Chapter IV

Organization and Leadership in the Local Movements

Introduction

This chapter will discuss about organizations and leadership pattern in local movements. There are two sections in the chapter. The first section will deal with the historical emergence of the organization and the second section will deal with the pattern of leadership in a comparative perspective in our study areas.

Role of the Organization in Movement

The literature of the social movement has elaborately dealt about the social movement organizations, shortly SMO. It is designated as an integral part in any movement which coordinate and direct the movement activity. The SMO originates from the crisis or pressure of the situation. According to Rock Paul (1988) the organization usually stared by one person who brings the idea of social change. The SMOs are subjected to arrange of internal and external pressure which affect their viability, internal structure, process and succession attending goal (Zald and Ash 1966). It is argued that small SMO with variable leadership orientation, goal specific, and intensive structure are significant independent variable to change in organizational characteristic such as expensive orientation, charisma, radicalism in strategies and tactics, inclusiveness of membership requirement and merge or collision with other movement organization (Zurcher and Curtis 1973).

There appears fraction and split in movement organization. A fraction is identifiable subgroup oppose to other subgroup, a split occurs when a fraction leaves social movement organization. The two major internal preconditions responsible for the split and development of fraction, one is heterogeneity of social base and second is the doctrine basis of authority (Zald and Ash 1966).
The contradictory argument is given that an organization can use fraction to built unity, resolving ideological and identity rift through structural accommodation (Reger 2002). It is describes how The New York City (NOW) chapter opted to split the ideologically opposed fraction into two groups housed in the same organization. This accommodation provides space for those committed to political change as well as for those more in support of consciousness rising led to mutually beneficial, if sometimes strained relationship.

**The Social Movement Organisations from Local to Global**

The SMOs maintains consistent link with its functional units at different areas to have spread out effects of the movement. It then develops various mechanisms to retain this link. One of it is the franchise. The national SMOs organize the franchise among their affiliated units at the local level by using commonly recognised name and symbols. It helps the SMOs to determine the optimum number of local affinity (McCarthy 2005)

Jackie Smith (2005) has highlighted about the organizational manifestation of transnational social movement. Her essay explores how the changes at the global level have affected the ways people organize transnational activities to promote political and social change. Using the data from the yearbook of international associations, Smith examines changes in the size, issue focus, geographic make up, and organizational structure of the population of transnational social movement organization (TSMO) in recent decades. During the period of 1990 the human right, environmental rights, the civil right movement and women movements group dominate the TSMO issue agenda. There emerged more groups during this period and focus on multiple issues rather than single issue. The data shows consistent trends towards greater decentralization in organizational structure adopted by the TSMOs.

Zald, Morrill, and Rao (2005), argue that the larger social movements of the last half century have their impact, which occurs through changing organizational practices and policies. Yet they argue that they do not have an adequate theory for understanding how social movement directly and indirectly impact on and operate it to change organization. There are various ways in which movement activities external to the organization came to bear on organizations.
On the backdrop of the earlier studies, I will present the historical emergence of the local movement organizations in our study areas.

**Local Movement Organization in Mirzapur – Sonebhadra and Patha Region of Bundelkhand**

As the nature of the local movement in these two areas is different, it leads to variation in the form of its organizations. The following flowchart presents the historical emergence of these organizations.

**Local Movement Organizations in Mirzapur-Sonebhadra**

The local movement organizations in Mirzapur-Sonebhadra have historical derivation from the left movements of India. The CPI ML, which has been active in this area, has separated in 1969 following the first radical division in Indian Communist Movement. The CPI has already undergone split before five years ago and newly formed CPI-M became practically different from CPI. The peasant rebellion of Naxalbari and its political aftermath were linked with the formation of CPI –ML in...
April 1969. The restructuring movement of the late 1970 provides the first major source to make certain changes in the original CPI-ML programme which was based on understanding of the society, state and revolutionary movement. The basic thrust of the party programme during the 1970 was class analysis of Indian state and society.

After 1980, the difference between CPI and CPI-ML became apparent. Henceforth, the CPI-ML is involved in electoral mobilization. It was after 2000 that the political activist belongs to the leftist political party started raising issue related to atrocities and exploitation of the adivasis residing in the villages of Ghorawal block of Sonebhadra district. The protest and dharana pradersan were regularly organized by these groups under their banner against forest and police departments for falsely putting the adivasi in different criminal and civil cases. This was the phase when the adivasis became organised against the state atrocities. In the late of 1990 the Marxists of the area raised the issue of minimum wages and granting of land rights to the landless Kol Adivasi. It led to violent confrontation between labourers and landowner after Bhawanipur incidence in 2001.

In the Assembly Election of 2007, the CPI-ML was badly defeated in eastern U.P., particularly in Mirzapur, Sonebhadra and Chandoli. It then organized a conference in 2008 to review the election result and party situation in Mirzapur. Some of the top leaders including party state secretary Akhilendra Pratap Singh, Dinkar Kapoor, Ajeet Yadav and some active local leaders like Shayama Charan Kol, Srikant Singh and Ramayan Gond were not satisfied with the party ideology and its programme. They argued that they could not win the election in this way. They had to think for new ideology and to build a unique political platform which should be inclusive and radical in nature. So they formed a new organization called the Jan Sangharsh Morcha (JSM).

(A) Jan Sangarsh Morcha (JSM)

The JSM is a political platform of doing public politics. This organisation working against the corporate world policies and continuously involves democratic movement for the needs of an alternative politics for the development of adivasi marginalised community.
The JSM is active in Ghorawal block of the Sonebhadra district. This organization was actively involved in raising rally march and dharana pradersan against the faulty implementation of government welfare programmes like NREGA, FRA and PDS, and actively involved in protection of natural resources like land, water soil etc. The organization highlighted the atrocities against the police and forest, and revenue departments.

The neoliberal economic policy affects lives of people in many ways. On the one hand it affects the sources of basic needs like land, water, forest, seeds, minerals and others natural resources looted by the corporate world which results in serious environmental problem. On the other hand the corporate world becomes rich. So on this situation JSM associated with leftist movement and involve protest movement activities to protect for the public issues.

In the following song JSM mentions about the importance of the organization in the local movement:

Bahini banal bhaiya apan sangathanawa chalika gharala jai kachahari aur thanawa
Kendra sarakar KO saram nahi aye
Deka job card Haman ke daudaya
Ajj more bahan ka hole apamanwa chalika gharala jai kachahari aur thanawa
Up sarakar mayawati bahiniya bahan ji ka apana bigad deli paniya
Jhopadi me din bita Na mili makanwa chalika gharala jai kachahari aur thanawa
Dm sdm bdo block seckrateriya
Mar mar batan ka todi dele tagadiya
Bhukiya se tadapat ba hamaro paranawa chalika gharala jai kachahari aur thanawa
Jan sangarsh morcha se dinkar Kapoor Kaila Inqualab
Hissa la ka chodab nahi Na chali bahanwa ho
Chalika gharala jai kachahari aur thanawa
(The complainer (movement activist) and movement participant people accept that without movement organization our movement cannot be got its aim listen our brother and sister. We have to capture the kachahari and police station. The central government make us run by giving a job card. Our sister feels insult. The Government does not feel shameful. Mayawati Government also did not care for us. We have to live in hut instead of house. DM, SDM, BDO and block secretary troubled us. They showing their power we are fluttering and becomes hunger. Dinker Kapoor a movement leader from Jan Sangarsh Morcha has declared that we would take our part. Any preference could not be run in this subject for this, we will encircle the kachahari and police station).

(B) All India Peoples Front (Radical): AIPF(R)

All India People’s Front (Radical) was formed by the local organizations to lay an all India platform to expand the effects of their struggle at the local level. JSM and its allies are the local representative organization of the AIPF(R). The AIPF(R) raises the issues of the small and marginalised peasantry, landless labourer, craftsman worker in organised and unorganised sector. It concentrated on a political solution of the problems at the village level and this is the reason for why it contested last Parliament election.

Local Movement Organizations in Patha Region of Bundelkhnad

While the local movement organizations in Mirzapur- Sonebhadra were political in nature, they are the non-political in the Patha region. They are mainly the NGOs and their created community organization. The history of emergence of these organizations as follows;

(a) Akhil Bharatiya Samaj Seva Sansthan (ABSSS)

Akhil Bharatiya Samaj Seva Sansthan (ABSSS) was formed in 1978 for the liberation of Kol adivasis living in the Patha region. Founder of this organization Mr Gaya Prasad Gopal is committed for liberation of the Kols. He is keenly observer of the exploitation of the Kols. He is graduated in 1961 and worked in a rice mill for four years and latter served as a school teacher for 11 years. After it, he started working in the rural development programme of the famous Shri Sadguru Seva Sangh Trust
When the Trust ended its rural development programme Gopal Bhai opted for the Journalist profession and toured the Patha extensively. He found multiple forms of exploitation of the local Kol adivasi and established the NGO, ABSSS. The organization gave importance on abolition of bonded labourer, which was acute in Patha region in that time. Later it took up the issues of education, land rights, health and natural resource management.

(b) Patha Kol Adikar Manch

Patha Kol Adikar Manch is an NGO wholly committed for the liberation of Kol bonded labourer who had then lost their livelihood sources. This organization has worked many years under guidance of ABSSS without registration. It was formed in 1985-86 with the initiative taken by few bonded labourer like Rajan Kol, Chota Lal Kol, Shayam Lal, Shiv Charan under the supervision of Gaya Prasad Gopal. Latter Nand Lal Kol and Santosh Kol joined in the Manch. Under the leadership of Rajan Kol as secretary, the Manch was involved in empowering the Kol population with their series of rights. It formed self help groups, conducted public hearings, and launched dharana to highlight the problem of drinking water and fake entry of land distribution in forest and revenue department record. The issue of displacement from reserved forests and other issues associated with the daily struggle of the Kols were also taken up. Thus, the local movement organizations in both of our study areas did not have a common issue; it rather took up various issues depending on the local character. Importantly, such varieties of nature of issues contributes to varieties of structure and functions of the local movement organizations.

Structure of the Local Movement Organisations in Mirzapur – Sonebhadra Districts

The JSM is a district level organization functioning from Robertsganj of Sonebhadra. The organization has strong network with the villages of the district. The houses of the leaders living in different villages become the centre of movement activities. While any issue comes up, these leaders mobilize the people of their area for participating in the movement.

AIPF(R) has a decentralized organisational structure into five units starting from the village / ward level to the national level. The followings are the structure:
(a) Village/ward front committee

(b) Block front committee/Block working committee

(c) District front committee/District working committee

(d) State front committee/State working committee

(e) All India front committee/Central working committee

The All India Front committee shall decide the general policies of AIPF(R) on national issues and determine the orientation of national initiatives and organisational campaigns. The central working committee shall formulate AIPF(R) stand on specific national issues and will be responsible for implementing its policies and programmes.

At the state level, the state front and working committee shall play a similar role in the respective state within the framework of policies and programmes and initiatives decided upon by the national level committee.

District/Block/Village front and working committee shall not only implement various national and state-level programmes and initiatives within their respective areas of functioning, but, more importantly, shall function as living centres of consistent grass root work so that the policies and spirit behind them may take practical shape in accordance with the local circumstances.

**Structure of the Social Movement Organisations in Bundelkhand region**

ABSSS consists of two-tier organizational structure as follows;

**Village Level Organizational Structure**

At village level, the organization is consisted of one main leader and with five co-members from the village. They discuss the issues at first and then pass it to the cluster in charge. At the direction of the central committee, they prepare the villagers for action.
Central level Organizational Structure

Several villages come under one cluster in charge, who send the issue of the village to central office of the NGO. The members of the central committee take decision on it and make it the agenda of the movement. The villagers were informed about it through the cluster in charge.

Resource Mobilisation for the Movement Organization

McCarty and Zald (1977:1215), who coined the term resource mobilization argue that the increased availability of personal resources, professionalization and external financial support make movement organizations active. It is argued that financial patronage is one of the mechanisms through which the movement organization gains access to resources and provisions for initial or ongoing struggle (Edward and McCarty 2004). Once the movement actors gain access to resources, the collected resources are not unnecessarily exhausted immediately, rather they are used efficiently.

In both of our study areas, the villagers contribute both in forms of cash and kinds. For hiring the vehicle, loudspeaker and preparing the banner they give money as the village leader decided. On the day of meeting held in the village they provide the grains for the food of the leaders coming from outside of the village. They also carry the grains along with them to the place of dharana or demonstration.

II

Leadership Qualities

The quality of efficient leadership is known for dynamic and charismatic character. The charisma revolves around ability of a leader to attract people, assure larger participation, motivates the participants to fight and achieve the end results. This ability is often described in terms of personal qualities of a leader that establish a relationship between leaders and follower activists. A dynamic leader has the ability to inspire activists, articulate an issue, develop movement strategies, demonstrate personal commitment and maintain organizational identity. The characteristic of strong leadership is reflected in its ability to identify the ways in which an individual can be recruited in an organisation and push his own ideas in articulation of issues,
movement strategies and tactics. The combination of long term leadership team and interaction between short term movement leaders and individuals maintain the efficient leadership quality in movement organization. The long term leaders, which hold movements together, are not enough to sustain mobilization for many years. These leaders interact with one another in leadership team but need a more dynamic short term leading team to lead the movement activities. A better organised movement has two types of leaders—organisers and activists. Gusfield (1966) has highlighted the conflicting demands on leaders to function both within the movement, as mobilizer to inspire participants, and outside the movement as articulators linking the movement to the larger society. The movement leaders can influence organizational structure as the movement advances from one stage to another. (Gunz 2000:1041). Gunz further explains that the trade unions can afford to support full time organization, for instance, but they are rarely successful unless they can link up with local members of aggrieved work force. He pointed out to the critical role of formal and informal leadership teams in the movement organization. He argues that most creative and innovative leaders work in diverse teams of an organization that facilitate interaction, debate and deliberation among the participants. Connection among the leaders facilitate information processing, help in gathering ideas to create a wider repertoire of strategies, promote coordination between national and local strategies, encourage inter organizational cooperation and create favourable working condition.

During the initial phases of the movement, the leaders and participants together create a new organizational structure that supports to lead the team. They enhance ability to attract and develop a new leader once the basic leadership team is in place. It is easier to retain the long term commitment of a leader once the organisation structure is formed and consolidated. This basic leadership team also provides a relationship with movement participants who are able to produce new leadership teams and movement strategies. Thus the movement organization produces long term committed leadership and resource for sustained collective action of longer duration.

Profile of the Leaders of the Local Movement: Mirzapur - Sonebhadra

The details of leaders of the local movement are given in the following table.
Table 4.1: Profile of the Leaders in Mirzapur- Sonebhadra

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the leader</th>
<th>Level of Leadership</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Social categories</th>
<th>Number of years involvement in movement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akhilendra Pratap sigh</td>
<td>National level</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>Post Graduate</td>
<td>General</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinkar Kapoor</td>
<td>State and district level</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Post Graduate</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srikant Singh</td>
<td>Tehshil level</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>General</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shayama Charan Kol</td>
<td>Tehshil level</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Primary level</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramayan Gond</td>
<td>Tehshil level</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sant lal Baiga</td>
<td>Village level</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>ST</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hiranman Kol</td>
<td>Village level</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Field data

As the evidences explain the national level leader comes from non-tribe and upper caste. He is highly educated and has long experience of involvement in the movement activity. The state and district level leaders belong to SC; he is post graduate and has long experience engagement in movement activity. The leaders at tehsil and village level are the tribes; mostly have no formal education background. Despite so, the leaders of the last categories play significant role in organising, mobilising and networking in the movement activities.

Profile of the Leaders of the Local Movement: Patha Region

The details of leaders involved in movements in the Patha region are given in the following table.

Table 4.2: Leadership Profile in Patha Region

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the leader</th>
<th>Level of leadership</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Social categories</th>
<th>Number of years involvement in movement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gaya Prasad Gopal</td>
<td>Main leader</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajan Kol</td>
<td>Main leader</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chota lal Kol</td>
<td>Main leader</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ram Supher Kol</td>
<td>Village leader</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanti Kol</td>
<td>Village leader</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smt. Kaushiliya Kol</td>
<td>Village leader</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>SC</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* Field data
In the Patha region, the leaders are placed under two categories. One is the main leaders and second is those leaders who work at village level. The education background of the main leaders varies from high school to graduate. Out of the village leaders, one has passed high school, one primary and one does not have any education background. Except Gopal, other leaders belong to the Kol tribe. One of the differences is observed here is that the presence of women leaders in the Patha region, they are completely absent and have passive participation in Mirzapur Sonebhadra districts.

**Leadership Pattern in Study Area**

The above chart explains about the organization pattern of the movement in our study areas. In Mirzapur-Sonebhadra, the organizations operate from village to national level whereas those work from village to district level in the Patha region. It further explains about the continuity of movement activities through interaction at various levels of the leaders and people.
The following table provides a pattern of movement activities led by the leaders. I have borrowed this pattern from the work of Voss and Williams (2012:359) and with help of it I will explain how the leaders in our study areas lead the movements through the ways of organizing, mobilizing and networking.

**Table 4.3: Pattern of Leading the Movements**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No</th>
<th>Movement Activities</th>
<th>Types of Achievements</th>
<th>Level of engagements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Organising</td>
<td>Build capacity in civil society</td>
<td>Local level</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mobilising</td>
<td>Build on existing organisation</td>
<td>National level (especially state)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Networking</td>
<td>Build activist linkages</td>
<td>International level</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Movement practices in Kim Voss & Michelle Williams (2012:359)*

At the outset, I like to underline that the above pattern of Voss and Williams is applicable in the context of larger social movement, which has spread out effects up to the international level. But in the context of local movement under the study, does not have international dimension. Also, the movement in Patha region has only functional limitation up to the district level and that in the context of the Mirzapur-Sonebhadra has national dimension. So, I will only deal here the pattern of movement activities as operated in our study area.

In the local movement, the leaders conduct its activities in different phases. In the first phase, they develop the consciousness among the adivasis who are not yet aware of implication of the issues. Studying the on community ecology and sociology of organization Freeman and Audia (2006) explains that it is necessary to make the community realize the relationship between the member of the movement organization and the interest of the community. It will help to flow the resources opportunities from the community to movement organization. So the development of consciousness about the issue of the movement is the first priority of the leaders to lead the movement.

To develop consciousness among the adivasi people, the organization adopted various strategies. Organising public meeting in villages, discussing about the issue of the movement, performing street plays (nukkad natak) and conducting the public campaigns are the important strategies. The village leaders are mostly involved in
conducting these strategies. In the public campaign, the members of organization contact people by going door to door and educate to the male, female and old people of the village about their rights and mobilized them actively participate in public meeting. But all the villages do not participate in meeting because of fear of local zamidar/thakedar. Many of them come forward by accepting the challenges. After one meeting there are organized a number of other meetings, which gradually bring the larger people to participate in the activities of the organization.

In the second phase, the leaders and their organization establish formal and informal network of relationship with villagers. According to Oliver Smith and Powell (2004) when the local network was dominated by normative orientation, it then make easier for information to flow. In contrast, when the local network is dominated by the profit motive of organizations, it restricts the flow of information. In the context of our local movement, it is fully related normative orientation and the movement organization fully committed for the interests of the community.

In Mirzapur Sonebhadra and Patha region, the leaders keep the organizational network at village level as well as at outside of the village. In Mirzapur Sonebhadra, the JSM and AIPF (R)) establish the network to resolve the issues of the community control over the land, water and forest resources. Because of this network, the villagers are able to occupy the forest land collectively cultivate maize and other crops. JSM and AIPF(R) also use this network in the last election by putting a candidate for Parliament election.

In Patha region, the network of the ABSSS expands from village to funding agencies to government offices. Earlier they started work under the rural development programme because they had no fund to work properly. Through it they also tried to understand the details of the government run welfare scheme, which could be benefited for the Kol and help in rehabilitation of the bonded labourer. In this work, they needed fund and, therefore established network with funding agencies like the Oxfam, CRY, and Action Aid.

The economic side of the network is more prominent in the Patha region. The ABSSS helped the community to form SHG and to acquire their right to use forest
product. At the same time, it builds the pressure group of the Kol labourer and sensitised the Government officials towards this issue.

The literary side of the network is that the ABSSS has publishing a quarterly, Gaon ki Oar (back to the village) to the spread the goal of the movement organization effectively among the larger mass.

**People’s Views about the Movement Organization**

A focus group discussion has been conducted among 14 leaders of the JSM to understand their view on importance of the organization in leading the local movements. They record their view in following ways;

“People organisation (sangathan) is the only help and the only way. Earlier the district administration shook hand with the zamidars in not allowing distribution ceiling land among tribes and they rather lodge fake cases against the tribes. The same administration also does not consider claimant form (dawa patra) for allotting the title (patta) on the occupied forest land under the FRA. This administration is represented by the dominant rich people. If we will not get organised, we would be looted again and again by these forces. In one sense we are rich that because we have the power to organise ourselves. If we come together and get organised that will help to end the exploitation and oppression. So people’s organisation is the only help in our daily life”. (Shyama Charan Kol belonging to the Adivasi Village, Padhe; Focus Group Discussion held on 17th July 2013)

**Another view Notes:**

“Nobody hears the voice of the poor dalit adivasi. We have one stomach and one law. But why this kind of discrimination has been making towards the adivasi. Give me my right. If the government does not give so to me, I will not let to give a single vote in the election to such corrupt government. If you do not have concern, then do not eradicate the poverty; rather kill these poor dalit adivasi people”. (Babunder Baiga belongs to Mahuyaria Rajpur area; Focus Group Discussion held on 17 July 2013).
Some of the common people state their opinion about the causes of joining in the organization

“In earlier days all the forest and land belonged to all the people who lived in that area. Our grandfathers had common graveyard and common system of sharing. The land property was not assigned to any particular person or family; we all shared joy and sorrow. The difference between you and mine (conception of private property) was started from the time when revenue department started demarcation of land into muhalla or hamlet wise. Then people started claiming that this is my land and that is his. In fact this is not our way of life. In later days our land is taken away by the outsiders. How could we survive then?” (Said a Baiga old man of Shivdwar village during interview held in 2012).

A leader of the movement has justified occupying the forest land

“We are the forest dwellers; poor people and we live in own way. We organize the campaign to save our forest, land and water on which we live. We do occupy forest land and do cultivate on it to fulfil our basic needs. We are doing so that is because we know that the government will never think seriously about us.” (Sant Lal Baiga, JSM, Focus Group Discussion held in August 2012).

Speaking on the normative force of the movement organization one of the leaders says

“JSM and AIPF(R)) stands with fundamental principles of unity; unity of mind, heart and feeling of togetherness. The feeling of caste and class will destroy the organization. We always promote that unity to sustain the movement”.(Srikant Singh, JSM, Interview held in 2012.)

In summing up, organization of the movement is political, inclusive and radical in Mirzapur Sonebhadra district, whereas it is non-political and none inclusive in the Patha region. In former context, the organization has undergone split three times CPI to CPI –ML to JSM. Recently, it formed its national unit that is explicitly political. It is a registered political party known as AIPF(R). The organization operated at the village, Tehasil, district, state and national level. In the later context, the organization of the movement is a NGO and its supported community organization. Like former, it does not have any split and it operates at village and
district level. The leaders in the Mirzapur Sonebhadra districts have a long term experience of radical movement, which is not in the Patha region. Importantly, there is presence of women leader in Patha region but not in Mirzapur Sonebhadra. The identity of the leaders is more visible in the local movement.