b. Protest Movements (Heberle Rudolph, op.cit)\textsuperscript{35}

Neil J. Smelser has arrived at a classification of social movements into norm oriented and value oriented social movements. If norm oriented movements are reformatory in nature whereas value oriented movements are revolutionary in nature.

Rudolph Heberle has classified collective actions of individual to bring changes in institutions of society into two types

a. Social Movements
b. Protest Movements

While social movements aim at comprehensive and fundamental changes in the social order. They seek to alter institutions of property and power and spread beyond the boundaries of states. Whereas protest movements are confined to small groups of people and limited space, being mostly of farmers' and peasant movements, due to their limited goals. (Heberle Rudolph, op.cit: 439)\textsuperscript{36}

M.S.A. Rao has from different vantage point of view provided two bases for classifying social movements. One criterion is based upon the consequences of social movement. Based on this social movement can be classified into:

a. reform

b. transformative

c. revolutionary
He also proposed another classification of social movement on the basis of locus of the movements. According to which social movements on the basis of the issues can be classified into peasant, women, dalit, tribals, etc. (Rao MSA, op.cit., italics are added)37

Joseph Gusfield has distinguished social movements on the basis of organizational aspects into

a. Directed
b. Undirected

Directed segment of movement comprises organized and structured groups with specific programmes a formal leadership structure definitive ideology and stated objectives. Followers of these movements are both members of an organization and partisans to the beliefs. Whereas undirected phase of a movement refers to reshaping of perspectives, norms and values takes place in the context of interaction of persons apart from associational settings. Followers may be members but need not be members of association of the movement.38

Logically variable of social change is primary in the classification of social movements as the latter is contingent upon former. This stems from main theoretical premise of social movements that is to interpret social movements in terms of social change. Therefore social changes emerging from social movements can be categorized as

a. Changes occurring within the given structure(s)
b. Changes occurring on account of the emergence of additional structure(s)
c. Changes occurring due to the elimination or loss of structure(s)
d. Changes occurring as a result of replacement of existing(s) by alternative structure(s) of a system (Mukherji, Partha Nath, op.cit: 1607)39
Partha Mukherji evolved a classification and typology of social movements on the premises of above changes social movements bring:

**Classificatory Scheme of Change, Movement and Conflict** (Mukherji, Patha Nath, op.cit:1608)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description of Change</th>
<th>Type of Change</th>
<th>Type of Movement</th>
<th>Type of Conflict</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A Changes occurring within the given system</td>
<td>Quasi structural</td>
<td>Quasi Movement</td>
<td>Intra-systemic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. Accumulative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Intra-systematic</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>B Changes occurring from an emergence of additional structure(s)</td>
<td>Structural</td>
<td>Social Movement</td>
<td>Systemic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a. Alternative</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b. Systemic</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C Changes occurring due to elimination or loss of structure(s)</td>
<td>Structural (Transformative)</td>
<td>Social and revolutionary movement</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Changes occurring as a result of replacement of a existing structure(s) by alternative structure(s)</td>
<td>Structural (Transformative)</td>
<td>Social and revolutionary movement</td>
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According to T. K. Oommen while analyzing social movements one will meet following methodological problems:

a. Problems in relation to the *scale* of the movement which is again problematized in different aspects such as *number of participants, the span of the movements and the social composition of movement participants.*

b. issues related to the *units and levels of observation*  

(Oommen, T.K, op.cit:25-26)
Social movements reflect an organized attempt on the members of society to bring desired changes. In literature on social movements one comes across classification of social movements into two types: classical/old and new social movements. Andre Gunder Frank and Marta Fuentes argued that new social movements in contrast to classical class movements today motivate and mobilize larger number of people across the world outside the established institutional framework. They constructed nine theses in relation to new social movements, which can be briefly summarized here:

1. New social movements are relatively older than class movements; classical class movements are, hence, new 2. Individual mobilization through sense of morality and [in] justice and social power through social mobilization against deprivation and for survival and identity. 3. The strength and importance of social movements is cyclical [Italics are added] and is intertwined with long political-economic and ideological cycles. Conditions that give rise to movements change, the movements incline to end. 4. Class composition of social movements is middle class in the west and popular/working class in the south and also in the east. 5. Most of the social movements seek more autonomy rather than state power and state power is not identified as social movements. 6. Most social movements are defensive rather than offensive and are important agents of social change. 7. Social movements serve as agents in delinking from capitalism and on pathway to socialism. 8. Some social movements in terms of membership overlap and exhibit both coalition and conflict with each other. 9. Social movements have their blueprint or design which Andre Gunder Frank and Marta Fuentes called as scripts and considering any agendas and strategies by outsiders is counterproductive [Frank, Gunder Andre and Fuentes, Marta, 2002:32-33]

Andre Gunder Frank and Marta Fuentes’s formulation of nine propositions on social movements has generated sharp criticisms and particularly for
underestimating the classic class oriented movements, which is considered as a passing phenomenon to the development of industrial capitalism. D.N. Dhanagare and J. John have chided nine theses on social movements as conceptual vacuum [italics are added] for lacking a concept or image of an active agent who transforms world economy and world system. Though a social movement is central to nine theses, Frank and Fuentes have not provided a comprehensive definition of social movements [Dhanagare D.N. and John J: 2002:58-59]

Frank’s nine theses on social movements is also criticized for methodological nuances for lacking historical specificity [Italics added] of each social situation and as a result social movement has been conceptualized in over abstracted fashion and as a result Frank and Fuentes neglected spatio-temporal aspects of social movements. As a corollary every mass action is projected to be transformatory without recognizing their professed and unstated ideology and agenda. High level of abstractions of Frank and Fuentes led to, according to D.N. Dhanagare and J. John, glorification of terrorism [Dhanagare D.N. and John J: 2002:5]

Peasants, Society and Social Movements

The concept of peasant is not free from ambiguities. It is in fact used in more than one sense. According to Debal K. Singha Roy peasants inherit paradoxical social identities. On the one hand they have been depicted as reactionary conservative awkward and dependent and on the other hand they have been portrayed as revolutionary, progressive, self -conscious heterogeneous and self sufficient with the capability for autonomous action (Roy, Debal Singha, op.cit:15). 41 They have been targets of subordination and oppression by
inheriting lower position in socio-economic hierarchy and remaining underdog position in political structure of the society (Ibid, italics are added).

Peasants' society and peasant movements have drawn the attention of many social scientists in general and sociologists and social anthropologists in particular. Karl Marx, Fredrick Engels, Kautsky, Antonio Gramsci Robert Redfield, Teodor Shanin, Chayanov, Eric Wolf, Frantz Fanon, etc have dealt in depth with peasants, their society and peasant movements.

The word Kisan is used as an equivalent of English word peasant. Kisan include diverse categories such as absentee landlords, supervisory agriculturists, owner-cultivators, share croppers, tenants and landless labourers (Shah, Ganshyam, 2004:35). The term peasant encompasses on the one hand agriculturists who are homogeneous with small holding operated mainly by family labour, and on the other hand it includes all those who depend on land including landless labourers as well as supervisory agriculturists. There are dissenting voices about clubbing together peasants and agricultural labourers as the latter are no more attached to the same master as was the case during the colonial period (Shah, Ganshyam, op.cit:35-36).

There are radical differences in perspectives on peasant's society and movements in colonial historiography. Subaltern perspective criticizes elitism—both colonialist elitism and bourgeois nationalist elitism in historiography of colonial India. Both of them share the same prejudice that nationalism was the development of elite achievements. Subaltern historiography looks at peasant movements in colonial India from radically different perspective. In contradistinction to national elite historiography, it focuses on horizontal mobilization instead of vertical mobilization. It is an attempt to understand 'the contribution made by the people on their own, that is independently of the elite to the
making and development of nationalism;' of which peasants struggle and, uprisings forms the example.( Ranajit, Guha, 2008:1-7, italics are added)\textsuperscript{44}

The mixed status of Indian peasant renders the situation complicated. A peasant may be small farmer and besides cultivating others' land as a share-cropper. He may be partly a farmer and partly something else like artisan or a money lender or a cart driver. Therefore attempt to identify the peasant on the basis of size of land holdings and distinguishing surplus peasants from deficit peasants amounts to slippery procedure. Variations of productivity in relation to spatial differences explain this fluid situation (Ganguli, B.N, 1974:165).\textsuperscript{45}

B.N. Ganguli remarked while discussing in his article 'Indian peasant as an analytical category'

"The peasant's world thus seems to be a cupboard in which a number of skeletons have been quietly hidden away(Ibid:156)"\textsuperscript{46}

Agriculture as an occupation represents unique type of production. Agriculture is not mere a industry but cluster of industries rolled into one with diminishing returns in output and a peculiar combination of inelastic demand and inelastic supply has convulsive effects on peasant community making agriculture a depressed industry(Ibid, 155-156).\textsuperscript{47}

There are contrasting opinions about Indian peasants. Scholars such as Barrington Moore Jr. and Eric Stokes are of the opinion that Indian peasants lack rebellious elements and are passive and docile. Peasant movements were scattered in nature. This is attributed to peculiar Indian social structure. But there are also strong dissensions and oppositions to the above opinion held by Moore and Stokes. Studies by A.R. Desai, D. N. Dhanagare, Kathleen Gough, Ranjit Guha,
Ramachandra Guha and Partha Nath Mukherjee works prove that the above contention was wrong.

Indian agriculture scene started experiencing changes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Chief factors which marked Indian agricultural sector were deliberate attempts to increase the production of commercial crops and introduction of canal irrigation. Whereas in independent India land reforms and changing production technology. Therefore analysis of any peasant movement in India has to take recognition of changed production relations (Bhalla, G.S, 1983:39) 48. Changed production technology and production relations –green revolution had increasingly drawn peasants into market relations (Ibid:47).

Ramachandra Guha’s research on peasant resistance in Himalayan region contradicts the notion that Indian peasants were docile. Instead he throws light on *peasant rebellion as a custom in Tehri Garhwal region*. Raja was considered as ‘Bolanda Badrinath’ implying divine status of king. Though the relationship between king/raja and peasants was harmonious characterized by absence of an intermediary rentier class, bureaucracy or officials of the state were source of trouble. Guha observes:

"A recurring feature of peasant and tribal revolts has been attacks on functionaries of the state. The state, or monarch, appears as an abstract entity far removed from the scene of exploitation, while its functionaries become the targets of popular uprisings.... In the ruling ideology of Kingship, the harmonious relationship between raja and praja/peasant was complicated in this manner by officials to whom the king had delegated administrative powers and the day-to-day functioning of the state. These powers were always liable to be misused” (Guha, Ramachandra, 1989:62-66, italics are added). 49
Guha informs us that whenever peasants undergo the troubles due to wrong doings and tyranny of officials, peasants resorted to protest and this was known as the 'dhandak' to draw the king's attention. But peasants never used dhandaks against the king but wicked officials. According to Guha, peasant resistance encompassed two major types of protest. First, they refused to cooperate with new rules imposed by officials and when demands of the state grew excessive accompanied by force, peasants fled to the jungles (Ibid:67). With the British power entering into the Tehri Garhwal and introduction of forest management by British had given rise to peasant revolts.

Partha Nath Mukherjee argues that agrarian mobilizations are a persistent phenomenon of Indian rural social system. Refuting the claims about Indian peasants as superstitious and passive he identified continuing agrarian mobilizations. Political parties, sabhas, sanghas and unions are organizational manifestations of contemporary agrarian discontent and mobilization. They direct their action toward identified structures of power and project their own a new loci of power in regional and national scene(Mukherjee, patha Nath, 1992:77). Though the context of agrarian mobilization has been changing and is far from uniform pattern, agrarian mobilizations arise out of the contradictions embedded in the contexts. Mukherjee identified two types of agrarian mobilizations:

a. mobilizations arising out of contradictions embedded in the feudalistic structures of the agrarian society;

b. mobilizations arising out of contradictions emerging from the capitalistic penetration in agriculture(Ibid:77-83).

But we argue that though appropriate categories above are, several agrarian mobilization are emerging out of new sort of contradictions from the interaction between development and environment where in developmental projects at the
peril of peasants are being fostered by government. This is more pronounced after the emergence of Narmada-Bachav Andolan in early nineties.

Dipankar Gupta observes two types of agrarian mobilization in post colonial Indian society. One is led by poor labourers and marginal farmers and other is led by prosperous farmers and independent owner-cultivators (Gupta, Dipankar, 2002:193). Modernization has, according to him, not come into rural areas with all rosate effects. Commercialization of agriculture taken place without modernization. He observes that farmers' mobilization of first type is an offshoot of commercialization of agriculture. With rise in agricultural inputs prices as percentage of agricultural output both in prices and in real terms, with the declining investment of government in agriculture, rich peasantry has been caught in problems(Ibid, 194-196). While Muzaffar Assadi noted that the decade of 1980s marked the beginning of a new wave in peasant movements in India. Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha in Karnataka, Bharatiya Kisan Union in Uttar Pradesh and Shetkari Sanghatana in Maharashtra apart from launching protest movements they also opened up 'new discourses, ideological-theoretical frameworks, new agendas and strategies (Assadi, Muzafar,1997:iii, italics are added)) They have to be looked in the broader framework of capitalism and its dimension of exploitation and inequality proliferated globally between the countries. Peasants' movements, according to Assadi embody efforts to locate themselves in different structural levels and attempt to redefine and reformulate the agendas of politics of the state and relations between the countries(Ibid, italics are added). Indian peasantry has no more remained as undifferentiated phalanx in post colonial India. Class interests vary from rural poor labourers-marginal peasants to rich farmers. For former the target is visible exploiters and demand for higher wages and better working conditions, whereas the prosperous farmers' grouses are directed against the State and with demands for higher prices for agricultural products and supply of agricultural inputs such as water,
electricity, loans at cheaper prices. If labourers and small peasants’ are mobilized by agricultural labourer unions and Kisan Sabhas of CPI, CPI [M] and CPI [ML], whereas prosperous farmers are mobilized by organization such as KRRS in Karnataka, BKU in Uttar Pradesh Haryana and Punjab and SS in Maharashtra (Gupta, Dipankar, 2002:195-196).57

Dipankar Gupta's classification of peasants mobilization into labourers - marginal peasants and prosperous farmers need not be taken for granted. Empirical realities in different parts of the country may not always strictly fall into two types. Peasant’s movement of Bagur-Navile in fact is a blend of two types of mobilization. Generally in Hassan district and Bagur-Navile region of Channarayapatna taluk in particular exhibit the bulk of marginal and small land holding pattern on average. Out of total area of land holdings in Channarayapatna taluk is 83507 hectares. Of which 28364[33 in percent], 28711[34.38 in percent] and 18725[22.42 in percent] hectares are marginal holding, small holdings and semi medium holdings respectively. Whereas medium and large size holdings are 7471[8.94 in percent] and 236 hectares [0.28 in respect] respectively. (Hassan district at Glance: 2007-2008)58

7.3 Discontent and Generation of Dissent

The fact why men protest against existing order opens up the phenomenon of discontent and its generation. In fact generation of discontent is a key to the emergence of social movements. John Wilson attempted to seek answer for why social movements take place from structuralist point of view. When constituting elements of social structure that is relationship between its parts that is men and institutions are not compatible, orderly, discontent will take shape (Wilson, John, 1973:32-36).59
Structuralists have established the concept of *Structural Strain* to explain the emergence of social movements. As societies experience changes, strain is *implicit* in all societies. People may seek non-institutionalized means as effective to tackle the changed conditions. Social systems may not experience a single strain but instead *'multiple strains'* which can trigger the movement.

The origin of farmer’s movement in Bagur-Navile region is due to chief discontent arising from two facts.

a. Government’s apathy in establishing two lift irrigation projects assured during foundation stone laying ceremony of tunnel in 1979 for offsetting the consequences of tunnel.

b. Environmental and socio-economic consequences of tunnel manifested in the form of seepage of ground water to tunnel, as a result depleting ground water level, drying and declining coconut yields and arable land with declining productivity.

During a decade of tunnel construction Bagur-Navile region experienced severe ripples. All of the respondents shared that before the construction of tunnel vegetation of this region was well with soil of the land characterized by tenderness and softness. Most of the respondents shared that ground water was accessible at almost surface level with approximate 60-90 feet. Ponds and tanks remained filled throughout the year. One of the respondents recollected his memories of region before the inception of tunnel:

“Earlier Bagur -Navile region’s soil was very much tender and soft well suited for growing coconut, arecanut and betel. Even in summer, ground water used to be at upper level. One will come to know if one checks the palani [Land Records] of farmers since 30 years. Paddy has disappeared from farmers’ lands as a crop.”
Respondents provide their own experiences to convey the deleterious consequences of tunnel. One farmer respondent shared that prior to the construction of tunnel he was able to reap the yield of 1500 coconuts per year from mere 12 trees but he is not certain that he would get the yield of even 500 coconuts per year. One more farmer respondent’s words illustrate the conditions before the inception of tunnel

“Earlier, i.e. we were accessing ground water for only 25 feet, now even we dig well beyond 200 feet, we do not get water. Then even when rainfall did not come properly in a year, we were getting ground water within 50 feet”.

Another respondent shares his woes

“Tunnel has burnt all our resources and life. Once more than 200 coconuts we were getting per tree have been reduced to below 20”

A journalist observed

“Entire project has become a wasteful exercise of spending crores of rupees for depleting ground water from two sides of tunnel”

Socio-economic-environmental consequences of tunnel would not have generated a discontent among farmers of people had the government implemented its own order of two lift irrigation projects to offset the consequences. But government had just forgotten the people of Bagur-Navile region and left them in lurch. Construction of the tunnel began in November 1979 and was completed in March 1990 (Hemavathy Reservoir Project: Salient features of Bagur-Navile Tunnel Project: 1998).60 This shows that construction work had taken more than a decade. Though the construction of tunnel was completed in March 1990 none of the lift irrigation schemes' construction work had started let alone the completion of the work. This fuelled the discontent ~
simmering and exacerbated the situation which was already plagued by depletion of ground water and loss in coconut yield. The then chief minister of the state had granted the farmers of this region two lift irrigation schemes on their request during the foundation stone laying ceremony for the construction of tunnel on November 1979. But government after that became reluctant and aberrated from what it had promised to people. After more than the decade of time, government approved the lift irrigation at the beginning of the tunnel in 1992 and at the end of tunnel in 1991 at the estimated cost of 423 lakhs and 428.41 lakhs respectively (The details of Government order are No.ID.118.NHP.89. Dated 01-02-1992 and No.ID.261.NHP.90. Dated 27-12-1991).61

According to Bhavani Shankar, retired chief engineer, Narmada Valley Project and former advisor to World Bank ‘People had observed that their coconut trees, sugarcane, other tress crops alongside the tunnel were being affected when tunnel with a stretch of almost 10 kilometers in length and 5.5 meters in width and 80-210 feet depth, ‘D’ in shape, capable of accommodating 2500 cusecs of water that could flow was under the construction. People noticed dwindling yield of coconut trees and depletion of water in drinking wells and tube wells which were source of life of people’ (Shankar Bhavani, 1998)62

When tunnel was proposed in the region of Bagur-Navile, there were only few dissenting voices too feeble. All of our respondents shared that people were kept uninformed and ignorant as it happens in several cases of development-induced conflict across the nuke and corner of the country. Then leaders of the channarayapattna Taluk in particular and Hassan district in general had assured people of Bagur-Navile region that they would also be provided water for their land. According to Manjunath, one of the architects of the farmers movement of Bagur-Navile Farmers
“Generally, the villagers or the rural people did not have any knowledge on the projects. Because they lack education, they lack scientific thinking. In such situation how can people think about future with regard to this project? Agriculture too is not being done in scientific way because of this. They did not know what happens if tunnel is dug at 220 feet all through 10-12 km. They could not understand its results. They entirely depended on politicians or the people’s representatives who work for our betterment and the officers who are to safeguard us. But the representatives and officers with the help of local leaders gave reasons that would make the people keep quiet and started the project. So in the beginning there were no serious oppositions or resistances.”

Raju, an engineering contractor who worked in the construction of tunnel Bagur-Navile tunnel and also in several works of engineering marvels such as konkan railways sheds valuable information on the episodes of resistance and oppositions offered by people of Bagur-Navile in 1979. Some of the headsmen of villages also brought stay from Karnataka High Court. Then local leaders such as Purade Gowda of Tagadoor and Manju launched the resistance. But some of the prominent political leaders of the Hassan district particularly hailing from channarayapattna taluk prevailed over those few dissenting voices against the tunnel project. Particularly then power political leader of the district Mr. Vishakantaiah, who was powerful minister of the state had made those dissenting people from villages to Bangalore and convinced them. Raju recollected those events:

“During the initiation of the tunnel people knew that the ground water would go seeped. Some of the Bagur leaders brought a stay order from the court. Then the politicians took those leaders to Bangalore and made them believed that ground water won’t be affected. They gave some local examples like if they fill water to the hole of grinding stone would the water get seeped? They asked. So the leaders believed it and withdrew the case. The old people still say all those. Even..."
Devraj Urs when he came to lay the foundation stone for the project was thoughtful regarding other ways to take water to Tumkur. So I feel in a hurry they have implemented the project.

One journalist who focused on the problem ever since the tunnel work had begun has unfolded the political economy of the problem in following words

“All politicians made crores of rupees and gained economic stability out of this tunnel project, but farmers of this region were left crumbling to meet their basic needs of life”

One popular aspect is associated with the farmers’ movement is the apprehension about the consequences of tunnel and concern expressed about people by then chief minister Sundar Raj Urs during foundation laying stone ceremony. In fact this has been the integral part of the consciousness of peasants of Bagur -Navile region who when drawn into conversation cite this episode without failing. According to leaders of the movement chief minister was very much worried about the likely consequences of the project on coconut trees and hapless people. In fact he shared this concern with the then powerful political leader of the district and minister Shri Vishakantaiah in front of the public gathering. Shivalinge Gowda, president, Channarayapattna unit of Akila Bharata Kisna Sabha expressed

“Sundar Raj Urs, then, Chief Minister, was really leader of people and stability, had revealed the truth to people, whereas political heavy weights of our districts had concealed the truth”

There are even allegations and perceptions among people that political leaders snubbed the feeble voices of opposition to tunnel by paying money.

But though resistance to tunnel project at the beginning was feeble, discontent was being accumulated and led to political protests in 1987-88 under the leadership of B.K. Puttaiah and Dr. M. B. Sannappa. Newspapers including...
According to Kesari Haravoo, an activist and a film maker, who researched on the problem as a representative of an NGO, Bagur-Navile region was the strong bastion of Congress party. Shri. Vishakantaiah was powerful minister and leader in the entire Hassan district and as a corollary his political dominance was reinforced in Channarayapatna taluk. Rame Gowda was powerful enough to protect the interests of Dandiganahally hobli where an original alignment was said to have passed. Dandiganahally hobli nonetheless belonged to Channarayapatna taluk, in terms of assembly constituency; it is a part of Holenarasipura constituency. Whereas Vishakantaiah protected the interests of farmers of Hirisave hobli. Whereas Bagur one of the hoblis of Channarayapatna taluk was deprived of such a strong political leadership and it was only able to produce the political elites who were subservient to the Vishakantaiah. Therefore, entire Bagur region politically depended upon the patronage of Vishakantaiah. This according to Kesari Haravoo has scuttled the chances of protecting the interests of farmers of the region.

According to another respondent people friendly attitude, sense of responding to and extending the helping hand to people in terms of employment and utilitarian works have over the time earned positive image for Vishakantaiah and was infact called by people with affection ‘Annaiahah’. This led to the formation of trust and positive leverage in favour of Vishakantaiah. Formation of people’s positive opinion about the leadership of Vishakantaiah and his utilitarian works led people to believe in him when tunnel alignment was proposed and about to be implemented. Malige Gowda one of the leaders of the movement shares that most of the people were completely unaware of the consequences that tunnel would give rise to as people were not intellectuals. Government was successful
in keeping the resisting voices of few people shut. Most of the people who opposed the initiation of the tunnel project except one i.e. Some Gowda who is aged 75.

Journalist Shiva Prakash Tagadoor is a senior staff correspondent of one of the major dailies of Karnataka hails from the local village Tagadoor of Bagur-Navile region. Shiva Prakash Sunkadooru is in fact one of the key persons in building the movement and in fostering the brisk relationship between movement, media and intelligentsia of the district. He has interesting and insight comment which supports the above argument.

"Nobody knew that the result would be this. People believed in the words of Srikantaiah. Nobody had so much of intelligence then."

Another respondent who is one of the arch leaders of the movement has quite a different version on initial resistance to the tunnel project. He is from Dyavenahally from where canal takes the shape of tunnel. He remembers the resistance and protests posed by people of his village

"When the project was started people from our village opposed it. I still remember, I was just a ten-year-old boy in 1979. They demanded not to dig the tunnel. Because they knew that it was dangerous to their life. They had their own imagination of losing their homes. Before this while laying the foundation stone they had blasted a big stone. It made the whole ambience vibrate. The government's order was to use just a small hole through drilling. They used the blasting method. When questioned, the politicians said they cannot go against the government. They themselves are government!"

Endorsing this Kempe Gowda one of the important leaders of the movement admitted that protesting voices against the government's decision were feeble and confined to Dyavenahally. When a lady Subbamma wife of Subbanna protested severely, others persuaded her and made her lull.
He remembers"

“She held axe and called others saying “our land is being snatched away for the tunnel, come we shall fight”.

It becomes clear after the examination of above responses that source of dissent stemmed mainly from inability of government to implement the two lift irrigation projects ordered by then chief minister Shri. Sundar raj Urs. Coupled with it decline in coconut yield and depletion in ground water had exasperated the situation.

On examining occurrences of resistances and opposition to the tunnel project which we witness in several developmental projects, we come across several dissenting voices and protests. Even people had moved the apex court of the state. But political popularity of Vishakantaiah and then other leaders had systematically silenced the voices of protest. On awareness of possible consequences of the tunnel among people we come across the fact that there were feeble voices and isolated resistance of people against the government on the grounds of loss of land, coconut trees and other property forms. They are almost unaware of the ecological and environmental consequences.

7.4 Transformation of Discontent and Deprivation into action: Ideology, Identity formation and Mobilization

Ideology refers to a coherent set of ideas (Bruce, Steve and Yearley, Steven 2006:144-145). Karl Manheim classified ideology into two broad types: ‘The Particular Conception of Ideology’ and ‘inclusive total conception of ideology’. The former indicates that people bound by it are skeptical of the ideas and representations of others. Others are seen as disguising and distorting the reality. Whereas inclusive total conception of ideology refers to ‘ideology of an age or of a
concrete historic-social group'. Infact Karl Manheim argued that total conception of ideology transcends the narrower aspects of particular conception of ideology by recognizing the opponents' ideology as an outcome of collective life (Manheim, Karl, 1970:339-403).  

The notion Ideology is used in several senses. First, ideology is any system of ideas underlying and informing social and political action. Second, it is any system of ideas which legitimates and justifies subordination of one group by another. Karl Manheim remarked:

"This conception of ideology, which has only gradually become differentiated from the common sense notion of the lie is particular in several senses. Its particularity becomes evident when it is contrasted with the more inclusive total conception of ideology (Ibid:400)"

In the third sense it is an all embracing and encyclopedia knowledge dispelling prejudice and having implications for reform. Infact the concept of ideology was originally used in this sense by Antoine Destutt de Tracy during the period of French enlightenment (Gordon, Marshall, 2006:286). Ideology here is used in first sense as it socializes and informs the individuals in the context of social movement about the nature and sources of problems and the appropriate ways of action for remedying the problems.

According to Karl Marx and Frederick Engels ideology is an inverted vision of reality. Looking at reality from materialist conception of history, Marx believed that man's material conditions shape the consciousness and not the other way around. Marx sees in ideology interest of capitalists for keeping masses in perpetuated state of exploitation. For Engels ideology was nothing but 'false consciousness'. Classless society would be devoid of ideology as it is a mask of reality and proletariat needs no illusions.
But Marx's own ideas were ideology and served as a source for emancipation of the proletariats. Every social class produces its own ideology; it can be proletariat or capitalist; they can be true or false. Therefore, old division between ideology and science as reflected in classical Marxism is no more accepted valid. Ideology today is interpreted to be a set of ideas which form and embody the interests of particular social classes (Sakesna Anu, 'Relevance of Ideology Today1998:65).67

Ideology always nurtures in people how its own path is viable and feasible in contrast to prevailing problematic conditions and justifies its course of action. Joseph Gusfield observes:

"As collective actions become organized it often results in the development of systems of ideas and programs of doctrine and action. The beliefs which partisans come to hold are more or less orderly analyses of the present situation and prescriptions for it self. They constitute justifications for dissent and provide a legitimate and intellectual basis for action..." (Gusfield, Joseph, op.cit:395-396)68

According to M.S.A. Rao ideology constitutes an important aspect of social movement. Ideology provides the different themes through which members of the movement try to improve the self-image. Ideology also serves the function of source of legitimization of the new values. He noted the importance of ideology in social movements:

"The ideology also provides the source of legitimization of the new values, norms and relationships envisaged by the leaders. It provides the basis of interest articulation and of establishing a new identity(Rao, MSA, op.cit:7-8, italics are added)"69

According to Andre Beteille ideology is a normative and not merely descriptive or analytical in its orientation. It has its own vision about the society. It articulates
its vision through 'set of arguments about what is desirable and what needs to be done
to bring it into effect (Beteille, Andre, 2009:197, italics are added)\textsuperscript{70} He argues:

"An ideology cannot be understood only in terms of its argument or its vision,
however, appealing or persuasive these might be. Ideologies seek to connect the universe
of values with the realm of power, and make demands on the intellectual that are different
from those made by science and scholarship" (Ibid, italics are added)\textsuperscript{71}

We have discussed that two factors played an important role in the formation
of discontent among the people of Bagur-Navile region. They are socio­
economic-environmental consequences of the tunnel and delay in implementing
the two lift irrigation projects to offset the consequences assured by then chief
minister while laying foundation stone for tunnel. But existence of discontent is
not sufficient for any movements to emerge. Sense of deprivation and identity
formation has important bearings on mobilization of people for movement.
Peasants became aware of the situation when the consequences of tunnel started
manifesting in the form of coconut trees becoming thin and pale and coconuts
becoming shrunken.

People perceiving that though Hemavathi water passed over their region and
land to Tumkur and Mandya district, they were not allowed making use of water
from canal. People of Tumkur district, whereas, benefited from Hemavathi
water. This factor acted as a source of relative deprivation and sharpened the
sense of discontent. Tunnel was laid foundation stone in 1979 November and
was completed in March 1990. Though people of the Bagur-Navile region
started feeling the impact idea of organizing on issues of resource depletion and
its ramifications on agriculture had not developed.

Empirical details reveal that it was H.S. Suryanath played an instrumental role
in the transformation of discontent into mobilization and collective action. H. S.
Suryanath, a graduate in management discipline from maharaja college, University of Mysore. Suryanath is an employee in Karnataka Road Transportation Corporation [KSRTC]. He entered into Communist Party of India [CPI] in 1994 through All Indian Trade Union Congress, a labour union wing of CPI in KSRTC.

Manjunath being an educated was able to perceive the correlation between the construction of tunnel and coconut trees becoming thin, tanks and ponds getting dried up. Moreover he personally witnessed the foundation laying ceremony of tunnel and concern expressed by then chief minister Sundar raj Urs.

Further on the background and whereabouts of Suryanath and Gopal, Sanne Gowda, one of the key leaders of the movement shared:

"Manjunath and Gopal have affiliations with CPI [M] and CPI as activists respectively and are hence close with each other. They wanted to organize people here on deleterious consequences of tunnel on peasants."

Suryanath and his brother Sannappa Swamy Gowda's ideological inclinations has infact shaped the entire ideological framework of the movement of Bagur-Navile peasants. Both Suryanath and Sannappa Swamy Gowda were attracted to leftist ideology since their student days. Sannappa Swamy Gowda shares in this regard:

"We were born in a family with a tradition of protest and struggle in my village. We were brought up in conditions of dismal poverty. We were members of Student Federation of India [SFI] during our student days. I represented SFI twice at District Committee level. This attracted me towards leftist ideology and orientation and I joined All India Kisan Sabha which is an organization working honestly for the emancipation of farmers"
Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha [KRRS] is a major non-communist farmers' organization with leftist orientation. KRRS has mobilized farmers throughout the state on several key farmers issues and interests in eighty and ninety decades. KRRS has become a formidable force confronting government and in the circles of political leaders. A pertinent question, here, arises as to why KRRS did not initiate the mobilization of farmers?

Though KRRS supported the peasant movements, it did not pick up the issue for mobilization. The split of KRRS at state level had its shadow on KRRS unit at Channarayapatna taluk. Lack of leadership and unity at taluk level as a reflection of affairs of organization at state level has rendered taluk unit out of focus. This hampered the chance of probable mobilization of farmers against the state by KRRS.

According to Suryanath KRRS lack focus in understanding what constituted the exploitative system? This makes it blind or myopic view on problems and have therefore targeted mere events and not the system. CPI-AIKS, according to him, aims at the dismantling of fundamental exploitative system: capitalist economic system and policies which is the root cause of all the problems. Fundamental changes in the socio-economic structures addresses problems of both the labourers in industrial and peasants in agriculture.

AIKS, peasant wing of CPI, he continues arguing, is not based on any particular individual and his charisma. It is not bound by dictums, whims and fancy of an individual leader, whereas, KRRS was based on individual leadership. This demonstrates why All India Kisan Sabha entered into situation and why not Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha.

Kesari Haravoo, noted filmmaker and activist, who stayed in Bagur-Navile region for research and intervention on behalf of an NGO observed that KRRS lacked organizational base and he was confirmed the same when he met Puttanaiah, leader of
KRRS [Puttanaiah heads one of the factions of KRRS]. Hence KRRS lent moral support to peasants' movement in Bagur-Navile.

Suryanath met Gopal, secretary of CPI in Bangalore in party office along with two other persons from Gollarahosahally. Gopal was involved in building the movement against the government for the way it dealt with displacement and rehabilitation issues. Suryanath on being asked about the condition of farmers in his region shared the consequences of the tunnel on agriculture and environment. Suryanath had an ambition of mobilizing people against the government's apathy in remedying the problem created by its own deeds. But Gopal wanted to be confirmed about the grass root reality by visiting the areas.

When Gopal arrived in Channarayapattna it was pretty late. Suryanath and his friends had already left the bus stand having waited for Gopal. Gopal shared that leaders committed to struggle against all injustice and domination are often vulnerable to the condition of their pocket becoming empty. He was without penny in his pocket when he alighted in Bus stand. Without any alternative ways he slept in bus itself and spent the night.

There were only two persons when Gopal witnessed the same situation when he visited the Gollarahosahally as most of the movement leaders experience while organizing mobilizing the unorganized people. Suryanath took Gopal to the spot of tunnel and showed him the effects of tunnel on coconut trees and land. Having personally examined the situation, Gopal was convinced about the genuineness of the problem and has prompted to call for a meet of people.
7.5 Organizing the Peasants: Roots of Mobilization

Data reveals that mobilization of peasants in Bagur-Navile affected area underwent two phases:

a. Mobilization of peasants under the leadership of Raitha Hitarakshana Vedike under the leadership of Satyaananada Tagadoor
b. Communist party of India cantered mobilization of peasants by Gopal and Suryanath under the name of All India Kisan Sabha

Satyaananada Tagadoor hails from Tagadoor, a village in the ambit of Bagur-Navile affected area and is a staff correspondent in state level Kannada daily newspaper. Issue on which he tried to mobilize peasants was to pressing demand for irrigation of lands of villages affected. Origin of the first type of mobilization began when Satyaananada Tagadoor held a meeting with people of six villages. He, in which, apprised the people of the situation and urged them to question the representatives of people. But people hesitated to confront the then powerful leader Vishakantaiah. Peasants also questioned the utility of agitation and confrontation.

Second phase refers to mobilization by Suryanath and Gopal from AIKS. This was totally influenced and determined by principles of AIKS, a peasant wing of Communist party of India. As we have discussed that after Gopal was convinced about the problem, he in association with Suryanath had called for a meeting of people of forty villages in Agriculture Produce Marketing Committee’s [APMC] yard in Channarayapattna town. To ignite the docile minds of people, they printed six thousand Pamphlets and circulated among people notably communist leaders such as Ananta Subbarao and AICTU leader of Hemavathi Sugar Factory Ramachandra. Pamphlets were widely circulated in all affected villages.
Gopal and Suryanath’s protest in taluk office to draw the attention of tahashildhar’s attention about problems of tunnel had attracted the attention of Sanne Gowda from Obalapura and others. They on persuasion of Gopal joined the team of Gopal and Suryanath. To put it in Sanne Gowda’s words:

“They approached me conveying their intention of need for organizing and fighting the injustice done to people due to construction of tunnel and its consequences. They emphasized the essence of organized efforts in remedying the problem of people...... Then I called people there who were from my village and addressed them “Come, situation is like this, meeting has been called under the leadership of Gopal. We shall participate in the meeting, let us see if it will be good, we could be able to bring change which helps people”.

But there were only 50 people gathered in the APMC yard. Gopal nicely gives the break up of people who participated:

Around 10members from Hemavathi sugar factory and several people from communist party of India, 20 farmers majority of whom are from Gollarahosahalli and 3-5 people had just attended the meeting out of curiosity.

Gopal without losing heart convinced the people who gathered not to lose hopes. Exhibiting the qualities of emerging an arch leader Gopal effectively guided the orientation of the movement by addressing the gathering. He made a plea and filled in them confidence:

“We need not worry that most of the farmers had not attended in many numbers. If they do not come we shall only go to them in villages and request them. We shall go to farmers of 40 villages by doing paadayaatra.”

He invoked an innovative technique of mobilization i.e. Paadayaatra. Combined with paadayaatra, Jaatha, another technique supplemented the mobilization efforts. It was decided in gathering that paadayaatra should begin from
Gollarahosahally. Gopal asked Suryanath to make preparations for inauguration.

But when Gopal went to Gollarahosahally on that particular day people assembled there for settling a dispute. People gathered there did not have any idea about the paadayaatra. Gopal recapitulated his experiences of that situation:

"We informed those who were there that we were launching Jaatha and we started our Jaatha. Those three persons who came with Manjunath did not join. Only Manjunath and his brother Sanippa Swamy Gowda joined the Jaatha. I had brought few persons from Davanagere who were part of Bhadra upper project struggle and 5-6 artists of cultural wing of communist party of India formed the members of Jaatha."

Not disappointed by the pale response of peasants Gopal along with Suryanath, his brother Annappa Swamy Gowda and members of cultural wing of CPI [IPTA] decided to launch Bi-Cycle Jaatha. Through bi-cycles they started visiting all the villages along with their baggage.

Type and strategy of mobilization was essentially based on environmental-socio-economic consequences of the tunnel and political apathy played by major political parties of the region. As All India Kisan Sabha, peasant wing of Communist party of India launched the movement; mobilization was naturally on the principles/ideology of Marxism. Members of cultural wing of party played an instrumental role in mobilizing people. They tried to bring awareness and arouse consciousness among peasants by singing revolutionary songs. Through revolutionary songs peasants were informed the issues and problems of tunnel.

But the response of people was very much lukewarm. Whenever members along with Gopal and Suryanath sang songs along with drums, people would come outside the houses without any response and would go back to their home.
They were offering water and butter milk. But they did not evince interest at the beginning. Mobilization, however, did not go without any fruitful outcome. At last people started listening to deleterious consequences of tunnel on coconut trees, land, tanks, ponds and ground water and requested people to participate in agitation and siege tahashildhar's office on a particular date. In six days, mobilization team covered affected villages through Paadayaatra.

According to Suryanath, people affected were waiting for outlet to express their woes. Moreover, it was not personal problem; it was a problem of people. Therefore they decided to create a cultural organization consisting IPTA artistes and

Views of other important leaders who joined into this movement due to persuasion of Gopal in particular, Suryanath and IPTA members in general corroborate our argument that Gopal and Suryanath were responsible for transformation of discontent and dissent into mobilization and protest movement. Sanne Gowda, who was one of the key leaders of the movement clearly stated:

"Manjunath from Gollarahasahally, Channarayapattna, Hassan district, a localite and Gopal from Kolar district are responsible for having transformed peoples' discontent and deprivation into mobilization and Protest."

Maaligappa, another leader of the movement said:

"As I told you, there was no unity here. Only after the arrival of Gopal, Manjunath people were organized. They did Jathas, Grama Vastavyas, motivating people to agitate to get compensation for whatever they had lost so far."
7.6 Mobilization of Bagur-Navile Peasants: A Movement against Dominant Political Regime

Bagur-Navile region was traditionally bastion of Congress party. Peasants of this region successively patronized the congress party. Bagur-Navile region belongs to Shravanabelagola assembly constituency of Hassan district's Member of Parliament Constituency. Vishakantaiah represented Shravanabelagola constituency since 1960s. He is from Hirisave hobli. He emerged as a strong congress leader and supremo of the party in district. As a political veteran, he handled several portfolios ranging from portfolio of electricity, co-operation to revenue. What he said was dictum throughout the Hassan district and among the party workers in particular. As a corollary he prevailed over the local political elites of Bagur-Navile region in granting the tunnel project and in executing the work. Though Shive Gowda who from Janatha party became irrigation minister, he did not intervene in any way to address the consequences predicted from tunnel and allay the fears of peasants. In fact progress in tunnel work continued. When mobilization of farmers began when Janatha Dal government was in power and Shive Gowda, another dominant political leader both at state level and in district, adorned highest post of the government. But woes of peasants were not at all considered. In fact after the congress party, it was Janatha Parivar which ruled the state for more time. Therefore, both the parties were dominant in terms of party workers base and supporters at grass root level. Same was the case being replicated in Bagur-Navile region. When mobilization of peasants for movement began, leaders had to build the movement against the dominant political regime.

In the month of November, meeting comprising six persons- Suryanath, Gopal, Huchche Gowda, Shankaralinge Gowda, Maaligappa and Sundarnath-was held in Agriculture Producing Marketing Committee[hereforth APMC]
Channarayapattna. It was crucial in the sense that meeting led to consensus among members to build a movement against government for its neglect in implementing lift irrigation projects and apathy towards peasants in solving peasant problems. According to Suryanath, peasants' movement of Bagur-Navile questioned the traditional dominant political regime characterized by single powerful leader in district who is also at the top level of party either from Congress party or Janatha Dal. Peasant movement of this region according to him, helped to overthrow relics of feudal structure. He admits:

"AIKS held a meeting in APMC, Channarayapattna. Till then no one raised voice against traditional political hegemony. Our meeting in APMC in November 1996 for the first time broke the political hegemony and superordination. It also served to overthrow relics of feudal structure."

Maaligappa a key leader of the peasant movement regrets that lack of political unity among local leaders of political parties and as a consequence they have not been able to protect the interests of the region. They are always at the mercy of powerful leader either in Congress or Janatha Dal who happens to be from Hassan district. He admits:

"Congress leaders in our Hobli are not united. Not only congress leaders, same is the case with all parties. The congress people here fear Vishakantaiah; local leaders carry with them their own interests not public interest problems. And the party workers and leaders are split among themselves. They pull their legs each other. The situation which existed in the beginning of the tunnel construction prevails today also."

Suryanath and his brother's Marxist ideology, outlook and orientation were important in determining the nature of mobilization and movement and its identity and ideology. Meeting at APMC led to a decision to go to villages, meet people and know their grievances. Suryanath here uttered:
"We decided whatsoever we are ridiculed and, however, our voice becomes feeble, alone, what we do is worth."

In fact it was [still] the aim of Suryanath to build communist party in Bagur-Navile region as an answer to dominant regimes of Congress and Janatha Dal and for the emancipation of peasants. Therefore his intention clearly indicates the political nature of the movement.

**Chart 8.1 Participation of Respondents in Protest Movements**

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Chart 8.1 provides break up of participation of peasants in movement. Out of 206 peasants interviewed 94% acknowledged their participation and whereas only miniscule-6 % number of peasants did not participate in the movement.
Chart 8.2 How Did You Join Protest Movement?

Chart 8.2 provides information about how were peasants recruited into protest movement. Around 50 percent (49) expressed that they joined the movement on persuasion of leaders. 23 percent of the respondents said that all people from their village participated and hence they too felt compelled in joining the movement. Around 20 percent confessed that they joined movement voluntarily as it was their own problem or out of their own discretion. About 11 percent of the respondents replied that they were coerced to participate in the movement and only minuscule proportion of the respondents expressed that they participated in the movement out of the hope of getting compensation.
7.7 Issues and Demands of Bagur-Navile Peasants' Movement

Issue of Bagur-Navile peasant movement is a clear departure from the dominant issues of most of the peasant movements. Most of the peasant movements in India both colonial and post-colonial were centred on the issues of land tenure, abolition of jagirdars, land reforms by left parties and its peasant wings on the one hand and on the other issues of rich farmers' movement such as pressurizing the state to provide high price for their agricultural produce and supply of agricultural infrastructure at cheaper rates (Dhanagare D.N. 2002, Gupta, Dipankar op.cit:195:198, Ranga Rao 2004, Shah, Ganshyam, 2004). Though the leftist All India Kisan Sabha, peasant wing of Communist party of India, was chiefly responsible for the peasant movement in Bagur-Navile, issue of the movement was a different from traditional issues. Peasants protested against the state for remedying the harmful environmental consequences on peasant lands and coconut farms due to government's tunnel project. Problem emerged from governments' planning and execution of tunnel project constructed for providing Hemavathi water to Tumkur district. Government's attitude of indifference about the problem manifested in executing tow lift irrigation projects granted to offset the deleterious consequences of tunnel on agriculture was responsible for the emergence of movement. Mobilization of peasants by leftist AIKS was, in fact, an attempt to build an alternative platform to organize peasants to fight for their cause and is politically to check the dominance of two well established political parties' viz., Congress and Janatha Dal.

Demands of any social movement are very crucial in the sense that it makes clear the type of solutions they are proposing for problems and ideology which have bearings on social structure, polity and development of society. In fact there is a brisk relationship between nature and types of demands, ideology and
organizational structure of the movement. Peasants of Bagur-Navile placed following demands

a. Government had to provide irrigation immediately to agricultural lands of affected villages in Bagur-Navile area.
b. That means the immediate implementation of two lift irrigation projects.
c. Government should immediately release the monetary compensation of twenty five crores and sixteen lakh Rupees
d. Villages which were considered as affected by tunnel, Green cards had to be distributed immediately to all families;
e. Free bus passes to students of affected areas.
f. Free power supply to affected areas.
g. Registration of land had to be done at free of cost to the farmers of affected areas
h. No levy on water

7.8 Organization, Resource and the Method

Ganshyam Shah observes that studies on peasant movements ignore organizational aspects. He notes:

"By and Large studies on peasant upsurgence ignore the organizational aspects of the movements: the organization which formulates programmes and takes decisions brings about effective coordination between the units, etc" (Shah, Ganshyam 2004:68)
Organizational Structure of the Movement

Since pre-independence time, peasants have been mobilized by one or another political party and hence mobilization of peasants is often political in nature.

Peasant movement in Bagur-Navile was no an exception. It was an outcome of complete involvement of AIKS, peasant wing of CPI. This peasant movement drew appreciation from media and intelligentsia for its organizational and resource discipline. The above flow chart shows the organizational structure of the peasant movement in Bagur-Navile. At the apex of the organizational structure was Communist Party of India and its peasant wing AIKS led the movement with an active ideological support from IPTA (cultural wing), AIYF (youth Wing) and AISF (students ‘wing). Latter played an important role in drawing peasants’ attention to the problems and in inculcating in them motivation for protesting against the state. They staged various revolutionary songs by beating drums and enacted street plays in each village; role of the members of IPTA (cultural wing) was very much crucial in awakening the dormant dissent and frustration against the government which has considerable significance in mobilizing the people.

Relationship between CPI and Kisan Sabha was much intact; though strategic decisions were made at party level, autonomy of leading movement was left to the leaders of Kisan Sabha. Members of the Kisan Sabha who led the movement were from top cadre of the party. Gopal was general secretary of communist party of India in Karnataka state and Suryanath was also a member of CPI and led the AITUC, labour wing of CPI. KSRTC Union organized under the umbrella of AITUC supported the movement when peasants carried Paadayaatra and made visits to Bangalore.
To list, there are several organizations and political parties who lent their support to peasants which show the attempt of movement to bring vertical integration with other segments of society.

a. Indian National congress Party-Late Sanna Swamy Gowda, former Member of Parliament from Congress party, Hassan constituency, put stone and mud to the jackwell. He declared that he would fight for the cause till his death
b. Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha (KRRS)
c. Anganwadi (Pre-Nursery) workers association organized under AITUC
d. Lawyers Association in Channarayapattna
e. KSRTC employees union organized under the banner of AITUC
f. Dr. Rajkumar Fans Association’s district unit
g. Employees Union of Hemavathi sugar factory organized under AITUC

Hassan district, except an episode of Bagur-Navile movement, has not witnessed the dawn and growth of communist mobilization in agriculture. Hassan District became one of the stronghold of KRRS when its was at its peak in 1980s. Peasant problems of Bagur-Navile marked the entry of communist ideology and organization into Hassan district.

AIKS was organized at three levels: district, taluk and village. President, Secretary and treasurer were appointed at all the three levels. Peasant movement represented 43 villages of the region and at the village level; people from each village had to select three members as their representative to participate in events and activities of the movement. Therefore 129 members from 43 villages along with other leaders at Taluk and district level formed core organizational matrix. Grama Samitis were very much important in taking important decisions. Suryanathana noted:
“Structure of our movement was composed by ‘Grama Samitis’ and their decision was very crucial in determining the orientations and directions of the movement”.

Peasant movement of Bagur-Navile was also disciplined in terms of mobilization and use of resource along with organizational coherence. Finance and food, when peasants sat for Satyagaraha in Sangaramanagara, activists mobilized the resources from three ways

a. All Financial expenses were borne by villages. For an instance, if a vehicle was hired villages borne the expenses of their members or if two buses were hired expenses were borne by all villages.

A treasurer was appointed by organization to handle the financial resources and to keep accountability. Huchche Gowda, one of the key leaders of the movement expressed:

“Whatever the financial funds we received from donors for the movement we gave it to treasurer. He was an honest man and maintained accountability till the end of the movement. Any financial transaction was taking place through treasurer. Even if Gopal or Manjunath received funds from public, it was handed over to treasurer and through him only all financial transaction were taking place. Some may comment that Gopal or Manjunath made money by making movement, but we want to admit very firmly that we never gave a single paisa to either of them or some one else.” (Italics are added)

b. When peasants launched an intensified phase of the movement by Satyagraha for 96 days, every one village would take the responsibility of providing food to all activists, people from remaining 43 villages and guests. Peasants collected vegetables, cereals, pulses and other items from weekly fair of channarayapattna which takes place on every Saturday. Peasants explained them their problems, aims and importance of the movement. Each vendor selling
vegetables gave us a Kilogram of one type of vegetable at free of cost and thereby they collected several items from different vendors.

c. Third way of mobilizing resources can best be explained by our respondent narration:

"We with an open heart and mind struggled over the common goal and we collected funds more from common man. Be it vendor, trader or layman: they-common people helped us a lot. We distanced from rich: as taking money from rich means yielding or adapting to his influences. (Italics are added)"

On method of the movement adopted to attain the goals, path of non-violence was followed. There was a curious blend of communist ideology and Gandhian methods of non-violence, Satyagaraha, picketing and hinger strike were adopted. Suryanath, on the import of non-violent method in pursuing movement, observed:

"For us the issues or problems we are pursuing and their remedy is important rather than pelting stones at buses or setting ablaze the public property. Such ways of protesting or agitating against the state will not deliver the solution. Our intention was to bring awareness among people and draw an attention and build pressure on the part of state/government to remedy the problems."

He further noted:

"Violence was not at all our intention. Communist Party of India or Marxist principles do not motivate us to indulge in violence. It is the state which does not tolerate the dissension uses violence. Ruling class does not tolerate the dissension and suppresses the movement. We have to confront the ruling class in the guise of state when it tries to oppress the dissension and discontent without resorting to violence."
This indicates the changed views of left oriented mobilization in post independence context and adaptation of communist parties into parliamentary system.

Mobilization of Peasants of Bagur-Navile region.

1. Mobilizing people of affected villages through Satyagraha
   a. Jaatha
   b. Roko
   c. Revolutionary Songs
   d. Street Plays

2. Mobilizing Public opinion and state's attention
   a. Jaatha
   b. Rasto
   c. Human Chain
   d. Picketing,
   e. Paadayaatra & Bundh, etc.

The above chart depicts the pattern of mobilization and instruments of mobilization. Awareness drive by Jaatha, singing revolutionary songs by beating drums, street plays were significant techniques for mobilizing people of affected villages. Whereas 'Jaatha', 'petition', 'Rasto Roko', 'Satyagraha, Hunger strike, Human chain, picketing, Paadayaatra, observing Bundh, 'torch light parade'. When movement was undergoing the formative phase it employed the mild techniques such as Jaatha, picketing, Rasto roko, torch parade, whereas bundh, Paadayaatra, locking out the government departments and
blockade of Hemavathi from flowing to Tumkur were employed to intensify the movement.

7.9 Roots of Protest Events:

As we have noted in previous section that is 'organizing the peasants: roots of mobilization' there were two sources of mobilization: one was led by Satyaananda Tagadoor under the umbrella of 'Raitha Hitarakshana Vedike' and other was by Suryanath and Gopal chiefly from AIKS-CPI. Though Satyaananda Tagadoor experienced disappointing experiences in a meeting he convened, he firmly conveyed:

'We have to hold protest in order to settle our problems. Anybody who is interested may come'

He was successful in mobilizing peasants. Peasants from villages came forward voluntarily. It was decided to hold Dharani in front of Deputy Commissioner's office. Peasants stopped then minister for public grievance Sannapppa who was on the way to Bangalore and demanded for solutions to the problems peasants facing. Minister ordered the district administration for investigating the matter and digging borewells to provide water. Deputy Commissioner visited the every villages and asked people about the problems they were facing.

Second source of mobilization, which was the most successful endeavour, was obviously one led by AIKS. Meeting convened at APMC, Channarayapattna by Gopal and Suryanath has convinced the persons from different villages about their stand on cause of the peasants. This led to induction of few more persons as leaders of the movement.
Three important protest events marked the beginning of the movement.

a. Protest at Primary Cooperative and Agricultural Land Development Bank [PCARD]

b. Protest targeting Karnataka Electricity Board [Present KPTCL]

c. Targeting Tahashildhar's office

PCARD bank has confiscated the properties such as tractor, utensils of home. This sparked the protest. AIKS widely circulated pamphlets in relation to these protest events held on 16th June 1997 (Pamphlet issued by AIKS). The purpose of targeting these public and government organization were

a. To oppose the auctioning of peasants' property by PCARD Bank

b. To oppose the KEB's decision to consider Channarayapattna taluk as 'Dark area' and to urge for abandoning meter system to pumpsets

c. To oppose the decision of curtailing the amount of essential commodities to peasants through the public distributive system and rise in prices

d. To demand for granting immediately the Kallesommahalli lift irrigation scheme.

In this pamphlet ideology of the movement was clearly articulated and justification for its action against the three departments stated above. Some of the lines of the pamphlet below amply illustrate the ideology:

"Peasants have made loans in PLD Bank and other banks for the development of agriculture in their land and other purposes, but governments which ruled us have created a situation where peasants are unable to repay the loans. For industrialists of this country Rs. 44000crores have been granted in the form of debt and governments have not even attempted to recover the loan amount of Rs. 40000 crores granted to owners of big industries, let alone seizing and confiscating the properties of these debtors (Ibid:1)."
The above lines portray the anger of the movement against government for following double-standard in respect of agriculture and peasants. This makes clear the movement’s attempt to locate the entire problem arising from government’s contradictory and double standard and apathy towards agriculture. Further it runs as:

“But governments which make deceit statements ‘peasant is the backbone of our country’ has lent only Rs 21000 crores for small peasants of 6 lakhs villages of India. Whereas Harshad Mehta, a share fraud has cheated banks about Rs 10000 crores. Frauds like him are looting the wealth of our country. We can openly declare that our country has not been pauperized by peasants’” (Pamphlet, op.cit:1).”

This protest event has opposed the decision of confiscating properties of peasants who owe loans to the bank. In fact peasants were also successful in getting back the seized properties of peasants. It also opposed the fixing meters to peasants’ pumpsets and removing the clamp of dark area imposed on Channarayapatna taluk. Imposing the status of dark area to any taluk means restriction on new pumpsets and borewells when the ground water table goes down very low. This has severed the situation and left the peasants in lurch where they were finding difficult to cultivate their lands in the bizarre condition of depletion of water in tanks, ponds and existing pumpsets becoming dried.

Also this protest event demanded for immediate granting of newly proposed lift irrigation scheme in Kallesonnahalli. People were informed about Tahashildar office through personally and pamphlet. Nearly 400 people turned up and tahashildar office was completely surrounded by police. Presence of police made people hesitating to enter the premises. Gopal gave call to people:

“See, I am entering the premise, those who are willing can come with me”.
Gopal, Suryanath, Sannappa Swamy Gowda and members from cultural wing of CPI entered the office. Police on seeing them entering the office arrested and took them to police van. When people saw leaders being arrested by police got enraged and asked

'What mistake they have done?'

Police released leaders when peasants exhibited all signs of going fury. After that peasants carried out procession in Channarayapattna in evening protesting the government’s neglect in solving the problems arising from tunnel and actions of police.

8.1 Bicycle Jaatha to Hassan: Confrontation between Peasants and Deputy Commissioner

People’s procession in evening in channarayapattna town led to the development of new idea: that is 'Bicycle Jaatha'. Bicycle Jaatha from Channarayapattna to deputy commissioner’s (DC) office in Hassan. Local daily newspaper 'Janatha Maadhyama' reported that youths from more than 30 villages have decided to conduct Bicycle Jaatha on 6th January, 1997. Peasants decided to use 1000 bicycles as a part of Jaatha. Decision was taken in the presence of nearly 400 farmers gathered in Honnenahalli on December 22nd 1997. Jaatha would be held with the cooperation of AIKS (Janatha Maadhyama, Dec. 29th 1997).

But peasants were able to use only 150 bicycles instead of 1000 bicycles as claimed by peasant leaders. Many more peasants and sympathizers arrived in Hassan from their own arrangements. Main aim of this event was to protest and bring into the notice of district administration the government apathy in addressing the problems of peasants. Peasants sat on road in DC office premises
raising slogans. Peasant leaders Gopal, Manjunath and others demanded for DC’s presence to hear their problems. Leaders made clear that peasants would not meet DC in her chamber and she himself had to come where peasants were agitating. But DC was reluctant to meet peasants and did not even come out from her office. Angered by the attitude of DC, leaders entered into DC chamber and had a fierce argument with DC. Gopal recapitulates the events on that day:

“We then charged the DC in her chamber severely for having not come. Those who were in DC chamber were bewildered having heard the way in which we were criticizing DC, District-in-charge minister, Former Prime Minister. They were astonished as who were we? Why were we speaking so rash against and criticizing the important political leaders.”

As a mark of protest, peasants decided not to submit the memorandum and posted it to DC. Deputy Commissioner started interrogating the leaders such as Gopal through police. Police suspected him as Naxalite on observing his activities, ideas expressed in his speech and style of protesting. Gopal gave befitting reply to police and police came to know that he would not accept defeat and do not budge to pressure after enquiring about him in his village.

Bicycle Jaatha helped in disseminating the issue of Bagur-Navile peasants’ problem both at district and state level.

8.2 Torch Light Parade

After coming from Hassan, peasants carried out ‘Panjina Meravanige’ (Torch light parade) in town. This along with earlier procession led to diffusion of sympathy and formation of public opinion among people of channarayapattna town, particularly middle class. Later we approached minister Shri. H.D. Ramanna, minister in charge of district and Shri. M.P. Sukesh, Minister for Panchayat raj and Rural development on knowing that they were in Hassan town. We were directed to meet them at a particular location. We met them and
8.3 Bangalore Chalo: Peasant Meetings with Chief Minister

On 1997 February around 200-300 peasants participated in Bangalore Chalo (Ramakrishna G and Gayathri N 1998:11). Chief aim of the Bangalore Chalo was to meet Chief Minister S.N. Patil and to bring into his notice the plight of peasants of Bagur-Navile. Peasants travelled from Bagur to Tiptur and from Tiptur they journeyed in train to Bangalore. Peasants carried with them sacks of shrunken and emaciated coconuts. When they arrived at chief minister's official residence 'Krishna', peasants unloaded the sacks of shrunken coconuts in front of the 'Krishna and there itself' they sat dharna. When S.N. Patil came out side his residence (to speak to peasants) and asked

"Yarappa neevu? Yen jelli factoryavara" [who are you? Are you factory workers?]

On knowing that they were peasants from Bagur-Navile he asked them looking at coconuts

"Why coconuts have become like banana?"

Gopal then apprised him of the situation. Gopal explained him the problems of peasants due to the construction of tunnel by government. Gopal urged Chief Minister to survey the affected area by departments of Horticulture, Agriculture to understand and assess the problem. Chief Minister positively responded to peasants' demand and ordered to conduct survey (Government Order No: CE 23 NHO
8.4 Discussion with Deputy Chief Minister at Hassan: Expression of Concern by Representatives

Representatives and people also met then Deputy Chief Minister Somaiah and expressed the problems of peasants. Local MLA Putte Gowda articulated that two districts i.e. Mandya and Tumkur have benefited from this water tunnel project, whereas for Hassan district it had become adversary. This project has become evil for the people (peasants) of surrounding regions as ground water seeps into tunnel and as a consequence, coconut trees have wilted over the years. Peasants who were once economically viable have become marginalized. Providing water to lands of affected area through lift irrigation has also remained dream. He requested Somaiah to order for survey of crops and agrarian condition by Department of Horticulture and Coconut Development Board (Janatha Maadhyaama, 30th Sep. 1997).

MLA of Gandasi constituency Ramshiva while participating in discussion shared that Department of Geology has admitted that ground water table has reached down to the extent of 400 feet. Owing to which, farmers are unable to provide water to their lands through tube wells also. Government should facilitate the use of seeped ground water to peasants' lands through lift irrigation (Janatha Maadhyaama, op.cit.)

MLA of Arakalgud expressed in discussion that target of Hemavathi project is to irrigate seven lakh acres of land. He alleged that due to bureaucratic disregard, there is a possibility of conflict between districts and government's crores of rupees was being wasted (Janatha Maadhyaama, op.cit.)
8.4 Appointment of Two Expert Committees and their Recommendations

Chief Minister directed Horticulture and Geology department to constitute expert committees to survey the affected area. As a sequel, on receiving communication from government, Chief executive officer (CEO) of Hassan Zilla Panchayat in his letter(CEOs letter to Horticulture and Geology Department, Dated 24-3-97, No 47:97-98)\textsuperscript{79} to the two departments asked to submit expert report. CEO ordered to submit precise and detailed report examining whether construction of tunnel has led to depletion of ground water and decrease in the yield of coconut trees. Two committees conducted surveys from 5\textsuperscript{th} May 1997-7\textsuperscript{th} May 1997. Geologists have asked peasants, who have tube wells within the distance of 500 metres from tunnel, to submit the details about their tube wells Office of assistant executive engineer, Hemavathi left bank sub section, Bagur has requested peasants to provide the details.

We have already noted the episode of picketing PLD bank while discussing the roots of protests. PLD Bank's debt recovery operation continued to be thorn for peasants already facing hardships. Peasants were expecting remedies for their problems from the reports of expert committees. Peasants, therefore, sought protection under from Bank's loan recovery harassment under the shelter of expert committees constituted by government. This has bestowed on them a strong justification that when government itself acknowledged the problem by appointing committees, why were you harassing us? AIKS in its letter (AIKS Letter to Executive Engineer, Hemavathi Left Bank Canal Section dated 16-6-1997)\textsuperscript{80} requested Executive Engineer, Hemavathi Left bank canal to give clarification to PLD bank.

Executive engineer in his letter to Manager, PLD bank clarified that the expert committees have not submitted their report yet. Once the reports were
submitted, remedial measures would be taken under the directions of government. Tacit assumption here was that once remedial measures were implemented, peasants would repay their loan once they get the compensation in terms of money or government might waive off peasants' debt.

Two expert committees delayed unduly the submission of their reports. As Gopal confessed that after exerting pressure at high level, committees then only submitted the report. Reports of two committees contradicted each other. Horticulture department submitted the report with recommendations for further actions on 05/02/1998. The same report was marked as copy to Chief Engineer, Hemavathi Reservoir, Gorur. Chief Engineer in turn forwarded the report to Secretary, Department of Irrigation for further action. Committee under the horticultural department acknowledged the affect of tunnel on coconut yield and ground water table.

According to report:

"Construction of water tunnel in Bagur area began 17-20 years back; it was completed roughly five years back. Canals have been dug quite earlier causing loss of ground water and as a consequence, coconut and other fruit crops (horticultural) have been affected due to loss of moisture and decline in production. Pinnate leaves are hanging down, leaves becoming thinner, in some peasants' farms coconut trees have reached the state of becoming dried completely”

The committee has classified the coconut trees in affected area into three categories: A, B and C. A refers to 'no affected, B refers to moderately affected and whereas C indicates 'severely affected'. It surveyed 2, 19755 coconuts trees and estimated the loss as Rs. 2561 lakhs. 96, 115 were categorized as B and 1, 22,640 were marked as C

Whereas, an expert committee under Geology department took a rather different stand. In its report dated 05.05.1998 claimed that Bagur-Navile region
suffered decline in both the rainfall and ground water but the loss in crop yield has been caused by the natural calamities i.e. less rainfall, topography of the area etc. and not due to the construction of tunnel. The report claimed that tunnel has been well lined up with concrete and ruled out the seepage of ground water due to the tunnel.

8.5 Response of Movement to Reports of Expert Committees

While observing the reports of two committees report we come across following aspects: though Chief Minister ordered for the survey of affected area. There was an inordinate delay in submitting the report. Second, there is a wide gap between the two reports submitted. Third, both of the committees were from two government department. As a corollary, we cannot rule out the probable exertion of pressure and its influence on objective outcome in the report.

There is a wide spread belief among the leaders of the movement and agitating peasants that government in order to run away from the responsibility of awarding compensation as recommended by horticultural committee, it exerted pressure on department of Geology to get report in its favour. This has bestowed upon government a leveraged stand to bargain with the leaders of the movement. Raitha Hitarakshana Samiti (RHS), meanwhile, issued a press statement on knowing the recommendations of the committee that Department of Horticulture and Department of Irrigation have jointly identified that 2565 families are affected in 24 villages. Which encompasses 2, 35, 503 coconut trees. Out of them 2, 18,755 were big trees and 16, 748 trees were small trees. Both committees have jointly recommended to government to grant compensation to peasants. RHS urged Chief Minister S. H. Patil, Dy. C.M. Somaiah and Former Prime Minister Rame Gowda to fulfil the promises given to peasants and reserve the compensation amount in forthcoming budget. RHS warned that it would
But problem started when Gopal came back to the site of protest. Peasants objected the decision:

“They took stand that we have been severely affected by tunnel, ‘who are these leaders? We only elected, let them know, let them come to us and ask our grievances’.

Sanne Gowda recalls the event on that day as how people reacted to the offer of minister Ramanna:

“If only 10 people can only meet him, why should you have brought us here? Let ministers only come here and discuss with us. It was a rigid tendency of people. Any decision cannot be made at a once: we will have to sit and discuss. But our people lost patience. They uttered “what you should have told them come here and discuss? ” (Italics are added)

Gopal could not make decision alone and having sensed the possibility of misunderstanding between followers and leaders, he addressed the people:

“See if we have to meet Chief Minsiter and other ministers, you select 15 persons or we shall go back to our place”.

But people did not budge; they urged leaders to meet Deputy Chief Minsiter (DCM) Somaiah. More than 5000 people gathered in front of the residence of DCM. But DCM did not turn outside to hear the problems of people. Only when peasants started shouting slogans against him and government, he came out side. Leaders accused that he spoke very irresponsibly. Sanne Gowda observed:

“When people were asked to send 10 persons to minister office to discuss the issues, they were dissatisfied. Whereas people for more than 2hrs waited when they were humiliated by DCM making them hungry and fatigue.”

Peasants returned home with empty hands. Suryanath shared that this had created a sort of negative impression on peasants of Bagur-Navile. Suryanath explained party affiliations among the second level of leaders and followers of
the movement. Their response towards government would vary depending upon the existential interests, enmity between parties. Since Janatha Dal was in power, leaders from congress affiliation took a decision of not meeting CM and ministers in order to prevent Janatha Dal from taking the advantage of solving the issues. They desired that party in power to be plagued by *anti-incumbency factor* in upcoming assembly elections.\textsuperscript{82} This created a hiatus and issue became more a matter of prestige between the movement and government. As Suryanath expressed that organizational structure of the movement comprised several leaders who were from different political party affiliations. Though AIKS, peasant wing of CPI, led the movement, all leaders were not from CPI. Movement, therefore, allowed some leaders within the organization use mobilization and protest to get political advantage. Their intention was to humiliate government rather than to arrive at solutions.

Peasants after returning back from Bangalore sent their demand duly modified in the light of recommendations of an expert committee under the Department of Horticulture. Chief Minsiter S.H. Patil in his letter\textsuperscript{83} dated 16\textsuperscript{th} March 1998 ordered the Chief Secretary of the Karnataka Government to convene shortly a meeting of concerned minsters and officers under his presence. To quote:

"Different departments of government have suggested certain remedies after conducting survey according to our previous decisions: therefore, in order to make decisions at higher level it is, hereby, ordered to convene shortly a meeting of concerned ministers and officers under my presence."

In fact government bargain with peasants led to series of events which brought peasants directly into confrontation with government. We shall understand the intensified phase of struggle and confrontation in next chapter as implicit in next phase of struggle is the role of state regarding peasants and larger civil society.
1 Heberle, Rudolph 1951: 'Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology', New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts publications, P-1
6 Ibid, P-339
7 Ibid P-
9 Ibid, P-446
11 Ibid, P 4-8, italics are added
12 Singha Roy K. Debal, 2004 'Peasant Movements in Post-Colonial India', New Delhi Sage Publications, P-8
14 Porta della Donatella and Diani Mario 2006 'Social Movements: An Introduction', Blackwell publications, New York, P 5-6
16 Ibid, P-332
17 Ibid, P-333
18 Heberle, Rudolph. Ibid P-7
20 Ibid P-308
27 Ibid. Italics are added
29 Gore, M.S. Social Movements and the Paradigms of Functional Analysis in Ghanshyam Shah [Ed] Social Transformation in India, Vol. 1, New Delhi, Rawat Publications, Pp 77-78
34 Oommen T. K. 2004 op.cit, pp.182-183
35 Heberle, Rudolph, ‘Types and Functions of Social Movements’, In International Encyclopedia Of Social Sciences,
37 M.S.A. Rao,
41 Singha Roy K. Debal, 2004, op. cit, P-15
46 Ibid, P -156
50 Ibid, P-67
52 Ibid, Pp 77-83
54 Ibid, pp.194-196
55 Assadi, Muzaffar, 1997, *Peasant Movement in Karnataka*, New Delhi, Shipra publications, P.iii, Italics are added
56 Ibid, italics are added.
57 Gupta, Dipankar, 2002, op.cit, pp.195-196
60 ‘Hemavathi Reservoir Project: Salient features of Bagur-Navile Tunnel, Approach and Exit lift irrigation schemes and Kallesonnahalli lift irrigation scheme Hemavathi Reservoir Project’; A Report prepared by Hemavath i canal circle, channarayapattna, Irrigation Department, Government of Karnataka
61 The details of Government order are No.ID.118.NHP.89. Dated 01-02-1992 and No.ID.261.NHP.90. Dated 27-12-1991
63 Bruce, Steve and Yearley,Steven 2006, ‘Sage Dictionary of Sociology’, New Delhi, Sage Publications, pp.144-145
65 Manheim, Karl 1970, op.cit P-400
69 Rao, M.S.A. 1984 ‘Conceptual problems’, op.cit pp.7-8
71 Ibid, 197.
72 Though the area of constituency is entire Channarayapatna Taluk, legislative assembly constituency was named after Shravanabelagola. As it is located in Channarayapatna taluk and is world famous historical tourist place.
73 Janatha Dal came into existence out of Janatha party and most of the important leaders of Janatha Dal party were in Janatha party as the former was carved out of split in the former.
74 The word Janatha Parivar is used in a sense to indicate the different parties carved out of the womb of Janatha party and each new party carried with it the name of the former that is janatha.
75 Pamphlet published by AIKS on 12th June, 1997 for opposing the decisions of PCARD Bank, KEB and Tahashildar office, P.1.
76 Ibid, P.1
77 Pamphlet, Op.cit, P.1
78 Government Order No: CE 23 NHO 97 Date 19-2-1997
79 CEOs letter to Horticulture and Geology Department, Dated 24-3-97, No 47:97-98
80 AIKS Letter to Executive Engineer, Hemavathi Left Bank Canal Section dated 16-6-1997.
81 We already discussed in preceding pages that *Raitha Hitarakshana Samiti* (RHS) was a separate association pressing for the implementation of lift irrigation scheme and carried few protests and picketing. As AIKS later emerged a dominant organization mobilizing peasants, RHS was reduced in importance and extended its support to AIKS.
82 General elections to the state had to be held in 1999 and it was looming large.
83 Chief Minster’s letter to chief secretary of the government, No: 1149 Date-16/03/1998.