Chapter VII

Conclusion

In the conclusion, I will point out what factors lead to greater articulation of the local movements and why for some of these movements are died down at the stage of inception. At the outset, we have seen that there is historical continuity of the tribal movements held in colonial period in Chotanagpur and the left movements of India with the present local movements understudy. Earlier Chotanagpur, presently in Jharkhand has geographically connected with the territory of our study areas in Mirzapur-Sonebhadra.

The articulation of issues is the fundamental aspect of the local movement. The village leaders collected the problems raised as raw material and pass them on to upper level committee. The upper level committees (district, State, national level committee) reviewed the issues and found out whether it contradicts to the legal provisions. The upper level committees articulated the issue of movement in such a way that either it appeared as a concern of common public or it helped in implementation of government welfare programme or suggested alternative policies for sustainable development for longer period of time.

It is important to note here that the issues –turned agenda of the local movement have involved in two ways interaction process. The day to day issues at the village level become the agenda of the local movement after the approval of the higher level organization of the movement organization. Adversely, the national issues also floated to the grass-root level through the activities of the same organization. While these two way processes have been in the centre of the local movement in Mirzapur-Sonebhadra districts, the process has limitation in the Patha region. Here a NGO articulates the issues with help of the paid activists. These issues get articulated through the meetings held among the leaders of the village, cluster in-charge and central office of the NGO, ABSSS. There are five member organizations
in each Kol village, which meet in every 15 days. The emerging issues are then placed in the monthly meeting held in central office of ABSSS by the cluster in-charge. The main activist of the NGO then takes final decision and makes it the movement agenda. The agenda of movement is circulated through the same channel from top to bottom and all the preparation for the movement was done accordingly. Here common people are not directly participated in the articulation process. As a result, many of the vibrant issues related to the day to day struggles of the people remain unattended.

The organization of the movement is political, inclusive and radical in Mirzapur Sonebhadra, 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, Akhil Bharatiya Samaj Seva Sansthan (ABSSS) founded in 1978. The Patha Kol Adikar Manch (PKAM) was founded in 1985-86 with the initiative taken by few bonded labourers. The ABSSS extended all support to it. This organization has worked many years under guidance of ABSSS without registration. Like the movement organizations in Mirzapur- Sonebhadra, the organizations in Patha region do not have any split. They operate at village and district level only not its beyond. The NGO was wholly committed for the liberation of the Kol bonded labourer who had then lost their livelihood sources. Later it took up the issues of education, land rights, health and natural resource management.

The leaders in the Mirzapur Sonebhadra districts have a long term experience of radical movement, which is not in the Patha region. In the former context, the national, state and district level leaders are non-tribe and highly educated and bear long experience of involvement in the movement activities. The leaders at lower level starting from Tehsil to village 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.

Importantly, there is presence of women leader in Patha region only but not in Mirzapur Sonebhadra. It indicates that the left and radical elements could not able free
the leadership from the power of the patriarchy. Adversely, the civility under the NGO in Patha region opens the avenue for growth of women leadership in the local movement. It is important to note that the identity of the leaders is more visible in the local movement.

The local movements follow the strategies of the non-violent mode of raising protest through dharana pradarsan, hunger strike and submitting memorandum to the concern authority. This strategy remains same in the context of both left-led movement in Mirzapur-Sonebhadra and NGO led movement in Patha region. In Mirzapur-Sonebhadra region the leaders adopted a confrontationist strategy, while in Patha region the approach was compromising. The radical and protest nature of the movement in Mirzapur-Sonebhadra strongly oppose the negative attitude of the administration and media. Contradictorily, it receives positive response from them in Patha region. Involvement of media proved beneficial in the Patha region, which help in finding implementation of some development schemes among the Kol tribes of this area.

The left-party derived movement organization in Mirzapur-Sonebhadra moves towards electoral politics and includes many of the movement issues in the electoral agenda for mobilization of the voters. These issues included listing of Kol community into ST category and reservation of seats in Panchayat election for the tribal people. The electoral politics brings fraction within the Kol community. A group of Kols supported the ideological appeal to CPI-ML, JSM and AIPF(R) while the other group supported to ruling SP candidates. In case of Patha region, the movement organization chose to remain non-political and did not contest elections directly. It passively supported those of its activists who contested the elections.

With every face-to-face confrontation with the police, forest, and administration officials, the confidence of people in their leaders improved. However, at the time of elections, the confidence of the people in the movement leadership appeared challenged. The election creates a political space for the tribal communities to aspire for feasible solutions of their crisis.

As far as the scope of the movements in the study area is concerned, both were ‘Local’ in nature. Conceptually, local movements differ from micro-movements on
following grounds. Micro-movements lead small number of issues, but the local movements deal with multiple issues. Micro–movement issues are primarily generated from local level but the issues in local movements come from grass root as well as regional and national levels. The term ‘local’ does not indicate to isolated phenomena, it rather relates to regional and national phenomena. The identity of leader is more visible in local movements. Our empirical evidences point out that the movement of ABSSS in Patha region was a micro one when it started. But within a short span of time it spread to cross the levels of micro-movement.

There are enough evidences in our presentation to response to our research question that what factors lead to some of the local movements to move up for greater articulation and why some of them died down at the stage of inception. It is revealed from the analysis that the movements which are dealing the issues related to social justice (inclusion of the Kol in the list of ST, reservation of 2% seat in Panchayet election, inclusion of Baiga in family register), rights based development (NREGA, FRA and PDS) structural inequalities (land and bonded labour) and harassment by the police and forest department move up for greater articulation. These movements also sustain for a long time. The intensive involvement of the people, the networking of leaders and the movement organization at village to national level stand the important factors of continuity of these movements.

One of the research questions was that why for some of the local movements are died down at the initial stage and failed to reach at greater level for articulation. The case events narrated in the third chapter pointed out four important factors of it, as 1) the pressure of the local landlord and police, 2) interference of administration 3) absence of media coverage and 4) electoral gain of the movement leaders. In explanation of these factors I may refer to the existing power of the village landlord, which in collaboration with police and administration obstructed the path of the local movement. The media often comes under their pressure and not put the injustice in the public domain in creating the supporting situation of the movement. As the sustenance of the local movement depends on its political connection, the leaders of the movement are backed from undertaking any movement at the time of election in the fear of losing the vote.
The two research hypotheses probed valid on the basis of supporting evidences. In response to the first hypothesis, the research finding clearly states that the local movements in Mirzapur-Sonebhadra still continue actively, as the movement organizations have established connection with the state and national level political outfits. Contradictorily, the NGO activism in Patha region could not help the movement to continue for a long. At the end of tie with the funding agency the NGO stopped the movement activities. The validity of the second hypothesis comes from the insistence of the movement in the issues of structural inequalities and rights based developments together. In both of our study areas, the priority is given on the issues of alienation of land, under wage, sexual exploitation of tribal women, bonded labour and brutality of the zamindar. At the same time, the issue related to rights based development schemes like FRA, PDS and NREGA also dominate the agenda of the movement. These two forms of issues reflect the essential parts of the daily life in tribal villages.