CHAPTER VI

PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN THE MOVEMENT

A social movement is said to come into being only when the participants are spurred into action. And without conscious collective action no social discontent can take the shape of a social movement. In other words, the discontented persons must act collectively to do away with the cause(s) of their discontents or to rectify the situation. So, the presence of social discontent among the 'affected people' is a necessary prerequisite for the emergence of social movement, but not a sufficient one. To quote Heberle (1951) in this context, "Social movements are made of people; they are formed by people and grow as the result of the efforts of people who are conscious, willing agents, perceiving and selecting from their social world. It is necessary, then, in any account of social movement emergence, to take into account the definition of the situation of those people caught up in the eye of the storm. Social unrest and the crystallization of social movements out of it are the action, and reaction of people to their subjective experience of the world around them".

Hence, both social discontents formed out of 'definition of situation' of people and their conscious collective action are the quintessential characteristics of social movements. The preceding chapter has provided an empirical analysis of the attitudes of discontent which composed their 'definition of situation.' This constituted the social-psychological texture of the movement as Heberle (1951) calls. Against the backdrop of such social-psychological texture, a crucial question emerges: how do the attitudes of discontent become translated into action?
Undoubtedly, such attitudes of discontent which provide motivation for action must undergo qualitative transformation to social unrest as Blumer (1969) construes. Social unrest signifies an aroused readiness to act against the prevailing situation, before it can generate a social movement (Wilson, 1973). Whether or not discontent leads to social unrest and further to the formation of social movement is determined by a number of factors, such as intensity of discontents, presence of agitators and ideologies, reactions of authorities and alternate responses available (ibid).

While the preceding chapter focused on the intensity of the discontent, Chapter IV analysed the ideology and organisational aspects, and the present chapter will deal with the ‘agitators’ and precisely with the processes of mobilisation and participation.

Before we proceed further, it is imperative to focus on the conceptual and theoretical aspects of mobilisation. Mobilisation means bringing the affected group into action (Smelser, 1963). It is the process whereby people are prepared for active service for a cause which they see as consonant with their own interests. Mobilisation is, in this sense, the opposite of apathy and inaction (Wilson, 1973). Wilson (1973) further clarifies that social movements are always influenced by the process of interaction and the phenomenon of mobilisation is an emergent property of the process of interaction whereby social movements come into being. However, the social mobilisation is not confined to the process of interaction only. It also implies active involvement and conscious participation of a collectivity in terms of the goals pursued (Oommen, 1977).
From the above delineation, two aspects of social mobilisation can be discerned. One is interactional aspect, and the other is participatory aspect. Hence, mobilisation can be construed as a process which generates consciousness among the potential participants, and motivates them through interaction, and finally leads to collective action.

The interactional aspect of mobilisation can be thought of operating simultaneously at two levels; at individual and collective level. Individual as a micro unit, at the micro level, is mobilised by the leader(s) personally or in small group situations or through direct mail, or friendship and kinship ties. Mobilisation at collective level is targeted at collectivities constituted of ‘mobilisation potentials’. The mechanisms through which collective mobilisation is carried out, are generally mass public meetings, or relatively smaller meetings organised at the village, panchayat and zonal levels, Padyatras, rallies, processions, etc. However, to construe that mobilisation at these two levels are separate processes, will be fallacious. It is rather an analytical separation of the same process done for a better understanding of such a complex process. Mobilisation at individual level feeds back to collective mobilisation and vice versa.

To sum up, it can be said that an individual, first of all, defines the situation in the light of his own cognition and according to his own point of view about the situations (Wilson, 1973). This ‘definition of situation’ generates his desire for necessary actions which will make the situations consonant with his interest. Then the individual not only shares his ‘definition of situation’ and desire for action with others, but also looks forward to a structure which can
translate his desire into reality. At the same time, an individual also indicates
other’s ‘definition of situation’ to himself and accordingly modifies his own
interpretation and sharpens his articulation. Hence, ‘other’s definition’ is
reflexively incorporated into an individual’s action. It is a two-step process.

Keeping the above theoretical assumptions in mind, an attempt has
been made here to throw light on the process of mobilisation in the movement
under study. The precise questions which will be addressed are as follow. Who
mobilised the respondents at individual level? what has been the mechanism of
such mobilisation? what have been the contents and idioms of mobilisation?
Have the individuals themselves made efforts to mobilise others? How far such
mobilisation has been effective in eliciting their action? Before we proceed to
grapple with these issues, it is necessary to know about the political affiliation of
the people of the Ghati area.

It has already been mentioned in earlier discussion that the area of
Baliapal-Bhograi has been a citadel of opposition politics, particularly that of the
erstwhile Janata Party, presently the Janata Dal. The people have, barring a few
times, elected the candidates of the above mentioned party both to the State
Assembly and Lok Sabha. Certain historical situations have led to the
consolidation of opposition politics in this particular area. However, it is beyond
the purview of the present study to go into these issues. It has also been found
out, as mentioned in Chapter IV, that the top leadership of the UBKGPC
belonged to the Janata Party (presently Janata Dal).

As the data, collected to find out the political affiliation of the people,
reveal, only nine respondents (six per cent of the total respondents) were the
members of one or the other political party. Out of these nine respondents, eight had become the members of the political parties prior to the emergence of the movement against the NMTR and only one became the member after the emergence. Another 32 respondents (21.33 per cent of the total respondents) quoted their party affiliation as sympathisers of some political parties. Out of them 25 (11.67 per cent of the total respondents) traced the beginning of their sympathetic affiliation prior to the declaration of the NMTR by the Government and the rest after the official announcement. Out of all these members and sympathisers, only a few identified themselves with the Congress (I). They also did not openly admit their political association with the Congress (I), since it was considered to be stigmatized in the area.

The above findings lead to the conclusion that the people in the Ghati area had hardly any political affiliation and were seldom partisan. The data, at the surface, reduce the presence and role of political forces to minimal in the area. But the reality is something different. It was observed during the empirical investigation that the people made a conscious effort not to reveal their political identities. They were also scared to name the political parties functioning in the area against the Ghati. The questions seeking information regarding their political affiliations seemed to perturb the respondents. It was commonly noted that the respondents cautiously avoided such questions or provided misleading information. It was probably because of the ‘sensitive’ nature of the movement and also the presence of many police agents. While the respondents were subject to close observation, the situation was found to be contrary to what the data revealed.
It was observed that the Janata Party had much influence in the Ghati area which escalated under the charismatic leadership of Sri Giri. Most of the people, cutting caste, class and tribal lines, were the followers of Sri Giri. The influence of the Congress (I) was confined to upper caste peasantry only, that too, it was limited to certain pockets. After the emergence of the movement, affiliation with the Congress (I) was stigmatized in the area. The Congress (I) followers were looked down upon and called as ‘thief’. So most of the Congress (I) followers either deaffiliated themselves or concealed their political identity.

Undoubtedly, the prior political mobilisation by the Opposition Party, especially the Janata Party, had played a considerable role in facilitating mobilisation for the movement against the state’s decision of setting up of the NMTR in that area. This can, probably, be attributed to the already acquired legitimacy of the ‘opposition political forces’ to fight against the ruling party and the legitimacy of its leaders to mobilise and organise the people. Hence, old political structures assumed new functions and their leaders took up new roles to mobilise the people in ‘new situations’.

These observations on the political affiliation of the people and the role of political parties and their leaders in the process of mobilisation provide a ground to pore further over the process of mobilisation in the Ghati area.

As the quantitative data depict, a majority of the respondents, 60 per cent of the sample, were mobilised by the political leaders and a sizable section, 30.67 per cent, claimed to be self-mobilised. By self- mobilisation they meant that the attitudes of discontent towards the ‘situations’ were formed by themselves without being induced by any other external source. Most of the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Who mobilised</th>
<th>CASTE CATEGORIES</th>
<th>INCOME CATEGORIES</th>
<th>EDUCATIONAL CATEGORIES</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency and Percentage</td>
<td>Frequency and Percentage</td>
<td>Frequency and Percentage</td>
<td>Freq. &amp; Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Political leaders</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Friends and relatives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.94</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>3.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Self-mobilised</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.82</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Don't remember</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>4.76</td>
<td>2.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>85</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
respondents who claimed to be self-mobilised reported, "what is the need of
mobilisation? This issue concerns everyone. So, we, ourselves understand the
consequences and are spontaneously against the Ghai." An element of
spontaneity is, of course, noticeable at this level. A meagre 1.33 per cent of the
respondents were mobilised by their kins and eight per cent did not respond.

Hence, it is clear that in the initial stage of the movement, political
leaders played a major role in mobilising the people and creating conducive
conditions for transformation of discontents into social unrest. This corresponds
with the finding of Klandermans and Oemega (1987) who also found a major role
being played by the political leaders in the first step of mobilisation in a peace
movement.

A further analysis of the above data on the basis of caste, income and
education, as charted in Table VI-1, provides more insight. It is found that the
highest proportion of the respondents belonging to lower castes category
followed by the Scheduled Castes and Tribes category, were mobilised by the
political leaders. In other words, political leaders as the agents of mobilisation
have been more effective for the people belonging to lower castes, Scheduled
Castes and Tribes. Slightly less than 50 per cent of the upper castes respondents
admitted to have been mobilised by the political leaders. However, this trend is
found to be reverse in the case of self-mobilised ones. The highest proportion of
those self-mobilised respondents belonged to the upper castes category with the
frequencies of self-mobilised being negligible for other caste categories. This
trend is found to be same as far as income and education categories are
concerned. Lower the income and education level of the respondents, higher is
the mobilisation by the political leaders, and higher the income and education level, higher is self-mobilisation.

Further investigation reveals that slightly more than 50 per cent of the respondents (55.33 per cent of the sample) were mobilised by the leaders through public meetings usually organised in *hatas* as pointed out in Chapter III. Six per cent of the respondents said that they had been mobilised personally by the leaders of the movement. Corroborating the earlier findings, here also, the same proportion of the respondents claimed to be self-mobilised. Only six per cent of the sample informed that they were mobilised through personal interaction and discussion with their friends and kins.

It is again clear from the above findings that the traditional political leaders have played a major role in the process of mobilisation and the conventional political method of public meeting has been the chief mechanism of mobilisation in the initial stage. It is also established that friendship and kinship ties have been a weak source of mobilisation, in contrary to the findings emphasizing the importance of friendship and kinship networks in certain other movements. Wilson and Orum (1976) pointed out the importance of friends or relatives who were already involved in a movement, in explaining mobilisation and participation. It is evident, in the case of the social movement under study, that the traditional forces and mechanisms have played crucial role in evoking new consciousness and in evolving new social realities.

The traditional *baithaki* meetings also assumed new role of mobilising the villagers against the *Ghati*. Such *baithakis* are not a regular feature of the village life. But after the movement emerged, *baithaki* became a daily and
frequent occurrence, as informed by 93 per cent of the respondents. Again the same proportion of the respondents said that these *baithakis* were attended by most of the villagers, irrespective of caste, class, education and occupation. However, the printed materials such as pamphlets, leaflets, booklets and journals issued by the UBKGPC, Fronts and other organisations could not have much impact on the people as far as mobilisation was concerned. It was observed that, even though, the area had about 42 per cent literacy rate and a good number of printed materials were issued for circulation among the people, the number of readers had been very less. As the data reveal, only 14 per cent of the respondents were found to reading such materials. Only 4.67 per cent of the total sample mobilised others to read these materials, whereas only 2.67 per cent of them reported to be distributing such literature.

It is surprising that inspite of high literacy rate in the area, the role of printed materials has been quite marginal and has remained confined to a few. An important factor which may probably be accounted for the marginal role of the printed materials, may be a cultural one. Inspite of the spread of modern education, oral tradition is still predominantly prevalent in Baliapal-Bhograi area, so to say in the whole of rural parts in Balasore district (Biswal, 1987). It can be assumed that prevalence of such tradition has facilitated mobilisation through public meetings, *baithakis*, and informal interactions, but has not been responsive to mobilisation through modern mechanisms which are in a way, alien to the local culture. The role of cultural factors in facilitating mobilisation activities and in making some mobilisation mechanisms more effective than others, has to be acknowledged. This is a complex issue and needs special
attention. In the present study no further investigation is made into this, as this is outside the limited scope.

Keeping in view the predominant role of the political leaders in mobilisation, it becomes relevant to ask; what are the idioms and contents of mobilisation the leaders have used? How far such idioms and contents are drawn from the ideology? Before we proceed to probe these issues, it is necessary to mention that idioms and contents of mobilisation create motivation to participate by projecting the cost and benefit of their participation. Such motivation is a function of the perceived cost and benefit of participation (Oberschall, 1973; Klandermans, 1984, and 1986; Muller and Opp, 1986). Movements must communicate to potential participants through mobilisation, the extent to which collective and selective incentives are controlled by the movements (Klandermans and Oemega, 1987). Collective incentives refer to collective good and the expectancy of the success, and selective incentives are either soft (non-material) or social, and hard (material) or non-social (Opp, 1983; Klandermans, 1984).

It is evident from the qualitative information provided by the respondents on the idioms and contents of mobilisation that the dominant contents have been the economic one coupled with the perceived danger posited by the NMTR to the human life. Out of the total sample, 81.33 per cent reported to have been communicated the idioms and contents, whereas the rest claimed to be self-mobilised. (The disparity between the figures of self-mobilised ones in the preceding and present discussion is because required information could be
elicited from some of the self-mobilised respondents through careful interrogation).

As it was observed in the empirical situation, the people were much more concerned about the survival, loss of home and hearth as well as loss of land and occupations, rather than the threat to ecology, global implications of the NMTR and India's unclear policy. Mobilisation has also been done on the basis of such loss and gain mainly in tangible economic terms which relate to every-day life. These have been verbalised by the rank and file. Though the ideology of bheetamati has economic, political, social, cultural and environmental dimensions as discussed in chapter IV, the economic dimension has influenced the 'aggrieved people' more than any other dimension. Patel (1990) in her study of the same phenomenon also noted that the ideology as articulated and communicated during the struggle emphasized economic issues rather than the cultural and environmental. So, consequently, the economic contents have percolated down to the grass roots, and have been effective in mobilising the people.

An important observation could be cited here in the above context. It is now established that a large number of public meetings, padyatras and rallies were organised in the area by the leaders of various levels, from top of bottom, to communicate their 'interpretation of situation' and ideology to the people. These activities and communications, undoubtedly, contributed to the crystallization of discontent of the people. All the above data and discussions give an impression that there was no informal face-to-face interaction between the people at grass roots and the leaders. However, observations revealed the contrary. There has
been continuous informal face-to-face interaction between the leaders of different levels and the people at grass roots, either at personal level or in small group situations. The people refused to name the leaders who were in personal contact with them. It was because of the threat to the leaders from the police. It was found that the people were making conscious efforts to conceal the names of the leaders which could protect them from police detection.

The targets of mobilisation of certain leaders could be identified through collating the sets of vocabulary used by the leaders and those targets. In other words, the typical terms used by particular leader(s) to explain the situation in the course of mobilisation, was reproduced by the persons mobilised by the same leader(s). For example, the acting President of the UBKGPC, used to explain the decision of the Government to set up NMTR as the authoritarianism of the state and equates this with that of the activities of the British raj. Those persons who were mobilised by him through informal interaction, referred to the same content using almost the same words. After careful interrogation, they admitted of personal interaction with the particular leader. A more glaring example can be cited referring to the contents and vocabulary used by the UCCRI(M-L) leaders mobilising in the Ghati area. Those who have been mobilised by them, showed much militancy in behaviour and speech. They also referred to Soviet Russia's conspiracy in building a nuclear missile base in India and claimed that Ghati was meant for nuclear missiles. Even the illiterates referred to this.

Thus, the leaders have undertaken mobilisation both at collective and individual level. Such mobilisation makes the individual participant experience
the feeling of considerable personal expansion (Blumer, 1969). This feeling of personal expansion comes to be identified with the movement and it makes for *esprit de corps* (ibid).

While the above discussion focused on the role of the leaders in mobilising the 'mobilisation potentials', which can be conceptualised as vertical mobilisation, the following discussion will deal with horizontal mobilisation. Precisely the focus will be on, how the people at grass roots have shared each other's 'definition of situation' through the process of social interaction?

It was observed that each individual has chosen different sets of persons to share his own assessments and feelings about the NMTR and its consequences. As the data reveal, 32 per cent of the respondents discussed the matter with their family members at the first instance, and about an equal proportion of the sample communicated with their neighbours first. Slightly less than one-fifth of the total respondents said that immediately after the announcement about the setting up of the NMTR, it became an issue of common concern. So, they discussed about it with all those with whom they were acquainted and came across. Hence, the family members, neighbours, and personal acquaintances are the important categories of people with whom the respondents shared their views in the initial stage.

It is to note as 94 per cent of the respondents reported that the persons with whom they shared their views and feelings on the NMTR and its consequences formed unfavourable attitudes towards the project and dislocation. While only two per cent said that they found the persons favourable, four per cent of the respondents did not respond to the query.
While sharing of views and feelings is very much a part of mobilisation activities, yet it can not be equated with conscious mobilisation. So, the respondents were asked as to whom they mobilised consciously? About 57 per cent of the respondents informed that they tried to mobilise all those 'prospective victims' whom they knew. It is clear that personal acquaintance was used at the grass roots for mobilisation at individual level. Gerlach and Hine (1970) found that people were much more inclined to join religious movements if they were approached by those whom they knew and trusted on other grounds. Bolton (1972) showed, how new members of peace groups were recruited in high proportion by people who were already members. It was also found that 23.33 per cent of the respondents tried to mobilise their neighbours and 7.33 per cent mobilised their fellow caste members. As far as conscious mobilisation is concerned, friendship and kinship ties were found to be weak medium of mobilisation. However, in total, 92 per cent of the respondents viewed that they mobilised others to participate in movement rituals such as demonstrations, rallies, gheraos, dharna, etc.

It has already been mentioned in Chapter IV that a unique feature of the movement under investigation, is massive participation by the women in protest activities or movement rituals. The stakes of the women of the Ghati area in the land have already been discussed in the same Chapter. The analysis of the articulation of interests of the women as enunciated by the Nari Samukhya in Chapter IV, revealed the level of consciousness and activism among the women. However, it can not be denied that in a patriarchal society, females can not come out to the streets to participate in any protest activity without the consent of the
### TABLE VI-2
PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN THE MOVEMENT ACTIVITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Frequency of participation by the female members of the family</th>
<th>CASTE CATEGORIES</th>
<th>INCOME CATEGORIES</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency and Percentage</td>
<td>Frequency and Percentage</td>
<td>Freq.&amp; Percentage</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Regularly</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>48.23</td>
<td>90.00</td>
<td>71.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Occasionally</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20.00</td>
<td>14.28</td>
<td>26.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Whenever the situation demands</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17.65</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>14.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Not applicable</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14.12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
head of the family. As evident from the data collected on this aspect, 92 per cent of the respondents said that they encouraged the female members of their families to participate in the protest activities. Most of them called woman as Durga, the mythical Goddess of prowess and characterised them to be invincible. To quote a common statement, "Stree jati heuchhanti Matru Sakti. Tanka agare Sarakar Kichhi Nuhen", (Women are the mother and possess divine power. The state power is nothing before their divine power). It can be recalled here that as a matter of tactics, the women and children were usually kept in the forefront of any demonstration or rally or gherao, as part of the 'human wall' which was believed to be impregnable for the police.

As far as the participation of women is concerned, 56.67 per cent of the respondents stressed that the female members of their families had been participating regularly in each and every activity organised by the UBKGPC from time to time. While 19.33 per cent of the respondents said that the female members of their families participated occasionally according to their convenience, 16 per cent admitted that only in emergency situations, the female folk of their families participated.

It will be more meaningful, if these responses are analysed on the basis of caste and income. As Table. VI. 2 displays, regular participation by the women of middle castes and lower castes categories is found. Except the women of upper-most income category, the women of the families of all other income categories participated regularly in protest activities. The females who never participated, are found to belong to the upper castes and upper income categories. Even though, a majority of the respondents from the upper castes and
upper income categories were found to be self-mobilised, yet their women-folk did not go out to participate actively in the protest activities.

While these findings are collated with certain earlier findings in Table V-2 of the preceding chapter, it is found that while 85.88 per cent of the total upper castes respondents were unfavourable to the NMTR, only 48.23 per cent of them said that the female members of their families participated regularly in the protest activities. Eighty per cent of the total middle castes respondents were found to be unfavourable, whereas 90 per cent of them revealed that the female members of their families participated regularly. While 57.14 per cent of the total respondents belonging to lower castes category were found to be unfavourable toward the NMTR, 71.44 per cent from the same category reported that their female folk had been regular participants in all the protest activities. Among the Scheduled Castes and Tribes, 67.65 per cent of the respondents were unfavourable and 58.82 per cent of them reported about regular participation in protest activities by the women from their families.

The discrepancies between the proportion of the unfavourable respondents and the proportion of the respondents who talked about the regular participation of their female members especially from the middle castes and lower castes categories, is because the respondents at the lowest level in attitude scale also participated in the protest activities, and also did not debar their female members from participating. The caste wise differentiation in participation of women can probably be explained in terms of the tradition of working outside the household by the females in a particular society, in a particular caste and also in a particular family. Permissiveness of the family for
its female members for their participation in the non-conventional protest activities organised outside home, is probably contingent more upon such tradition in the family than the sensitivity of the issue. However, to establish the relationship between the women's participation and their socio-cultural matrix is beyond the purview of the present endeavour. This is a very complex issue and deserves special attention. Nevertheless, it is clear that the female folk of middle castes and lower castes categories have shown high level of activism.

As far as participation of female members from different income categories is concerned, it is found that in the last two lower income categories, higher proportions of respondents reported regular participation by the women. In the two upper most income categories, while more respondents were unfavourable (refer to Table V-2 in the preceding chapter), less of them reported regular participation of women. The explanation given above in the case of caste categories, could be extended to income categories also.

Hence, the people were mobilised not only by the leaders, they themselves have also made both conscious and unconscious efforts to mobilise each other. This can be conceptualised as horizontal mobilisation. These situations have made the people more conducive to further mobilisation, and have created conditions for collective action.

It is clear from the above discussion that both vertical and horizontal mobilisations have been operative in the movement. The collectivity of 'mobilisation potentials' have been induced to act by the leaders, the rank and file, neighbours, family members, personal acquaintances and also fellow caste members. The macro ideology has percolated down to the grass roots through
the organisational structure and the 'definition of situation' of individuals has been shared by each other.

Another aspect of mobilisation, which is yet to be unraveled, is the perception of the people about the character and role of the leadership and various forces, both political and non-political, involved in the movement. In other words, the people carefully watched the activities of the leaders and other forces, evaluated their activities and intentions from their own perspectives and formed attitudes towards them accordingly. This kind of attitude plays a major role in making the 'mobilisation potentials' receptive to the mobilisation inputs coming from those sources. This process renders credibility to the leaders, organisations and the political parties which, in turn, brings them the legitimacy. Public credibility and legitimacy are contingent on each other. These attitudes are also crucial in building the confidence of the people in the leaders, organisations and the macro forces as well as in the movement which they accept as means to achieve their desired goals. In the following discussion, an attempt has been made to find out the attitudes of the people towards the leadership and different political parties involved in the movement.

It was observed that the people usually did not disentangle new identities of the movement leaders from that of their political identities. In other words, for the people at the grass roots, the leaders had two identities; one, the newly acquired identity of being the leader of the movement, and two; the old identity of being the leader of a macro political party. And both these identities were distinct for the people. Their assessment of a particular leader contributed to the formation of their attitudes towards the political party to which the leader
belonged. And their perception of the role of a particular political party also, in turn, reinforced their attitude towards the leaders belonging to that party.

With these observations, we can proceed to analyse certain quantitative information relating to the above propositions. While the respondents were asked as to which political party(ies) had been active in the movement, barring 10 respondents who did not respond, all named three macro level political parties, viz. the Janata Party, the Congress (I) and the Communist Party of India (CPI). But none mentioned about the involvement of the CPI(M-L) or UCCRI(M-L). Two explicit reasons could be cited for such omission. One, the upper and middle class respondents were highly hesitant to recognise the presence of the ‘Naxalites’; two, most of the followers of the CPI(M-L) had the notion that Sri Patra did not belong to any party.

About 55 per cent of the respondents viewed that all the parties involved in the movement had been playing positive role, whereas about 37 per cent did not recognise the role of any political party as positive. And the rest did not respond to the query. Most of the respondents who were critical about the role of political parties, believed that the Congress (I) had been trying to subvert the movement. Some of them also opined that the role of the Janata Party had become dubious after the demise of Sri Giri. Most of the respondents mentioned about the growing interference by the State level leaders in the day-to-day affairs of the movement and also talked about the emerging electoral interests of the Janata Party. This trend started only in the post-Giri phase. (Patel, 1990).
It was also observed that the activities of the leaders had been subject to close scrutiny by the people. A common allegation raised by most of the respondents irrespective of caste and class, was that the UBKGPC leaders had become corrupt after Sri Giri's death. A blacksmith, by caste and occupation, from the village Jugdiha alleged, "The leaders have become corrupt, but still, we have faith in them." Another person who was a Hadi by caste and belonged to Jamatkula village expressed, "Leaders have become dada (wayward) and corrupt after the death of Sri Giri". A Khandayat from the same village also talked about the unscrupulous activities in which some of the leaders were involved. A Raju agriculturist from the village Balibil also expressed the same view. However, most of the respondents reiterated their faith in the leadership inspite of certain leaders' unscrupulous activities. They viewed that till the time the leadership was active in the movement and committed to the cause, the people would continue to follow them.

However, this situation has unraveled the extent of commitment of the people. A daily wage labourer, weaver by caste and a resident of the village Jugdiha, asserted, "Nobody bothers for leaders and everyone is a leader here. we know how to fight for our own rights." A Raju agriculturist from Jamatkula said "Even if the leaders retreat, we will fight for our land till we perish". Both the dearness of the cause and persistent mobilisation could be presumed to have raised the level of consciousness of the people and provided such militancy to the people of the Ghati area.

Inspite of all these allegations, 40.67 per cent of the respondents pointed out the Janata Party as the most committed one to the movement.
Another 30.67 per cent of the sample said that all the political parties active in the movement were committed and 14.67 per cent expressed that UCCRI (M-L) was the most committed. While 5.33 per cent of the respondents did not respond to the query, 8.67 per cent categorically said that none was committed. Two responses are noteworthy; none indicating the Congress (I) as the most committed one, and about 15 per cent pointing out the UCCRI (M-L) as the most committed macro outfit. Here one finds a contradiction. While responding about the positive role of the parties none mentioned about the UCCRI (M-L), but when asked about the commitment, these respondents mentioned Sri Patra's name. However, they said that Sri Patra did not belong to any party. As far as the role of the Congress (I) was concerned, even if the respondents recognised the positive role played by it, none considered it to be the most committed.

The perception of the people of the role of the leaders and macro forces plays an important part in the process of mobilisation. A comprehensive understanding of the process of mobilisation is possible only when such perception is taken into account. What is equally important for such understanding is the countermobilisation carried on by the forces opposing the movement. In the beginning of the ongoing chapter, it was mentioned that the reactions of authorities towards the collective action by the participants of the movement is one of the important factors in forming a social movement. Hence, it is imperative to take note of such reactions.

About 87 per cent of the respondents viewed that the State had made no effort to countermobilise the people, rather it had tried to subdue the movement by adopting various coercive measures such as putting the area under
economic blockade, withholding all developmental activities and refraining from relief distribution to the victims of the cyclone which hit the area in the month of May, 1989, and caused extensive damage. Arrests of leaders, and rank and file on certain occasions were also reported.

While about 89 per cent of the respondents mentioned about the economic blockade, which has been elaborated in chapter III, 36 per cent cited the indifference of the State authorities to the victims of the cyclone and 19 per cent pointed out the intentional withholding of all sorts of developmental activities. However, the respondents admitted that none of them had been threatened by the police either directly or indirectly. But 33.33 per cent of the respondents said that they were arrested by the police while on their way to Bhubaneswar and Balasore to participate in the demonstrations and rallies organised by the UBKGPC (details given in Chapter III). However none of them was subject to any police atrocity, rather they were treated well by the police, as they informed.

It is of significant note that 65 per cent of the sample said that the economic blockade or the stopping of subsidised supply of essential commodities such as rice, sugar, kerosene, etc., by the Government did not affect them at all. Without such commodities, they claimed, neither rich nor poor suffered since alternative arrangements were made by the local businessmen with the help of the leaders. Eighteen per cent of the respondents agreed to have been affected by such economic blockade, but at the same time, they viewed that they could be able to overcome this. Seventeen per cent of the respondents said that they had to suffer because of blockade. These responses, undoubtedly, highlight their
attitude towards the coercive measures adopted by the State and also their determination to overcome the barriers.

About 93 per cent of the total respondents asserted that neither the Government would succeed in subduing the movement nor the people would succumb to such coercive measures. A meagre seven per cent of the respondents were found to be apprehensive that the State power might succeed in suppressing the movement. As far as the persuasive methods adopted by the authorities are concerned, 89 per cent of the respondents viewed that these would not be effective in countermobilising the people. And about 11 per cent thought that persuasive methods, rather than the coercive method, might be successful in making the people consider to concede.

It is clear from the above discussion that social discontents have undergone qualitative transformation through conscious mobilisation which created conditions for social unrest and collective action. Social mobilisation has been done both at individual and collective levels. The leaders of the movement have carried out vertical mobilisation both at collective and individual level through various mechanisms such as public meetings, padyatras, processions, demonstrations, dharnas and rallies as well as personal interactions. The people at grass roots have also shared their own ‘definition of situation’ with each other and have consciously stirred to action using their personal ties. Persistent mobilisation at various levels through various mechanisms has reinforced the perceptual discontents which has, in turn, impelled the people to act collectively, thus, leading to the crystallisation of the movement.