



M.A. (SOCIOLOGY)
SEMESTER - IV (CBCS)

**SOCIOLOGY OF SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS**

SUBJECT CODE : 91634

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SYLLABUS

M.A. SEMESTER - IV

SOCIOLOGY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Course Rationale:

This course attempts to introduce students to the contexts and concepts of social movements and attempts to locate them theoretically through concrete case studies. It introduces the students to the role of social movements in social transformation. It also helps them to understand the various approaches to the study of social movements.

Unit I: Introduction to Social Movements

- Meaning & Definition of Social Movements
- Characteristics of Social Movements
- Types of Social Movements
- Theories of Social Movements—Resource Mobilization Theory and New Social Movement Theory

Unit II: Early Social Movements [social basis, leadership, ideology, analyzing Texts]

- Peasant/ Farmer's movements
- Labour movements
- Students movements
- Tribal Movements

Unit III: Contemporary Social Movements [social basis, leadership, ideology, analyzing Texts]

- Dalit and OBC movements
- Women's movements
- Environmental movements
- Human Rights Movements

Unit IV: Globalization & New Cultural Practices

- Movements against Globalization
- Rural & Urban Networking
- Interventions of Media
- Virtual Movements: Social Networking sites

Essential Readings:

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MODULE - I

1

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: DEFINITION, CONCEPTS & OTHER ISSUES

Unit Structure

- 1.0 Objectives
- 1.1 Introduction
- 1.2 History
- 1.3 Key Processes
- 1.4 Social Movements Framework
- 1.5 Favorable Pre-conditions
- 1.6 Individual Inducements
- 1.7 The Ingredients of Micro-Mobilization
- 1.8 Movement Maintenance
- 1.9 Identification of Supporters
- 1.10 Summary
- 1.11 References

1.0 OBJECTIVES

- To study the rise of social movements.
- To explore the impact of social movements.

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Social movements are a type of group action. They are large informal groupings of individuals and/or organizations focused on specific political or social issues, in other words, on carrying out, resisting or undoing a social change.

Modern Western social movements became possible through education (the wider dissemination of literature), and increased mobility of labour due to the industrialization and urbanization of 19th century societies. It is sometimes argued that the freedom of expression, education and relative economic independence prevalent in the modern Western culture is responsible for the unprecedented number and scope of various contemporary social movements. However, others point out that many of the major social movements of the last hundred years grew up, like the Mau Mau in Kenya, to oppose Western colonialism.

Political science and sociology have developed a variety of theories and empirical research on social movements. For example, some research in

political science highlights the relation between popular movements and the formation of new political parties as well as discussing the function of social movements in relation to agenda setting and influence on politics.

Modern movements have utilized technology and the internet to mobilize people globally. Adapting to communication trends is a common theme among successful movements.

1.2 HISTORY

The term "social movements" was introduced in 1850 by the German Sociologist Lorenz von Stein in his book "History of the French Social Movement from 1789 to the Present" (1850). Charles Tilly claims that the "social movement" did not exist before the late eighteenth century: although such elements as campaigns, social movement repertoire and WUNG displays has a long history, only recently had they been combined together into a proper social movement. The "social movement" was invented in England and North America during the first decades of the nineteenth century and has since then spread across the globe. [Tilly, 2004]

Tilly argues that the early growth of social movements was connected to broad economic and political changes including parliamentarization, market capitalization, and proletarianization. [Tilly, 2004] Political movements that evolved in late 18th century, like those connected to the French Revolution and the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791 are among the first documented social movements, although Tilly notes that the British abolitionist movement has "some claim" to be the first social movement (becoming one between the sugar boycott of 1791 and the second great petition drive of 1806). The labor movement and socialist movement of the late 19th century are seen as the prototypical social movements, leading to the formation of communist and social democratic parties and organisations. From 1815, Britain after victory in the Napoleonic Wars entered a period of social upheaval. Similar tendencies were seen in other countries as pressure for reform continued, for example in Russia with the Russian Revolution of 1905 and of 1917, resulting in the collapse of the Russian State around the end of the First World War.

In 1945, Britain after victory in the Second World War entered a period of radical reform and change. In the post-war period, women's rights, gay rights, peace, civil rights, anti-nuclear and environmental movements emerged, often dubbed the New Social Movements. They led inter alia to the formation of green parties and organisations influenced by the new left. Some find in the end of the 1990s the emergence of a new global social movement, the anti-globalization movement. Some social movement scholars posit that with the rapid pace of globalization, the potential for the emergence of new type of social movement is latent -- they make the analogy to national movements of the past to describe what has been termed a global citizens movement.

1.3 KEY PROCESSES

Several key processes lie behind the history of social movements. The process of urbanization, which created large cities, facilitated social interaction between scores of people. It was in cities, where people of similar goals could find each other, gather and organize, that those early social movements first appeared. Similarly, the process of industrialization which gathered large masses of workers in the same region was responsible for the fact that many of those early social movements addressed matters important to that social class. Many other social movements were created at universities, where the process of mass education brought many people together. With the development of communication technologies, creation and activities of social movements became easier - from printed pamphlets circulating in the 18th century coffeehouses to newspapers and Internet, all those tools became important factors in the growth of the social movements. Finally, the spread of democracy and political rights like the freedom of speech made the creation and functioning of social movements much easier.

Social movements have been and continued to be closely connected with democratic political systems. Occasionally social movements have been involved in democratizing nations, but more often they have flourished after democratization. Over the past 200 years, they have become part of a popular and global expression of dissent. [Tilly, 2004]

1.4 SOCIAL MOVEMENTS FRAMEWORK

The ODSC (Organization Development for Social Change) model emerged through the work of a group of consultants convened by the Movement Strategy Center in US over the course of three years. It explores organizational and movement-building tensions in order to unearth potential places of unity and develop a more holistic framework for change. This framework contains four approaches to transformation that we believe are vital components to social change, and that are frequently at odds with each other within organizations. They are: Community Organizing (CO), Power Analysis (PA), Organization Development (OD), and Spirit I Sustainable Practice (SP).

The elements of collective action, political analysis, organizational structure, and individual reflection are critically important to building a social movement that on one hand embodies sustainable practices, and on the other is politically shrewd and powerful enough to contend with oppressive forces. At the same time, each element presents a different approach to change that surfaces contentious questions about the value of internal work (both personal and organizational), the centrality of power-based analysis, and the primacy of action above all else. Differences of opinion in each of these areas crystallize sharp tensions and can impede even the most concerted efforts to work together.

What affects the success of social movements? What do the civil liberties, feminist, environmental, gay rights, anti-nuke, gun control, don't drink and

drive, and living wage movements have in common? Since the 1960's a small number of sociologists has been conducting research, trying to answer this question.

Research-based theory on social movements complements the limited, often personal, perspective of activists and organizers because it looks at larger numbers of people, longer periods of time, and major shifts in popular attitudes. At the time of this writing, little of this work has made its way out of universities. The following is an attempt to present in simple language the resource mobilization perspective of social movements. It summarizes and updates Doug McAdam's, John D. McCarthy's, and Mayer Zald's detailed review article, *Social Movements*, published in the *Handbook of Sociology*, edited by Neil Smelser. Their empirical approach is distinct from the heavily theoretical approach to social movements linked to European intellectuals like Jurgen Habermas, which focuses on symbolic production and cultural conflict.

The authors identify three factors critical to social movements: political opportunity, organizational capacity, and framing ability. They look at social movements as politics by other means, often the only means open to relatively powerless challenging groups. They argue for the constancy of discontent and emphasize the variability of resources in accounting for the emergence and development of insurgency. A reliable model of social change, they say, must be able to account for both micro and macro phenomena, and be able to explain not only the emergence but the maintenance and development of social movement organizations. In more detail, here is what works for social movements.

1.5 FAVORABLE PRE-CONDITIONS

Individual psychology not so important:

Early work on social movements assumed that activism could be explained by examining the psychological motivations of individuals. A popular theory was that activism came from a perceived gap between what a person felt he or she was entitled to and what he or she actually received. Research shows that individual predispositions are at best insufficient to account for participation in collective action.

Prosperity:

Prosperity affords the resources necessary for social movements. Other things being equal the most deprived seem unable to sustain more than momentary insurgency. Money also makes a difference to local, short term initiatives. Wealthy neighborhoods are much better than poor neighborhoods at getting concessions and services from local government.

Physical concentration:

Bringing people into close proximity in cities, factories, and university campuses increases the potential for social movement activity. The civil rights movement followed the mass migration of blacks from dispersed

rural settlements to concentrated urban centres in the US South. Short-lived examples of physical concentration also foment social change. Conferences, for instance, often energize participants to pursue progressive change. Sports events, carnivals and rallies have less predictable outcomes.

Level of prior grassroots organization:

Already existing church groups, clubs, special interest organizations, teams and recreational groups, community groups, PTAs, veterans and educational organizations support the development of social movements. The early stages of mobilization are difficult if most people lead purely private lives, and grassroots groups have few members. Robert Putnam's work in Italy shows how broad public participation and a healthy collection of grassroots groups could expedite regional government initiatives.

The absence of cross-cutting solidarities:

It is easier for a movement to grow in a population that is isolated or has weak ties to other groups in society. The feminist movement initially encountered a good deal of resistance from married women in the US, women who had a wide variety of social and economic ties to men.

Suddenly imposed grievances, dramatic spotlighting:

Dramatic, highly publicized, unexpected events can lead to public outrage and major shifts in public attitudes. Huge oil spills, nuclear accidents, revelations of serious government misconduct, official violence against dissenters, or the sudden loss of employment serve to foment social movement.

Solidarity instead of free-riding:

Many sociologists have argued that social movements are hampered by the tendency for people to do a quick cost-benefit analysis of their participation. The rational person will conclude the easiest course is to become a free rider since they will obtain the benefits of social action whether they participate or not. To address free rider absenteeism, smart activists emphasize solidarity, personal relationships, and the importance of individual commitment for success. Established organizations with paid organizers are much better equipped to address the free-rider issue.

1.6 INDIVIDUAL INDUCEMENTS

Prior contact with a movement member:

Research shows the strongest inducement to activism is prior contact with a movement member. For instance, new recruits to peace movements are typically people who are already associated with members of peace groups.

Membership in many organizations:

Another correlate of individual activism is the number of organizations a person belongs to. Because of the difficulty of recruiting isolated individuals most organizers do focus their attention on organizations.

Prior activism:

People who have been previously involved in some form of collective action in their past are more likely to be involved collective action in the future. Having learned the role of activist, it's easier to adopt the role again. The longer one spends in the role of activist, the more integral it becomes to one's identity.

Emotional tension:

People are more likely to act collectively when responding to strong emotions. Community organizers typically try to identify an emotional issue that will motivate people to participate. The Chinese students who drove the democracy movement in China were spurred by a roller coaster of strong emotions. It started with grief, and anger over the murder of Hu Yaobang, the sympathetic general secretary of the Communist Party; continued with a heroic hunger strike accompanied by vows of self-sacrifice; and ended with fear and hopeful exhilaration brought on by the risky defiance of martial law, and the blockading of entrances to the city.

Moving music:

Music that is often central to a social movement also relies on emotion.

Music speaks to the emotions better than pictures or words. It stirs people up. Historians frequently mention the importance of Tom Paine's pamphlets to the American Revolution, too often overlooking his reworking of popular folk tunes.

Availability:

Life circumstances permit or constrain participation by affecting availability.

People with full time jobs, marriage and family responsibilities are less likely to participate in social movement activity. Autonomous individuals with few personal responsibilities such as college students and single professionals are much more likely participants.

1.7 THE INGREDIENTS OF MICRO-MOBILIZATION

Kindling in small groups:

The basic building block of social movements is the small informal group connected to a loose network. Sometimes this "micro-mobilization context" is a group of friends, sometimes a group of coworkers, sometimes a subgroup within a larger group like a church or a union. A well-known

example is the four Greensboro A & T students who precipitated the 60's black sit in movement after "bull-sessions" in one another's dorm rooms. Margaret Mead was quite right: "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world; indeed, it's the only thing that ever has."

Familiar members:

Micro-mobilization contexts act as the staging ground for movements. Three resources affect the emergence of a movement: members, leaders, and an existing communications network. Research shows that new members appear along established lines of interaction. New members tend to know people who are already members. The more a person is integrated into an activist community, the more readily he or she will be willing to take part in protest activities.

A co-optable communications network:

The pattern, speed and spread of a movement depends on an existing cooptable communications network. The women's liberation movement was able to make rapid progress in the 1960's (when it had previously failed to do so) because of the prior arrival of just such a network. Overall, the greater the number and diversity of people actively participating in an network the more likely it will support a mobilization effort. The network may be informal and invisible, like those described in detail in Emanuel Rosen's book, *The Anatomy of Buzz*. Rosen sees networks as useful for flogging products; activists see them as useful for spreading ideas. Activists could learn something from books on social networks, viral marketing, and the spread of epidemics. Because social movements seem to spread like other innovations, activists might also learn something from the literature on technical and cultural diffusion, and the role of early adopters.

Capable leaders:

Smart, honest, committed leaders are invaluable to a social movement. The literature on activism emphasizes the importance of leaders in generating a movement, and the importance of creating new leaders to keep it rolling. Particularly important is the articulate and charismatic leader who can elegantly articulate everyone's concerns, and inspire an emotional response.

A Mobilizing frame:

Corporations and elites, aided by corporate media, preserve the status quo by linking problems to individual shortcomings. They blame the victim, promoting the demobilizing view that lung cancer results from consumer choice, unemployment from laziness, and family breakup from selfishness. A movement can build quickly inside a homogenous, highly interactive group when people question the blame-the-victim frame, and begin to see a problem deriving from not flawed individuals, but from flawed public policy. Erving Goffman originated the term "frame" to refer

to an interpretive scheme that people use to simplify and make sense of some aspect of the world. When a mobilizing frame becomes widely shared, the chances of collective action increase markedly.

Frame alignment:

Frame alignment describes what happens in small informal groups that promote social change. Movement supporters attempt to recruit bystanders by providing examples and rationales that support a mobilizing frame and legitimize the movement. If the examples and rationale are convincing, bystanders will adjust their view of issues and events to fit the new mobilizing frame. Most frame alignment comes from social movement organizations as they try to bring in new people and fend off counter-movement attacks. Frame alignment comes in varieties -- sociologists have named -- frame bridging, frame amplification, frame extension and frame transformation.

According to David Snow and others, frame extension occurs when a social movement organization extends "the boundaries of its primary framework so as to encompass interests, or points of view that are incidental to its primary objectives but of considerable salience to potential adherents. In effect, the movement is attempting to enlarge its adherent pool by portraying its objectives or activities as attending to and being congruent with the values and interests of potential adherents."

Optimistic expectations:

Any given individual is more likely to participate in a project if he or she:

Expects a large number of people to participate Expects his/her participation will contribute to success Expects success if many people participate.

The relentless enthusiasm of a good organizer will inspire enthusiasm and optimism in others, even in the worst circumstances.

1.8 MOVEMENT MAINTENANCE

The need for social movement organizations:

Micro-mobilization spurs collective action, but informal groups of friends, ad-hoc committees, or loose associations of activists are not sufficient to develop or maintain a movement. This requires what are called social movement organizations or SMOs. Typically these "command posts of the movement" have an office, staff, volunteers and a board of directors.

Role of the SMC: A social movement organization needs to carve out a niche for itself in the larger environment of other organizations pursuing similar objectives. As well, it must develop productive relationships with media, funders, the media and government. Most important, each SMO must figure out a way to routinize a flow of people and money to support the "cause". SMOs that demand the least from members will be the most successful in obtaining members and money. One common

variation-the professional SMO-purports to speak for a large constituency, but consists of a small paid staff connected through direct mail to a membership of people who are little more than donors.

Radical Flank Effects:

Research on SMOs pursuing relatively similar goals shows the presence of extremist groups leads to greater support for moderate groups. Funders increase their support to moderate groups as a way of undercutting radical groups. Moreover the presence of more extreme groups alters the definition of middle, making former radicals seem merely progressive. To secure their place, the new moderates have to denounce the actions of their extremist counterparts as irresponsible, immoral, and counterproductive. The most astute will quietly encourage "responsible extremism" at the same time.

Government control through regulation, intimidation and cooptation:

The modern state usually defends elite interests and resists social movements. It does so through tax policies; laws affecting boycott, strikes and blockades; strategic withholding of funds; denial of non-profit charity status; police intimidation; and various forms of cooptation. The use of force is a dicey issue for government. In the short run systematic, sustained, moderate force works. But if it goes on too long or becomes extreme, the use of force can generate a backlash against government and a boost for the movement. Because a violent response to a peaceful protest generates great sympathy from the media and the general public, peaceful provocation has become a standard tactic of activists. But protest organizers always face the problem of trying to control a small number of violent participants. If they fail, the media will portray this minority as representative of all protesters, making a violent response seem justified.

In modern democracies, government control often amounts to cooptation or absorption. This can take the form of providing funds to potentially problematic groups, and hiring activist leaders or appointing them to boards. It can also take the form of what is called "symbolic reassurance" whereby governments set up a special hearing, commissions, or agencies to address a particular concern or grievance.

1.9 IDENTIFICATION OF SUPPORTERS

A difficulty for scholarship of movements is that for most of them, neither insiders to a movement nor outsiders apply consistent labels or even descriptive phrases. Unless there is a single leader who does that, or a formal system of membership agreements, activists will typically use diverse labels and descriptive phrases that require scholars to discern when they are referring to the same or similar ideas, declare similar goals, adopt similar programs of action, and use similar methods. There can be great differences in the way that is done, to recognize who is and who is not a member or an allied group:

Insiders:

Often exaggerate the level of support by considering people supporters whose level of activity or support is weak, but also reject those that outsiders might consider supporters because they discredit the cause, or are even seen as adversaries.

Outsiders:

Those not supporters who may tend to either underestimate or overestimate the level or support or activity of elements of a movement, by including or excluding those that insiders would exclude or include.

It is often outsiders rather than insiders that apply the identifying labels for a movement, which the insiders then may or may not adopt and use to self-identify. For example, the label for the levellers political movement in 17th century England was applied to them by their antagonists, as a term of disparagement. Yet admirers of the movement and its aims later came to use the term, and it is the term by which they are known to history.

Caution must always be exercised in any discussion of amorphous phenomena such as movements to distinguish between the views of insiders and outsiders, supporters and antagonists, each of whom may have their own purposes and agendas in characterization or mischaracterization of it.

1.10 SUMMARY

Social movements are a type of group action. Political science and sociology have developed a variety of theories and empirical research on social movements. Modern movements have utilized technology and the internet to mobilize people globally. The term "social movements" was introduced in 1850 by the German Sociologist Lorenz von Stein in his book "History of the French Social Movement from 1789 to the Present" (1850).

Charles Tilly claims that the "social movement" did not exist before the late eighteenth century: although such elements as campaigns, social movement repertoire have a long history, only recently had they been combined together into a proper social movement. The labor movement and socialist movement of the late 19th century are seen as the prototypical social movements, leading to the formation of communist and social democratic parties and organisations. In the post-war period, women's rights, gay rights, peace, civil rights, anti-nuclear and environmental movements emerged, often dubbed the New Social Movements. Some find in the end of the 1990s the emergence of a new global social movement, the anti-globalization movement. Some social movement scholars posit that with the rapid pace of globalization, the potential for the emergence of new type of social movement is latent -- they make the analogy to national movements of the past to describe what has been termed a global citizens movement.

Several key processes lie behind the history of social movements. Many other social movements were created at universities, where the process of mass education brought many people together. Social movements have been and continued to be closely connected with democratic political systems.

What affects the success of social movements? The authors identify three factors critical to social movements: political opportunity, organizational capacity, and framing ability. In more detail, here is what works for social movements.

Prosperity:

Prosperity affords the resources necessary for social movements.

Level of prior grassroots organization:

Already existing church groups, clubs, special interest organizations, teams and recreational groups, community groups, PTAs, veterans and educational organizations support the development of social movements.

Prior contact with a movement member:

Research shows the strongest inducement to activism is prior contact with a movement member. People with full time jobs, marriage and family responsibilities are less likely to participate in social movement activity.

Kindling in small groups:

The basic building block of social movements is the small informal group connected to a loose network.

Capable leaders:

Smart, honest, committed leaders are invaluable to a social movement. Movement supporters attempt to recruit by standers by providing examples and rationales that support a mobilizing frame and legitimize the movement. Most frame alignment comes from social movement organizations as they try to bring in new people and fend off counter-movement attacks.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Unit Structure

2.1 Characteristics of Social Movements

- A. Social Movements are related to social change
- B. Voluntary Membership
- C. Ideology
- D. Semi-Formal Nature
- E. Fanaticism

A social movement is a loosely structured but persistent campaign in favour of a social cause, usually the enactment of or opposition to a change in the social order or values. Social movements are all basically collective even though their sizes vary. This means that they arise from the more or less accidental meeting of individuals whose ties are not established by rules and processes but who just share a similar perspective on society. Crowds, panics, and simple forms (milling, etc.) of collective behaviour are episodic or of short duration, and they are generally driven by impulse. A social movement occurs when transient urges give way to long-term goals and when continuous affiliation replaces temporary social clusters.

2.1 CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Since a crowd lacks organizational and motivating elements that can keep members engaged during periods of immobility and waiting, a movement is not simply a prolonged crowd. Furthermore, communication and activity coordination over a large area, such as a country or continent, cannot be accomplished via crowd processes. A movement combines planning with unpredictability. The movement typically has one or more organizations that provide coordination, leadership, and identification, but the organization's borders never coincide with the movements. For instance, while though groups like California's Sierra Club have a significant impact on the campaign to protect the environment, everyone who works for the cause and engages in communication with other people who share this goal is a member of the conservationist movement. Even though organizational leaders were hesitant to acknowledge him, the legendary John Brown became a leader and a symbol for the movement despite not belonging to any significant abolitionist organizations.

A. Social Movements are related to social change:

The idea that social movements are inextricably linked to social transformation is reflected in all definitions of social movements. They

don't include what people do when they're part of established social groupings with unchanging structures, rules, and values. The actions of social movement participants do not align with the belief that the social order will fundamentally remain unchanged. Instead, it embodies the belief that if enough individuals work together, they can influence social change for the better or worse. These objectives may appear to uncommitted spectators to be illusions, but to the members they represent hopes that are very real and achievable. Members of a social movement would not respond, "I do this because it has always been done" or "It's just the custom," when asked about their actions. They are conscious that the movement's objective—to change how things have "always" been done or, occasionally, to stop such a change from occurring—influences their behaviour.

B. Voluntary Membership:

Social movements are not the quixotic endeavours of daring, creative people. A social movement is a collaborative action or endeavour. Individual members feel a sense of belonging to a group of individuals who share their discontent with the current situation and their hope for a better world. A social movement is a collective with a common objective and similar values to a group. The feeling of belonging implies that people are subject to rules and regulations. An organization has norms in addition to shared principles. These standards outline conduct that will serve as a symbol of the members' fidelity to the social movement, bolster their dedication to it, and distinguish them from nonmembers. The standards forbid conduct that could put the movement in a bad light or give adversaries cover to strike. Participating in group activities with other members and doing individual or group acts that publicly identify the participants as committed members both improve commitment.

C. Ideology:

A social movement also lays out expectations for members' mentality. These kinds of norms serve as what can be called a "party line"—a statement of the "proper" stance that members should have about particular subjects. Even in the lack of personal awareness of the supporting evidence, there is subliminal pressure on people to support this viewpoint. It is unrealistic to expect every member to understand the ideology that underpinned the movement and its principles. They have a ready-made, allegedly reliable set of arguments thanks to ideology.

A social movement is distinguished by its relative longevity; membership activity is sustained over a period of weeks, months, or even years as opposed to spiking for a short period of time and then waning away. A social movement typically has a huge size, yet size is relative, just like duration. Numerous social movements that persist for decades may include hundreds of thousands of participants. Some movements only have a few scores or a few hundred people and are contained inside the confines of a particular secondary group, such as a religious organization or a local community.

D. Semi-Formal Nature:

Since membership is not legally defined, it is impossible to estimate the precise size of a social movement. The semiformal nature of a social movement's organization is, in fact, one of its key traits. It is not as formalised or fully formed as a stable association like a club, corporation, or political party. Members are not formally inducted, and the leaders do not have authority in the sense of legitimated power. Members' trust and loyalty are valued highly because of the informal, noncontractual nature of membership and the lack of formal decision-making processes. Although not all members exhibit these characteristics, ideal members devote their entire, selfless commitment to the movement.

E. Fanaticism:

A member's devotion to the movement and its principles becomes one of the most crucial sources of control because there is no legal duty to follow the organization's rules or to stay a member. Outsiders may view deeply devoted members as fanatics if they accept without question the judgments and directives communicated by the leaders, sacrificing themselves, their families, and friends if necessary. The fanaticism of devoted members may be caused by personal psychopathological states, according to some social movement scholars, particularly those whose analysis has a psychoanalytic perspective. A different theory is that the social movement develops into a reference group that offers devoted members a fresh and erroneous perspective on social reality. Their fundamental presumptions about the nature of society diverge to the point where "regular" members of society cannot understand their logic or conclusions.

TYPES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Unit Structure

- 3.0 Objectives
- 3.1 Introduction
- 3.2 What are social movements and why are they important?
- 3.3 Nature of Social Movements
- 3.4 Classification of Social Movement
- 3.5 What are the various types of social movements?
 - 3.5.1 Reform Movement
 - 3.5.2 Revolutionary Movement
 - 3.5.3 Reactionary Movement
 - 3.5.4 Self-help movements and Religious movements
 - 3.5.5 Resistance Movement
 - 3.5.6 Utopian Movement
 - 3.5.7 Expressive Movements
- 3.6 Conclusion
- 3.7 References

3.0 OBJECTIVES

- List the major types of social movements.
- Explain the micro and macro factors that lead to the rise of social movements.
- To distinguish between different types of social movements
- To give a classification of social movement for better comprehension

3.1 INTRODUCTION

A social movement is a vast group of individuals acting collectively, either through protest or activity. Structured social media campaigns, the use of hashtags, and online petitions are typically used.

Social movements are frequently classified according to their goals or ideologies. An ecological movement, for example, may rely more on public protests and rallies to apply pressure on policymakers, whereas another may focus on legislative measures or corporate activities.

In addition to being a general term for a type of activity, the word "social movement" is also used specifically to describe a collective group of people who share a common political or social agenda and use coordinated action to bring about social change.

3.2 WHAT ARE SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND WHY ARE THEY IMPORTANT?

Social movements have become increasingly prominent in the modern era. These social movements cover all segments of society, including political, economic, social, and cultural context. They are significant because they have the capacity to influence consciousness and bring about significant social change.

3.3 NATURE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Let us now discuss some of the implicitly mentioned ideas of social movement analysis in greater detail.

- (1) A social conflict, or clearly identified opponents, is always present in social movements. Actors frequently experience their own actions as a disruption with dominant cultural ideals or institutional regulations. This contradiction between institution and mobility was emphasised by Alberoni (F. Alberoni, *Movimento e istituzione* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1977). However, many revolts or uprisings can be nothing more than signals of a social system's internal crisis and reformation. A social movement cannot be defined by its intensity, emotions, or "volcanic" force, which are images that better match to disruptions that can be studied from a functionalist perspective.
- (2) The most debatable argument defended here is that there is only one central pair of contradictory social movements in a given society type. This theory appears to be quite similar to Marx's concept of class struggle, but it is constantly challenged by observers who describe a wide range of conflicts that cannot be termed "fronts" of a larger battle. The ideological or even eschatological meaning of such a position, which appears to represent a religious conviction in the end of mankind's prehistory, is rejected by these observers.
- (3) Since social movements are associated with opposition or "popular" movements that undermine "social order," many people are naturally convinced of the plurality of conflicts. A popular social movement, on the other hand, cannot be divorced from a "ruling class" social movement, and only their clash can be deemed important. Instead of being linked with basic cultural values and social norms, holders of economic or political power must be examined as a social movement. Social movements' centrality does not imply hegemony or the ability to identify with social order, modernity, or rationality. Even a "ruling class" cannot achieve such identification; only an absolute State, which kills both powerful and helpless social actors, can.
- (4) We are still impacted by a historical tradition that identifies social movements and political activity, that is, organised action aimed at controlling State authority, which is why we are sometimes uncomfortable with the idea of a central social movement. This

misunderstanding has been particularly prevalent in European thought, where the labour movement has been conflated with socialism in both Communist and social democratic circles. While Europeans and Latin Americans have traditionally spoken only of revolutions or state-led reforms, American intellectual culture has proven to be better capable of comprehending the concept of social movement. Structure and change, "social" and "historical" movements are not separated in evolutionist social philosophy. Western society was defined by classical sociology as both a system and a modernization process. Durkheim emphasized one part more than Weber, while Parsons went to the extreme of identifying modernity as a rationalization and secularization process based on principles of unity and integration in modern Western nations. Similarly, sociological analysis is still associated with the study of the establishment of a national state in Latin America and other regions of the world today. The concept of social movement thus is innovative in that it challenges this form of social thought and action.

- (5) There are three types of social movements to consider. In a strict sense, social movements are competing attempts to govern cultural patterns (knowledge, investment, and ethics) in a specific society type. Historical movements are concerted efforts to direct the transition from one society type to another. Actors are no longer defined solely by their social relationships, but rather by their interactions with the State, which is the driving force behind such historical shifts. However, as previously said, historical movements and social movements are not wholly independent because they integrate a class component with a national and modernizing dimension, as shown in Communist movements and national-popular regimes. There is a correlation between social movements and state transitions. Cultural movements are complex in the same way. They cannot be reduced to cultural innovations, which are characterized in strictly cultural terms as a conflict between ancients and moderns, in order to refer to a period in French literature's history. A cultural movement, on the other hand, is a type of social movement in which the changing of cultural values is a primary theme, yet social conflict emerges as a result of this process. The women's movement is a good modern example. It is centrally defined by a critique and transformation of women's status and image, as well as the emergence of new ethical values more broadly, but it is constantly divided by a social conflict that opposes two ways of interpreting women's protest: a liberal action aimed at achieving equality of rights and opportunities between men and women, and a more radical tendency that rejects an equality that appears to be imitative of the dominant male model and asserts the suffrage of women. This internal battle, which has been particularly obvious in the United States and France, distinguishes cultural invention from cultural mobility.

3.4 CLASSIFICATION OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Some of the classifications to differentiate between various types of social movements are as follows:

- i. **Scope:** A movement can be classified as reform or radical. A reform movement seeks to change specific norms or laws, but a radical movement seeks to fundamentally alter value systems. A reform movement could be a trade union that seeks to improve workers' rights, whereas the American Civil Rights Movement was a radical movement.
- ii. **Change Type:** A movement may pursue either innovative or conservative change. A conservative movement strives to conserve existing norms and values whereas an innovative movement seeks to establish or change them.
- iii. **Goals:** Group-focused movements aim to influence specific groups or society as a whole, such as changing the political system from monarchy to democracy. Individuals are the focus of an individual-focused movement.
- iv. **Work Methods:** Nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience are two strategies used by peaceful movements. When violent movements seek social change, they turn to violence.
- v. **Range:** Global movements like Communism in the early twentieth century had international goals. Local movements aim to achieve specific local or regional goals, such as preserving a historic structure or maintaining a natural habitat.

3.5 WHAT ARE THE VARIOUS TYPES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS?

Social movements are a definite type of collective action in which large informal groups of individuals or organizations work for or against change in specific political or social issues. It is difficult to classify social movements because they can have a mixed nature or be of different types at different stages of their development.

There is no unique, universal typology of social movement. Different classification schemes evolve when different researchers focus on different features of movements. As a result, any social movement can be defined in multiple dimensions.

Many attempts to classify the movement focus on the movement's goal. One basis for defining social movements as political, religious, economic, educational, and so on is the social institution through or through which social change is to be achieved. It may be asserted that all movements are

political or religious in nature, depending on whether their objective is to change political systems or individual moral principles.

The distinction between "reform" and "revolutionary" movements is a widely used but very subjective one. This distinction implies that a reform movement argues for a change that preserves existing values while improving their implementation. On the other side, the revolutionary movement is seen to advocate for the replacement of existing ideals. Members of a so-called revolutionary movement, on the other hand, almost always assert that it is them who love the genuine values of society, while opponents label the movement as revolutionary and destructive of core, conventional values.

The desired direction and pace of change are used in some attempts to characterise movements. For this aim, adjectives like radical, reactionary, moderate, liberal, and conservative are frequently utilised. The terms "revolutionary" and "reform" are frequently used in this context in a slightly different sense from that stated above, with the suggestion that a revolutionary movement favours quick, drastic change while a reform movement favours gradual, evolutionary progress.

Another typology proposed by American sociologist Lewis M. Killian was based on the direction of the change promoted or opposed. A reactionary movement seeks to return society to its previous state, whereas a progressive movement advocates for a new social order. Conservatives oppose changes advocated by other movements or those that appear to emerge from cultural drift, and urge for the preservation of existing values and customs.

Killian and American psychologist Ralph H. Turner believed that categorizing social movements based on its public definition, the nature of the opposition produced, and the movement's means of activity can be useful at times. This method is intended to eliminate the subjective assessment of aims that is inherent in reformist and revolutionary categories. Respectable movement is one that does not appear to harm the values or interests of any significant part of society. It is also non-factional if there is no competing movement promoting the same goal. The respectable non-factional movement must deal with issues such as apathy and token support, but it also has valid means of advancing its values. A viable factional movement must compete with other groups pursuing the same broad goal, but it also has acceptable ways to expand its influence. A movement that looks to threaten the ideals of powerful and influential interest groups in society is labelled revolutionary and is met with violent repression. As a result, it is unable to use legal measures to promote its programme. Another sort of movement is classified as neither respectable nor hazardous, but rather peculiar; this type, which is perceived as odd but harmless, is mocked and has limited access to legal tools.

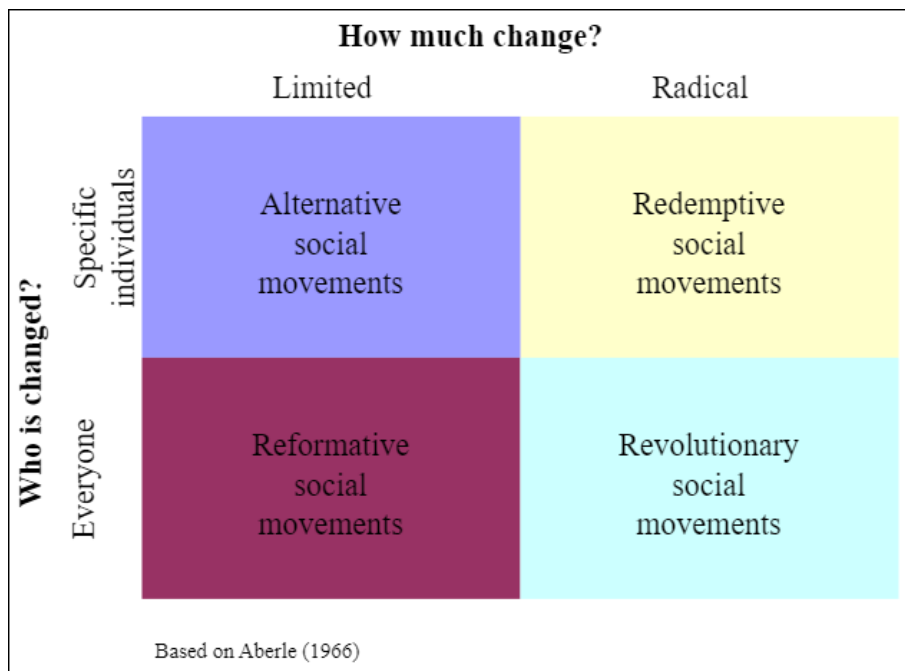
Social movements can also be classified according to the overall nature of their strategy and methods, such as whether they are legitimate or illegal. This categorisation is reflected in the popular difference between radical

and moderate movements. The use of violent versus peaceful tactics is a clear distinction between sorts of movements. However, a nonviolent movement might be classified as revolutionary or radical if it embraces civil disobedience as a main strategy rather than legal or parliamentary tactics. It's worth noting that the distinction between violent and nonviolent movements is a relative one, since a movement can quickly shift from one to the other as it grows.

David F. Aberle, a cultural anthropologist, defined four kinds of social movements based on two essential questions:

- (1) Who is it that the movement is aiming to transform?
- (2) What level of change is advocated?

Social movements can aim for individual change, such as Alcoholics Anonymous, a support group for recovering alcoholics, or broader group or even social change, such as anti-globalization. Minor changes, such as stronger regulations on drunk driving (see MADD), or dramatic changes, such as prohibition, might be advocated for by social movements. Based on who the movement seeks to change and how much change the movement seeks to bring about, the figure below shows how a social movement might be alternative, redemptive, reformatory, or revolutionary. Aberle's Four Social Movement Types: Aberle identified four categories of social movements based on who they are seeking to change and how much change they are advocating: redemptive, reformatory, revolutionary, and alternative.



Aberle's Four Social Movement Types: Aberle identified four categories of social movements based on who they are seeking to change and how much change they are advocating: redemptive, reformatory, revolutionary, and alternative.

Sociologists classify social movements into numerous categories based on the nature and scope of the change they seek. This typology enables us in distinguishing between the various types of social movements that have existed in the past and continue to exist today (Snow & Soule, 2009). The different types of social movements include:

- Reform Movement
- Revolutionary Movement
- Reactionary Movement
- Self-help Movement
- Religious Movement
- Resistance Movement
- Utopian Movement
- Expressive Movement

3.5.1 Reform Movement:

Reform movements are organized to carry out reforms in some specific areas. The reform movement is one of the most prevalent and important types of social movements, aiming for minor but significant changes in a country's political, economic, or social systems. The reform movement aims to change only some aspects of society without entirely changing it.

It does not seek to overthrow the current administration, but rather aims to better the current regime's conditions. Reform movements have been at the heart of some of the most significant social movements in American history. The reformers endeavor to change elements of the system for better. The abolitionist movement before the Civil War, the women's suffrage movement after the Civil War, the labour movement, the Southern civil rights movement, the antiwar movement during the Vietnam era, the contemporary women's movement, the gay rights movement, and the environmental movement are among them.

Reform movements can only succeed in a democratic society where citizens are free to criticize current institutions and demand reforms. Reform movements include movements to eradicate untouchability, the dowry system, the preservation of natural life, and population control. J. P. Narayan's entire revolution movement was a reform movement. Arya Samaj Movement, Brahmo Samaj Movement, J. P. Narayan's reform movement was a reform movement.

3.5.2 Revolutionary Movement:

A **revolutionary movement** goes further than a reform movement in that it seeks to abolish the current government and replace it with a new one, as well as a new way of life. The revolutionary movements contest the system's viability. These movements are enraged by the current social

order and seek drastic change. They propose that the entire present structure be replaced. The re-organization of society in conformity with their own ideological design is their goal. A reform movement seeks to correct flaws in the present social structure, whereas a revolutionary movement seeks to overthrow the entire system. Revolutionary movements thrive when reform is thwarted, leaving revolution as the people's only option for escaping their current plight. Revolutionary movements were widespread in the past, and they were responsible for many of the world's biggest revolutions, including those in Russia, China, and other countries. In Soviet Russia, the communist revolution toppled the Czarist regime and replaced it with a communist production and distribution system. As a revolution progresses, it is common for it to become violent. Because the reforms they seek are political in character, reform and revolutionary movements are frequently referred to as political movements.

"We may term it a revolution" when a political system is overthrown by force in order to impose a new form of government or a government that declares a new policy on a critical topic, according to MacIver. 'The assassination of a king, President, or Premier would not constitute a revolution if it was motivated by personal objectives or carried out by a tiny group of desperate people who couldn't hope to build an alternative administration,' he continues.

A revolution entails a major rift within the state. It reveals an individual's diseased condition, whereas the physical nature of political authority is revealed. Revolutions thrive when reform is thwarted, leaving revolution as the only viable option for the people. Despite the fact that it is accompanied by violence, large-scale killings, the employment of underground means, and incalculable miseries, many resort to it because they see no other option.

3.5.3 Reactionary Movement:

Another sort of political movement is the **reactionary movement**, which aims to halt or reverse societal change that has already occurred. These are intended to counteract social change. Traditional values, philosophies, and institutional arrangements are emphasized as important and wonderful. They are harsh critics of the present's rapid developments. The anti-abortion movement is a modern example of a reactionary movement, as it developed after the United States Supreme Court legalized most abortions in *Roe v. Wade* (1973), and wants to limit or abolish abortion's legality.

3.5.4 Self-help movements and Religious movements:

Self-help and religious movements are two more types of movements. Self-help movements, as its name implies, involve people attempting to improve areas of their personal life; self-help groups include Alcoholics Anonymous and Weight Watchers, for example. Religious movements seek to strengthen religious convictions among their followers while also attempting to convert others. Early Christianity was undoubtedly a significant religious movement, and the different religious cults addressed

in Chapter 17 ."Religion" are examples of today's religious movements. Because some self-help groups promote religious faith as a vehicle for human transformation, it can be difficult to distinguish between self-help and religious movements.

3.5.5 Resistance Movement:

The **resistance movement** is an attempt to halt or reverse a proposed change. These movements are formed to resist a change that is already taking place in society. These can be directed against social and cultural changes which are already happening in the country. People are dissatisfied with the slow pace of social development, whereas people believe social change to be too fast. The resistance movement led by D. M. K. against Hindi can be described as such.

3.5.6 Utopian Movement:

A utopian movement is one that strives to construct a flawless social structure or civilization that exists only in man's vision and not in reality. Robert Owen and Charles Fourier were two Utopian socialists who lived in the nineteenth century. These are attempts to bring society or a part of it closer to perfection. These are loosely structured collectives that anticipate a drastically different and joyful state, either on a big scale in the future or on a lesser scale now. Although the utopian goal and its means are frequently ambiguous, many utopian movements have very precise social transformation programmes. The Hare Krishna Movement of the 1970s, the movement to establish Ram Rajya and the Sangh Parivar, the Communists and Socialists' declaration of a classless, casteless society free of all forms of exploitation, and so on. These movements are predicated on the idea that man is inherently good, cooperative, and benevolent. Sarvodaya might be classified as a utopian movement.

3.5.7 Expressive Movements:

When people are confronted with a social system they can't escape and feel powerless to change, an expressive social movement emerges. An individual in an expressive social movement comes to terms with an unpleasant external reality by changing his reactions to it. He makes life bearable in some way. He attempts to ignore the gloomy present and set his gaze on the bright future. Hippie culture is a kind of social expression.

3.6 CONCLUSION

Thus, the most common form of social movement includes Reform movements, revolutionary movements, reactionary movements, self-help movements, and religious movements. The emergence and growth of social movements is influenced by both micro and macro factors. Social attachment is an important micro element, as social movement participants often have companionships and organizational ties that "pull" them into movements and encourage them to stay involved. Macro variables include social, economic, and political conditions in the greater social context that encourage people to join a movement and/or diminish the government's ability to deal with one.

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THEORY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Sociologists have developed several theories related to social movements [Kendall, 2005]. Some of the better-known approaches are outlined below.

Unit Structure

- 4.0 Objectives
- 4.1 Social Movement Theory
- 4.2 Collective Behavior
- 4.3 Relative Deprivation
- 4.4 Resource Mobilization
- 4.5 Political Opportunity / Political Process
- 4.6 New Social Movements
- 4.7 Emerging Cultural Perspective
- 4.8 Theory of Social Change
- 4.9 Stages of Social Movements
- 4.10 Summary
- 4.11 Questions
- 4.12 References

4.0 OBJECTIVES

- To introduce several theories related to social movements.
- To help the learner to analyse contemporary social movements.

4.1 SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY

Social movement theory is an interdisciplinary study within the social sciences that generally seeks to explain why social mobilization occurs, the forms under which it manifests, as well as potential social, cultural, and political consequences. More recently, the study of social movements has been subsumed under the study of contentious politics.

4.2 COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOUR

Sociologists during the early and mid-1900s thought that movements were random occurrences of individuals who were trying to emotionally react to situations outside their control. Or, as the “mass society” hypothesis suggested, movement participants were those who were not fully integrated into society. These psychologically-based theories have largely been rejected by present-day sociologists and political scientists, although many still make a case for the importance (although not centrality) of emotions.

4.3 RELATIVE DEPRIVATION

People are driven into movements out of a sense of deprivation or inequality, particularly (1) in relation to others or (2) in relation to their expectations. In the first view, participants see others who have more power, economic resources, or status, and thus try to acquire these same things for themselves. In the second view, people are most likely to rebel when a consistently improving situation (especially an improving economy) stops and makes a turn for the worse. At this point, people will join movements because their expectations will have outgrown their actual material situation (also called the “J-Curve theory”).

Individuals are rational actors who strategically weigh the costs and benefits of alternative courses of action and choose that course of action which is most likely to maximize their utility. The primary research problem from this perspective is the collective action dilemma, or why rational individuals would choose to join in collective action if they benefit from its acquisition even if they do not participate.

4.4 RESOURCE MOBILIZATION

Social movements need organizations first and foremost. Organizations can acquire and then deploy resources to achieve their well-defined goals. Some versions of this theory see movements operate similar to a capitalist enterprise that make efficient use of available resources. Scholars have suggested a typology of five types of resources:

1. Material (money and physical capital);
2. Moral (solidarity, support for the movement's goals);
3. Social - Organizational (organizational strategies, social networks, bloc recruitment);
4. Human (volunteers, staff, leaders);
5. Cultural (prior activist experience, understanding of the issues, collective action know-how)

Resource mobilization theory emphasizes the importance of resources in social movement development and success. Resources are understood here to include: knowledge, money, media, labor, solidarity, legitimacy, and internal and external support from power elite. The theory argues that social movements develop when individuals with grievances are able to mobilize sufficient resources to take action. The emphasis on resources offers an explanation why some discontented/deprived individuals are able to organize while others are not.

Some of the assumptions of the theory include:

- there will always be grounds for protest in modern, politically pluralistic societies because there is constant discontent (i.e.,

grievances or deprivation); this de-emphasizes the importance of these factors as it makes them ubiquitous

- actors are rational; they weigh the costs and benefits from movement participation
- members are recruited through networks; commitment is maintained by building a collective identity and continuing to nurture interpersonal relationships
- movement organization is contingent upon the aggregation of resources
- social movement organizations require resources and continuity of leadership
- social movement entrepreneurs and protest organizations are the catalysts which transform collective discontent into social movements; social movement organizations form the backbone of social movements
- the form of the resources shapes the activities of the movement (e.g., access to a TV station will result in the extensive use TV media)
- movements develop in contingent opportunity structures that influence their efforts to mobilize; as each movement's response to the opportunity structures depends on the movement's organization and resources, there is no clear pattern of movement development nor are specific movement techniques or methods universal Critics of this theory argue that there is too much of an emphasize on resources, especially financial resources. Some movements are effective without an influx of money and are more dependent upon the movement members for time and labor.

4.5 POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY / POLITICAL PROCESS

Certain political contexts should be conducive (or representative) for potential social movement activity. These climates may [dis] favor specific social movements or general social movement activity; the climate may be signaled to potential activists and/or structurally allowing for the possibility of social movement activity (matters of legality); and the political opportunities may be realized through political concessions, social movement participation, or social movement organizational founding. Opportunities may include:

1. Increased access to political decision-making power
2. Instability in the alignment of ruling elites (or conflict between elites)
3. Access to elite allies (who can then help a movement in its struggle)
4. Declining capacity and propensity of the state to repress dissent

Political process theory is similar to resource mobilization in many regards, but tends to emphasize a different component of social structure that is important for social movement development: political opportunities. Political process theory argues that there are three vital components for movement formation: insurgent consciousness, organizational strength, and political opportunities. Insurgent consciousness refers back to the ideas of deprivation and grievances. The idea is that certain members of society feel like they are being mistreated or that somehow the system is unjust. The insurgent consciousness is the collective sense of injustice that movement members (or potential movement members) feel and serves as the motivation for movement organization.

Organizational strength falls in line with resource-mobilization theory, arguing that in order for a social movement to organize it must have strong leadership and sufficient resources. Political opportunity refers to the receptivity or vulnerability of the existing political system to challenge. This vulnerability can be the result of any of the following (or a combination thereof):

- Growth of political pluralism
- decline in effectiveness of repression
- Elite disunity; the leading factions are internally fragmented
- A broadening of access to institutional participation in political processes
- Support of organized opposition by elites

One of the advantages of the political process theory is that it addresses the issue of timing or emergence of social movements. Some groups may have the insurgent consciousness and resources to mobilize, but because political opportunities are closed, they will not have any success. The theory, then, argues that all three of these components are important.

Critics of the Theory:

Critics of the political process theory and resource-mobilization theory point out that neither theory discusses movement culture to any great degree. This has presented culture theorists an opportunity to expound on the importance of culture.

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- Organizational strength falls in line with resource mobilization theory, arguing that in order for a social movement to organize it must have strong leadership and sufficient resources. Political opportunity refers to the receptivity or vulnerability of the existing political system to challenge.
- Political opportunity theory argues that the actions of the activists are dependent on a broader context (in other words, on the existence - or lack of - of a specific political opportunity). There are various definitions of political opportunity, but Meyer (2004) stresses that of Tarrow (1989): "consistent—but not necessarily formal or permanent—dimensions of the political struggle that encourage people to engage in contentious politics".

Compared to related resource mobilization theorists, writers on political opportunity theory stress mobilization of resources external to the movement. Movement activists do not choose their goals at random, it's the political contexts which stresses certain grievances, and around those, movements organize. This argument ties into the structure and agency debate: actions of activists (agents) can only be understood when seen in the broader context of political opportunities (structure).

The term structure has often been used to characterize political opportunities. However, Tarrow - who has used this term in his earlier publications - now argues it is misleading, as most opportunities need to be perceived, and are situational, not structural. A political opportunity structure has been defined as the circumstances surrounding a political landscape. Political opportunity structures are fluid and can alter in days or decades. Factors such as demographics, social and economic issues within a population all count to creating a specific "structure" which actor within the landscape can find themselves gaining or benefiting from.

Meyer (2004) credits Eisinger (1973) with first use of the political opportunity theory framed in such a way (traces of which, of course, go further back). Eisinger asked why in 1960s some places in USA witnessed more riots about race and poverty than others; and notes that cities without visible openings for participation of repressed or discouraged dissident made riots more likely. Thus, the lack of openings for legal airing of grievances was the political opportunity which led to organization and mobilization of movements expressing their grievances by rioting.

Meyer (2004) in his overview of political opportunity theory noted that this broader context can affect:

- "Mobilizing",
- "Advancing particular claims rather than others",
- "Cultivating some alliances rather than others",
- "Employing particular political strategies and tactics rather than others", and "affecting mainstream institutional politics and policy".

One of the advantages of the political process theory is that it addresses the issue of timing or emergence of social movements. Some groups may have the insurgent consciousness and resources to mobilize, but because political opportunities are closed, they will not have any success. The theory, then, argues that all three of these components are important.

Critics of the political process theory and resource mobilization theory point out that neither theory discusses movement culture to any great degree. This has presented culture theorists an opportunity to expound on the importance of culture. In response to these criticisms, Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly proposed the Dynamics of Contention research program, which focuses on identifying mechanisms to explain political opportunities, rather than relying on an abstract structure.

One advance on the political process theory is the political mediation model, which outlines the way in which the political context facing movement actors intersects with the strategic choices that movements make. An additional strength of this model is that it can look at the outcomes of social movements not only in terms of success or failure but also in terms of consequences (whether intentional or unintentional, positive or negative) and in terms of collective benefits

4.6 NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Instead of labor movements engaged in class conflict, present-day movements (such as anti-war, environmental, civil rights, feminist, etc.) are engaged in social and political conflict (see Alain Touraine). The motivations for movement participants is a form of post-material politics and newly-created identities, particularly those from the “new middle class”. (Also, see the work of Ronald Inglehart, Jurgen Habermas, Alberto Melucci, and Steve Buechler.) This line of research has stimulated an enduring emphasis on identity even among prominent American scholars like Charles Tilly.

4.7 EMERGING CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Taking up some of the achievements of new social movement theorists, a number of scholars have developed a powerful critique of the currently dominant political opportunity approach. This emergencing cultural perspective argues that:

- Politics and power should be defined more broadly to include "all collective challenges to constituted authority."
- Structures not only constrain actors but constitute actors (no dichotomy between culture and structure)
- Contention is as much a contest over meaning as it is a struggle over resources

- The rational actor model is problematic, whether applied to collectives or individuals
- Opportunities are made as often as they are recognized

More recent strains of theory understand social movements through their cultures - collectively shared beliefs, ideologies, values and other meanings about the world. These include explorations into the “collective identities” and “collective action frames” of movements and movement organizations.

Culture theory builds upon both the political process and resource-mobilization theories but extends them in two ways. First, it emphasizes the importance of movement culture. Second, it attempts to address the free-rider problem.

Both resource-mobilization theory and political process theory include a sense of injustice in their approaches. Culture theory brings this sense of injustice to the forefront of movement creation by arguing that, in order for social movements to successfully mobilize individuals, they must develop an injustice frame. An injustice frame is a collection of ideas and symbols that illustrate both how significant the problem is as well as what the movement can do to alleviate it.

“Like a picture frame, an issue frame marks off some part of the world. Like a building frame, it holds things together. It provides coherence to an array of symbols, images, and arguments, linking them through an underlying organizing idea that suggests what is essential - what consequences and values are at stake. We do not see the frame directly, but infer its presence by its characteristic expressions and language. Each frame gives the advantage to certain ways of talking and thinking, while it places others out of the picture.” (Ryan and Gamson 2006:14)

A few things we know about injustice frames (from Ryan and Gamson 2006):

- Facts take on their meaning by being embedded in frames, which render them relevant and significant or irrelevant and trivial.
- People carry around multiple frames in their heads.
- Successful reframing involves the ability to enter into the worldview of our adversaries.
- All frames contain implicit or explicit appeals to moral principles.

In emphasizing the injustice frame, culture theory also addresses the free-rider problem. The free-rider problem refers to the idea that people will not be motivated to participate in a social movement that will use up their personal resources (e.g., time, money, etc.) if they can still receive the benefits without participating. In other words, if person X knows that movement Y is working to improve environmental conditions in his neighborhood, he is presented with a choice: join or not join the

movement. If he believes the movement will succeed without him, he can avoid participation in the movement, save his resources, and still reap the benefits - this is free-riding. A significant problem for social movement theory has been to explain why people join movements if they believe the movement can/will succeed without their contribution. Culture theory argues that, in conjunction with social networks being an important contact tool, the injustice frame will provide the motivation for people to contribute to the movement.

Framing processes includes three separate components:

- **Diagnostic frame:** the movement organization frames what is the problem or what they are critiquing
- **Prognostic frame:** the movement organization frames what is the desirable solution to the problem
- **Motivational frame:** the movement organization frames a “call to arms” by suggesting and encouraging that people take action to solve the problem

4.8 THEORY OF SOCIAL CHANGE

The Organization Development for Social Change (ODSC) Framework: A group of six OD consultants who work with social justice organizations spent many months developing this model. They delve deeply into the historical origins, central values, theories of change, and practices of each quadrant to identify both the gifts and the limitations of each approach. They found that each realm contributes something valuable to individuals, groups, and organizations working for social justice. What follows is a synthesis of what each quadrant has to offer to the process of movement-building and social change.

- **Community Organizing (CO)** translates community concerns into collective action. This realm offers community members the power and satisfaction of acting boldly on their beliefs, and presents a unique opportunity to be in direct relationship with others who share their values. It holds a distinct understanding of systemic injustice and the transformative power of righteous indignation.

Community Organizing values action, believes that building the collective power of those most directly impacted by the problem will create change, and utilizes confrontational power-based practices in the public sphere (i.e., direct action), and more collective power-sharing practices in the community sphere (i.e., one-on-ones, leadership development).

- **Power Analysis (PA)** provides organizers with a framework for understanding the broader context in which we all live through the lens of power. It analyzes the social, economic, and political systems that shape our material, personal, cultural, and even spiritual realities. This framework creates a collective analysis of structural inequalities,

and how they play out in our lives, with the desire to motivate more strategic, collective action.

PA values theory and analysis, believes that change will come about when organizers and impacted communities understand exactly how structures of power and dynamic forces work to oppress them, and utilizes the practices of grassroots political education and anti-oppression training.

- **Organization Development (OD)** examines systemic change on the organizational level, and provides tools and frameworks to improve an organization's ability to meet its goals. It aims to help the group understand itself better and looks at the relationship of the individual to the group. OD offers the potential to create organizational communities in the present that reflect our values, aspirations and visions for the future. This approach can help groups align their vision, values, structure, and purpose, and enact democratic principles of power sharing. Ultimately, OD honors both the inherent worth of each individual and the power of collective process to achieve its highest aspirations.

OD values the interpersonal realm and group process (i.e. believes that how work gets done is as important as what work gets done), believes that change occurs mainly by increasing a group's awareness of and capacity to change their internal process and patterns, and practices organizational assessment, visioning, planning, and group development.

- **Spirit / Sustainable Practice (SP)** views self-knowledge, healing and cultural grounding as key to transformation, and offers tools to build authentic connection with oneself, others, and the outer world. In the context of spirit and healing, one's full humanity is recognized - emotions, intuition, creativity, motivations, desires, and struggles. This framework offers powerful practices and methods for addressing core wounds and trauma in an organizational context.

SP values deep reflection and connection with the heart, believes that change happens from the inside out and includes recognition of one's own humanity and the humanity of others. Sustainable practices include self-reflection, collective healing, and spiritual awareness. While each of these approaches values different things, there is a natural affinity between them that makes them more powerful together than on their own.

For example, Community Organizing values action and OD values process, yet CO does not claim that action on its own without attention to creating democratic group process (OD) or a clear analysis (PA) is enough. Similarly, Power Analysis relies on the collective action of CO to motivate people to engage a developed political analysis, and believes in the inherent ability of individuals to reflect, learn, and change (SP) their own relationship to power and privilege in order to create larger systems change. In practice, however, activists often inhabit one quadrant more

fully than the others, and push each other into polarized positions that obscure these natural overlaps.

4.9 STAGES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Social movements are not eternal. They have a life cycle: they are created, they grow, they achieve successes or failures and eventually, they dissolve and cease to exist.

They are more likely to evolve in the time and place which is friendly to the social movements: hence their evident symbiosis with the 19th century proliferation of ideas like individual rights, freedom of speech and civil disobedience. Social movements occur in liberal and authoritarian societies but in different forms. But there must always be polarizing differences between groups of people: in case of 'old movements', they were the poverty and wealth gaps. In case of the 'new movements', they are more likely to be the differences in customs, ethics and values.

Finally, the birth of a social movement needs what sociologist Neil Smelser calls an initiating event: a particular, individual event that will begin a chain reaction of events in the given society leading to the creation of a social movement. For example, American Civil Rights movement grew on the reaction to black woman, Rosa Parks, riding in the whites-only section of the bus (although it is important to note that Rosa Parks was not acting alone or spontaneously -- typically activist leaders lay the groundwork behind the scenes of interventions designed to spark a movement). The Polish Solidarity movement, which eventually toppled the communist regimes of Eastern Europe, developed after trade union activist Anna Walentynowicz was fired from work.

The South African shack dwellers' movement Abahlali base Mjondolo grew out of a road blockade in response to the sudden selling off of a small piece of land promised for housing to a developer. Such an event is also described as a volcanic model - a social movement is often created after a large number of people realize that there are others sharing the same value and desire for a particular social change. Thus, one of the main difficulties facing the emerging social movement is spreading the very knowledge that it exists. Second is overcoming the free rider problem - convincing people to join it, instead of following the mentality 'why should I trouble myself when others can do it and I can just reap the benefits after their hard work'.

Many social movements are created around some charismatic leader, i.e. one possessing charismatic authority. After the social movement is created, there are two likely phases of recruitment. The first phase will gather the people deeply interested in the primary goal and ideal of the movement. The second phase, which will usually come after the given movement had some successes and is trendy; it would look good on a résumé. People who join in this second phase will likely be the first to leave when the movement suffers any setbacks and failures.

Eventually, the social crisis can be encouraged by outside elements, like opposition from government or other movements. However, many movements had survived a failure crisis, being revived by some hardcore activists even after several decades.

4.10 SUMMARY

Social movements need organizations: Moral (solidarity, support for the movement's goals); Social-Organizational (organizational strategies, social networks, bloc recruitment). Certain political contexts should be conducive (or representative) for potential social movement activity. These climates may favor specific social movements or general social movement activity; the climate may be signaled to potential activists and/or structurally allowing for the possibility of social movement activity (matters of legality); and the political opportunities may be realized through political concessions, social movement participation, or social movement organizational founding.

Sociologists distinguish between several types of social movement: reform movements - movements dedicated to changing some norms, usually legal ones. Radical movement - movements dedicated to changing value systems. Innovation movement - movements which want to enable particular norms, values, etc. conservative movement - movements which want to preserve existing norms, values, etc. Individual-focused movements - focused on affecting individuals. Peaceful movements, which are seen to stand in contrast to 'violent' movements. New movements - movements which became dominant from the second half of the 20th century - like the feminist movement, pro-choice movement, civil rights movement, environmental movement, free software movement, gay rights movement, peace movement, anti-nuclear movement, alter-globalization movement, etc. Sometimes they are known as new social movements. Global movements - social movements with global objectives and goals. Local movements - most of the social movements have a local scope. Social movements are not eternal.

Sociologists have developed several theories related to social movements [Kendall, 2005]. collective behavior/collective action theories (1950s); frame analysis theory (1980s) (closely related to social constructionist theory); new social movement theory (1980s); political process theory (1980s); Deprivation theory; Mass society theory; Structural strain theory; Structural strain theory proposes six factors that encourage social movement development (Smelser 1962); Resource mobilization theory.

Resource mobilization theory emphasizes the importance of resources in social movement development and success. Movement organization is contingent upon the aggregation of resources. Social movement organizations require resources and continuity of leadership. Social movement entrepreneurs and protest organizations are the catalysts which transform collective discontent into social movements; social movement organizations form the backbone of social movements.

Movements develop in contingent opportunity structures that influence their efforts to mobilize; as each movement's response to the opportunity structures depends on the movement's organization and resources, there is no clear pattern of movement development nor are specific movement techniques or methods universal.

Political process theory argues that there are three vital components for movement formation: insurgent consciousness, organizational strength, and political opportunities. The insurgent consciousness is the collective sense of injustice that movement members (or potential movement members) feel and serves as the motivation for movement organization.

Critics of the political process theory and resource-mobilization theory point out that neither theory discusses movement culture to any great degree. Political process theory argues that there are three vital components for movement formation: insurgent consciousness, organizational strength, and political opportunities. The insurgent consciousness is the collective sense of injustice that movement members (or potential movement members) feel and serves as the motivation for movement organization.

Culture theory emphasizes the importance of movement culture. A significant problem for social movement theory has been to explain why people join movements if they believe the movement can/will succeed without their contribution.

Social movements as a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns by which ordinary people made collective claims on others [Tilly, 2004]. For Tilly, social movements are a major vehicle for ordinary people's participation in public politics. He argues that there are three major elements to a social movement:

1. **Campaigns:** a sustained, organized public effort making collective claims on target authorities;
2. **Repertoire:** employment of combinations from among the following forms of political action: creation of special-purpose associations and coalitions, public meetings, solemn processions, vigils, rallies, demonstrations, petition drives, statements to and in public media, and pamphleteering; and
3. **WUNC displays:** participants concerted public representation of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitments on the part of themselves and/or their constituencies.

4.11 QUESTIONS

1. Explain Resource Mobilization Theory/ New Social Movements Theory.
2. Elaborate on the stages of Social Movements.

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PEASANT / FARMER'S MOVEMENTS

Unit Structure

- 5.0 Objectives
- 5.1 Introduction
- 5.2 Peasant Movements in British India
- 5.3 Farmers' Movements in Independent India
- 5.4 Demands, Protests and Struggles
- 5.5 Some Prominent Movements of 20th Century
- 5.6 Questions
- 5.7 References

5.0 OBJECTIVES

- To understand the various peasants' movements in India
- To familiarize students with important issues of the peasants/farmers struggles

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Peasant or farmers' movements have one of the most significant social movements in India. Peasant movements in India have a long history going back to the colonial period which belies commonly held doubts regarding the revolutionary potential of Indian peasantry. Agriculture in India has never been smooth sailing, as it is always confronted with one or the other problems. The life of the peasants being largely dependent upon agriculture has never been easy as his livelihood is determined by several social and environmental factors. Further, a dualistic kind of development model, and ineffective implementation of the government policies and programmes have deepened the miseries of the peasants and widened the gap between rich, middle, small and marginal peasants, and landless peasants.

Peasants have widely been described economically, as small producers, subsistence cultivators, landless agricultural laborers, sharecroppers, tenants, and part-time rural artisans who have been attached to land to eke out a living; culturally as unsystematic, unreflective, unsophisticated, and illiterate; socially as collectivities with predominantly primordial relations based on clan, caste, and ethnicity; and politically as underdogs deprived of knowledge for organized collective action who have historically borne the brunt of extreme forms of subordination and oppression in society. Ghanshyam Shah (2004) finds the term 'peasant', misleading and an inadequate translation of the term Kisan or Khedut normally used for

cultivators of land in local parlance. Rural people are differentiated in terms of their relationship to land. The English referent 'peasant' attempts to be of an encompassing nature not quite revealing the differentiations within such as agriculturist of a supervisory nature, owner- cultivator, small peasant, share croppers, tenant cultivator and landless labourers.

Peasant movements have been studied and classified in different ways in social movement literature. Classification and formation of typologies has been understood as a way of making sense of the enormous diversity that prevails in society.

Scholars who have studied peasant movements in India have classified these movements along several lines. According to Ghanshyam Shah (2004) peasant movements have been grouped according to those in the pre-British, British or colonial period and in the post-independence period. Peasant movements in the post-independence period again, have been classified as pre-Naxalbari and post Naxalbari or pre-green revolution and post green revolution. The latter has been further subdivided into movements occurring in the pre and post Emergency period. Movements occurring in the post green revolution period are termed as farmer's movements, as they mainly dealt with the issues and demands of the middle and big farmers who emerged more strongly in the post-green revolution period.

A. R Desai (1979) in his study classified the struggles in the colonial period as 'peasant struggles' and those in the post independent period 'agrarian struggles'. The usage of the term agrarian struggles indicates the presence of a broad coalition consisting of peasants and other classes in these struggles. Desai further sub-divides struggles in the post-independence period into two categories - 'the movements launched by the newly emerged proprietary classes comprising of rich farmers, viable sections of the middle peasant proprietors and the landlords and the movements launched by various sections of the agrarian poor in which agrarian proletariat have been acquiring central importance'.

However, often topologizing becomes difficult, because of the significant overlaps between social movements which makes construction of pure categories difficult.

5.2 PEASANT MOVEMENTS IN BRITISH INDIA

Peasant Movements are a part of social movements against British atrocities in the 18th and 19th centuries of the British Colonial Period. These movements had the sole purpose of restoring the earlier forms of rule and social relations. There were various reasons related to agrarian restructuring for peasants to revolt. The reasons are given below:

- Peasants were evicted from their lands
- The rent that the peasants had to pay for their lands was increased
- Atrocities by the Moneylenders

- Peasants' traditional handicrafts were ruined
- The ownership of land was taken away from peasants during Zamindari rule
- Massive Debt
- Colonial Economic Policies
- Land Revenue System was not favouring the peasants

As a result of these revolts, there was some significant impact of the movements, such as:

- Though these revolts were not aimed at uprooting the British rule from India, they created awareness among the Indians.
- The peasants developed a strong awareness of their legal rights and asserted them in and outside the courts.
- Peasants emerged as the main force in agrarian movements, fighting directly for their own demands.
- Various Kisan Sabhas were formed to organise and agitate for peasant's demands during Non-Cooperation Movement.
- These movements eroded the power of the landed class, thus adding to the transformation of the agrarian structure.
- Peasants felt a need to organise and fight against exploitation and oppression.
- These rebellious movements prepared the ground for various other uprisings across the country.

Some of the prominent peasant struggles that took place then include Indigo Revolt (1859-60), Rangpur Dhing (1783), Kol Rebellion (1832), Mappila Rebellion in Malabar (1841-1920), Santhal Rebellion (1855), Deccan Uprising (1875), Tebhaga Movement (1946-47).

Check Your Progress:

1. Why did the peasants revolt during the colonial rule?

5.3 FARMERS' MOVEMENTS IN INDEPENDENT INDIA

Independent India inherited an extremely stratified agrarian society from the British, characterised by an exploitative intermediary system of land tenure in many parts of the country, subinfeudation in landholding,

tenurial insecurity, rack renting, extra economic coercion of poor peasants, tenants and the sharecroppers, lack of mobility, unemployment and poverty among millions. On the eve of the independence, organised peasant movements had surfaced in many parts of the country.

However, due to the unquestioned domination of the landed class, lack of political will of the state, lack of awareness and organisation of the rural poor except for the abolition of the zamindari, etc., system, land reforms were not sincerely implemented. The radical peasant movements again surfaced in late 1960s in many parts of the country. The government of India again formulated a national guideline for land reform in 1971 to radicalize the land reform programme. However, the process of implementation of land reforms has not been the same yet all over India.

In recent years, overt collective mobilization of the peasantry has been characterized by their frequent participation in meeting, processions, strikes, demonstrations, voting and voting campaigns, etc. During Tebhaga in West Bengal (1946-47), Telangana (1946-52) in Andhra Pradesh and the Naxalite Movement in West Bengal (1967-71) the peasantry participated in the forceful occupation of land, cutting of the standing paddy, harvesting of paddy in their own courtyard against the will of the landowners, developing barricades against the police, standing in the forefront of the battle in attacking police, landowners and the administration with traditional weapons, taking part in the guerrilla warfare, treating and sheltering the injured activists, developing self-defense techniques against the police and maintaining a channel of communication with the underground activists.

Check Your Progress:

1. Elaborate on post-independent agrarian struggles.

5.4 DEMANDS, PROTESTS AND STRUGGLES

Historically, the peasants have come together over myriad issues, though these issues and concerns have changed over time, since the colonial period. Sometimes these movements have even gone beyond the immediate concerns of the peasants. In the colonial period, for example, peasants rose in protest changes in the property relations and in the land tenure system which evicted and dispossessed them of their rights over land. The peasant economy before the British came to India was based on subsistence economy, oriented towards the satisfaction of basic needs.

The British transformed Indian agriculture by creating property rights in land, drawing Indian agriculture into the larger world capitalist system, created land markets, encouraged commercialisation of land, and changed the nature of productive relations in land to one of contract. As new

classes came into being, profit motive became the most important interest to be sustained for the government as well as the class of zamindars and rentiers that they created. This conflicted with the interests of the peasant cultivators and led to their mobilisation.

Rise in prices of inferior foodgrains consumed by the tenants and agricultural labourers led to several agrarian unrests in North India in between 1918-22. Famine was a recurrent feature of rural life in the colonial period during 18th and 19th centuries, though a section of social scientists feel that no effective mass protest was witnessed during famine despite the extreme suffering which the people endured. Eviction of tenant cultivators by money lenders, landlords and government officials was one of the causes for widespread disturbances which involved peasants. In some cases, religious issues got implicated with economic issues as in the case of the Moplah Rebellion in Malabar where conflict between Moplahs (Muslim peasants) and upper caste Hindu landlords in the late 19th-early 20th century and in the cases of Wahabi Faraizi uprisings in Bengal in the 1930s.

In the post-independence period, some of the issues and problems of the peasants continued to be raised in the peasant movements though the nature of these movements underwent a change. The nature of the peasant questions in the post-independence phase was characterised by a dramatic shift. The post independent period saw a change in agrarian classes and interests resulting from the state policies. Accordingly, two categories of rural struggles could be identified by A. R Desai a) the movement launched by newly emergent proprietary class comprising of rich farmers and middle peasant proprietors, and b) movements launched by various sections of the agrarian proletariat. The rural poor consisting of the poor peasants, women, a rapidly rising agrarian proletariat belonging to the lower castes and from a varied ethnic, linguistic, and religious faiths wanted to establish a radically different and qualitatively new type of society where a decent, dignified existence could be ensured.

The peasant movements in independent India have become more internally differentiated. The class interests of the rich peasants and landowners have diverged from those of the small cultivators, sharecroppers, and landless labourers. Post 1970s also saw a change in peasant struggles, which led to the forging of peasant-workers alliance initially during the Naxalbari movement and later on in political groups like Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan which calls itself a non-party people's movement of the landless and rural poor striving for issues like the redistribution of land, and minimum wages.

The forms of protests adopted by the movements also vary according to the different phases. For example, as one witnesses in Dhanagare's account of the Telengana movement (1946-51) that in the first and the second phase the peasant insurrection had a reformist orientation, but in the last phase when the peasant leadership deserted the movement, the poor tenants started to seize lands. Lands seized forcibly were distributed among the agricultural labourers and evicted tenants.

Check Your Progress:

1. Explain the reasons for their struggles in the pre-independence period.

5.5 SOME PROMINENT MOVEMENTS OF 20TH CENTURY

Tebhaga movement, India (1946–1947):

The British colonial land policy in India created a class of intermediary landowners with a dominant minority having social and economic command and a hapless majority suffering poverty, unemployment, and insecurity as agricultural laborers, sharecroppers, and tenants at the bottom of the agrarian hierarchy. In 1946, on the eve of independence, the undivided Bengal experienced a vehement outburst of peasant unrest known as Tebhaga Andolan, under the leadership of the left-dominated Bengal Kisan Sabha. Through this movement, poor peasants, who were mostly from a tribal and lower caste background, demanded “land to the tiller” and a two-thirds share of the produce for the sharecroppers instead of a half.

Telangana movement, India (1946–1952):

Through armed struggle in 1946–1952, the peasantry of the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh engaged in a prolonged movement against the feudal land tenure system and its exploitative practices, such as land grabbing, illegal taxing, forced and bonded labor, extra economic coercion, rack-renting, debt, and daily humiliation. Under the leadership of the communist-dominated Andhra Maha Sabha, the peasantry took part in a guerrilla struggle to overthrow the Nizam (the princely ruler) of Hyderabad.

Naxalite movement (1967–1971):

Immediately after independence, the Government of India introduced an elaborate land reform programme with a view to minimize agrarian inequality, putting it on the path of progress and accelerated development. However, all over India a gap surfaced between the land reform laws and their implementation that led to downward mobility of peasants. The left-wing political parties in West Bengal had been mobilizing peasantry for the implementation of land reforms, and in 1967 a left-supported United Front Government came into power in this province with the promise of land reform. However, once in power it showed reluctance to implement the promise. The peasants of Naxalbari, under the leadership of the Communist Party of India's Darjeeling District Committee of West Bengal, began taking possession of surplus lands forcibly, arming themselves with conventional weapons like bows and arrows and spears,

and set up a parallel administration to look after villages. They also declared some “liberated areas.” This movement continues to reappear in rural India, as more than a dozen of Naxalite groups are active in contemporary India under different names, covering more than one-third of the territory, mostly in deprived areas.

Check Your Progress:

1. Explain the Naxalbari movement.

5.6 QUESTIONS

1. What has been the nature of agrarian struggles in India?
2. What are the main highlights of Telangana movement?
3. Elaborate on the categorization of agrarian struggles by different scholars.
4. Differentiate between pre- and post-independence agrarian struggles.

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LABOUR MOVEMENT

Unit Structure

- 6.0 Objectives
- 6.1 Introduction
 - 6.1.1 Labour Movement
 - 6.1.2 Features of the Labour Force
- 6.2 Labour Movement in the Pre-independence Period
- 6.3 Labour Movement in the Post-independence Era
- 6.4 Challenges of the New Economic Policy
- 6.5 Weaknesses of Indian Labour Movement
- 6.6 Conclusion
- 6.7 Summary
- 6.8 Questions
- 6.9 References

6.0 OBJECTIVES

- To examine the evolution of the labour union movement in India.
- To study the challenges of the trade unions in the context of structural adjustment and globalization.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The history of Indian labour class can be traced through the colonial period. The modern working class arose in India with the introduction of capitalism in the nineteenth century under the colonial dispensation. It has been difficult to organize Indian labour class due to different structural and social factors. It has taken efforts from various quarters; from philanthropic personalities to the Trade Unions with diverse political ideologies to awaken the labour class in India and get them organized.

The evolution of the trade union movement is associated with the growth of industrialization. Trade unions form a critical component of the modern industrial system of a country. These operate under respective constitutional mechanisms, and adhere to the globally accepted principles laid down by organizations such as the ILO.

This section introduces the learner to the definition and characteristics of labour movement and deals with the social basis, leadership, ideology, political orientation and historical understanding of the Indian labour movement.

6.1.1 Labour Movement:

The labour movement is a broad, multidimensional social formation which emerges from the social structures of work and industry in a society. It may exist in any one of the following formats: 1) it consists of legally recognized and formally sanctioned institutions such as trade unions, political parties or worker councils, 2) It may also consist of less formal groups of workers such as organizations of strike supporters, workers centers, cultural forms, etc. Labour movements operate at the intersecting points of economic practice, civil society, and the State. They are firmly institutionalized or are an integral part of any given society in any given historical period. Thus, labour movements can be analyzed at two levels: 1) the social and organizational composition of a labour movement, 2) the extent to which the practices are institutionalized.

6.1.2 Features of the Labour Force:

One way of distinguishing the organized sector from the unorganized sector of the labour force is on the basis of labour market and legal rights of the workers. The unorganized sector is largely unstructured and unregulated and hardly offers any protection to its workers. On the other hand, the organized sector is more structured and regulated, which translates into more protection due to operation of laws, social security, better wages and working and living conditions for the workers. The services of organized labour cannot be terminated as per the desires of their employers. According to some scholars, around 60 percent of the workforce in organized sector is employed in the public sector and the government.

6.2 LABOUR MOVEMENT IN THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE PERIOD

Labour historians have observed that the labour movement has evolved through several phases. However, it would be necessary to understand the labour movement in the pre-independence period. This was also the era of the emergence of labour consciousness.

Early phase of Labour Associations from 1850s till 1918:

The real foundations of modern industries like tea plantations, railway, petroleum and other mega industries were established in India in the early and middle part of the 19th century. The labour movement in India also emerged around this time. In its earliest format the working-class movement lacked organization and effectiveness and was sporadic in nature. Only in the late 19th century in Madras, and the second decade of the twentieth century in Bombay, serious efforts were made to form associations which could organize meaningful protests. In the 1880s, much before the formation of the labour associations, some social reformers and philanthropists endeavoured to improve the working conditions of the labour class. For example, some philanthropists under the leadership of Mr. Sorabji Shahaporji Bengalee initiated an agitation to

bring attention of the British government to the miserable conditions of workers working in factories in 1875. This led to the British introducing legislations for the wellbeing of the workers, especially the Factories Act, 1881. S.S. Bengalee in Bombay, Sasipada Banerjee in Bengal and Narayan Lokhande in Maharashtra were some of the key figures representing the cause of the workers.

Mr. Sorabji Shahporji Bengalee could be called as the founding father of Indian Trade Union Movement. However, Narayan Lokhande, who emerged from the working class, can be considered as the labour leader who represented the grievances of the workers to the factor commission in 1884. He made efforts to successfully declare a weekly holiday for workers. Another organization namely The Bombay Mills Hands Association came into existence in 1880 with Mr. Lokhande as its president. The association also published a journal called 'Dinabandhu'. This phase was marked by strikes in every factory, however the strikes were sporadic, spontaneous, localized, and for a short term. The factors responsible for the strikes were reduction in wages, imposition of fines, dismissal or reprimanding a worker.

Workers Movement in the early 20th century:

With the arrival of the 20th century the Indian Trade Union Movement attained maturity to a great extent. There was consciousness among the workers which resulted in direct action carried out by the labourers themselves. For instance, various agitations registered in different parts of the country like strike by the workers of the Government Press, Madras (1903), agitations carried out by Postal Union, Bombay (1907), Indian Telegraph Association (1908). However, in most cases these agitations were local in nature, were pre-mature in character due to their longevity, as a result ineffective.

The period between two world wars and more specifically the post-Bolshevik revolution of Russia brought about tremendous positive impact to the Indian Trade Union movement. The historic November revolution of Russia infused the notion of class consciousness and class solidarity among the workers. This inspired the working-class section of contemporary India to organize labour protest in contemporary cities like Bombay, Ahmedabad, Kanpur, Madras, Calcutta, etc. The workers of the Ahmedabad mills agitated in December, 1917 and demanded for better labour welfare facilities and to celebrate May Day, a day dedicated for the working-class section of the society. These efforts led to the formation of the Madras Labour Union in 1918 under the leadership of B.P. Wadia. This can be considered as the First Systematic Trade Union of the country.

This period also marks the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi as a leader in the greater arena of Indian trade union movement. Under the leadership of Gandhi, the Champaran satyagraha assumed the proportion of mass movement which forced the British government to enact the Champaran Agricultural Bill (1917). Three leaders who played an important role in mobilizing textile mill workers of Ahamdabad were Sardar Vallabhai

Patel, Shankarlal Bank and Khandubhai Desai. Three decades later these leaders were instrumental in formation of Indian National Trade Union Congress (INTUC).

The formation of the International Labour Organization (ILO) was considered as a milestone in the history of trade union movements across the world. M.M. Joshi was nominated as the representative of Indian working class to the ILO in 1919. At this time however, there was a felt need to establish a central level trade union in the post-World War-I period. This fact led to the formation of the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC) with Lala Lajpat Rai as its Founding President. The labour movement carried out by AITUC and the nationalist movement carried out by INC went hand in hand under the leadership of C.R. Das, Pt. Motilal Nehru, Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, and Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose.

In the second decade of the twentieth century, the Congress felt the need to mobilize the working class for two specific reasons: Firstly, the Congress realized that the working class needs to be brought within their fold, or else the country could face a people's revolution. Secondly, the Congress understood that all sections of Indian society had to be mobilized so that a strong resistance against imperialism could be built up. The Congress appointed a committee to into issues related to labour in 1936.

In the early 1920s, AITUC came under the influence of the communist ideology. The Communists were not to be left behind; so they took keen interest in the working class issues. In the 1920s they sought to mobilize the working class through the Workers and Peasant Parties (WPPs). Taking on a radical approach, the WPPs were able to organize working class strikes in 1928 in Bombay and other cities of India.

Eventually AITUC witnessed its ideological split in to two folds: one from the old guards of the Indian National Congress and the moderates; second was from the Communists. This split led to the emergence of the National Trade Union's Federation (NTUF) and thrived under the guidance of B.T. Randive and S.V. Deshpande who were committed communists. Later on, All India Red Trade Union Congress and NTUF merged with AITUC in 1935 and 1940 respectively. The efforts of all these Labour unions created enough pressure on the government which led to the enactment of several labour welfare and pro-labour legislations such as Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923, Trade Union Act, 1926 and Industrial Disputes Act, 1929.

6.3 LABOUR MOVEMENT IN THE POST-INDEPENDENCE ERA

One of the major differences in the trade union movement before and after independence is that in the pre-independence there was a tendency towards unity while the post-independence period was marred by major splits and fragmentation of trade unions. The AITUC was the first

national federation of trade unions which represented the working-class form across all political spectrums underwent two major splits due to ideological reasons. The split in the AITUC in 1947 paved the way for further splits based on narrow party lines with the result it almost became mandatory for every political party to have its trade union front. When a political party splits its trade union front also splits, thereby fragmenting the working-class movement further. Similarly, a new political party invariably floats its own trade union.

In 1952, the Bharatiya Jan Sangh was formed and in 1955 it initiated another trade union centre known as Bharatiya Mazdur Sangh. The Samyukta Socialist Party was established in 1965. However, till the early 1970s, the INTUC, AITUC and HMS were the most important trade union centres in the country. The split in the communist movement, in the wake of the Chinese aggression in 1962, led to the formation of another communist party, viz. the Communist Party of India (Marxist) in 1964.

As the working class was divided on political parties at the national level, regional parties too started forming their own trade union centres since the late 1960s. Both the DMK (Dravida Munetra Kazhagham, 1977) and AIADMK (All India Anna Dravida Munetra Kazhagham, 1977) were formed as rival centres of each other. The year 1967 saw the birth of Shiv Sena in Mumbai, which represented the interests of Maharashtrians and Marathi speaking people in Mumbai. Its own labour wing was the Bharatiya Kamgar Sena.

Thus, it is clear that the trade union movement, which was based on fair principles and stood united during the colonial rule, were divided in the post-independence era. This gave a serious blow to the working class movement and rendered it toothless in terms of challenging capital and the state. Scholars have often observed that the inter-union rivalries are much stronger than the conflict between management and labour.

6.4 CHALLENGES OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

The New Economic Policy of the 1990s introduced liberalization, privatization and globalization which put forth challenges to the organized working-class movement in the state. Liberalization in the economy due to globalization has boosted the putting-out system (domestic manufacturing), because the focus is now on producing cheap for the world market. Large industries often complain the policy of over protection of the organized sector workers is the biggest obstacle in the path of increase in productivity.

Such a move has led to adverse impacts on the socio-political structure of our country including the trade union movement. Liberalization reduced the government control over the private sector; as a result, weakened the bargaining position of the workers. The policy of privatization facilitated the public sector units to be sold to private players; which opened up new challenges for the workers and the trade unions in the country. Under this policy there would be no statutory minimum wages for labour, no

obstructions to retrenchment and removal of various welfare benefits. This meant giving employers the absolute right to hire and fire.

The growth and proliferation of MNCs have given a big blow to the trade unions which find it difficult to resist encroachment of capital and its workers. Emergence of sophisticated and innovative technology has hampered the bargaining power of labour. Thousands of small and medium units have been forced to shut down their operations. With the introduction of the new industrial policy (1991), all the associations of the employers started pressing for an exit policy through which it would be easier to shut down industries. Due to opposition from trade unions, the government was hesitant to introduce this policy. The introduction of Voluntary Retirement Scheme (VRS) and the mass retrenchment and termination of services of labour has resulted in social unrest and discontentment. This policy has allowed the private sectors to replace permanent workers by temporary, contract or casual labour. This policy lead to the new trend of subcontracting work from larger industries to the smaller manufacturing units which are run on low capital, few workers. The 'casualization of labour' has created inequalities within the working class. All the above factors have led to the declining strength of the trade unions which has impacted labour solidarity of the country to a significant extent.

6.5 WEAKNESSES OF INDIAN LABOUR MOVEMENT

The working class has some weaknesses. The changes taking place in the economy through the policies of liberalization have posed a challenge to the labour movement in India. This has led to job losses in the organized sector, as a result of which the base of unprotected, unorganized sector is ever increasing. A large section of the workforce, especially in the unorganized sector remains outside the fold of trade unions. These workers are poor and vulnerable to exploitation than workers in the organized sector.

The second challenge is that of fragmentation and multiplicity of trade unions. Scholars argue that the multiplicity of political parties may be an accepted norm in a democracy. However, multiplicity of unions is damaging to the capitalist system as this keeps the working class fragmented and vulnerable to all forms of pressures. In this context, the workers are helpless in counteracting the negative effects of globalization and liberalization of the economy. A robust, cohesive trade union movement has the potential to challenge the anti-labour policies, but has not been able to do so because it is divided.

There is a strong link between trade unions and politics. Scholars observe that the political role of the trade unions has overshadowed its commitment to the workers interests. At the same time political role of the trade union movement cannot be underestimated. Trade unions are required to protect the interests of the workers. Though trade unions are expected to counteract the power of the employers at the ground level, this cannot be effective without challenging the power of the State.

It would be incorrect to say that the political parties are solely responsible for the fragmentation of the trade unions. The state has played a very important role in this process. It has been seen that the legal framework for industrial relations on the one hand provides grounds for multiple unions, while on the other hand makes the unions more dependent on the government agencies in times of settlement of disputes. The state provides opportunities for disintegration within the working class. This situation is capitalized by the political parties and vested interests for their own personal gains.

6.6 CONCLUSION

The changes in the economy as a result of the policy of liberalization have posed major challenges to the labour movement in India. This has resulted to loss of jobs in the organized sector, while at the same time it has expanded the base of the unprotected sector. The labour class in India is a highly fragmented entity, which organized itself during the colonial rule. The divisions among the working class have rendered them helpless and therefore the workers are not equipped to counteract the adverse effects of globalization and the consequent liberalization of the economy. The trade union movement had the potential to counteract the anti-labour policies, but has failed because of the fragmentation. A united trade union movement is perhaps the most pressing need in the present situation. The Indian trade union movement has not only been influenced by different developments over a period of time, but also shaped the Indian political scene to a significant extent.

The role of trade unions cannot be understated or underestimated while discussing the problems of the labour. No other institution, whether it is the bureaucracy, or political party, or an NGO can ever replace trade unions. Trade unions by their very nature are the only means of protecting the interests of the working class. Thus, strengthening the trade union movement is the only way to strengthening the labour movement.

6.7 SUMMARY

The labour movement is a broad, multidimensional social formation which emerges from the social structures of work and industry in a society.

The real foundations of modern industries like tea plantations, railway, petroleum and other mega industries were established in India in the early and middle part of the 19th century.

With the arrival of the 20th century the Indian Trade Union Movement attained maturity to a great extent. There was consciousness among the workers which resulted in direct action carried out by the labourers themselves.

One of the major differences in the trade union movement before and after independence is that in the pre-independence there was a tendency

towards unity while the post-independence period was marred by major splits and fragmentation of trade unions.

The New Economic Policy of the 1990s introduced liberalization, privatization and globalization which put forth challenges to the organized working-class movement in the state.

The working class has some weaknesses. The changes taking place in the economy through the policies of liberalization have posed a challenge to the labour movement in India.

The role of trade unions cannot be understated or replaced while discussing the problems of the labour. No other institution, whether it is the bureaucracy, or political party, or an NGO can ever replace trade unions.

6.8 QUESTIONS

1. Examine the key features of the Indian Labour force.
2. Discuss the evolution of the workers' movement in the pre-independence and post-independence period.
3. Elucidate the challenges put forth by the New Economic Policy vis-à-vis the Indian labour movement.

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STUDENT'S MOVEMENT

Unit Structure

- 7.0 Objectives
- 7.1 Introduction
- 7.2 History of Student Movement
- 7.3 List of popular Students Movement
- 7.4 Social basis of Students Movement
- 7.5 Students' movement and Globalization
- 7.6 Summary
- 7.7 Questions
- 7.8 References

7.0 OBJECTIVES

- To understand the different early student's movement
- To learn about the impact in terms of leadership, ideology, and social basis of the student's movement

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In the present chapter, we are going to learn about the student's movement and its impact on society at large. The present chapter is useful to you too as student yourself studying in higher education. Student's movements have played an important role throughout the world in shaping the economy, policies, and social structure. A university campus gives students a certain space to interact, have a voice and express themselves. While participating in student's movement, certain skill sets like leadership, mobilizing capacity, and communication skills are often enhanced. A student is an individual who is studying in a college or university. As these students generally are in the age group, i.e., 15-30, they are seen as contributing to the nation, in the future they would be also the working population. In a country like India, with a second largest population of the world, student's play an important role in the country's economy and as well as migrants to other countries too for higher education, and employment.

7.2 HISTORY AND STUDENT MOVEMENT

There have been several times in the history throughout the world where students have participated and it turned out to be a movement. Some of them are like with the aid of educator and reformer Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, the Academic Association was founded at undivided Bengal's Hindu College in 1828, which led to a student movement in India that

lasted for over 200 years. In the early stages, a group of independent intellectuals who were his disciples, played a significant role in the Bengal Renaissance of the 19th century. In 1920, King Edward Medical College in Lahore saw the first students' walkout in independent India, which was in protest of academic inequality between English and Indian students. Throughout the nation, students and their organizations took part in the independence movement (Hindustan Times).

After the country gained its independence, practically all major political parties had student wings, and a number of independent student organizations that aided the socially and economically underprivileged emerged as well. Several student movements that took place in India after it gained independence are forever imprinted in the country's memory.

Indian history has contribution of several student leaders. On August 15, 1947, at the stroke of midnight, two men who had stood on the same student platform eleven years before rose to leadership positions namely Jawaharlal Nehru and Jinnah. When questioned to Nehru whether students should be politically involved in the national struggle at the first congress of the All-India Students Federation in Lucknow, Jawaharlal Nehru immediately responded that participating in the national movement was not politics but rather a sacred duty for the student community at large (Chopra, 1978). In the pre-independent student's participation can be seen as contributing to the independence and welfare of the nation as the whole, being the main goal among students for joining the social movements. The Student Movement had varied leaders, populations, working styles, and challenges during both pre- and post-independence periods.

7.3 LIST OF POPULAR STUDENT'S MOVEMENT

The demographic nature of India with diverse and uniqueness in terrain, culture, language, population effects both the amount of student's who have access to education. There are other factors too like environmental, metropolitan cities, socio-cultural factors which influence the number of students getting education. At the individual level there are factors like parental role, role models, influences, peers etc. which makes a child decide whether to continue or not. Hence, only when a student goes to institution and then the question comes of joining the movement or not. A student's movement many a times emerges out of crisis, a will to get out of a situation or it could be other reasons which is affecting society at large and they want to express solidarity about the event – students participating in the independence movement.

Ideology also plays a very important role in making the student join a movement. This the student must have learnt through the literature, books in library, constantly hearing discussions around, nature of friends, or from the ideology which the institution operates at large. In present times ideology of a individual can be also influenced, tampered through that of social media and the algorithm of the videos which pops out in the mobile, laptop. Making artificial intelligence too influencing the kind of worldview a student develops.

Linguistic Movement of Tamil Nadu, 1965:

Even though Tamil Nadu had been experiencing agitation against Hindi for years, things changed when a sizable number of students protested against the Official Languages Act of 1963, which proclaimed Hindi and English official languages. The measure was enacted despite the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam's (DMK) a political party in Tamil Nadu, opposing it. However, Jawaharlal Nehru, who was the then Prime minister, promised that English would remain the national language. After Nehru's death in 1964, the state's Congress administration enacted a three-language formula, which prompted students to protest in the streets. The number of fatalities during the unrest reached 70. Upon Lal Bahadur Shastri's assurance that Nehru's promise would be kept, the movement came to an end. Here, we can observe that the students joined the protest for opposing the language. A problem which was a movement beyond the campus by at large though effecting the state in which they resided.

Nav Nirman Andolan (Reconstruction Movement), 1974:

An agitation was started on December 20, 1973, by engineering students in Ahmedabad against a 20% charge increase for dorm meals. On January 3, 1974, Gujarat University saw unrest between the police and students during a similar strike. Chimanbhai Patel, the country's then-Chief minister, was called to resign by the protesters. On January 25, a state-wide strike was called, and it was followed by yet another altercation between the police and demonstrators. 44 towns were placed under a curfew, and the army was dispatched to Ahmedabad to put an end to the unrest. Patel was asked to resign by the Centre government, which was led by Indira Gandhi. The state government was deposed as a result of the agitation.

Bihar Student Movement, 1974 (also called JP movement):

The Jai Prakash Narayan-led Chatra Sangarsh Samiti put pressure on the issues of nepotism, electoral reforms, subsidized food, and educational reforms. This peaceful demonstration started at Patna University and extended to a number of other academic institutions in the northern Indian states that use the Hindi language. Some of the well-known youth leaders who took part in the JP movement were Nitish Kumar, who is currently the chief minister of Bihar, Lalu Prasad, a former chief minister of Bihar, and Mulayam Singh Yadav, a former chief minister of UP. The socialist philosophy was the main message of the JP movement. Here we can observe the society's issues at large and student leaders who turned later to be politicians emerging out through the student's movement.

Student protests during the Emergency 1975:

Students and staff members at various universities and educational institutions across India planned secret protests. The methods of protest during the declaration of an emergency in 1975 was through that of distribution of pamphlets and leaflets. Arun Jaitley, the president of the Delhi University Students Union at the time, and Jai Prakash Narayan, the

leader of the Chatra Sangarsh Samiti, were two among the over 300 student union leaders that were imprisoned. In this protest also one could observe participation of student's at large number for the issues which they were facing at that point of time.

Agitation in Assam (1979 to 1985):

The protests against illegal immigration were started in Assam by the All-Assam Students Union, who also participated in the against the revised citizenship laws. After a wave of immigration from Bangladesh following the Liberation War of 1971, there was a movement to preserve Assamese identity. The Assam Agreement was signed in 1985, putting an end to the student-led protest that had the backing of the majority of Assamese citizens. At the age of 35, student leader Prafulla Mahanta, who was the Asom Gana Parishad's leader at the time, was appointed chief minister in 1985.

North East Student's Movement:

One of the strongest and longest-lasting social movements in Northeast India are student movements. Student groups participate in student movements to varying degrees of intensity and duration in all states in the region. They discuss general concerns affecting their society and ethnic groups as well as challenges unique to students and educational settings. Student organizations frequently belong to certain ethnic or tribal groups in Northeast India. They typically coordinate their movements with those of other social groups in their neighbourhoods. The most frequently mobilized issues in student protests are academic institutions, ethnic or tribal identity, migration, border conflicts, political autonomy of their respective areas, corruption, social concerns, environment, development, Inner Line Permit, citizenship, etc.

In addition to addressing general concerns, student movements also focus on issues unique to the tribe or ethnic group that the student organization is associated with. Students' movements frequently involve strikes, dharnas (protests), or roadblocks. Conflicts between students and police or acts of ethnic violence can occasionally result from student movements. The AASU-led six-year Assam agitation (1979–1985) against foreigners was Northeast India's longest-running student movement. In Northeast India, it set the benchmark for other student movements. The majority of student organizations in the Northeast do not formally participate in party politics. They assert that they are apolitical in that regard. Political parties and student movements have also worked together on numerous occasions. The Asom Gana Parishad (AGP) and its leadership were products of the student protests in Assam. Some political leaders have also arisen from the student protests in other states (Kharbithai, Moses).

1990's Anti-Mandal Agitation:

India-wide student demonstrations opposing the adoption of a 27% quota for members of the Other Backward Classes in government employment began in 1990. The Mandal Commission's 1980 recommendations were

carried out under the leadership of VP Singh. The country experienced violent riots as demonstrations started at Delhi University and quickly extended to other educational institutions. Exams were skipped in numerous locations by students. The protest was put to a stop when Singh announced his resignation on November 7, 1990, following the BJP's withdrawal of support for his Janata Dal administration.

There are other recent social movements too which began after the death of Rohith Vemula, 2016. Movement which took place at Jadavpur university against the Vice Chancellor. Students demanded the resignation of the VC (2014). The students from Film and Television demanded for removal of the Head of the institute stating he was not eligible (2015). Here, we can note that all these movements are inspired by their own issues than that of something beyond the campus like society at large. There were also Anti reservation protests in the year 2016.

Social Basis of Student's Movement:

Durkheim the Classical Sociologist points out that Students may share in generalized social pathologies like the anomie. To use Weber interpretation on students' movement it can be seen as a voice against the various modern threats to personal freedom known as the "iron cage" or "the colonization of the Lifeworld by system imperatives" as pointed out by Jürgen Habermas as members of a larger society. Studies on political opportunity structures have attempted to demonstrate how, depending on various factors like social divisions, institutional stability, and tactics employed by the movement and the regime, a society's political and social consistency may sometimes make it easier than other times for widespread discontent to be expressed.

In order to explain **why student protests have occurred repeatedly** throughout European history, social scientists have put out a number of explanations. Some have emphasized the importance of generational conflict. Lewis Feuer, for instance, claims that members of a younger generation who have been raised with ideas of modernity and progress may feel the need to vent their grievances on the age that came before them. Some observers have seen identity and personality crises as a result of socialization issues impacting sizable populations of people. According to Erik Erikson, many young people may reject accepting adult roles on the terms that adult society sets for them, particularly during times of social upheaval.

Others, like Kenneth Keniston, have believed that a student population's propensity for uprising is greatly influenced by the presence of alienated yet talented leadership types. Others, like Gianni Statera, have focused on the issue of class conflict, pointing out that even students from wealthy backgrounds may occasionally share a dependent status with, say, factory workers.

Students have spoken out against injustice that they have personally experienced. The three primary strands of student participation in politics in independent India, according to Singh, are working with political

parties, organizing workers and peasants, and supporting non-party political processes and new social movements. In all of these exchanges, students have taken part in discussions and arguments, preserving the notion of knowledge as practice. Since gaining independence, student groups have worked alongside political parties and other organizations to protect and broaden democracy. The movement frequently has a same objective of demand rights fulfillment, equality. Although there are unofficial leaders inside the movement, over time the movement itself produces a formal leader.

Even today some of the main reasons for students' movement to rise and sustain for a long time is that of **deprivation of facilities**, higher fee's structure, poverty, lack of proper infrastructure, being denied the resources which the students are supposed to receive. Many at times it is the student's movement who come forward and take the issues which the larger society is also facing like participation against corruption, malpractices in the institutional level or in the state level.

According to Altbach, many of the new republics in Asia, Africa, and Latin America depend heavily on students for their economic and political development. They have overthrown governments in certain countries, and they have been a major factor in voicing on nationalist conflicts. The student population serves as a major supply of technologically skilled labour and a key driver of modernization in nearly all emerging countries. There is a part of the student population in many countries that has introduced political and social activity to the student movement. These students have ideology, new methods of working and have sense of power of togetherness to bring often change Altbach (1966).

Additionally, intellectual students have made a significant **ideological** contribution to bigger movements for social change. Students alone have produced protest episodes that have had a lasting effect on the lives of following student generations as well as on their communities as a whole. Students are a social elite with special needs and connections to the institutions of power. Many of the social movements in the Universities turned out to be influenced by the Marxian and Leftist thoughts as one of the reasons, could be that the literature has been taught as a part of the curriculum leading them to read it more. The leaders among students are those is one who are vocal, strong, able to express and take stands and ready to raise voice on the issues.

Locations also matter in terms of social movement. Central universities the students have many a times stable students' movement as many students live within the campus. They have free time to interact, spaces to meet again beyond classrooms. Unlike Day scholars – these are students who commute to the university have little time left to join other extra circular activities specially if they are studying and working. Specially in a city like Mumbai, where individuals have to commute to able to join social movements as that would take time and effort away from studies. Delhi, being the capital of the country. Delhi also been in the prime location in terms of politics and universities like JNU where students from

different states come together it become and an active location for conversation, exchange of different thought process.

Check Your Progress:

1. Discuss Students movement during Emergency.

2. List out Students movement in pre-independence India.

7.5 STUDENT'S MOVEMENT AND GLOBALIZATION

The obstacles facing India's student movement have changed as a result of the country's economy's changing with that of globalization. Students many a times now pay attention to issues that directly affect the student community, such as the resources available for training and job placement, the facilities the institution offers, rising tuition, insufficient test scores, and people like students. Another fascinating development in student (and youth) politics at this time is the use of ethnic and caste affiliation to organize young people. It has become quicker with the usage of technology like Telegram, WhatsApp, Youtube Videos.

Through the indoctrination of ideas and ideologies, few young people are getting more interested in joining groups on issues which are beyond their problem. Yet, the students' movements are active and working. The evolution of the media is what distinguishes today's social movement from that of the early student movement. Nowadays, using WhatsApp and the groups, it's simple to spread the word about any activity. Within the message's reach, thousands may assemble. Early on, communication was sluggish.

Television, newspapers, and computer networks have all contributed to "media-led globalization," which has improved access to information for students and young people and exposed them to a variety of media. Social media is now one of the key factors in the rapid spread of social movements, and videos of these speeches are widely shared, making the student speakers famous. During pandemic even a Nursery going student ends up speaking about the issue – for example during the pandemic the number of hours a school goer has to spend while using the online classes was complained by the Nursery attending student and there after the number of hours was reduced. In today's time with the advent of mobile phone – students in remote villages are recording their problems like – lack of infrastructure, absence of teacher in the class, no benches, broken

classrooms etc. This shows the new change which has positive effects on the student's life too, whereby they have a platform to express themselves.

Check Your Progress:

1. What is the name of the movement which took place due to increase of Dorm (hostel) fees?

2. What is some of the main reasons due to which student's protest according to you?

7.6 SUMMARY

This chapter begins with understanding the History of Students movement in India, which can be seen during the pre-independence period. We also learnt about how students' movements have contributed in giving platform for emergence of future leaders. Students' movement has raised voice against both student's own problems as well as about the society's problems at large. We also learnt and discusses about different movements which took place at different parts of the country in the earlier times like that of Linguistic movement in Tamil Nadu to Students movement in North east. There is also discussion about globalization and the changes which is taking place in the student movement is discussed. Like the usage of technology which has brought about massive change in the speed of communication and even the use of social media. The reasons for joining students' movement is also discussed in the chapter like lack of facilities, like infrastructure, hike in the fees, hostel issues, transportation issues.

Being the second largest country in the world and with active democracy the student's movement in the country reflects how they have a platform to voice out their issues. We also discussed about how strategic locations; ideologies also play an important role in the rise of student movement.

7.7 QUESTIONS

1. Discuss how globalization and student's movement have interconnected in the recent times.
2. Write a note on the social basis of student's movement.
3. List out three popular students' movement.

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TRIBAL MOVEMENTS: (WARLI MOVEMENTS)

Unit Structure

- 8.0 Objectives
- 8.1 History of Conflict
- 8.2 Dahanu's communities
- 8.3 Forests
- 8.4 Orchards
- 8.5 People vs Environmentalists
- 8.6 Environmental Campaign
- 8.7 Land use Clause
- 8.8 Setting up of the Dahanu Authority
- 8.9 Making Environmental Mandates Meaningful
- 8.10 Efficacy of Dahanu Authority
- 8.11 Issues and Contradictions
- 8.12 Trapped into Farming
- 8.13 Agriculture in Dahanu
- 8.14 Orchard Economy at Risk
- 8.15 Impact of Globalization
- 8.16 The Tribal's Right
- 8.17 Tribal Bill and Justice
- 8.18 Summary
- 8.19 References

8.0 OBJECTIVES

- To introduce you to the Tribal Communities.
- To understand the problems and issues faced by Tribal Communities.
- To analyze the Campaigns undertaken by various tribal communities.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

A fierce environmental struggle won Dahanu the status of a protected, environmentally-sensitive region in 1991. But in one fell swoop it destroyed Dahanu's dreams of rushing into the neoliberal economy. This is the first in a series of articles, researched as part of the Info-change Media Fellowships 2008, that looks at how the environmental restrictions have impacted farmers, fisherfolk, adivasis, traders and others in Dahanu.

Whether the battle for ecological equity inevitably compromises opportunities for economic development is a question the communities of Dahanu have grappled with for over a decade. While there may be no simple answer, Dahanu's communities live in a paradoxical reality. Even as the environmental movement has sheltered them from the hazards of unregulated industrialisation, it has been unable to provide an alternative viable reality, while restricting many of the benefits of the modern economy.

Situated in the picturesque Sahyadri mountain range in western Maharashtra, merely 125 km north of Mumbai, is the serene and sleepy region of Dahanu. Sandwiched between the chemical corridor of Vapi, Gujarat, to the north and the industrialised zones of Palghar-Boisar to the south, Dahanu remains one of the last surviving green zones in this region. One amongst 15 talukas of Thane district in the Konkan division of Maharashtra, Dahanu is known as the fruit and food bowl of the region.

Home to a predominantly large adivasi community of Warlis forming 64.84% of the total population of 3,31,829 lakh (Census 2001), Dahanu also has a large fishing and farming community. With a total of 174 villages and only one municipal area, the main source of livelihood is agriculture and its allied activities. A notification declaring it a special ecologically fragile zone by the Ministry of Environment and Forests in 1991 put Dahanu on the national map with nine other regions. The Notification restricts industrial development and disallows a change in land use for environmentally sensitive areas.

The Supreme Court, in 1996 also appointed the Dahanu Taluka Environment Protection Authority (DTEPA) to ensure that the Notification is implemented and Dahanu remains a protected region. This legal regime changed the options for Dahanu. Many of its dreams of rushing headlong into the neoliberal economy were thwarted, if not crushed. There were conflicting responses from the communities of Dahanu ranging from hostility and anger to gratitude and acceptance. However, having closed many of the options for conventional development, the challenge before the environmental movement was to chart a sustainable path for growth.

8.2 HISTORY OF CONFLICT

Historically the struggle for minimum wages, land rights, and forest rights by the adivasis had dominated the discourse of the region. The period from 1945 to 1947 where the All India Kisan Sabha under the banner of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) mobilised the Warlis on the issue of land rights with the guidance of Comrades Godavari and Shyam Parulekar is well documented. The region's struggle for control over natural resources also came to the fore with the rise of social movements such as the Bhoomi Sena and Kashtkari Sanghatana in the late-1970s that took up the battle on behalf of the adivasis.

While many of these conflicts were centred around access and rights over natural resources of land and forest, they were not necessarily articulated in the language of environmental discourse. It was only in the late-1980s, following opposition to the setting up of a thermal power plant, that an environmental campaign focused around conservation and protection emerged in Dahanu. It was led by the Dahanu Taluka Environment Welfare Association (DTEWA), with members consisting of a handful of local orchard owners who sought environmental protection of Dahanu via the courts. While they lost the struggle against the thermal power plant (a 500 MW plant was set up in 1996), they continued to work for the implementation of the Dahanu Notification.

"We believed that Dahanu's natural resources needed to be protected. We are today safe from threats like the SEZ because of the Dahanu Notification that has ensured that no dirty industry enters Dahanu," states Kitayun Rustom, founder-member of the Dahanu Taluka Environment Welfare Association. "In the beginning when we campaigned against a local power plant," she continued, "we had the support of various institutions, traders, orchard owners, politicians and social movements like the Kashtkari Sanghatana. However, once the Notification was put in place and the matter went to the Supreme Court, several proposals and plans were stalled or frozen. For example, all stone quarries were shut down and no further quarrying has been permitted in Dahanu after 1991. These kinds of restrictions built up antagonism against us especially from the traders, commercial interests and political parties."

A form of environmentalism that was not led from the ground had its limitations. Over the years, the environmental campaign divided Dahanu, with the disgruntled traders, commercial interests and politicians making every attempt to undo the laws that had caused them very clear losses. However, the impact of environmental restrictions on the resource-dependent communities that form a majority of Dahanu are not so clearly apparent to all, and it will be interesting to study those.

8.3 DAHANU'S COMMUNITIES

Topographically, Dahanu taluka can be divided into a 10-12 km-wide bandarpatti, the coastal belt of lowlands and flats extending from the seacoast to the railway line situated at the foot of the Sahyadri range. The junglepatti (forest belt) which is to the east of the railway line is a belt of approximately 20-25 km that runs parallel to the coast at a distance of 15 km from the shore.

The entire coastal belt with its rich natural resources, wetlands, mangroves and river deltas, forms a lucrative fishing area. With a coastline of 35 km, fishing is an important economic activity of the region. The Thane District Gazetteer (1982), puts Dahanu as one of the five most important fishing centres along the coast of Maharashtra with 21 fishing hamlets and seven fish landing centres.

Along with the Notification, Dahanu's coasts were classified under the most stringent clause of the Coastal Regulation Zone (CRZ) Notification [CRZ I (i)], 1991 that did not permit any development 500 metres from the high tide line. This led to a protective cover being cast on Dahanu's coast, shielding it from the acquisitive reaches of commercial tourism and landgrabbers. Other than the thermal plant situated in the creek, there is no other major development activity on the coast that could directly affect fishing. Over the last decade, construction of new projects that violate both the Notification and the CRZ have been brought before the Dahanu Authority and resolved.

One of the most significant cases was the setting up of a multi-berth industrial port by global giant Peninsular & Oriental (P&O) in the coastal village of Vadhavan in 1997. The entire coastline of Dahanu with its fishing communities was threatened by this proposal which involved the acquisition of large tracts of land. For the first time, the environmental campaign became broad based, with fisherfolk, local farmers, NGOs like the DTEWA, as well as the Kashtkari Sanghatana Joining in the campaign against the port. The Dahanu Authority held a series of hearings with activists, communities and the company and passed a landmark order in 1998, that the port could not be permitted in ecologically fragile Dahanu.

The environmental regime, along with civil society action, was able to prevent the setting up of a large industry that would have destroyed the coast and its communities. However, a decade later, the residents of many fishing villages are struggling to live off the natural resources. Ganesh Tandel, fisherman and resident of Dhakti Dahanu, a fishing village near Vadhavan states, "We were definitely relieved when the port was canceled, since we would have lost our livelihoods and been displaced. However, if you look at our community today, it is becoming increasingly difficult for us to sustain ourselves and most of the younger generation is opting for jobs outside Dahanu."

Statistics reveal that while the fish catch was 11,503 tonnes in 1996-97, it has now increased to 19,816 tonnes (District Socio- economic survey, 2006-07, Thane), indicating that the real problem may be the changing aspirations of the youth who do not think that their traditional occupation will give them access to the consumerist economy. The fishing community continues to benefit from the restrictions of the notification. However, the bigger challenge is to create sustainable and economically viable alternatives in a rapidly changing economy and a constantly evolving community.

8.4 FORESTS

Dahanu has the third highest area (47,606 ha) under forests amongst the 15 talukas of Thane district (Regional Plan 1996- 2015). The proportion of forest area to total geographical area is 45.91%, making it the predominant land use of the region (estimates provided by Deputy Conservator of Forests, Dahanu division). A large part of the adivasi community resides in this zone, in remote, almost inaccessible, villages. In spite of a rich

history of resistance, the adivasis are today either marginal farmers or work as daily wage labourers in orchards, brick kilns, or on boats earning a wage of Rs 50-80 a day, struggling to live off their slowly eroding forests. Many migrate for several months of the year to nearby places for work.

It can be safely assumed that the entire tribal population is Below the Poverty Line (BPL) in Dahanu given that the figure of BPL families is a high 69% which is approximately the population figure of the region. Shiraz Balsara of the Kashtkari Sanghatana, a social movement working with the adivasis of Dahanu for the last two decades, discusses their role in the environmental campaign.

She states that the Sanghatana is opposed to an elitist kind of environmentalism that is not pro-people, but that they have in fact supported the environmental campaign from its initial stages. However, it is interesting to note that in the last decade there has been no mobilisation or inclusion of the adivasis in the environmental campaign in any significant form.

On the contrary, the Communist Party of India (Marxist), which disagrees with the environmentalists, has held rallies and demonstrations of adivasis demanding the removal of the special environmental status granted to Dahanu. "A blanket ban on a number of industries is not a balanced view of development, and while concerns about the environment are important, the creation of jobs and livelihoods for a marginalised community are equally critical," states Mariam Dhawale, member of the Maharashtra state secretariat of the CPI(M) and of the All India Democratic Women's Association, an organisation of the CPI(M) active in the region.

The adivasi community has remained largely unaffected by the environmental campaign. Kitayun Rustom admits that it was impossible for them to create a consciousness amongst the adivasis regarding the notification, given that most of their time went in opposing violations either before the Dahanu Authority or at various courts. Discussions with the adivasi community in various villages (Sogve, Raytali and Jamshet), reveal that while some of them acknowledge that pollution from the thermal power plant is an issue, very few are even aware that Dahanu is a notified zone.

The forest department is unable to provide a systematic assessment of the potential benefits of the Dahanu notification on the forests and consequently on tribals. Anecdotal accounts indicate that there has been considerable degradation in the last ten years, suggesting that the notification has not led to any meaningful ecological improvement of Dahanu.

8.5 ORCHARDS

Between the sandy soils of Dahanu's coast and the coarser earth of the hills, the plains with their black cotton soil have created a lucrative

horticultural economy with chickoo as the primary commercial crop (6% of land in Dahanu is under horticulture) and subsidiary plantations of coconut and mango. Aware of the havoc pollution can wreak on their crops, most orchard owners have supported the environmental movement and the resulting restrictions on development.

The campaign to ensure that the local thermal power plant does not pollute has been primarily supported by the orchard owners, organised under the banners of the DTEWA and more recently, the Dahanu Parisar Bachao Samiti, concerned about the impact of emissions on their crops. However, the farming and orchard-owning community in Dahanu also grapples with its own realities. With declining yields since the late-1990s post the attack of a seed borer and reduced viability of the orchard economy, the challenge facing farmers is to be able to retain their tranquil way of life while still redefining their sources of livelihood.

Prabhakar Save, a progressive orchard owner running Tarpa, a rural tourism centre on his farm at Gholvad, states, "The constant monitoring and vigilance of the environmental campaign has played a critical role in ensuring that the region is largely protected from the impact of industrialisation and pollution. However, as farmers in a constantly changing economy, it is our responsibility to innovate and ensure that horticulture and associated activities can bring about increased incomes while still protecting the environment."

Dahanu may have been saved from becoming a toxic hotspot like its neighbour Vapi. Additionally, the legal restrictions on industrialisation may have played some role in protecting the cultural identity and livelihoods of the diverse communities of Dahanu. However, for environmental justice and equitable growth to happen in tandem, much more would need to be done. Efforts to create a parallel economy based on rural tourism are options that need to be urgently explored. The need of the hour is to demonstrate alternative and sustainable forms of development that are economically and ecologically viable.

8.6 PEOPLE VS ENVIRONMENTALISTS

There is no doubt that there is a sharp polarisation between Dahanu's environmental lobby, which pushed through the region's ecologically fragile status, and local communities, including industrialists, farmers and adivasis. Is this the result of an environmental movement that failed to ensure community debate and engagement?

August 22, 2003 will remain etched in the history of Dahanu taluka, a small region in northwest Maharashtra, as a day when the polarisation between the environmentalists and the people was exposed in a most dramatic manner. In a public hearing organised by the ministry of environment and forests to review the environmental status of Dahanu as an ecologically fragile zone, representatives of adivasis, fisherfolk, urban middle class, farmers and political parties vociferously claimed that

environmental protection had wrecked their lives by closing all options for development.

Preventing the environmentalists and their supporters from making their case, the representatives implored the expert committee to immediately remove the Dahanu Notification of 1991 that classified it as an eco-fragile zone in order that jobs and livelihoods could be created. They also pleaded for the relaxation of Coastal Regulation Zone (CRZ) Notifications that do not permit any development along Dahanu's seacoast 500 metres from the high tide line. While the environmentalists claimed that the entire show had been staged by vested interests, the public hearing nevertheless starkly revealed the contradictions and dilemmas of an environmental narrative, spanning over two decades, where ecological protection had been brought to a region via the legal institutions.

8.7 ENVIRONMENTAL CAMPAIGN

The environmental campaign started in 1989 with opposition to a proposal to set up a 500 MW coal-fired power plant in Dahanu to power the growing megapolis of Mumbai, given its proximity (120 km) to the city. Predominantly a tribal and agricultural belt, a few orchard owners were alarmed by the possible adverse effects on the region and began campaigning against the thermal power plant under the Dahanu Taluka Environment Welfare Association (DTEWA).

While they lost the case against the thermal power plant in the Mumbai High Court in 1991, they continued to push for Dahanu's protection. The ministry of environment and forests, utilising a clause in the Environment Protection Act, recognised the tribal culture, marine and horticultural wealth of the region and passed a landmark notification declaring Dahanu ecologically fragile.

It said, "the Central Government, in consultation with the Government of Maharashtra, after considering the need for protecting the ecologically sensitive Dahanu Taluka, and to ensure that the development activities are consistent with principles of environmental protection and conservation, hereby declare Dahanu Taluka, District Thane (Maharashtra) as an ecologically fragile area and to impose restrictions on the setting up of industries which have a detrimental effect on the environment."

Dahanu was only one among three areas in the country declared ecologically fragile at that time, the other two being Dehradun and Murud Janjira. Currently there are ten such designated zones. The notification specifically restricted the setting up of industries to a limit of 500 acres. It classified industries into Red, Orange and Green categories on ecological considerations, disallowing the Red category. The notification also significantly stipulated "no change in land use" while directing the state government to prepare a Regional Plan demarcating all green areas, orchards, tribal areas and other environmentally sensitive ones.

8.8 LAND USE CLAUSE

"The Government of Maharashtra will prepare a Master Plan or Regional Plan for the taluka based on the existing land use patterns to clearly demarcate all the existing green areas, orchards, tribal areas and other environmentally sensitive areas. No change of existing land use will be permitted for such areas..."

The Dahanu Industries Association was one of the first to react negatively to the notification and petitioned the Mumbai High Court against it. "There was no public debate or engagement on the issue of development of Dahanu. We were unexpectedly declared a special eco-sensitive zone with a prohibition on industries, leading to frustration amongst the business community," states Amar Dhanukar, treasurer of the Dahanu Industries Association, which lost the case against the notification.

For the business and commercial community in Dahanu along with representatives of some political parties, the notification became an obstacle to accessing the booming modern economy. Over the last decade, they have played a key role in accusing the notification and environmental laws for Dahanu's slow-paced development.

"The frustrations of the local business and political interests also came from the fact that environmental norms could no longer be bypassed. Permissions and procedures for Dahanu became legal and lengthy. Local politicians did not have the liberty to sanction projects and proposals," states Kerban Anklesaria, lawyer associated with the environmental movement.

Along with disgruntled commercial interests, political parties like the Communist Party of India (Marxist) actively demonstrated against the notification, claiming that the tribal community would suffer due to lack of employment opportunities. However, the reality is that there is no blanket ban on industries. The notification provides guidelines for the setting up of industries stating that "only those industries that are non-obnoxious, non-hazardous and do not discharge industrial effluents of a polluting nature will be permitted".

Moreover, the indicative list of Red category industries includes refineries, cement plants, petrochemical industries, sugar mills etc, reflecting that the notification protects the area from industrial pollution and does not restrict development. Given that the environmental campaign was led by a handful of orchard owners, especially at the initial stages, it was critical to get wider support from the community. Moreover, had an atmosphere of public debate been created to dispel the incorrect interpretations of the notification, the community may have been reassured that development of many sectors such as information technology, food processing, and eco-tourism were open.

8.9 SETTING UP OF THE DAHANU AUTHORITY

While the notification was based on the philosophy of appropriate utilisation of natural resources, conservation and planned development, the interpretation of development was very different for the bureaucracy and institutions that were implementing it. Unable to see any value in such a notification, given that rapid economic growth and industrialisation were the mantras, development continued in violation of the notification in the period from 1991 to 1994.

"It was ironical that the state government and institutions like the Maharashtra Pollution Control Board that had the responsibility of protecting Dahanu were acting in contravention of the Dahanu and CRZ notifications. They granted permission to prohibited industries and to buildings along the seacoast. Additionally, they drafted a Regional Plan for Dahanu that promoted urbanisation and industrialisation, against the spirit of the notification," states Noshir Irani, local orchard owner and former secretary of the DTEWA.

The environmentalists were unhappy with these violations and contested them in a writ petition in the Supreme Court in 1994. The case ended in 1996, with a landmark order that resulted in the setting up of a quasi-judicial authority, the Dahanu Taluka Environment Protection Authority (DTEPA) headed by retired Chief Justice of Mumbai High Court, Justice Dharmadhikari, with a team of experts from diverse fields such as urban planning, terrestrial ecology, oceanography and environmental engineering. The Dahanu Authority's role was to ensure that the development of the ecologically fragile region was in consonance with the Dahanu Notification and other relevant legislations.

Since its inception in 1996, the Authority has played a significant role in steering the development of Dahanu by scrutinising and deciding on large projects, developing innovative schemes for afforestation, ensuring that the thermal power plant controls its emissions and taking to task unplanned and illegal development. "This was practically the only green zone left on the west coast when the Authority was formed. We felt that it should be conserved, else the future generations would suffer," states Justice Dharmadhikari, Chairman of the Dahanu Authority, which has set precedents for environmental governance in the last decade. "There were many challenges before the Authority and credit must go to the expert members who provided their independent views so that we could consider the pros and cons of many controversial matters," he continued.

Notably, the Dahanu Authority through a series of hearings rejected the siting of a multi-berth industrial port proposed by global giant P&O Ltd at Vadhavan village in Dahanu in 1998. Additionally, the thermal power plant (owned by Reliance Energy) was forced to install a Flue Gas Desulphurisation Plant (FGD), a pollution control device to reduce sulphur emissions, after the Dahanu Authority demanded a Bank Guarantee of Rs 300 crore from the company. The unit was finally commissioned in

October 2007, the culmination of a decade-long campaign, and the expert members of the Authority recently visited the plant for an inspection.

"For us orchard owners whose crop is at risk from the pollution of the thermal power plant, the Authority, being an independent organisation devoid of any political compulsions, has been able to operate autonomously, and played a critical role in holding companies like Reliance accountable," states Vijay Mhatre, President of the Dahanu Parisar Bachao Samiti, a loose federation of orchard owners that emerged more recently, in 2004, when they began facing a decline in production of chikoo.

Along with the environmental group, they played a key role in petitioning the Dahanu Authority for the installation of the FGD that reduces the sulphur emissions from the plant. The setting up of the Authority consolidated the environmental movement, but further polarised Dahanu society. While it may have been easy to bypass the Notification, the Authority stood its ground. Government officials were apprehended at meetings of the Dahanu Authority. Elected representatives had no choice but to acknowledge the institution.

Consequently, concerted efforts were made to disband the Dahanu Authority. The public hearing of August 2003 was a result of efforts by politicians and business interests which led a delegation to the ministry of environment and forests stating that Dahanu should be de-notified and the Authority disbanded since the local representatives were capable of charting the development of their own region. Additionally, a petition was filed in the Supreme Court by the Ministry of Environment and Forests asking for the dissolution of the Dahanu Authority in 2002. The DTEWA however, fought hard and won the case, further strengthening the work of the Authority.

There are many in Dahanu who believe that the Notification and the Dahanu Authority have played an important role in ensuring that the region does not become like the neighbouring Vapi, a toxic hotspot, or Boisar. Unfortunately, they have been unable to form a critical mass or a formidable force against the conventional commercial interests. Networks like the Dahanu Parisar Bachao Samiti, representing a large number of farmers, can push an alternative paradigm of development and support the work of the Dahanu Authority.

However, the framework for the protection of Dahanu's natural resources remains largely confined to the realm of law, dependent on the commitment and conviction of environmental activists and members of the Dahanu Authority. Even as competing lobbies continue to push for the removal of the Dahanu Authority and de-notification, the environmentalists walk a tightrope attempting to protect the natural resource base of the region.

8.10 MAKING ENVIRONMENTAL MANDATES MEANINGFUL

Environmental Mandates:

While India has a series of constitutional provisions and stringent environmental laws and policies to ensure that its forests, water and land are protected, there is a high level of non-compliance with most environmental laws. Interestingly, from time to time the Supreme Court of India, in response to public interest litigations and sometimes acting on its own has compelled bureaucrats to enforce environmental laws and rules that the government is unable to implement.

This has led to complex configurations in society, given the contradiction in the values espoused by the Supreme Court on the one hand and those of business and political interests on the other. Dahanu, located on the west coast of Maharashtra, is a microcosm of this contradiction, wherein the intervention of the Supreme Court and the enactment of notifications and authorities to protect the environment has led to a creative new space for debate and action on conservation. However, the question that remains is whether these approaches are replicable in a milieu where competing lobbies continue to battle over the appropriation of natural resources.

8.11 EFFICACY OF DAHANU AUTHORITY

Tukaram Machi, a fisherman from Pale village in Dahanu, complained that "the water released from the power plant is so hot that the marine life is being affected and we are finding it difficult to lay our nets" in a presentation to the expert members of the

Dahanu Authority:

The technical representative of the power plant and the officer of the Maharashtra Pollution Control Board (MPCB) present at the meeting, fumbled to respond to this allegation, stating that all pollution control measures were in place. Dissatisfied with this response, the expert members ordered a site inspection and testing of the outlet of water at the plant site in the presence of community and civil society representatives. A date was fixed and MPCB was told to conduct the sampling.

While it is rare to see tables turn so quickly on corporations and government institutions known for their lackadaisical approach on issues of environmental pollution, this scenario has been repeated frequently in the last decade at the meetings of the quasi-judicial Authority set up to protect Dahanu taluka. Set up on the directive of a Supreme Court order in 1996, the Dahanu Taluka Environment Protection Authority (DTEPA) was the culmination of an environmental campaign that had extensively relied on the courts to protect Dahanu.

The notification setting up the Authority directed it "to protect the ecologically fragile area of Dahanu taluka and to control pollution in the

area, to consider and implement the precautionary principle and the polluter pays principle, to implement the Dahanu notification and the Coastal Regulation Zone notification". Significantly, it also permitted the Authority to exercise powers under Section 5 of the Environment Protection Act for issuing directions.

"For the activists, the Dahanu Authority opened up a new space for engagement and dialogue with the authorities and corporations. Functioning like a people's court, the Dahanu Authority invites to its meetings members of concerned government departments, elected representatives, community and civil society groups, corporations and agencies interested in undertaking work or projects in Dahanu. Any person or community aggrieved by an environmental violation can send a petition to the Authority. All concerned are invited to the hearings," states Maya Mahajan, former activist with the Dahanu Taluka Environment Welfare Association (DTEWA), the environmental organisation that spearheaded the movement.

The hearings are held every four to six months in the Maharashtra State Secretariat building and decisions are taken after a thorough investigation and examination of issues to ascertain whether these proposals are permitted within the notified Dahanu taluka (Dahanu, in north western Maharashtra, was notified as a ecologically fragile zone by the ministry of environment and forests in 1991, putting restrictions on industrial development and land use).

8.12 ISSUES AND CONTRADICTIONS

One of the issues taken up by the Authority that merits attention is the setting up of a multi-berth industrial port in Vadhavan village in Dahanu in 1997, the first year of functioning of the Authority. A series of hearings were held, where people's organisations, environmental groups and representatives of the international shipping giant Peninsular and Oriental (P&O) Company presented their case to the Authority. Scientific, economic and sociological studies were presented by both sides.

Eventually, in spite of pressures from vested interests, the Dahanu Authority rejected the siting of the port in Dahanu, stating that it could be considered an industry not permitted as per the notifications. The chairman, Justice Dharmadhikari, a Gandhian by conviction, states that "pressures have not worked for him and his Authority". Due to the presence of a strong leadership and a team of experts from diverse fields, the Authority has engaged in a variety of development discourses, becoming a model for environmental governance. Aware of the politics of control over natural resources, the Dahanu Authority has stood unwaveringly by the principles of social and ecological justice. However, there has been considerable resistance to the orders and directions passed by the Authority, both by officials and companies.

In the case of the port at Vadhavan village, the order was upheld. "In many cases, however," states Kerban Anklesaria, advocate on behalf of

the environmental group that has been appearing for most of the Authority hearings, "while the Dahanu Authority has powers under Section 5 of the Environment Protection Act to issue directions, it has no powers to ensure that these directions are implemented." This contradiction became visible in the setting up of a pollution control device, a Flue Gas Desulphurisation Unit (FGD), to reduce sulphur emissions from the thermal power plant owned by Reliance Energy. While the ministry of environment and forests gave clearance to the company on the condition that it would set up the FGD, the company went ahead and set up the thermal power plant in 1994 oblivious to this clause.

The Dahanu Authority on being petitioned by local environmental groups, passed an order in May 1999 that the FGD Plant had to be set up within six months. In 2003, the company had still not complied and another order was passed by the Authority. Finally, in March 2005, after a prolonged series of hearings and scientific reports being presented to the Dahanu Authority, the company was directed to pay a Bank Guarantee of Rs 300 crore to display its commitment to installing this plant.

Still unyielding about setting up the FGD, the company appealed against the Authority's order in the Mumbai High Court. However, they lost the case and had to provide a Bank Guarantee of Rs 100 crore and set up the plant by October 2007. "Bringing to task a corporation like Reliance has been a landmark victory. However, it was an extremely difficult campaign for the people of Dahanu. Without the support of the expert members of the Authority who were able to decipher the scientific data and piles of information submitted by Reliance, the case would have been lost," continues Anklesaria.

In spite of being a declared protected zone with a Supreme Court-appointed Authority, the struggle against environmental pollution that was directly impacting people's livelihoods in the predominantly agrarian region took a decade to come to a conclusion. In several other cases, while the Dahanu Authority passed significant orders, getting the local authorities to implement them has been an uphill task. A lack of environmental consciousness coupled with challenging ground realities has more often than not led to non-compliance.

A classic example of this is the issue of solid waste management of Dahanu town. The Dahanu Municipal Council (DMC) has been unable to resolve the issue of a dumping ground for the last decade. Unable to find a permanent location to treat and dispose of the solid waste of Dahanu town, the sanitation officer inevitably promises better segregation and finalisation of a site at every meeting of the Dahanu Authority. At the last meeting of the Authority held on February 27, 2009, Dr Asolekar, expert member, reprimanded the DMC for not abiding by the laws applicable for treatment of solid waste, specifically in an ecologically fragile zone. He said that Dahanu should be a zero-waste zone with exemplary segregation and disposal facilities. Justice Dharmadhikari even threatened prosecution of the Chief Executive Officer of the DMC, given the number of years this issue was being discussed.

In a business as usual manner, the sanitation officer with the Dahanu Municipal Council present at the meeting responded that attempts at segregation were ongoing and a few other sites had been shortlisted as permanent locations for management of solid waste. However, there was resistance from local communities for dumping waste there and he was unsure if they would be able to finalise a space. The apathy and lack of commitment on the part of the officials is obvious from the fact that the total waste generated in the DMC is a meagre 11 tonnes of which seven is bio- degradable waste, making it imminently possible for a small urban region like Dahanu to successfully treat this waste.

Thus, even as the Dahanu Authority holds hearings and decides on various environmental issues, local institutions and elected representatives resent the loss of control over decision- making of their region as well as being accountable to the Authority.

Priyanka Kesarkar, Chief Executive Officer of the DMC, states that she is unable to sanction many projects in the town since she is waiting for the Dahanu Authority to clear the much- awaited Development Plan of the municipal area.

The Plan has been under preparation by the town planning department under the supervision of the Authority for several years since it has often failed to comply with all the environmental restrictions.

The leadership and vision of the Dahanu Authority has been key to ensuring the ecological protection of Dahanu. However, until the mandate is endorsed fully by the people, both who live in the protected zone as well as the elected representatives and officials, meaningful development that is socially and ecologically just cannot take place.

8.13 TRAPPED INTO FARMING

The main difference between a farmer today and one 50 years ago is that today's farmer has a mobile phone, said a principal scientist from the Institute of Horticulture Research, during a seminar on knowledge dissemination in agriculture. While this metaphor may be an exaggeration of the conditions today, the reality is that in the India-booming narrative, the agricultural sector has been left behind.

In spite of employing about 60% of the population, it grew at a slow rate of 2.7% in 2007-08, relative to 11% growth in both the services and industry sector. Agricultural incomes are lower and growing slower than incomes in other sectors. The reasons for this range from the adverse impact of globalization to inadequate access to credit and direct markets, poor infrastructure and post- harvest facilities and lack of technology. Ironically, until very recently, prior to the economic slowdown, a booming real estate market had skewed land prices in many regions, making it more lucrative to sell land rather than farm it. Ecological realities such as climate change and impact of industrial pollution add to the farmers' woes. Grappling with these realities daily is the farming community of Dahanu

taluka, a small region 120 km from Mumbai, on the border of Maharashtra and Gujarat.

8.14 AGRICULTURE IN DAHANU

Out of a total geographical area of 100,000 hectares in Dahanu, approximately half (45%) is under agriculture and horticulture, making this the predominant source of livelihood in the region. Given that it is primarily a tribal belt, rice is the primary crop grown on 19,000 hectares of land while pulses, millets and vegetables constitute a smaller share. This is largely rain-fed subsistence farming.

However, the region of Dahanu has become famous for its commercial cultivation and large-scale production of the chikoo (sapota) fruit. It was way back in 1898, a little over 100 years ago, when the first commercial cultivation of chikoo in Maharashtra was undertaken in the Gholvad region of Dahanu taluka. The coastal plains with their warm and humid climate and rich black cotton soil have created a lucrative and vibrant horticultural economy, with a production totaling approximately 400-500 tonnes annually.

Currently, while the total land under chikoo is 4,126 hectares, constituting only 6% of the land in Dahanu, it has generated employment for the communities in Dahanu, both in terms of direct agricultural labour on farms as well as trading, packaging and transportation. Besides sapota, other plantations in the area include coconut, mango, and litchi. However, the economy has faced multiple problems in the last few years.

8.15 ORCHARD ECONOMY AT RISK

"Till the late-1990s, we had a comfortable life. Chikoo being a sturdy crop it did not require heavy doses of pesticide and fertilisers. It's around-the-year fruiting made it a very viable high-income crop. But a slow decline in production, especially from the older orchards, pest attacks and a crash in prices in the period up to 2005 has made farming challenging for us," states Sanjay Adhiya, a second-generation farmer.

Professor Mohan Bari, retired chief scientist with the local Krishi Vigyan Kendra in his research report, 'An Environmental Study on Decline of Chikoo Fruit Production in Coastal Parts of Thane and Navsari Districts', 2003, finds that chikoo production increased till the year 1999 and then began declining in these regions for various reasons including change in atmospheric temperature, infestation of bud borer and water stress.

According to data from the same report, chikoo production dropped from a high of approximately 400 tonnes in 1997-98, to 50 tonnes in 2001-02. Local traders verify these figures, stating that truckloads have dropped from around 70 in 1995 to around 20 truckloads in 2003. However farmers also allege that the decline they faced in the early parts of 2000 is due to the emissions from a local thermal power plant. A research study

conducted in 2004, 'Decline in the Yield of Sapota from the Orchards of Dahanu.

Tribal Movements: (Warli Movements)

Taluka:

An Ecological Investigation', by the Salim Ali Centre for Ornithology and Natural History concludes that "the pattern of decline indicates a causative relationship with the environmental pollution, especially atmospheric pollution and the consequent environmental impacts. The Dahanu thermal power plant is the single most likely source of this pollution and hence more stringent pollution control measures in the thermal power plant specially to reduce the SO₂ and ash emissions are imperative for the environmental health and long-term sustainability of Dahanu's orchards, farms and other traditional livelihood supports".

8.16 IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION

Besides the agro-ecological challenges, farmers are confronted with challenges from a new economy. During the same period, globalisation led to the opening up of the agricultural markets, permitting the entry of various fruits and vegetables into India. "With a diverse variety of international and Indian fruits available to the consumer throughout the year, the common man's fruit, chikoo, now competes with apples from Australia and kiwi from New Zealand," states Hemant Babu, a local orchard owner. "Very often we are stuck with selling our produce at low prices of Rs 2-3 a kg. The critical challenge for us is to be able to directly access the markets, innovate, introduce fruit processing and most importantly remove our dependence on the cartel of brokers that currently dominates the prices."

G Kolhe, head of the Krishi Vigyan Kendra at Dahanu agrees, stating that there is an urgent need for value addition in these competitive times. The KVK in a report authored by him clearly outlines the need for the development of products such as dehydrated chikoo slices and chikoo powder, direct retailing and better packaging as the way forward.

8.17 THE TRIBAL'S RIGHT

Dahanu's special environmental status has made little difference to the poverty-stricken Warli tribals, shunted out of the forests and lands they cultivated for generations. The 2006 Tribal Bill, on the other hand, goes a long way in granting them their rightful share of the forests. Shankar of Raytali village, Dahanu, retells the popular Warli folktale about the rat that takes away the grain from the fields. Called 'The Rat's Right', he explains that the rat was one of the earliest creatures to provide humans with the seeds to begin agriculture. Thus, when they see the tops of their rice crop eaten up, the adivasis do not call the rat a thief, but say that it has taken its rightful share. The rat inevitably finds its role and space in the lives of the Warlis.

Several other stories of wolves and ants, rabbits and tigers follow, revealing the rich cultural ecology and ethos of the community of Warlis, the tribal people of northwestern Maharashtra and south Gujarat. Numbering approximately half a million (Census of 1991), a majority of the Warlis live in Thane district of Maharashtra in tiny hamlets spread across the fringes of the picturesque Sahyadri mountain range. A deep environmental consciousness is reflected in their worldview, in which humans and nature are linked in a relationship that is celebrated in myth and reality.

The folklore also records the history of oppression, brutality and resistance against the takeover of their forest homelands by the British and the loss of lands to Parsi and Marwari landlords and moneylenders. A tongue-in-cheek story tells how a Parsi landlord eventually usurped everything from the Warlis, even his wife! Of a total population of 3,31,829, in Maharashtra's Dahanu taluka (Socio Economic Abstract, 2006-07, Thane district), 64.84% are tribal, belonging predominantly to the Warli tribe. Dispersed across 174 villages in Dahanu, the Warlis are today a marginalised community.

Brutally shunted out of the forests and their homelands during British rule, independence did not alter the harsh realities for these communities. With a majority of the forest lands taken over by the government, the adivasis lost their habitats and culture and took to settled and subsistence agriculture while still being dependent on the forests for food, fuel, medicine and in many cases cultivation. Some became daily wage labourers on farms, brick kilns and boats. The changes in the forest management system had a negative impact on their social and cultural lives. Low levels of literacy, malnourishment, poverty and deprivation are the realities of a once proud and brave Warli community.

Moreover, the post-independence development agenda of modernising and integrating tribals into the mainstream, has been partial and fragmented, impacting the Warli identity and consciousness adversely. The struggle for access to forests, rights over land and minimum wages became the critical conflicts around which the Warlis have been struggling for the last several decades. In the current milieu with Dahanu being an environmentally protected region since 1991 and the passing of the Tribal Bill [Scheduled Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2006], it is critical to analyse whether these laws and notifications have played a role or contributed in changing the conditions of the tribal communities.

8.18 TRIBAL BILL AND JUSTICE

For the communities in Dahanu, the passing of the recent Tribal Bill that recognised their rights was a step at reversing the historical injustice they had faced at the hands of the colonial and modern State. Brian Lobo, of the Kashtkari Sanghatana, a grassroots movement that actively campaigned for the Tribal Bill and is involved in its implementation in Dahanu, believes that "the Bill is a culmination of a struggle that has gone on for 200 years". "For us," he continues, "it is one step closer to the

democratisation of forests and towards the dismantling of the forest bureaucracy that controlled the jungle and abused the adivasis. We definitely believe that the Bill can change the reality of forest-dwelling communities given that it provides power to the people to control the forest."

According to estimates provided by the forest department in Dahanu, there are currently approximately 5,500 individual claims for regularisation of forest plots. Dighe, Deputy Conservator of Forests, Dahanu, who has mixed reactions to the bill and seems reluctant to see its implementation, admits that most claims are for fairly small sizes of land, granted to the communities several decades ago and not regularised till now. More importantly most claims do not exceed a few gunthas of land, contrary to propaganda stating that the bill would amount to a land grab by brokers and the land mafia.

The regularisation and eventual handing over of these plots to the tribals will indeed be a huge victory for the community and enhance the livelihood of the families. However, the most powerful sections of the Act concern community rights to manage, protect and conserve its forests. While the state government and forest bureaucracy continue to ignore these aspects of the bill, the community's preparedness to take control of this resource also seems lacking. For the Tribal Bill to significantly alter the power equations and grant control of the forests to the adivasis, communities must be united and work towards conserving and protecting a resource that is collectively owned.

Conclusion:

While the environmental legislations in Dahanu, may have played some role in allowing the Warlis to retain a measure of their tribal ethos and identity, the Tribal Bill goes a longer way in granting them their rightful share of the forests. However, much more would need to be done to grant the Warlis their rightful place in society. In the meanwhile, the struggle for the Warlis continues.

8.19 SUMMARY

Dahanu may have been saved from becoming a toxic hotspot like its neighbour Vapi. Additionally, the legal restrictions on industrialisation may have played some role in protecting the cultural identity and livelihoods of the diverse communities of Dahanu. However, for environmental justice and equitable growth to happen in tandem, much more would need to be done. Efforts to create a parallel economy based on rural tourism are options that need to be urgently explored. The need of the hour is to demonstrate alternative and sustainable forms of development that are economically and ecologically viable.

There are many in Dahanu who believe that the notification and the Dahanu Authority have played an important role in ensuring that the region does not become like the neighbouring Vapi, a toxic hotspot, or

Boisar. Unfortunately, they have been unable to form a critical mass or a formidable force against the conventional commercial interests. Networks like the Dahanu Parisar Bachao Samiti, representing a large number of farmers, can push an alternative paradigm of development and support the work of the Dahanu Authority.

However, the framework for the protection of Dahanu's natural resources remains largely confined to the realm of law, dependent on the commitment and conviction of environmental activists and members of the Dahanu Authority. Even as competing lobbies continue to push for the removal of the Dahanu Authority and de-notification, the environmentalists walk a tightrope attempting to protect the natural resource base of the region. The leadership and vision of the Dahanu Authority has been key to ensuring the ecological protection of Dahanu. However, until the mandate is endorsed fully by the people, both who live in the protected zone as well as the elected representatives and officials, meaningful development that is socially and ecologically just cannot take place.

The farmers continue to confront the multiple challenges of agriculture, ecology, environmental protection, industrial pollution and a new environmental legislations in Dahanu, may have played some role in allowing the Warlis to retain a measure of their tribal ethos and identity, the Tribal Bill goes a longer way in granting them their rightful share of the forests. However, much more would need to be done to grant the Warlis their rightful place in society. In the meanwhile, the struggle for the Warlis continues.

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DALIT AND OBC MOVEMENTS

Unit Structure

9.0 Objectives

9.1 Introduction

9.2 Dalit Movements – Context, Causes, and Dynamics

9.3 OBC Movements – Context, Causes, and Dynamics

9.4 Summary

9.5 Questions

9.6 References

9.0 OBJECTIVES

- To understand the social movements of the marginalized
- To familiarize students with social issues concerning the Dalits and OBCs

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Post-independence many anti-discrimination laws came into force. But even today, in the civilized society Dalits suffer from social stigma and discrimination. It would be nearly impossible to imagine Indian society and polity without these identities of caste and gender, especially the Dalits, and the OBCs. It is therefore, necessary to understand that each of these categories not only influences economic, social and political life in India, they also belong to the marginalised sections of the society.

In the past some years, there has been a growth in the level of their political consciousness and political mobilization. In response to their political mobilisation, the state has responded with some policy formulations. This has led to their empowerment to a considerable extent. However, despite the relative improvement in their conditions in the post-Independence period, the Dalits, and the OBCs still remain marginalised groups in India. And their political mobilisation is an ongoing process.

9.2 DALIT MOVEMENTS - CONTEXT, CAUSES, AND DYNAMICS

The term Dalit is of Marathi origins which literally means ‘broken’ or ‘dilapidated’. Dalit became popular with the emergence of the Dalit literary movement in the late 1960s and with the formation of the Dalit organisation in Maharashtra known as Dalit Panthers in the early 1970s. The Dalit Panthers’ manifesto attempted to define the word Dalit as an

umbrella term that sought to include diverse marginalised social groups such as the Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), Neo-Buddhists, poor peasants, working class and women. The term got wider recognition in the 1990s at all India level.

The SCs are not only placed in the lowest hierarchy of the social ladder, but they also have experienced untouchability. The category of SCs entitles them to avail of the state policies about protective discrimination or affirmative action as mandated in the Indian Constitution. The Government of India Act, 1935 introduced the category of 'Scheduled Castes' for all official purposes replacing the category of the depressed classes. With the adoption of the Indian Constitution in 1950, as per Article 17, the practice of untouchability was legally banned and was declared a criminal offence if anybody practiced it. Dalits have been participating in the democratic process through mobilisation on social, cultural, political, and economic issues.

It has now been recognised that the term 'Dalit' has attained hermeneutic ability to refer to the exploitative past of the Scheduled Castes. The term has the ontological ability to encompass within itself all the oppressed and exploited sections of society including Adivasis, minorities and women. As the Dalit category represents those who are exploited by social groups above them in a deliberate manner, it also includes an element of protest denial of dignity and the practice of untouchability. It has essentially emerged as a political category, a symbol of change and revolution. Dalits have followed two paths in the political arena for asserting their identities. One is agitational politics or direct action through struggle. The other is participation in electoral politics and holding offices in various decision-making institutions.

Even after independence the condition of Dalits did not improve much and they were not allowed to live a life with dignity and equality. It is this idea of equality, which sparked the beginning of the Dalit Movement in India, as a protest to the age-old atrocities committed against them. Dalit movement is a struggle that tries to counter attack the socio – cultural hegemony of the upper castes and to provide a dignity to this oppressed section of the society. The main objective of the Dalit Movement was to establish a society in India based on social equality. These movements tried to put an end to atrocities committed against the Dalits and mitigate their issues. Efforts are therefore been made to mobilise them both politically and socially.

The phenomenon of Dalit assertion in India has often been understood through the prism of two models of Dalit social mobility: the first is conversion and the second is Sanskritisation. It is generally believed that Dalits make use of either one of these models to escape from caste-based social exclusion. In the beginning, the movements which were launched for Dalit's upliftment were more reformatory in nature; but later there were also some movements which were transformative in nature.

Due to lack of access to mainstream political organizations and increasingly aggravated with the slower pace of reforms, Dalits started resisting subjugation and discrimination in two ways: one was peaceful protest and another through open confrontation and struggle. Particularly since the early 1990s, Dalit organizations started mobilizing Dalits to protest peacefully against the human rights violations and discrimination suffered by them. These movements gained momentum under the guidance of some of the prominent Dalit leaders.

Over a period, India witnessed many social reform movements in order to improve the situation of Dalits. The subjugated condition of Dalits drew the attention of both Dalit and non-Dalit leaders. Among the Dalit leaders, the most prominent are Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Jyotiba Phule. On the other hand, Swamy Vivekananda, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati and Mahatma Gandhi are some non-Dalit leaders who tried to uplift the Dalits in society by their efforts to mitigate untouchability and social restrictions which were imposed on them.

The major issues around which most of the Dalit movements have been centred in colonial and post-colonial India are confined to the problem of untouchability. In this sense, these movements are predominantly anti-untouchability movement. But at the same time, these movements also raised issues of agricultural labourers as Dalits are mostly engaged in such activity. The issue of increasing or maintaining reservations in elections, government jobs and welfare programmes has also concerned the leaders of these movements. Further, issues of education, employment and special rights remained the dominant strategy of Dalit movement in India.

Ambedkar's views on the caste system and untouchability have evolved through interaction both with mainstream neo-classical economic theory and the Marxian approach. But unlike the Marxists, he also stressed on the role of Hindu religious philosophy in mutually reinforcing economic forces and institution. For Ambedkar, both Brahmanism and capitalism are the twin enemies of Dalits. The Mahars of Maharashtra under the leadership of Ambedkar also initiated the Buddhist conversion movement in the mid-1950s. But since early 1930s, Ambedkar was very clear that to improve their status, Dalits must renounce Hindu religion. Ambedkar believed that there was no salvation for the untouchables so long as they remained in the Hindu fold. And it was his conviction that religion was the source of power. While embracing Buddhism in 1956, he argued that "religion is necessary for people in distress".

The efforts made by Ambedkar not only elevated the subjugated position of Dalits but also mobilized them to make efforts for their rights. The theoretical footings of the Dalit intellectual movement can be traced in subaltern perspective. As a spokesperson of this perspective, Ambedkar urged Indians to analyze Indian society from the Dalit standpoint. Therefore, the Dalit writers seek 'Ambedkarism' as a guiding ideology based on equality, liberty, fraternity and social justice to change the existing unequal society. The emergence of Dalit intellectuals has helped the Dalits to express their grievances and exploitation along with

highlighting the achievements of Dalit scholars at local as well as global level.

After Ambedkar many significant developments took place in the Dalit movements. There are many factors that are responsible for the rise of Dalit movements in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The major factors include entry of Dalits into military services, Dalit reform movements, Dalit education, conversions, missionary activities, Islamic revivalism, and Hindu reforms. On the other hand, there are some minor factors like land settlement, industry, communication facilities, education, press and books, legal system etc. which have contributed in the rise and development of Dalit movements in India.

Check Your Progress:

1. Elaborate on Ambedkar and Dalit movement.

9.3 OBC MOVEMENTS – CONTEXT, CAUSES, AND DYNAMICS

Other Backward Classes (OBCs) – a political category comprising various jatis at different levels of social and economic development. The higher-end OBCs have land and political power, while the intermediate ones have land combined with social backwardness. The lower-end ones, or the Extremely Backwards Classes (EBCs) have neither. What is common between them is their location on the caste-ladder, perched between the ‘outcastes’ and the higher-up caste Hindus. They are entrenched within the Hindu fold despite being at the lower end of the ladder.

More importantly, the OBCs have witnessed social and economic mobility. A recent International Monetary Fund report cited OBCs as enjoying the fastest inter-generational mobility compared to even the higher castes. They became tenants and landowners, unlike the Dalits. They experienced movement into the formal economy, higher education and job opportunities owing to the implementation of the Mandal Commission in 1990.

OBC mobilisation was often referred to as the ‘second democratic upsurge’, it was typified as representing ‘secular upsurge’ as both Hindus and Muslims were included in the OBC list. The OBCs have not experienced untouchability, but they are backward in social and educational [Art. 15 (4), 16(4)] terms an underrepresented in governmental positions. Thus, OBCs are socially and educationally backward classes. The OBCs are heterogeneous groups that consist of multiple castes which are placed in the graded social hierarchy and have been traditionally engaged in different caste-based occupations. In terms

of such hierarchy, the OBCs consist of castes situated in the middle of the social hierarchy. Thus, class in OBC represents nothing but a group of several castes.

Thus, in terms of occupational and social composition, the castes which are addressed by the generic category OBCs, consist of middle castes owning and cultivating land, and the castes are placed lower than them in the social hierarchy. Most belonging to latter is related to traditional occupations defined by the Jajmani system i.e. service castes such as barbers, carpenters, potters, water carriers etc. Their caste names and numbers vary from state to state. It is important to note that while the castes placed in the lower social hierarchy are generally placed in the OBC category in various states, not all middle castes having ownership of land and involved in cultivation are recognised as OBCs at the central level.

The middle castes land owning or land cultivating caste such as Yadavs, Gujars, Rajasthan, Koeris, Kurmis, Jats in north Indian states like Delhi, UP, Bihar, Rajasthan; Vokkaligas and Lingayats in Karnataka are examples of land-owning middle castes being recognized as OBCs. The caste groups like Kappus in Andhra Pradesh, Patels in Gujarat or Marathas in Maharashtra have been demanding that they be recognized as the OBCs. By the 1970s, the land-owning middle castes emerged as an articulate and politically vocal class. They came to be addressed by different names in academic and political discourse like - middle peasants, rich farmers, kulaks or 'bullock capitalists'. As the OBCs in general belong to middle and lower castes and classes, these groups have been focus of mobilisation by the socialist groups, generally inspired by Ram Manohar Lohia. One of the principal objectives of the socialist mobilisation was to empower the OBCs.

The main issues concerning the OBCs are relating to the demand for new caste groups to be included in the OBC category; the demand of sub-division of OBC quota into two groups – the MBCs or the EBCs; demand of some MBCs or OBCs to be recognised by the government as the SC or ST communities; demand for recognition of cultural symbols of castes or seeking awards like those of 'Bharat-Ratna' for their own caste heroes or declaration of public holidays in the memory of their caste icons, symbols or heroes. Some of the instances of such demands include: demand of Marathas in Maharashtra, Patels in Gujarat, Jats of in Rajasthan (till 1999 when they became the OBCs) and of Haryana, Kappus in Andhra Pradesh, Marathas in Maharashtra to be identified in the OBC list in their respective states. The governments have responded to such demands in different ways.

It is important to note that the mobilisation of the OBCs started in southern India much before it began in northern India. Although the reservation for the OBCs in the public institutions in the states was introduced at different times in different states up to the late 1970s, the first attempt to do so at all India level happened after the Mandal Commission Report was introduced by the V.P. Singh government in 1990. In real sense, the Mandal Commission Report was the first report which led to introduction of reservation for the OBCs at the all-India level.

Check Your Progress:

1. Who are the OBCs ?

9.4 SUMMARY

Dalits, and OBCs belong to the marginalised sections of society. They are among the politically conscious sections. Dalits, and OBCs as marginalised groups have some common issues and some group-specific issues. The common issues are related to equality, freedom, social discrimination, self-respect, social justice, etc. The specific issues include: in case of Dalits and OBCs, the injustice arising from caste inequalities.

9.5 QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the features of Dalit movement in the Pre-Independence period.
2. What are the major issues with the Dalits?
3. What kind of problems do OBCs face in India?
4. Elaborate on the significance of the Mnadal Commission.

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WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

Unit Structure

- 10.0 Objectives
- 10.1 Introduction
- 10.2 History of Feminism
- 10.3 Tracking the Movement
- 10.4 Initial Efforts
- 10.5 Tactics used
- 10.6 Social Changes
- 10.7 Women's Movement
- 10.8 Women's Movement in India
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10.0 OBJECTIVES

- To introduce you to the concept of Feminism.
- To understand the Feminist Movements.
- To Analyze the Feminist Movements in India.

10.1 INTRODUCTION

The Women's Movement also known as the Suffrage movement, Women's Liberation, or simply, Women's Lib is a series of campaigns on issues such as reproductive rights (sometimes including abortion), domestic violence, maternity leave, equal pay, sexual harassment, and sexual violence. The goals of the movement vary from country to country.

10.2 HISTORY OF FEMINISM

The history of feminist movements has been divided into three "waves" by feminist scholars. Each is described as dealing with different aspects of the same feminist issues. The first wave refers to the feminism movement of the 18th through early 20th centuries, which dealt mainly with the Suffrage movement. Writers such as Virginia Woolf are associated with the ideas of the First Wave of feminism. In her book *A Room of One's Own* (book), Woolf "describes how men socially and psychologically dominate women". The argument of the book is that "women are simultaneously victims of themselves as well as victims of men and are

upholders of society by acting as mirrors to men" She recognizes the social constructs that restrict women in society and uses literature to contextualize it for other women.

The second wave (1960s-1980s) dealt gender inequality in laws and culture. It built upon the established goals of the First Wave and began to adapt the ideas to American culture. Simone De Beauvoir is very much associated with this wave because of her idea of women as "the other". This idea was touched upon in the writing of Virginia Woolf and was adapted to apply not only to the gender roles of women in the household or at work, but their sexuality as well. Beauvoir set the tone for later Feminist theory. The Third wave of Feminism (1990s-current), is seen as both a continuation and a response to the perceived failures of the Second-wave.

In addition to "responding" to the Second Wave, the Third Wave was less of a reaction to current events and more a focus on developing the different achievements of women in America. The Feminist Movement grew during the Third Wave of feminism to incorporate a greater number of women who may not have previously identified with the dynamic and goals that were established at the start of the movement. Although criticized as purely an addition to the Second Wave, the Third Wave very much holds its own additions to the Feminist Movement as a whole. In order to explore the history, events, and structure of the Feminist movement it is imperative to explore different figures, specific protests and demonstrations, as well as the transformation in American culture as a whole. The feminist movement is essentially one that has worked and continues to work against the status quo in American society. According to bell hook, "Feminism is a struggle against sexist oppression. Therefore, it is necessarily a struggle to eradicate the ideology of domination that permeates Western culture on various levels, as well as a commitment to reorganizing society so that the self-development of people can take precedence over imperialism, economic expansion and material desires."

Countering these standards is part of the Feminist Movement's agenda and, although differing during the progression of waves, it was a movement started to also challenge the political structure. In thinking of a social movement as a collective, organized, sustained, non-institutional challenge to authorities, power holders, or culture beliefs or practices it can be said the Feminist Movement in all aspects a large and long lasting social movement. This is assuming that a social movement must exist with more than one person and by all means the Feminist Movement is one that is multifaceted incorporating the efforts of individuals who may not have affiliated themselves with the movement yet helped the goals of the movement become attainable. There are examples of different groups who were part of the movement that rejected the institution of the American system of capitalism, however, the agenda of the First and Second waves worked with the American political system in order to gain more rights.

10.3 TRACKING THE MOVEMENT

The feminist movement reaches far back before the 18th century, feminist movement were planted during the late part of that century. Christine de Pizan, a late medieval writer, was possibly the earliest feminist in the western tradition. She is believed to be the first woman to make a beautiful piece of writing. Feminist thought began to take a more substantial shape during The Enlightenment with such thinkers as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and the Marquis de Condorcet championing women's education. The first scientific society for women was founded in Middelburg, a city in the south of the Dutch republic, in 1785. Journals for women which focused on issues like science became popular during this period as well.

The period of feminist activity during the nineteenth century and early twentieth century in the United Kingdom and the United States is referred to as the first wave of feminism. It was sometime in the 1920's when feminism died in the US. It focused primarily on gaining the right of women's suffrage. The term, "first-wave," was coined retrospectively after the term second-wave feminism began to be used to describe a newer feminist movement that focused as much on fighting social and cultural inequalities as further political inequalities.

In Britain, the Suffragettes campaigned for the women's vote, which was eventually granted - to some women in 1918 and to all in 1928 - as much because of the part played by British women during the First World War, as of the efforts of the Suffragists. In the United States leaders of this movement include Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, who each campaigned for the abolition of slavery prior to championing women's right to vote. Other important leaders include Lucy Stone, Olympia Brown, and Helen Pitts. American first-wave feminism involved a wide range of women, some belonging to conservative Christian groups (such as Frances Willard and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union), others resembling the diversity and radicalism of much of second-wave feminism (such as Stanton, Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage and the National Woman Suffrage Association, of which Stanton was president). In the United States first-wave feminism is considered to have ended with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution (1919), granting women the right to vote.

10.4 INITIAL EFFORTS

The women who made the first efforts towards women's suffrage were those who came from the more stable and privileged backgrounds. In order to create change, one must be in a position to dedicate time and energy into making change. The women previously mentioned worked very hard to attain the personal and collective goals. Their intentions benefited women in America, but not all women. The developments made for women were for those who belonged to the middle and upper class and

were part of the White race. This was the dynamic of the beginning of the Feminist Movement in America. It was a specific agenda for a certain group of women.

The second wave of feminist activity began in the early 1960s and lasted through the late 1980s. What helped trigger this second wave was the book written by Betty Friedan. "The key event that marked the reemergence of this movement in the postwar era was the surprise popularity of Betty Friedan's 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique*. Writing as a housewife and mother (though she had had a long story of political activism, as well), Friedan described the problem with no name the dissatisfaction of educated, middle class wives and mothers like herself who looking at their nice homes and families wondered guiltily if that was all there was to life was not new; the vague sense of dissatisfaction plaguing housewives was a staple topic for women's magazines in the 1950s. But Friedan, instead of blaming individual women for failing to adapt to women's proper role, blamed the role itself and the society that created it" (Norton, Mary Beth, *A People's History of the United States* pg. 865. 2005 Houghton Mifflin Company New York.) During this time feminists campaigned against cultural and political inequalities. The movement encouraged women to understand aspects of their own personal lives as deeply politicized, and reflective of a sexist structure of power. If first-wave feminism focused upon absolute rights such as suffrage, second-wave feminism was largely concerned with other issues of equality, such as the end to discrimination. The feminist activist and author, Carol Hanisch coined the slogan "The Personal is Political" which became synonymous with the second wave. Second-wave feminists saw women's cultural and political inequalities as inextricably linked and encouraged women to understand aspects of their personal lives as deeply politicized and as reflecting sexist power structures.

In the early 1990s, a movement arose in response to the perceived failures of second wave feminism, it has been termed the "third wave". It is also described as a response to the backlash against initiatives and movements created by second-wave feminism. Feminist leaders rooted in the second wave like Gloria Anzaldua, bell hooks, Chela Sandoval, Cherrie Moraga, Audre Lorde, Maxine Hong Kingston, and many other feminists of colour, called for a new subjectivity in feminist voice. They sought to negotiate prominent space within feminist thought for consideration of race related subjectivities. This focus on the intersection between race and gender remained prominent through the Hill-Thomas hearings, but began to shift with the Freedom Ride 1992. This drive to register voters in poor minority communities was surrounded with rhetoric that focused on rallying young feminists. For many, the rallying of the young is the emphasis that has stuck within third wave feminism.

10.5 TACTICS USED

The different waves of feminism are not only reflective of the cultural evolution in America since the 1920s but it is also the way in which the Feminist Movement used different social movement tactics to encourage

women in America to become active and motivate individuals to make change for the whole of women in America. Although the Feminist Movement has spanned almost a century there are ways in which to breakdown the timeline and recognize how women have framed the ways they have achieved different goals throughout history. It is "By rendering events or occurrences meaningful, frames function to organize experience and guide action, whether individual or collective" The Feminist Movement has been an ongoing presence in American culture and although some women might not have affiliated themselves with the movement their lives have been affected by the influence the movement has had on women's roles in society. Inevitably women have had a part in this movement even if they do not call themselves feminists.

It is very important to recognize that feminism has gone through its own transitions with the different waves. Primarily Women's suffrage addressed white middle class women with a claim that they worked on behalf of women's (in general) liberation. The specific group Women targeted at the beginning of the movement has changed as the movement has shifted its framing.

The identity of the Feminist Movement cannot be determined by just one statement, however, that is what makes it such a dynamic social movement. The beginning of the Feminist movement was exclusive in that, "given such socialization, [oppressed] women have often felt that our only response to white, bourgeois, hegemonic dominance of feminist movement is to trash, reject, or dismiss feminism" Different groups of women did not feel a part of the Feminist Movement because they felt they were being excluded and oppressed by the dominant white women. According to David A. Snow and other sociologists "Value amplification refers to the identification, idealization, and elevation of one or more values presumed basic to prospective constituent but which have not inspired collective action for any number of reasons" (Snow 469).

The three waves of Feminism that exist are examples of how values have been identified, shared, and transformed. The Feminist Movement has worked to redefine certain standards of its agenda in order to include a broader spectrum of people. For example, the movement later included women of different races and sexual orientations. It was only in the fall of 1971 that NOW (National Organization of Women) "acknowledged, 'the oppression of lesbians as a legitimate concern of feminism" The Feminist movement is one that has not ended and will continue in order to support and encourage women in American society to pursue their goals as individuals deserving of equal opportunity. "The Foundation of future feminist struggle must be solidly based on a recognition of the need to eradicate the underlying cultural basis and causes of sexism and other forms of group oppression" An awareness of the oppressions in American society is the first step to making change as part of the Feminist Movement no matter what generation, age, gender, race, age, or sexual orientation.

The feminist movement affected change in Western society, including women's suffrage; the right to initiate divorce proceedings and "no fault" divorce; and the right of women to make individual decisions regarding pregnancy (including access to contraceptives and abortion); and the right to own property. Feminism has affected many changes in Western society, including women's suffrage, broad employment for women at more equitable wages and access to university education. The United Nations Human Development Report 2004 estimated that when both paid employment and unpaid household tasks are accounted for, on average women work more than men. In rural areas of selected developing countries women performed an average of 20% more work than men, or an additional 102 minutes per day. In the OECD countries surveyed, on average women performed 5% more work than men, or 20 minutes per day. At the UN's Pan Pacific Southeast Asia Women's Association 21st International Conference in 2001 it was stated that "in the world as a whole, women comprise 51 percent of the population, do 66 percent of the work, receive 10 percent of the income and own less than one percent of the property".

The social climate in America has definitely evolved throughout history. The definitions of Feminism, Feminist, and Feminist Theory now are not a monolithic term. There are multiple dimensions to the movement that encompass all different aspects of American culture. In America "most people are socialized to think in terms of opposition rather than compatibility". Social changes have not only included the right to vote, greater equality in the workforce, as well as reproductive rights but also the recognition of injustices and the ways in which both men and women can work to change them. According to bell hooks, in order to create change it is essential to recognize that "exploited and oppressed groups of women are usually encouraged by those in power to feel that their situation is hopeless, that they can do nothing to break the pattern of domination".

The movements often take up women's issues but the basis and direction is not specifically gender based. Large numbers of women are mobilized and they participate actively in the movement which then includes some women's issues and needs. Often in the end women go back to 'their place' in the home. So it seems better not to define such movement as 'women's liberation movements'. However, they do lead to the development of a women's movement. Women's participation in these movements gives them self-confidence, they experience the strength of collective action and they learn to take on leadership and decision-making roles. Earlier movements have played an important role in the process of development of the new women's movement in the late 70s and early 80s of the twentieth century. The main difference between these earlier movements and contemporary women's movement is that the latter challenges oppressive social structures i.e. it challenges sexual division of labour and patriarchy in society and the family. Referring to these earlier movements

Geraldine Forbes writes, "the trappings of modern life, education health care, protective legislation and civil and political rights" were demanded within "an ideology that constructed women as socially and psychologically different from men".

We usually say that the changes that have taken place in the status and role of women in society began under British Rule. The British system of education and the principles of liberal philosophy influenced educated men to look again at their own society, social customs and their views about women's intellectual and other capabilities as well as at the wider role that women could play in society. Thus, began a movement, a process we often describe with word like "modernisation" and "westernisation". The (reform and revivalist) movements of this period, critiqued society or looked back to an earlier "golden age". These early movements show that in patriarchal societies, areas of change are identified by men; there was an obvious absence of radical attraction patriarchy.

10.7 WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Women's liberation movements are based on feminist ideology - that women are specifically oppressed as women, and therefore, such movements take up specific issues of oppression. Women's liberation movements prioritize and emphasize women's equality in society. At the same time, they are aware of and support movements of other oppressed sections - dalits, tribals, minorities workers. They are also concerned about issues like environmental degradation, economic backwardness and exploration, communalism etc. They had also participated along with men in the nationalist movements and peasant movement. During the colonial period, we had Saraladevi Choudhari, the founder of Bharat Mahamandal in 1910, Saroj Nalini Dutt, the founder of the women's institute movement, Sarojini Naidu, who started the All India Women's Conference in 1926.

We will see that the women's movement which began here in the late 70s is largely unstructured. It has taken up diverse women's issues, developed new autonomous organisations and it includes several ideological and strategic positions. An ideology explains and justifies the action of a group, the direction of a movement eg. Socialism is the ideology of the class struggle. Feminism the ideology of the women's movement looks at women as an oppressed section of society and aims to fight this inequality and oppression. Just as different groups have their own understanding and interpretation of socialism, so also there are many types of feminism. Very briefly, liberal feminism strives to bring about gender equality within the existing structure of society. Socialist feminism, which is the ideology of most women's groups in India, takes up issues of women's oppression within the context of socialist goals, thus linking up with the struggle against other form of oppression. Radical feminism seeks revolutionary change in all social institutions but emphasizes that sexual oppression is primary.

In 'A Decade of Women's Movement in India' - Dr. Neera Desai writes 'Participation in the Naxalbari movement, anti-price rise demonstrations, Navnirman Youth movement in Gujarat and Bihar, rural revolt in Dhule District in Maharashtra and Chipko movement provided a backdrop for the ensuring struggles on women's issues'. In a similar vein Radha Kumari (Seminar, March 1989, New social Movements in India pg. 21) writes:

The first women's movements of post-independent India were initialised by Gandhian and socialists in the early 70's, but it was only much later that they began to be looked upon as feminist. In the mid - seventies, the far left began to show an interest in women's question, and two intriguing women's groups were formed. In 1975 'The Progressive Organisation of Women' in Hyderabad, which offered an Engelian analysis of women's subordination, and the 'League of Women Soldiers for Equality' in Aurangabad which linked feminism and anti-casteism, saying that religious texts were used to subordinate both women and the lower caste.

The imposition of Emergency on India in 1975 led to a break in most agitational activities. Though there was corresponding intensification of theoretical discussion. In 1977, when the Emergency was lifted, several women's groups which had developed out of these discussions were able to surface and several new groups were formed at the same time. Most of these groups were based in the major cities like Bombay, Delhi, Madras, Pune, Patna and Ahmedabad. Though there was no particular uniformity among them, their members were drawn largely from the urban educated middle class, and this was an important reason for their feeling that their own needs were minor, and different from the needs of the majority of poor Indian women.

In 1971 a committee was appointed by the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare to evaluate the impact of the constitutional, legal and administrative provisions that have a bearing on the social status of women, their education and employment." The report of this committee which came out in 1974, declared that women's status had declined since Independence. There were statistics (the declining sex ratio of women for example) and studies focusing on the failure of government programmes and policies with regard to women to substantiate this. Towards Equality and the emerging research data provided the intellectual foundation for a new women's movement.

By 1979-80 the contemporary women's movement had emerged all over India. Autonomous women's groups had been formed and they took up a range of issues: dowry death and police rape. Campaigns against these caught the attention of the public and also taken up by the press. These are referred to as campaigns that initiated the women's movement. Other issues taken up were, unionising women from slums etc.

Eg.: Narmada Bachao Andolan, led by Medha Patkar against the construction of a dam.

10.9 DOWRY DEATHS

Women's groups took up the issue of the large number of so called accidental deaths or "Suicides" of newly married women. The Mahila Dakshata Samiti (1977) investigated some of these cases and published a report in 1978 to show that these were not accidents or suicides but murders. 'One of the first such case that came to wide public attention was that of a newly wed bride in Delhi. She protested against being forced to get money from her parents, and was burned to death in May 1979. Though in her dying declaration she stated that her mother-in law and sister in - law had set her on fire, the police registered the case as suicide.

Women activists in Delhi came together to demonstrate outside the scene of the crime the home of the woman's in - laws. They were joined by local residents. This demonstration is considered the beginning of the anti-dowry campaign. Initially the campaign consisted of demonstrations and dharnas directed at the husband and his family. Later, to make people aware of this problem, meetings, discussions, street plays and poster competitions were organised. Activists put pressure on police to make thorough enquiries and they exposed the bias of existing laws and court procedures. Women's organisations in the major cities established support centres for women.

The state amended Dowry Prohibition Act 1968, but did not ban dowry.

The women's movement is made of hundreds of different organisations. They contribute on different - issues and come together when joint action is needed. These groups includes those which provide support to individual women in distress - in cases of rape, dowry problems, sexual harassment at work, legal advice is needed. Other groups see their roles as creating awareness of women's issues and they use media and protest actions to achieve this goal. Side by side with action, the women's movement has also emphasized Research & documentation studies. Groups like these, for example the research centre for women's studies of the S.N.D.T. University provide the knowledge basis for further action and for recommending to the government, necessary policy changes. The studies and reports prepared by such groups have brought state and public attention to these important issues.

10.10 LANGUAGE USAGE

Women's movement and feminists are often proponents of using non-sexist language, using "Ms." To refer to both married and unmarried women, for example, or the ironic use of the term "her story" instead of "history". Feminists are also often proponents of using gender-inclusive language, such as "humanity" instead of "mankind", or "he or she" in place of "he" where the gender is unknown. Gender-neutral language is a description of language usages which are aimed at minimizing assumptions regarding the biological sex of human referents. The advocacy of gender-neutral language reflects, at least, two different agendas: one aims to clarify the inclusion of both sexes or genders

(gender-inclusive language); the other proposes that gender, as a category, is rarely worth marking in language (gender-neutral language). Gender-neutral language is sometimes described as non-sexist language by advocates and politically-correct language by opponents.

10.11 SUMMARY

The Women's Movement also known as the Suffrage movement, Women's Liberation, or simply, Women's Lib is a series of campaigns on issues such as reproductive rights (sometimes including abortion), domestic violence, maternity leave, equal pay, sexual harassment and sexual violence. The history of feminist movements has been divided into three "waves" by feminist scholars. The first wave refers to the feminism movement of the 18th through early 20th centuries, which dealt mainly with the Suffrage movement. The Feminist Movement grew during the Third Wave of feminism to incorporate a greater number of women who may not have previously identified with the dynamic and goals that were established at the start of the movement.

The feminist movement reaches far back before the 18th century, feminist movement were planted during the late part of that century. It focused primarily on gaining the right of women's suffrage. It was a specific agenda for a certain group of women. Second-wave feminists saw women's cultural and political inequalities as inextricably linked and encouraged women to understand aspects of their personal lives as deeply politicized and as reflecting sexist power structures. Inevitably women have had a part in this movement even if they do not call themselves feminists.

Primarily Women's suffrage addressed white middle class women with a claim that they worked on behalf of women's (in general) liberation. The specific group Women targeted at the beginning of the movement has changed as the movement has shifted its framing. The beginning of the Feminist movement was exclusive in that, "given such socialization, [oppressed] women have often felt that our only response to white, bourgeois, hegemonic dominance of feminist movement is to trash, reject, or dismiss feminism" Different groups of women did not feel a part of the Feminist Movement because they felt they were being excluded and oppressed by the dominant white women. For example, the movement later included women of different races and sexual orientations.

Feminism has affected many changes in Western society, including women's suffrage, broad employment for women at more equitable wages and access to university education. The definitions of Feminism, Feminist, and Feminist Theory now are not a monolithic term. The movements often take up women's issues but the basis and direction is not specifically gender based. Large numbers of women are mobilized and they participate actively in the movement which then includes some women's issues and needs.

Women's liberation movements are based on feminist ideology - that women are specifically oppressed as women, and therefore, such movements take up specific issues of oppression. Women's liberation movements prioritize and emphasize women's equality in society. We will see that the women's movement which began here in the late 70's is largely unstructured. Feminism the ideology of the women's movement, looks at women as an oppressed section of society and aims to fight this inequality and oppression. Towards Equality and the emerging research data provided the intellectual foundation for a new women's movement. By 1979-80 the contemporary women's movement had emerged all over India. Other issues taken up were, unionizing women from slums etc.

Women's groups look up the issue of the large number of so called accidental deaths or "Suicides" of newly married women. Women activists in Delhi came together to demonstrate outside the scene of the crime the home of the woman's in - laws. Women's organisations in the major cities established support centres for women. The women's movement is made of hundreds of different organisations. Side by side with action, the women's movement has also emphasized Research & documentation studies. Women's movement and feminists are often proponents of using non-sexist language, using "Ms." to refer to both married and unmarried women, for example, and the ironic use of the term "herstory" instead of "history".

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ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

Unit Structure

- 11.0 Objectives
- 11.1 Introduction
- 11.2 Scope of the Movement
- 11.3 Environmental Law and Theory
- 11.4 Modern Environmentalism
- 11.5 Environmentalism as a Social Movement
- 11.6 Origins of Environmental Movement
- 11.7 Features of the Movements
- 11.8 Environmental Organizations
- 11.9 Environmental Ethics
- 11.10 Nature of Ecology
- 11.11 Indian attitude towards environment
- 11.12 Environmental movements in India
- 11.13 Property Rights
- 11.14 Environmental issues and Women
- 11.15 Summary
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11.0 OBJECTIVES

- To introduce you to the Environmental Laws and Movements.
- To understand the scope of Environmental Movements.
- To Analyze Environmental Movements in India.

11.1 INTRODUCTION

The environmental movement, a term that includes the conservation and green movements, is a diverse scientific, social, and political movement for addressing environmental issues. Environmentalists advocate the sustainable management of resources and stewardship of the environment through changes in public policy and individual behavior. In its recognition of humanity as a participant in (not enemy of) ecosystems, the movement is centered on ecology, health, and human rights. The environmental movement is represented by a range of organizations, from the large to grassroots. Due to its large membership, varying and strong beliefs, and occasionally speculative nature, the environmental movement is not always united in its goals. At its broadest, the movement includes private citizens, professionals, religious devotees, politicians, and extremists.

The roots of the modern environmental movement can be traced to attempts in nineteenth-century Europe and North America to expose the costs of environmental negligence, notably disease, as well as widespread air and water pollution, but only after the Second World War did a wider awareness begin to emerge. During the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, several events illustrated the magnitude of environmental damage caused by humans. At the same time, emerging scientific research drew new attention to existing and hypothetical threats to the environment and humanity. Among them were Paul R. Ehrlich, whose book *The Population Bomb* (1968) revived concerns about the impact of exponential population growth. Biologist Barry Commoner generated a debate about growth, affluence and "flawed technology." Additionally, an association of scientists and political leaders known as the Club of Rome published their report *The Limits to Growth* in 1972, and drew attention to the growing pressure on natural resources from human activities.

Meanwhile, technological accomplishments such as nuclear proliferation and photos of the Earth from outer space provided both new insights and new reasons for concern over Earth's seemingly small and unique place in the universe. In 1972, the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment was held in Stockholm, and for the first time united the representatives of multiple governments in discussion relating to the state of the global environment. This conference led directly to the creation of government environmental agencies and the UN Environment Program. The United States also passed new legislation such as the Clean Water Act, the Clean Air Act, the Endangered Species Act, and the National Environmental Policy Act- the foundations for current environmental standards. Since the 1970s, public awareness, environmental sciences, ecology, and technology have advanced to include modern focus points like ozone depletion, global climate change, acid rain, and the potentially harmful genetically modified organisms (GMOs).

11.2 SCOPE OF THE MOVEMENT

Before flue gas desulfurization was installed, the air-polluting emissions from this power plant in New Mexico contained excessive amounts of sulfur dioxide.

Biological studies:

- Environmental science is the study of the interactions among the physical, chemical and biological components of the environment.
- Ecology, or ecological science, is the scientific study of the distribution and abundance of living organisms and how these properties are affected by interactions between the organisms and their environment.

Primary focus points:

- The environmental movement is broad in scope and can include any topic related to the environment, conservation, and biology, as well as

preservation of landscapes, flora, and fauna for a variety of purposes and uses. See List of environmental issues

- The Conservation movement seeks to protect natural areas for sustainable consumption, as well as traditional (hunting, fishing, trapping) and spiritual use.

Other focus points:

- Environmental Conservation is the process in which one is involved in conserving the natural aspects of the environment. Whether through reforestation, recycling, or pollution control, environmental conservation sustains the natural quality of life.
- Environmental health movement dates at least to Progressive Era, and focuses on urban standards like clean water, efficient sewage handling, and stable population growth. Environmental health could also deal with nutrition, preventive medicine, aging, and other concerns specific to human well-being. Environmental health is also seen as an indicator for the state of the environment, or an early warning system for what may happen to humans.
- Environmental Justice is a movement that began in the U.S. in the 1980s and seeks an end to environmental racism and prevent low-income and minority communities from an unbalanced exposure to highways, garbage dumps, and factories. The Environmental Justice movement seeks to link "social" and "ecological" environmental concerns, while at the same time preventing de facto racism, and classism. This makes it particularly adequate for the construction of labor-environmental alliances. ^[2]
- Ecology movement could involve the Gaia Theory, as well as Value of Earth and other interactions between humans, science, and responsibility.
- Deep Ecology is an ideological spinoff of the ecology movement that views the diversity and integrity of the planetary ecosystem, in and for itself, as its primary value.
- Bright green environmentalism is a currently popular sub-movement, which emphasizes the idea that through technology, good design and more thoughtful use of energy and resources, people can live responsible, sustainable lives while enjoying prosperity.

11.3 ENVIRONMENTAL LAW AND THEORY

Property rights:

Many environmental lawsuits question the legal rights of property owners, and whether the general public has a right to intervene with detrimental practices occurring on someone else's land. Environmental law organizations exist all across the world, such as the Environmental Law and Policy Center in the mid-western United States.

Citizens' rights:

One of the earliest lawsuits to establish that citizens may sue for environmental and aesthetic harms was *Scenic Hudson Preservation Conference vs Federal Power Commission*, decided in 1965 by the Second Circuit Court of Appeals. The case helped halt the construction of a power plant on Storm King Mountain in New York State.

Nature's rights:

Christopher D. Stone's 1972 essay, "Should trees have standing?" addressed the question of whether natural objects themselves should have legal rights. In the essay, Stone suggests that his argument is valid because many current rights-holders (women, children) were once seen as objects.

Environmental reactivism:

Numerous criticisms and ethical ambiguities have led to growing concerns about technology, including the use of potentially-harmful pesticides, water additives like fluoride, and the extremely dangerous ethanol-processing plants. NIMBY syndrome refers to public outcry caused by knee-jerk reaction to an unwillingness to be exposed to even necessary developments. Some serious biologists and ecologists created the scientific ecology movement which would not confuse empirical data with visions of a desirable future world.

11.4 MODERN ENVIRONMENTALISM

Environmentalism is a broad philosophy and social movement regarding concerns for environmental conservation and improvement of the state of the environment. Environmentalism and environmental concerns are often represented with the color green. An informal or derogatory label for environmentalists is the term "greenie" or "tree-hugger". Today, the sciences of ecology and environmental science, rather than any aesthetic goals, provide the basis of unity to most serious environmentalists. As more information is gathered in scientific fields, more scientific issues like biodiversity, as opposed to mere aesthetics, are a concern. Conservation biology is rapidly-developing field. Environmentalism now has proponents in business: new ventures such as those to reuse and recycle technical equipment are becoming more and more popular. Computer liquidators are just one example.

In recent years, the environmental movement has increasingly focused on global warming as a top issue. As concerns about climate change moved more into the mainstream, from the connections drawn between global warming and Hurricane Katrina to Al Gore's film *An Inconvenient Truth*, many environmental groups refocused their efforts. In the United States, 2007 witnessed the largest grassroots environmental demonstration in years, *Step It Up 2007*, with rallies in over 1,400 communities and all 50 states for real global warming solutions. Many religious organizations and individual churches now have programs and activities dedicated to environmental issues. The religious movement is often supported by

interpretation of scriptures. Most major religious groups are represented including Jewish, Islamic, Anglican, Orthodox, Evangelical, Christian and Catholic.

Radical environmentalism Radical environmentalism emerged out of an ecocentrism-based frustration with the co-option of mainstream environmentalism. The radical environmental movement aspires to what scholar Christopher Manes calls "a new kind of environmental activism: iconoclastic, uncompromising, discontented with traditional conservation policy, at time illegal..." Radical environmentalism presupposes a need to reconsider Western ideas of religion and philosophy (including capitalism, patriarchy and globalization) sometimes through "resacralising" and reconnecting with nature. A study reported in The Guardian concluded that "people who believe they have the greenest lifestyles can be seen as some of the main culprits behind global warming." The researchers found that individuals who were more environmentally conscious were more likely to take long-distance overseas flights, and that the resulting carbon emissions outweighed the savings from green lifestyles at home.

11.5 ENVIRONMENTALISM AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

Environmentalism can also be defined as a social movement that seeks to influence the political process by lobbying, activism, and education in order to protect natural resources and ecosystems. In recognition of humanity as a participant in ecosystems, the environmental movement is centered on ecology, health, and human rights. An environmentalist is a person who may advocate the sustainable management of resources and stewardship of the natural environment through changes in public policy or individual behavior. In various ways (for example, grassroots activism and protests), environmentalists and environmental organizations seek to give the natural world a stronger voice in human affairs. Though opinions vary, environmentalism may be seen as a spectrum; from the reformist to the radical.

A concern for environmental protection has recurred in diverse forms, in different parts of the world, throughout history. For example, in the Middle East, the earliest known writings concerned with environmental pollution were Arabic medical treatises written during the "Arab Agricultural Revolution", by writers such as Alkindus, Costa ben Luca, Rhazes, Ibn Al-Jazzar, al-Tamimi, al-Masihi, Avicenna, Ali ibn Ridwan, Isaac Israeli ben Solomon, Abd-el-latif, and Ibn al-Nafis. They were concerned with air contamination, water contamination, soil contamination, solid waste mishandling, and environmental assessments of certain localities.

In Europe, King Edward I of England banned the burning of sea-coal by proclamation in London in 1272, after its smoke had become a problem. But the fuel was so common in England that this earliest of names for it was acquired because it could be carted away from some shores by the

wheelbarrow. Air pollution would continue to be a problem there, especially later during the industrial revolution, and extending into the recent past with the Great Smog of 1952.

11.6 ORIGINS OF ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

The environmental movement (a term that sometimes includes the conservation and green movements) is a diverse scientific, social, and political movement. In general terms, environmentalists advocate the sustainable management of resources, and the protection (and restoration, when necessary) of the natural environment through changes in public policy and individual behavior. In its recognition of humanity as a participant in ecosystems, the movement is centered around ecology, health, and human rights. Additionally, throughout history, the movement has been incorporated into religion. The movement is represented by a range of organizations, from the large to grassroots, but a younger demographic than is common in other social movements (see green seniors). Because of its large membership, varying and strong beliefs, the movement is not entirely united. Indeed, some argue that an environmental ethic of at least some sort is so urgently needed in all quarters that the broader the better. Conversely, disunity can be a weakness in the face of strong opposition from unsympathetic political and industrial forces.

In Europe, it was the Industrial Revolution that gave rise to modern environmental pollution as it is generally understood today. The emergence of great factories and consumption of immense quantities of coal and other fossil fuels gave rise to unprecedented air pollution and the large volume of industrial chemical discharges added to the growing load of untreated human waste. The first large-scale, modern environmental laws came in the form of the British Alkali Acts, passed in 1863, to regulate the deleterious air pollution (gaseous hydrochloric acid) given off by the Leblanc process, used to produce soda ash. Environmentalism grew out of the amenity movement, which was a reaction to industrialization, the growth of cities, and worsening air and water pollution.

In the 20th century, environmental ideas continued to grow in popularity and recognition. Efforts were starting to be made to save some wildlife, particularly the American Bison. The death of the last Passenger Pigeon as well as the endangerment of the American Bison helped to focus the minds of conservationists and popularize their concerns. Notably in 1916 the National Park Service was founded by President Woodrow Wilson. In 1949, *A Sand County Almanac* by Aldo Leopold was published. It explained Leopold's belief that humankind should have moral respect for the environment and that it is unethical to harm it. The book is sometimes called the most influential book on conservation.

In 1962 *Silent Spring* by American biologist Rachel Carson was published. The book cataloged the environmental impacts of the indiscriminate spraying of DDT in the US and questioned the logic of releasing large amounts of chemicals into the environment without fully

understanding their effects on ecology or human health. The book suggested that DDT and other pesticides may cause cancer and that their agricultural use was a threat to wildlife, particularly birds. The resulting public concern led to the creation of the United States Environmental Protection Agency in 1970 which subsequently banned the agricultural use of DDT in the US in 1972. The limited use of DDT in disease vector control continues to this day in certain parts of the world and remains controversial. The book's legacy was to produce a far greater awareness of environmental issues and interest into how people affect the environment. With this new interest in environment came interest in problems such as air pollution and oil spills, and environmental interest grew. New pressure groups formed, notably Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth.

In the 1970s, the Chipko movement formed in India; influenced by Mahatma Gandhi, they set up peaceful resistance to deforestation by literally hugging trees (leading to the term "tree huggers"). Their peaceful methods of protest and slogan "ecology is permanent economy" were very influential. By the mid-1970s, many felt that people were on the edge of environmental catastrophe. The Back-to-the-land movement started to form and ideas of environmental ethics joined with anti-Vietnam War sentiments and other political issues. These individuals live outside normal society and started to take on some of the more radical environmental theories such as deep ecology. Around this time more mainstream environmentalism was starting to show force with the signing of the Endangered Species Act in 1973 and the formation of CITES in 1975.

In 1979, James Lovelock, a former NASA scientist, published *Gaia: A new look at life on Earth*, which put forth the Gaia Hypothesis; it proposes that life on Earth can be understood as a single organism. This became an important part of the Deep Green ideology. Throughout the rest of the history of environmentalism there has been debate and argument between more radical followers of this Deep Green ideology and more mainstream environmentalists.

Free market environmentalism is a theory that argues that the free market, property rights, and tort law provide the best tools to preserve the health and sustainability of the environment. It considers environmental stewardship to be natural, as well as the expulsion of polluters and other aggressors through individual and class action. Environmental preservation in the United States is viewed as the setting aside of natural resources to prevent damage caused by contact with humans or by certain human activities, such as logging, mining, hunting, and fishing, only to replace them with new human activities such as tourism and recreation. Regulations and laws may be enacted for the preservation of natural resources.

11.7 FEATURES OF THE MOVEMENTS

1. They combine environment and subsistence issues with issues of social justice. The underlying assumption is threatening the urban and

economic sector that has usurped the environmental sector and rural livelihood.

2. Mobilisation within the movement is against the degradation of the physical environment.
3. The form of mobilisation is that of direct action. Dharnas, Rasta roko, Law Courts, hunger strikes, jail bharo, defiance of Section 144 [of the IPC]. These are the methods perfected by Mahatma Gandhi during the freedom struggle.
4. Underwritten ideology Indigenous Gandhian ideology dominates. The ethical concerns are for dignity of life and right to survival for all, with special emphasis on survival of marginal groups especially women. Women play a critical role as actors.
5. Leaders or even passive supporters of the movement. The leadership for this movement is from outside the community and comprises of urban middle class social workers and sometimes religious leaders. These religious leaders are influenced by theology and bring that within the ideology of the movements.

11.8 ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Environmental organizations can be global, regional, national or local; they can be government-run or private (NGO). Despite a tendency to see environmentalism as an American or Western-centered pursuit, almost every country has its share of environmental activism. Moreover, groups dedicated to community development and social justice may also attend to environmental concerns.

There are some volunteer organizations. For example Eco-world, which is about the environment and is based in team work and volunteer work. Some US environmental organizations, among them the Natural Resources Defense Council and the Environmental Defense Fund, specialize in bringing lawsuits (a tactic seen as particularly useful in that country). Other groups, such as the US-based National Wildlife Federation, the Nature Conservancy, and The Wilderness Society, and global groups like the World Wide Fund for Nature and Friends of the Earth, disseminate information, participate in public hearings, lobby, stage demonstrations, and may purchase land for preservation. Smaller groups, including Wildlife Conservation International, conduct research on endangered species and ecosystems. More radical organizations, such as Greenpeace, Earth First!, and the Earth Liberation Front, have more directly opposed actions they regard as environmentally harmful. While Greenpeace is devoted to nonviolent confrontation as a means of bearing witness to environmental wrongs and bringing issues into the public realm for debate, the underground Earth Liberation Front engages in the clandestine destruction of property, the release of caged or penned animals, and other criminal acts. Such tactics are regarded as unusual within the movement, however.

On an international level, concern for the environment was the subject of a UN conference in Stockholm in 1972, attended by 114 nations. Out of this meeting developed UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme) and the follow-up United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992. Other international organizations in support of environmental policies development include the Commission for Environmental Cooperation (NAFTA), the European Environment Agency (EEA), and the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).

11.9 ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS

An environmental social movement is organized around an ideology based on environmental ethics. Broadly defined conservation, presentation and respect for others are the essentials of environmental ethics. Such movements exist both in developed and developing countries. In the north among the developing countries the environmental protests are organised around issues linked with the health of community and not environmental well being in these contexts. The protection of rights of the other human beings in addition to other organisms is the ideology of the environmental struggles of the south.

Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs - World Commission on Environment and Development Report: our common future. Industrialisation in most developing countries is "based on technology that has been imported from the west. It is capital and labour intensive and therefore generally comes up around cities. Thus there develop areas of urban - industrial concentration which have very high levels of pollution.

The assertion that "environmental degradation is a necessary and unavoidable stage in development can be classified on two counts."

- Firstly it implies the questionable assumption that development must inescapably follow the path used by the developed countries and involve the deployment of modern technologies; and
- Secondly, it does not reckon with the fact that the poverty stricken inhabitants of developing countries are more adversely affected by pollution because of their much lower levels of nutrition and health – the weaker environmental lobbies in the developing countries permit resources to be used irrationally wastefully e.g. Rayon factories denuding a whole region of its bamboo forests.
- Another effect is the creation of urban markets for rural producing urban markets for charcoal have led to rapid deforestation, soil erosion and desertification... and metropolitan demand for cash crops have resulted in, taking away land from food crops.

11.10 NATURE OF ECOLOGY

You are familiar with the Trade Union Movement. It is part of the class struggle that Marx has described. The conflict in this case is over control of productive resources and the scene of the struggle is industry and the factory: As regards Ecological and Environment movement we can say that the conflict is over the preservation, the control and use of natural resources like forests, land and water.

It is easier in theory than a practice to distinguish between ecological and Environmental Movements. Very broadly we could say that environmental movements are closely concerned with economic issues, issues of pollution and sustainable development. Ecological movement are more concerned with presentation of the environment, maintaining of biodiversity, extinction of species etc. These movements started as a critique to certain aspects of man-nature relationship. The early initiatives through men like John Muir focused on the need to preserve pristine areas. Natural areas were according to Muir "temples of the human spirit". Such movements were common in India in the late 70s 80s of this century eg. Nanda Devi and Nilgiri biosphere reserves, and the earlier Project Tiger movement.

11.11 INDIAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS ENVIRONMENT

Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha have their book "This Fissured Land - an Ecological History of India" created an outline which help us to look at our own society in terms of the various attitudes to nature and lifestyles within it. From this perspective we can see three distinct groups of people in terms of their relationship with the environment. The bulk of the poor eke out a difficult existence and essential depend on the natural environments of their on locality to meet most of their material needs. Perhaps four-fifths of India's rural populations (over one - half of India's), another group is the victims of destruction of natural habitats. Development projects like dams and mines have displaced millions of peasants and tribals. A large member of tribals were displaced when destruction of forests deprived them of their sustenances impoverished their lands' and lives and pushed them to seek survival in urban peripheries' Guha and Gadgil call these people 'ecological refugees' as they live on the margins of islands of prosperity.

The group that is the real beneficiary of the development process includes big land owners, workers in the organised sector, entrepreneurs. Urban professionals and others who have the purchasing power to buy goods and services from all parts of the system land also have enough influence to secure access to resources at relatively cheap rates. At this point Anil Agarwal reminded as that the main source of environment destruction in this world is the demand for natural resources the narrate for the consumption of the rich whether they are rich nations or rich individuals and groups within nations and it is their wastes that contribute to the global pollution load and it is the poor who are

affected the most by the environmental destruction. These environmental movements are called new distinguish from traditional Marxism they are aimed at social change. These groups are exploited in ways related to the new processes of contemporary capitalism. But these new processes of contemporary capitalism are left unconceptualized by the Marxists, as the Marxists are pre-occupied with 'private property' and wage labour.

11.12 ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

The national level movements are more famous due to the size, duration, impact and the mediapublicity they have received. The examples of the same movements are given below. Baliapal: The missile firing range set up by the Ministry of Defence became a 'target for environmental protest.'

Chipko:

The forest contractors that logged for timber in the Himalayan foot hills became the focus for the environmental protest. It became famous because of the novel method of human clinging to forest trees.

Narmada:

Construction of Sardar Sarovar dam becomes the focus for environmental struggle the local tribals were to be displaced by the dam. Fish workers agitation: Struggle fisher folk against mechanized deep sea fishing by trawlers is headed by a man of the church. What is unique about these struggles is they take on the state as an adversary. In spite of their fight against the state, they have managed to remain as mainstream movements. They have not got labelled as terrorist, or revolutionary anti-state movements like the Naxalabri movement in West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh.

Tribals are people with simple technology, they are people we refer to as "primitive and backward", yet there is much we can learn from their way of life. Traditionally tribal communities and other simple rural communities too show, a concern for nature and the environment which can help us to understand solve many of the problems facing us today. In the past tribal and other communities had free access to forest produce. The British wanted to exploit the forest resources (Timber for ship building and railway sleepers for example) and they passed forest laws to control use of forest land. Thus there were restrictions on the people who were earlier free to enter the forest, and this led to the first environmental movements in India. The protests of the Santhals in the Chhota Nagpur region grew into what is called the "Santhi rebellion" and the more recent Jharkhand movement.

In the 70s Santhals launched a movement against the planting of teak trees by the Bihar Forest Development Corporation. Teak was planted to replace "sal" which played a very important role in their lives. Tribals and other people who are displaced by unclosed the way of life is threatened by it have always protested against dams construction. Eg: Silent Valley.

11.13 PROPERTY RIGHTS

No discussion about the social movements is complete without reference to issues of property rights. There is no such thing as common property resources. What exist are natural resources, managed as common property or private property or something in-between (Bromley 1991). These different property regimes exist in various forms related to different resources in India. Property rights are rights to benefit streams arising from natural resources. Two types of benefit stream can be broadly stated. A benefit stream that arises out of subsistence economy and which is essential for the survival of the household, such as fuel, wood, fodder, or small timber or water. Here the cost to the individual is in terms of his or her personal labour and the output is for domestic consumption, as against this the benefit stream that arises out of capital investment is measured in the form of monetary profits. Here the input is in terms of production of goods and services and consequences is wage labour.

The rights to the benefit stream arising out of subsistence economy are *de jure* rather than *de facto*, they have evolved overtime based on the specific agro-climatic conditions and therefore are informal in nature. While the rights that arise out of monetary economy are *de facto* and formal in nature. If property is defined as, not an object but a social relation, then when the property changes hands the social relation also changes. State property regime is the focus of; the presentation here. When the ownership of the property changes hands from state. Ownership to private ownership or from one department of the state to the other, it is very easy to infringe on the informal/customary rights of the communities dependent on, the benefit stream for their subsistence. This infringement of customary rights by the state is the crux of the new environmental social movements taking place in India (Omvedt 1993).

11.14 ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES AND WOMEN

Rural women especially those from poor landless and small-farming families are most affected by the destruction of the environment and most supportive of the movement to regenerate it. The accepted role of women in the family includes the collection of firewood, fodder and fetching of water. As a result of environmental degradation, the amount of time required to complete these tasks increases. This is in addition to their other work - household duties, agricultural work, caring for animals. In many parts of India women work 14-16 hours a day. In regions, where the trees and forests are steadily being decimated in hill and mountain villages, the situation is worse.

The acceptance of cash economy has gradually changed the relationship that men have with nature and Anil Agarwal writes. "Even within the same household, we can find cases of men happy to destroy nature to earn cash even though it could create greater hardships for the women in collecting daily fuel and fodder needs." and the experience of the Chipko Movement shows that women in these parts, despite their 14-16 hour back

breaking work schedule, are extremely keen to participate in such work, especially in tree planting. Once women are organised and mobilized, the evidence is that they work with great keenness and they fight any obstacles that may be created by men; and we get as a result some of the highest tree survival rates found in afforestation efforts.

Eco Feminism:

Eco feminism is a significant ecological movement to assert women's closer relationship to environment and their role in presentation of nature's resources. Eco feminism attends to risk inequality by focussing on women since it firmly believes that the base of all unequal relationship lies in man's domination over women. One of the recent of women's strong resistant to indiscriminate cutting of trees the Chipko movement on ecological movements concerned with perseveration of forests and maintenance of the ecological balance in the sub-Himalayan regions. Women being solely in charge of cultivation and livestock and children and lost all they had because of recurring floods and landslides in the Garhwal region of Himalayas. The local village women literally hugged trees interposing their bodies between trees and loggers to prevent their being cut down.

Chipko Movement:

The name of the movement comes from the word "Embrace" as the villagers hugged the trees and prevented the contractors from felling them. The original Chipko movement was started around in the early is "century in Rajasthan. A large group of them 84 villages led by Amrita Devi laid down their lives in an effort to protect trees from being fell down the orders of the Maharaja of Jodhpur. After this incident the Maharaja gave a strong decree preventing the cutting of trees in all Bishoni villages. The Chipko movement gives us examples of how women and men of the same region can have divergent interests. Women have played a most important role in preventing the cutting down of trees, and women are also doing most of the afforestation work-planting fuel and fodder trees organised by the Chipko movement.

The Chipko movement of 1973 was one the most famous in the villages of Mandal and over the next 5 years spread to many districts of the Himalayas in the UP. It sparked the government's decision to allot a plot of forest area to a sports goods company, this angered the villagers because their similar demand to use wood for making agricultural tools had been earlier denied. Hence with the encouragement from a local NGO, under the leadership of Chandi Prasad Bhatt went into the forest and formed a circle around the trees preventing the men from cutting them down.

The leaders and activists are primarily village women, acting to save their means of subsistence and their communities even men are involved in the movement too. Chipko movement figures includes Sundarlal Bahuguna, a Gandhian activist and philosopher whose appeal to Mrs. Gandhi resulted, in the green felling ban and whose 5000 kilometre trans Himalaya foot

march in 1981-83 was crucial in spreading the Chipko message, Bahuguna coined the Chipko slogan "Ecology is permanent economy".

Chandi Prasad Bhatt, one of the earliest Chipko activists who fostered locally based industries based on the conservation and sustainable use of forest wealth for local benefit. Dhoom Singh Negi/Devi and many other village women were the first to save trees by hugging them. They coined the slogan 'What do forests bears, Soil, Water and pure air! The Chipko protest in Uttar Pradesh achieved a major victory in 1980 with a 15 year ban on green felling by the order of Mrs. Indira Gandhi the then prime minister of India.

11.15 SUMMARY

The environmental movement, a term that includes the conservation and green movements, is a diverse scientific, social, and political movement for addressing environmental issues. The environmental movement is represented by a range of organizations, from the large to grassroots. Whether through reforestation, recycling, or pollution control, environmental conservation sustains the natural quality of life. Environmental health movement dates at least to Progressive Era, and focuses on urban standards like clean water, efficient sewage handling, and stable population growth. The Environmental Justice movement seeks to link "social" and "ecological" environmental concerns, while at the same time preventing de facto racism, and classism. Environmental law organizations exist all across the world.

Environmentalism is a broad philosophy and social movement regarding concerns for environmental conservation and improvement of the state of the environment. Environmentalism and environmental concerns are often represented with the color green. In recent years, the environmental movement has increasingly focused on global warming as a top issue. The radical environmental movement aspires to what scholar Christopher Manes calls "a new kind of environmental activism: iconoclastic, uncompromising, discontented with traditional conservation policy, at time illegal... "

In recognition of humanity as a participant in ecosystems, the environmental movement is centered on ecology, health, and human rights. The environmental movement (a term that sometimes includes the conservation and green movements) is a diverse scientific, social, and political movement. Mobilisation within the movement is against the degradation of the physical environment. Moreover, groups dedicated to community development and social justice may also attend to environmental concerns. Other international organizations in support of environmental policies development include the Commission for Environmental Cooperation (NAFTA), the European Environment Agency (EEA), and the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC).

An environmental social movement is organized around an ideology based on environmental ethics. It is easier in theory than a practice to distinguish between ecological and Environmental Movements. Very broadly we could say that environmental movements are closely concerned with economic issues, issues of pollution and sustainable development. Property rights are rights to benefit streams arising from natural resources. This infringement of customary rights by the state is the crux of the new environmental social movements taking place in India.

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HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENTS

Unit Structure

- 12.0 Objectives
- 12.1 Introduction
- 12.2 Meaning of Human Rights
- 12.3 Background of Human Rights Movements
- 12.4 Human Rights Movement in India
- 12.5 Summary
- 12.6 Questions
- 12.7 References

12.0 OBJECTIVES

- To understand the importance of Human Rights
- To familiarize students with significance of pursuing Human Rights

12.1 INTRODUCTION

To emphasize the importance of rights, adjectives like 'natural', 'fundamental', 'human' have been used in the long history of their development. Twentieth century has been described as the century of human rights because the concept of 'Human Rights' became increasingly important in liberal democratic and socialist countries as also in the underdeveloped world. After two world wars, there started various types of movements for human rights, particularly after Nazi and Fascist repressions and curbs on freedoms. Today virtually all states subscribe officially to some doctrine of human rights; in every case, there is a general political theory justifying the kind of society and the political institutions.

Globally, the human rights movement has undergone significant changes over the past 65 years. Since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 – both a landmark and the foundational symbolic framework for the movement – socioeconomic and geopolitical processes have led this movement to experience numerous changes. The founding of a series of human rights organisations in the United States and Europe consolidated the movement in the 1960s. These organisations, like civil liberty activists, became an important actor on the political scene.

By a global movement, it is referred to a conglomerate of social actors who coalesce around common values and discourse and that work together on the international level to meet a common goal: to defend, promote and protect human rights, and strengthen the systems and institutional mechanisms created for this purpose.

12.2 MEANING OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The term 'human rights' refer to the concept that every member of the human race has a set of basic claims simply by virtue of his humanness. They are rights claimed in respect of all human beings as human beings. They are said to be universal rather than national and are different from legal rights. They are claims that belong to everyone regardless of any provisions that may or may not exist for him in a particular state. They are based upon the simple fact that a human being should not be forbidden from certain things by any government. They are inherent in human beings rather than in societies and states.

They are called human rights because they are no longer derived from the operations of natural reason but from what is called 'human'. It is derived, for example, from the fact that a person, who is malnourished, tortured, wrongly imprisoned, illiterate or lacks in regular paid holidays, is not living in a manner appropriate to a human being. According to Macfarlane, human rights are those 'moral rights which are owned to each man and woman solely by reason of being a human being'. Similarly, human rights are possessed by the human being irrespective of the fact that they belong to any state, society, race or religious faith.

The human rights emphasize upon the universal character of rights - rights simply possessed by human beings as human beings irrespective of the fact that they belong to any state, society, race, or religious faith. They are based on the pledge given by the member states of the United Nations to promote 'universal respect for the observation of the human rights and fundamental freedoms'. The Preamble of the UN Declaration says the purpose of Human rights is to set 'a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations to the end that every individual and every organ of society keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teachings and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of member states themselves and among the peoples of the territories under the jurisdiction.'

Check Your Progress:

1. What is the meaning of Human Rights?

12.3 BACKGROUND OF HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The term human rights came into being in the twentieth century. In early centuries, these rights were commonly spoken of as 'natural rights' or the 'rights of man'. The theory of natural rights had emerged in the seventeenth century in the writings of Grotius, Hobbes, Locke etc. which

attributed natural rights to 'natural law', which provided that 'no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty or possessions'. That law, could therefore, be said to give each person a natural right to life, liberty and property, though it also imposed upon each a natural duty to respect the lives, liberties and properties of others.

The theory got its classical expression in the writings of John Locke in his book *The Two Treaties on Government*. Locke termed the rights to 'life, liberty and estate' as natural rights. He further stated that the whole idea of establishing a state was to better protect these rights and if a government violates these rights, the people can revolt against it. The early international treaties concerning human rights are linked to the abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century such as Treaty of Washington 1862, Conference in Brussels in 1867 and Berlin in 1885, laws of war such as Declaration of Paris 1856, Geneva Convention 1864, Hague Convention 1899, the creation of International Committee of Red Cross in 1864.

Prior to World War II, there existed no international human rights law binding on nation states. Two social movements were, however, important antecedents to current human rights regime. The first was the movement to abolish slavery and the slave trade, which began in Britain in the 18th century and gave birth to the Anti-Slavery Society, an NGO that still exists to fight modern forms of slavery, and whose lobbying culminated in the first anti-slavery treaties. The second was the Red Cross movement, which originated during the Crimean War in the revulsion of a Swiss businessman, Henri Dunant, to the immeasurable suffering of wounded soldiers.

In the period between the World War I and II there were other significant beginnings. Efforts were made to offer protection to individuals by means of the 'minorities treaties'. Economic and social rights began to receive international recognition with the founding of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1919 and assistance to refugees was first organised under international auspices in 1921 with the appointment of a League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

It was, however, in response to the horrors of the Nazi Holocaust that NGOs began pressurizing States to lay the conceptual and legal foundations for international human rights law. It was NGOs that were largely responsible for inserting human rights into the Preamble and six different Articles of UN Charter. It was NGOs that convinced the governments that human rights should become one of the central pillars of the United Nations System.

Eventually, a special committee of the UN drafted a Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. The UN Declaration was followed by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950), the UN Convention of Rights (1966) and various human rights conventions and declarations by the European, Latin American, Africa and South Asian countries. Gradually, the concept of human rights spread throughout the world and today in almost all the countries, several

organizations both governmental and non-governmental have come into existence for the preservation, promotion and protection of human rights.

Check Your Progress:

1. What is the role played by the United Nations in the protection of Human Rights?

12.4 HUMAN RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN INDIA

The Constitution of India, which came into existence in 1950, had a rich content of human rights in parts III and IV in the form of fundamental rights and directive principles of state policy. The framers of the Constitution not only referred to the other Constitutions of the world but also to the UN Declaration and charters on various political, economic and social issues.

In accordance with the Directive Principles of State policy, the state passed several acts relating to human rights such as abolition of untouchability, suppression of immoral traffic, prohibition etc. Again, to safeguard the interests of minorities and weaker sections of the society, the Constitution created many independent bodies such as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Commission, Minorities Commission, Language Commission, National Commission for Women, etc.

In India, the last quarter of the 20th century has been a witness to a growing recognition of the place and relevance of human rights due to pressure from various social movements. Human rights movement in India got its germination during the Emergency Rule during 1975–1977 and developed during the post Emergency period. Two major trends were marked by Civil liberties concerns and the rights-based perspectives.

The civil liberties movement was a product of the emergency. Arbitrary detention, custodial violence, prisons and the use of the judicial process were on the agenda of the civil liberties movement. For the following decades, peasant movements, tribal movements, Dalit movements, backward caste movements, women's movements, working class movements, students' movements, middle class movements and environmental movements have highlighted human rights concerns.

Rude shock received from the imposition of the national emergency in India in 1976 made the articulate and vocal sections of society sensitized to human rights. Absence of democratic rights during those eighteen months galvanized students, intellectuals, political activists, trade unionists, artists into action. The educated middle class of India had thrived on an uninterrupted flow of democracy in its national life since it gained independence in 1947. Organisations such as Citizens for

Democracy, People's Union for Civil Liberties (PUCL), People's Union for Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights (PUCLDR) and Chhatra Yuva Sangharsh Vahini were at the forefront of human rights struggles at the national level. Dozens of state-level and city-based groups were also formed during this period.

Even in the post-emergency period, the Janata Party that had earlier raised the slogan of 'Democracy versus Dictatorship', after coming to power with popular mandate, brought into force draconian laws such as Preventive Detention Act, Industrial Relations Bill and condoned Essential Services Maintenance Act and Disturbed Areas Act to repress the toiling poor. During 1980s, those who were concerned only about formal democracy confined themselves to 'civil liberties movement'. And organisations working against repression of the workers, poor, peasants, Dalits, women, and tribal people joined 'democratic rights movement'. This set the tone for human rights movements in India during 1990s that established their networks from local and regional to global level.

Check Your Progress:

1. Elaborate on the Emergency and its connection with the Human Rights movement in India.

12.5 SUMMARY

Although rights are granted in the Constitutions of various countries, the need for universal human rights over and above the state laws was acutely felt particularly after the Second World War due to certain crimes committed against humanity. The lead for this was given by the UN Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 which was followed by the European Convention, UN Conventions on Human Rights in 1966, the African Charter of Human Rights, the OAS Convention on Human Rights etc. The issue of human rights became a worldwide phenomenon in the post war period and it caught the attention of both the developed and developing countries.

12.6 QUESTIONS

1. Mention some of the treaties concerning human rights in the nineteenth century.
2. What is the UN Declaration of Human Rights 1948?
3. What is the role of NGOs in Human Rights Movement?

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MOVEMENTS AGAINST GLOBALIZATION

Unit Structure

- 13.0 Objectives
- 13.1 Introduction
- 13.2 Globalization
- 13.3 Features of anti-globalization movement
- 13.4 Historical Context
- 13.5 Alter/Anti-Globalization movement
- 13.6 Forms of anti-globalization movements
- 13.7 Conclusion
- 13.8 Summary
- 13.9 Questions
- 13.10 References

13.0 OBJECTIVES

- To discuss the historical context of anti-globalization movement
- To examine the key characteristics of anti-globalization movement

13.1 INTRODUCTION

The twenty-first century has witnessed a critical transition process. This century is marked by a rise in social conflicts and uncertainties created by human beings because of the dysfunctional management of global political institutions and the spread of the value of capitalism which are embedded in the process of globalization. Globalization is a widespread phenomenon which includes aspects of politics, economy, social condition and cultural context. The positive aspects of globalization are the promotion of the value of establishing a 'world society' or a 'global village' and the realization of communication between nations, traditions and cultures. However globalization has ossified the development of human society and has violated our original beliefs and living systems. Economic globalization has led to financial crises and political turbulences, in effect setting the stage for anti-globalization movements. In this section, we will discuss the historical context and characteristics of anti-globalization movement.

While definitions of globalization tend to vary, there are several underlying themes relating to discussion on globalization. It is characterized by the integration of national economics and expansion of world trade, the emphasis on profit motive, and the values of consumerism promoted by transnational corporations. Broadly speaking, globalization is characterized by two features: “united-as-one” and ‘strengthening the effect of diversification with opposition” simultaneously. These two features collectively sum up the essence and influence of globalization. Social scientists, especially sociologist such as Anthony Giddens, David Held, Roland Robertson and others have observed similar aspects of globalization. Giddens portrayed globalization as an intensification in worldwide social relations whereby local events are influenced by distant occurrences. Varied definitions of globalization reflect its central themes; that of interconnectivity, intensification, time-space distinction, deterritorialization, supra-territoriality, time-space compression, and accelerating interdependence, among others.

Globalization may be defined as the stretching of social relationships in space and time: a globalizing social system enlarges its border in a way that means social relationships can be maintained across larger spatial and temporal distances. Sociologists such as Giddens, Manuel Castells and David Harvey assert that modern technologies such as computers have played an important role in accelerating social relationships and making them more flexible. The globe has been transformed into a worldwide communication network that affects all realms of society.

German sociologist Ulrich Beck argues that globalization includes the effects of “the-border-vanished” and “no-distance”. This implies that spatial and political borders become less relevant to everyday behavior in various dimensions of economics, information, ecology, technology, cross-cultural conflict and civil society. So, distances vanish as a result of globalization. This means that people are thrown into transnational lifestyles that they often neither want nor understand. In effect, economic globalization reveals a “possible result”, but hides the negative side effects from us.

No matter what the effects of “the-border-vanished” or “no-distance” has been, globalization has its coercive character for all people around the world. The participants of anti-globalization movement are the dissidents who oppose to accept the negative effects of economic globalization, including the problems of inflation, financial and social unrest.

In effect, globalization has three main characteristics which are as follows:

- 1) Through the process of globalization, political powers expand their dominance, while at the same time there is violation of human rights;

- 2) There is ever increasing opposition between different religions and social values, which in some instances have led to a rise in “terrorism”;
- 3) Socio-political movements which had a local base earlier are globalizing worldwide, such as the “Arab Spring”.

While there may be some benevolent features of globalization, it is the negative aspects of globalization that have posed challenges to the society which are manifested in the most dominant form of globalization, i.e. neoliberal globalization, also known as corporate globalization. According to critics, neoliberal policies aim to create structures and framework for the economy that allows maximization of profits at any cost. This is affected through minimizing the costs of investment, reducing social security and social safety nets and promoting individualism. The state withdraws from all areas of social life as a result the welfare state and collective responsibility are effectively destroyed. A permanent insecurity of wage and living conditions, an individualization of work contracts means that collective bargaining systems are rendered weak. Growth, productivity, and competition are projected as the only goals of human actions. The key feature of neoliberalism is that the society becomes increasingly dominated and penetrated by economic logic, that is, the logic of commodities and accumulating finance capital. Thus, the stage is set for conflicts, protests and people’s movement.

13.3 FEATURES OF ANTI-GLOBALIZATION MOVEMENT

New Information and Communication Technologies:

Perhaps the greatest weapon in the anti-globalists’ arsenal is the Internet’s ability to spread messages. The most important feature of anti-globalization movement is the innovative use of new information and communication technologies (ICTs). ICTs are used to organize actions, information sharing, planning and coordination of activities. Websites and web pages contain reflections, analyses, updates, links and logistical information relating to the movement, a fact which reflects the growing power of Internet advocacy.

Global –Local Networks:

The anti-globalization movement revolves around flexible, decentralized networks, such as the Direct-Action Network in North America or Peoples Global Action at the transnational level. One of the features of anti-globalization networks is that they are locally rooted, at the same time, globally connected. Networked movements of today are spaces of convergence which involve a multiplicity of organizations, collectives and networks, each with its own unique identity and autonomy. Anti-globalization movements thus promote global democracy, at the same time, emphasizing on autonomy and local self-management.

Creative Direct Action: Anti-globalization movements engage in various forms of direct-action protest. The more radical anti-globalization activists have adopted innovative forms to draw local and global attention to their cause in collaboration with media. Located in varied contexts, these activists use tactics to generate theatrical images for mass media coverage. They employ the overall blockade strategy in which activists “swarm” their target from multiple directions and help create an electric environment and social drama. They use various techniques like street plays, drama, songs, giant puppets, mobile carnivals as was done in ‘Reclaim the Streets’ movement. Another instance relates to the militant attacks staged against the symbols of corporate capitalism reflected in ‘Black Bloc’. This entire endeavor is designed to capture the attention of mass media while expressing alternate political identities.

Lived Experience and Process:

Anti-globalization movements focus on day-to-day lived experiences of people and incorporate them in the process. Rather than emphasizing on messianic visions or an already established project, activist focus on day-to-day practices. They view social transformation as an ongoing collective process. ICTs have provided interactive ways of collaboration leading to a rise of new political visions. Younger activists, especially focus on direct democracy, grassroots participation, and personal interaction within daily social life. Thus, anti-globalization gatherings, meeting, protests, action camps provide a perfect platform for experiencing and experimenting with alternate ways of life.

13.4 HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In the mid-1990s, politicians and economists were positive about the new developments which were promised by globalization, they went to the extent of proclaiming the dawn of a new age of humanity. It was believed that the shrinking of the globe and the integrating economies of the world would erode national borders, bringing in a new world order. But the reality projected a different story. The era of globalization came into being as a result of unique combination of world events such as; the end of the Cold War, rapid advancements in technology and communication (especially the internet), and the rise of the supranational bodies like the World Trade Organization (WTO).

Some scholars may note that globalization has made important contributions to world populations in varied field. However, it is also true that the accelerated pace of globalization has also proven to be a destructive force to millions, probably billions of people all over the world. Studies have shown how the overall standard of living of people has fallen drastically. Between 1960 and 1980, average per capita growth in all countries of the world grew by 83 percent. But in the globalization era (1980-2000), it fell to 33 percent. In sub-Saharan Africa, per capita growth was 36 percent between 1960 and 1980, and then collapsed completely under globalization. The gap between the rich and poor continues to grow as “458 billionaires possess more wealth than do half of

humanity.” In this context of extreme inequalities, a reactionary movement against the forces of globalization was inevitable.

In November 1999, there were a series of WTO meeting conducted in Seattle, Washington. They had one motive: to further integrate the world’s economies through lifting of trade barriers and introducing other liberal economic measures. Yet, this meeting world become memorable not for any advances in the world trade, but because of the presence of over 40,000 protestors who were chanting slogans, marching and occasionally rioting against the WTO. As we entered a new millennium, a new protest movement was born: the anti-globalization movement. Though most protestors marched peacefully for environmental causes, and for fair labour practices, there were instances of violent anarchists who clashed with the police. This gave publicity to a movement that was primarily opposed to the capitalistic excesses of the modern era.

13.5 ALTER / ANTI-GLOBALIZATION MOVEMENT

The anti-globalization movement sometimes referred to as alter-globalization movement is a broad-based peoples struggle. It involves people from all walks of life; the rich and poor, young, old, white-collar, blue-collar, male, female, black, white, American, European, the workers, unionists, feminists, environmentalists, youths, peasants, the urban poor, indigenous people, marginalized sections of the society, and sometimes anarchists from across the developing and industrialized world.

Although they have different claims on different social issues, they have a common target: to criticize global governments and capitalists who are responsible for the present situation of unrest and conflict. Their main objective is to attain social and economic justice and greater democratic control over their daily lives. In the forefront of these movements are activists who come from diverse backgrounds such as, nongovernmental organizations, parties across the political spectrum, trade unions, mass movements, informal networks and collectives, and revolutionary groups. Thus the anti-globalists include people marching for the environment, the protection of American jobs, religious freedom for Tibet, debt relief for third world countries and several other causes.

A varied number of strategies are employed by these activists which include non-violent civil disobedience, marches, dharnas, rallies, public awareness and at times, lobbying. The anti-globalization movement does not oppose globalization in the strict sense, but opposes corporate globalization, or the extension of corporate power around the world. Taken in this format, globalization threatens local communities and their livelihoods, democracy and the environment. The movement addresses the root causes of various societal problems directly linked to free market capitalism and its aftermath, such as poverty, inequality, social dislocation, hunger, malnutrition and ecological crises.

The organizers and participants of the movements believe that the situation around us deteriorating and that it is their responsibility to express their discontent for this situation on a public platform. These are

often referred to as “anti-globalizationalists” and take a radical position regarding the future of the development of the global society. Their political and social actions and radical standpoints on the current situation of the modern world are seen as integral part of the practice of anti-globalization movement.

Anti-globalization movement aims at criticizing the negative effects of globalization. It is important to note that the position of anti-globalization is not the exclusion outside the phenomenon of globalization, but is a part of globalization. The development of economic globalization has not lived up to its promise of distributing its profits to all sections of the society. Thus the ‘trickle-down-effect’ is not visible. As a result, there is deepening of social conflict between the rich and poor. Anti-globalization movement does not oppose globalization, but expresses strong concern of the effects of globalization brought by the vested interests in the world. Thus, the anti-globalization movement embodies two things: one, it recognizes the globalization of social movement; and two, it takes a clear position on the anti-government and anti-capitalism stance of the movement.

Across the world commentators and activists have observed the emergence of a new movement in the recent years which qualify as anti-globalization movement. For instance, the armed rebellion of the Zapatistas against NAFTA and the Mexican state; high-profile protests against corporate power, free trade and international financial institutions; environmental groups; as well as campaigns against third world debt on several platforms. Scholars such as Kingsnorth (2003) have also included West Papuan struggles for independence; while Amory Starr (2000) observes that such movements also include small business campaigners, peace activists and religious nationalists.

13.6 FORMS OF ANTI-GLOBALIZATION MOVEMENTS

Globalization corrodes the influence of political power through breaking down of traditional restriction of border and shortening the distance. The end of the twentieth century witnessed a series of financial crises such as the Asia Financial Crisis in 1998, the American Sub-prime Mortgage Crisis and European Debt Crisis. Political powers are incapable and unable to stop the expansions of the crises and their negative effects. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, there were anti-governmental demonstrations and protests which are seen as the rise of global social movement. In this section, we shall examine two anti-globalization movements: The “Arab Spring” and “Asian Financial Crisis”.

Arab Spring:

The “Arab Spring” is a term which is used by Scholars and Western media to refer to the series of anti-government movements and protest that broke out in the Arab countries especially in the regions of the Middle East and North Africa. The Arab Spring was not a sudden awakening, instead, it was a culmination of a decade of protest, political activism and media

criticism which aimed at establishing more open and democratic political systems. Tunisia and Egypt has witnessed a number of uprisings against rising prices and unemployment, corruption and political stagnation in the five years before the Arab Spring protest. There were strikes which posed serious challenges to the governments struggling to maintain the economic growth, which was crucial in creating jobs and employment opportunities. In Syria, years of drought had wreaked havoc on agrarian economy. Yemen had been plagued by struggles for power. Bahrain had to endure disappointment despite a decade of political reform. The anti-government movement practiced by world citizens not only spread in the Arab World, but also stretched to the Western countries.

Occupy Wall Street:

Occupy Wall Street (OWS) was a movement initiated in 2011 by the common people of New York City. They protested against corporate greed and widespread economic inequality that was experienced across New York and the whole country. This protest consumed the city, as tens of thousands of individuals participated in the movement. The New York City was chosen because it represented both the center of economic prosperity as also a constant reminder of the financial inequality inherent within the city itself. The protesters also consumed the physical space of the city. Space is central in OWS because it is a movement not only 'organized in space' but also 'about space'. The protestors made a commitment to the de-beautification of the city, and thereby drew attention of the elites. There was a clear intention to use public space for the protest. It was designed to create an image of repugnance for the movement. Observers stated that the protesters utilized 'an aesthetic of disgust' in an effort to repulse the Wall Street elites, thereby draw attention to their cause.

13.7 CONCLUSION

Despite the ideological and political differences between anti-globalization activists, they are firm on one vision. They believe that their struggle is to regain democratic control over their daily lives, reclaiming it back from transnational corporations and global financial elites. The anti-globalization movements bring attention to the fact that there is a democratic deficit in the current global political and economic order as corporate globalization has disembedded the market from society. The unique feature of the anti-globalization movement is that it has the capacity to coordinate across vast distances and high level of diversity, overcoming political and geographical obstacles that have plagued and reduced the impact of past mass movements.

13.8 SUMMARY

Globalization is a widespread phenomenon which includes aspects of politics, economy, social condition and cultural context.

The key feature of neoliberalism is that the society becomes increasingly dominated and penetrated by economic logic, that is, the logic of commodities and accumulating finance capital. Thus the stage is set for conflicts, protests and peoples movement.

The anti-globalization movement sometimes referred to as alter-globalization movement is a broad-based people's struggle which involves people from all walks of life.

The 'Arab Spring' and 'Occupy Wall Street' are two instances of anti-globalization movement.

The anti-globalization movements bring attention to the fact that there is a democratic deficit in the current global political and economic order as corporate globalization has disembedded the market from society.

13.9 QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the genesis of the anti-globalization movement.
2. State the characteristics of anti-globalization movement.
3. Examine the historical context of anti-globalization struggle.

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RURAL AND URBAN NETWORKING

Unit Structure

- 14.0 Objectives
- 14.1 Introduction
- 14.2 Meaning of Networking
- 14.3 Internet in Rural Urban Areas
- 14.4 Railways and Roadways in India
- 14.5 5G Network
- 14.6 Changing Informal and Formal Networks in Rural and Urban Areas
- 14.7 Networking and Gender Gap
- 14.8 Summary
- 14.9 Questions
- 14.10 References

14.0 OBJECTIVES

- To introduce the meaning of Networking.
- To explore the technological factors responsible for increased networks amongst the rural and urban areas.
- To understand the gender gap with regards to networking.

14.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we will try to understand the meaning of Networking and its benefits. In order to understand the main topic rural and urban networking firstly, you need to know the meaning of networking. Further, we will look into the core topic of the chapter, i.e., Rural and Urban Networking. Understanding this topic would be useful to you as we are in the most advanced stage of human kind where communication and technology, networking has been the fastest than any generation. Being a part of the social change, learning about networking through this chapter would help you to get new perspective.

14.2 MEANING OF NETWORKING

The Merriam Webster dictionary describes Networking as the exchange of information or services amongst individuals, groups or that of institutions. Networking can be seen of three types the first one being that of human-to-human networking, building relationship through communications. The second one can be said that of networking as a means of software, through that of internet. The third one being that of networking as transport that is

road, railways as a means of infrastructure. The important thing to see in all three is that all three have a common point that is connecting.

14.3 INTERNET IN RURAL URBAN AREAS

India has one of the largest numbers of internet users due to the larger amount of population. Measuring Digital Development, Facts and Figures 2020, a new report released on February 4, 2022 by the International Telecommunication Union (agency of the United Nations), claims that all urban areas worldwide are essentially covered by a mobile-broadband network. However, there are still alarming connectivity and internet access gaps in rural areas. These gaps are especially noticeable in the least developed countries (LDCs), where 19% of the rural population is only covered by a 2G network and 17% of the rural population resides in areas with no mobile coverage at all (Occam). This is case of that of several countries. Though the Indian context is changing rapidly due to cheap mobile phones and internet plans.

Traditionally, Rural connection is one of the main issues that communication networks face. To overcome this issue, a variety of solutions for diverse scenarios are needed. The current networking concepts must be improved. The high infrastructure expenses and low revenue of cell sites in rural locations relative to urban areas are particularly disadvantageous for telecom providers. To accomplish connectivity in remote places, it is crucial to optimize ground, air, and space networks (Alouini, M. S., Alsamhi, S. H., & Fourati, 2022). This has been the case with not just India but in several developing and underdeveloped, developed countries too. However, there is also change due to the growth of cheaper phones, and cheap internet like 5G which is being recently launched at mass scale.

In India's rural areas, there are 20% more internet users than in the nation's urban centers, according to a recent poll by the data and market measurement company Nielsen. In India, there were 646 million active internet users who were two years old or older as of December 2021. This shows they have had recent acquaintance with internet. According to the Bharat 2.0 Internet Study, only over 60% of rural people are currently actively accessing the internet, leaving space for future growth. On the other hand, urban India has a penetration rate of 59% and 294 million active internet users. Between September 2021 and December 2021, surveys of 110,000 household members from 27,900 households were conducted for the study in each of the 50 states.

Additionally, there are 592 million adults aged 12 and older who use the internet regularly. Internet usage among adults 12 and older has climbed by 37% on average since 2019. Rural users' growth in 2019 was higher than urban users' increase, which was 28%. Over the previous two years, female Internet users have grown by 61% while male users have only grown by 24%. In India, one in three individuals actively use the internet, according to Nielsen. Almost 90% of people regularly access the internet. Eighty-one percent of users over 50 are frequent visitors. Mobile phones

continue to remain the main platform for all forms of internet consumption. Social networking or chatting is still the most popular online activity in India, where there are 503 million active internet users, but watching movies and listening to online music are still among the top five. Nearly 440 million people watch videos online, with 54% of them hailing from rural India. Men and women make up 60:40 of active internet users.

Even if 56% of India's active internet users come from the country's rural parts, online shopping is still heavily dominated by its urban equivalent. 47% of the wealthy class is made up of online buyers. 46% of users are from rural India, despite usage being higher in urban areas, and two-thirds of those who use online banking and digital payments are defined as being urban, wealthy, and between the ages of 20 and 39. The study found that, with a male to female ratio of 69:31, males are more likely than women to enjoy this hobby (Mint).

14.4 RAILWAYS AND ROADWAYS IN INDIA

Urban markets have overconsumption of both commercial and noncommercial products hence the major networks stay here for them as the business exist here. Hence there are several better infrastructure facilities. Let us take an example of the online applications which are selling out products at within 10 minutes. They have a timer within the application to show how much time they took to deliver the product. This shows the changes in the system the speed and the network functioning and existing in quicker pace.

The road network in India expanded by over 14.16 lakh km in 2018–19, increasing the whole length to almost 63.32 lakh km. The biggest benefit came from the enlargement of country roads. In 2018–19, India's surfaced road network increased by 14.64 lakh km, indicating the government's efforts to provide all-weather connectivity across the country, particularly in rural areas.

The length of rural roads climbed to 45.2 lakh km in March 2019 from 44.1 lakh km during 2017–18, according to the Basic Road Statistics for 2018–19, which were published on Wednesday. While district and urban highways, as well as National Highways, all increased in length during this time, State Highways (NH) shrank by 7,300 km. According to the study, rural roads make up 714.4% of India's total road network, a considerable rise from the 61% rate in 2015. In a similar vein, the percentage of NHs has increasingly climbed compared to 18% in 2015, to 21% of the whole road network in 2019. NHS transport a sizable portion of the freight and passenger vehicles despite having a little portion of the overall road network. Given that roads in India carry 80% of passenger traffic and 65% of freight, the expansion of the road network is crucial.

According to the research, as of March 31, 2019, Maharashtra had the greatest network of NHs, followed by Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. Maharashtra has the biggest percentage of state highways with over 17.8%, followed by Karnataka, Gujarat, Rajasthan, and Andhra Pradesh.

53.9 percent of the nation's state roadways were located in these five states. Again, Maharashtra accounted for the biggest network of rural roads, followed by Assam, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh. 42.4 percent of all rural roads in the US are found in these five states.

According to the study, rural roads make up 714.4% of India's total road network, a considerable rise from the 61% rate in 2015. In a similar vein, the percentage of NHs has increasingly climbed compared to 18% in 2015, to 21% of the whole road network in 2019. NHS transport a sizable portion of the freight and passenger vehicles despite having a little portion of the overall road network. Given that roads in India carry 80% of passenger traffic and 65% of freight, the expansion of the road network is crucial.

Railways have played an important role in that of movement of people for generations. Often it is observed that people move from those cities which are having trains to another city. For example – When there is a train from X station to Mumbai then often people from X commute more to the city. This may not be the case where the infrastructure is weak like no railway station, bus connectivity or vehicles people would less prefer to commute. So, historical political and strategic location could lead to a quicker development in a place and thereafter the people would be more moving out and networking too. This is just a example. In these trains, the unreserved compartment is also filled with that of informal sector male and female who commute to the city for weekly market or for selling things.

The Metros are an example of how suburbs are being connected with that of the main city. This would lead to reducing the time spent by people in commuting and even bring changes in terms of population and market in the stations and nearby areas. This can also be seen as the population moving from the center of the city to that of the suburbs. Specially those who wish for peaceful, less crowded and green spaces. This in a way, would put less pressure on the main city.

Check Your Progress:

1. Discuss the meaning of networking

2. How does access to internet helps in day to day lives according to you?

IT Minister announced that the government is spending close to \$30 billion to create a strong digital infrastructure in rural areas and provide last-mile network accessibility for 4G and 5G in every village nationwide. The minister also said, in a speech at the "Global Fintech Fest 2022," that the government has already contacted more than 14.5 lakh gram panchayats. He pointed out that there are measures being taken to bring high-quality, fast data connectivity to every village in the nation and involve them in the growth process, the minister emphasized that "we are now developing a full ecosystem of village entrepreneurs." He added that there are 80,000 new connections facilitated about every month. Building a solid digital infrastructure, developing a digital regulatory framework, as well as promoting social inclusion and the societal demands associated with it, are the three main areas of fintech for the government. The minister also stated that telecom is the basic core of Digital India when discussing his opinions on the legal framework for the internet. While a project on shared mobility was underway, he noted that "the way technology has advanced over the last 5-10 years, instead of a card, probably the mobile phone itself will be used instead" while discussing the integration of payment systems across the transportation sectors.

5G Network and its role in Agriculture:

By enabling 5G precision agriculture produce could be attained at optimal cost. There could be also the increase in the use of crop and animal resources through smart management, and providing best pricing for the end users. Drones with 5G capabilities can be used for remote agricultural monitoring and insecticide, pesticide, and fertilizer application. Crop health, soil health, post-harvest management, fisheries, and livestock can be monitored through that of 5G. The creation of Variable Rate Technologies (VRTs) for site-specific input management is one of the goals of the 5G initiative in agriculture. Farmers may use VRT to apply fertilizer, water, herbicides, and seed at various rates across the field.

Real-time measurements of crop traits or soil qualities can be made by sensors enabled by 5G technology. The needed number of inputs can be then determined by the control system. Using the 5G technology boosting output, protecting the environment, and lowering expenses can take place. The use of precision agriculture can increase production. This strategy uses automation, remote sensing, data analytics, and disruptive technologies like 5G to boost accuracy, precision, and throughput at all levels while lowering costs and labor. Profitability, environmental protection, and sustainability are the objectives.

The utilization of 5G-powered modular IOT (Internet of Things) gateways, which can monitor the weather, livestock, soil moisture, plant health, pest management, and water supply, is one way through which 5G can be applied in agriculture. IOT devices with 5G support may gather data from a variety of sources, update it often, and send it instantly to the cloud. To give the farmers useful insights, data is analyzed using Artificial

Intelligence/Machine Learning algorithms on the cloud. The data might include soil moisture, weather, seed genetics, crop health, historical yields, pH levels in the soil, crop prices gathered from the market, etc.

- What kind of seed should I plant? When do you plant?
- Which kind of fertilizer is best? When and how much fertilizer should be used? What kinds of pests are present in the field? What and how much crop protection should be used?
- How much water is being applied to the field? When, how much, and how often should the field be watered?
- When is harvest time? When should crops be sold? Who should sell crops to? All this could be analyzed through data and accordingly plans could be carried out. Smart farming will guarantee increased agricultural yield.
- Drones: Drones may be remotely sensed to fill in the gaps between satellite and ground remote sensing. By using digital soil mapping, 5G enabled drones with multispectral sensors may be utilized to analyze the nutritional status of crops.

The information related to weather and other agronomic data can be used accurately to apply the right amount of fertilizer to a designated region. After the data is analyzed by an Artificial system, drones scan for pests, illnesses, and weeds to administer pesticides to the targeted locations. Agriculture is responsible for 20% of all greenhouse gas emissions worldwide. There are strict rules in place to limit chemical consumption and soil nutrient loss by 50%. By using drones powered by 5G as previously said, chemical usage may be cut by 15% without affecting production. Drones are also able to gather and transmit data regarding crop stage and field conditions.

Farmers may be able to check on the state of the tractor from their smartphone, which displays photos and real-time data. Tractors can be equipped with 5G-capable gadgets that can lead the operators change the tractor's speed, depth of soil penetration, and spacing between seed rows from a distance. Farm machinery that is autonomous will be more adaptable, efficient, and cost-effective. India is the nation with the biggest consumer of dairy products and has more than 30 crore cattle. But the yield of our livestock is lower. In Israel, a cow's daily milk production is 30 to 40 liters, compared to 4 to 6 liters in the United States. The production of cattle can be improved with the use of technology.

14.6 CHANGING INFORMAL AND FORMAL NETWORKS IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

In the post and pre pandemic in India several global players have started to enter the grocery and other household related market as a result the informal sector workers are affected and the nature of work is changing slowly. As the bigger players, departmental stores have a distribution

network, freezing facilities which, a local vendor would not have hence there the global player can easily over take the smaller vendors. As many of the headquarters are located in the city hence the rural areas are deprived of several facilities the city has naturally. With the urbanization since independence and prior to Independence because of the railways and ports the development majorly was in the urban areas. This has left the rural areas even still less developed. Adding to that there is lopsided development due to socio cultural issues, conflict zones and political conditions and that of strategic location like borders, sensitive zones. On these zones the industries exist less, the higher number of industries are majorly located in the cities specially the metropolitan areas. Today, in metropolitan cities like Mumbai one can order a product through that of application and receive the product at door step in 10 minutes or 20 minutes. This shows the speed at which inventories and networks are operating.

Yet, Kingsley, Malecki, (2004) while speaking several countries point out that many informal networks are used by small enterprises to gather information. The developments in network utilization for urban and rural firms are identical when it comes to issues affecting product development and competitiveness. However, they employ their networks in a number of different ways to address issues relating to labor and export. Informal networks don't require a lot of direct connection between individuals and rely on both local and global information sources. The effective use of informal networks for informational purposes is not proximity-dependent. Instead, the emphasis is on finding "tried-and-true" answers to the organization's problems. There is little evidence to suggest that these small producers' informal networks are drawn to or actively seeking the expansion of formal networks.

Some writers also feel that the complimentary character of urban and rural areas and the complexity of their relationship, which highlights the fact that rural development is independent of metropolitan assets while still having advantages over cities in some ways (e.g., ecological services). They also see that the power issue at rural-urban intersections takes place (Smith, I., & Courtney, P. 2009).

14.7 NETWORKING AND GENDER GAP

In terms of human networking, the greater the networking the quicker the chances of getting job done and less hurdles one would face. Networking specially helps where then there is more competition. Through networking one could also have access to a mentor who had prior experience of the field and hence could minimize the number of mistakes one could take and even reduce the resources. The less resources saved the greater the amount of profit one could enjoy.

Often it could be observed in several society men spend more time in that of public spaces like that of drinking in a tea stall having discussion, exchanging fears, thoughts, expressing themselves, commenting on

society, reading newspaper or just sitting out. This helps them to build connections, networks. This may not be the case of that of a female hence, the lesser the connections many a times greater the difficulty and lesser the opportunities and jobs. Let us take this as an example of a housewife, she has to consider other factors at her household. Even talking to another man at certain section of society for work would not be approved hence she loses several opportunities of networking or being independent with her own income. The female is taught since childhood to remain in the private sphere of household. This makes her get into feeling of inferior and lack of employment, mentor or career guiding individuals. She often continues with the same life where even if she is not recognized but she thinks at least this is available and out of the fear of unknown she continues with the same work (Ananth Raman, 2022).

Check Your Progress:

1. Discuss how drone can be used in agriculture in your own words

2. What is your opinion on networking gap in terms of gender

14.8 SUMMARY

The Merriam Webster dictionary describes Networking as the exchange of information or services amongst individuals, groups or that of institutions. Networking can be seen of three types the first one being that of human-to-human networking, building relationship through communications. The second one can be said that of networking as a means of software, through that of internet. The third one being that of networking as transport that is road, railways as a means of infrastructure. Globally the lesser developed countries even today have poor networks and connectivity in terms of its villages. As well as even in terms of connectivity as rails and roadways. In the Indian context, we are improving our infrastructure both in terms of cities like new metros, national highways. The chapter also discusses the 5G and its possible role in the agriculture which is one of the largest source of income to a large population in the city. The use of 5G aims to improve both the resources, production in the agriculture. The chapter also discusses about the networking gap in terms of human – male vs female. As well as the power structure and hierarchy in terms of big players and informal sector workers and farmers and the impact on their lives.

14.9 QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the meaning of Networking and explain networking and gender gap.
2. Discuss 5G network and its impact/ role in Agriculture.
3. Write a note on Railways and Roadways in India
4. Explain in brief internet usage in terms of Rural and Urban areas.

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INTERVENTIONS OF MEDIA

Unit Structure

- 15.0 Objectives
- 15.1 Introduction
- 15.2 Understanding Intervention of Media
- 15.3 Planning an Intervention
- 15.4 Social Media and Intervention
- 15.5 Intervention of Media in Health
- 15.6 Tourism and Intervention of Media
- 15.7 Summary
- 15.8 Questions
- 15.9 References

15.0 OBJECTIVES

- To understand about Mass Media Intervention
- To learn about the impact of Mass Media Intervention in different fields like Healthcare, Tourism.

15.1 INTRODUCTION

Media has been influencing every human's life in one way or another. In today's time mobile, internet has become part of day-to-day life. Media is very helpful for spreading information at a quicker pace and to a large audience in a minimal time. It has influenced social change, social movement. Media has both positive and negative aspects too. Hence, in this chapter, we will look how the media intervention has helped in the betterment of society. As student of sociology, students living in the digital era, being part of the digital movement, observer this chapter would help you gain perspective into the different interventions employed. There are several institutions also offering courses related to Media like cultural studies at TISS, Masters in Mass Media, Film Institutes which are related fields if the topic interests you want to continue further studying these topics.

15.2 UNDERSTANDING INTERVENTION OF MEDIA

The word media is also used to refer the various public or private institutions that create or distribute information such as newspapers and wire services, magazines, book publishers, libraries, radio and television networks, film studios, and record labels. Notably, mass media firms were previously constrained through limited technology now have access to other platforms thanks to the Internet as a method of mass communication.

In fact, some publishing companies have completely given up on the print medium. As an example, it is now common for newspapers, periodicals, and books to be published on the Web or through Web-based applications, and for musical recordings, television shows, and films to be accessible on individual websites or through dedicated online services like YouTube, OTT Information, opinion, advocacy, propaganda, advertising, artwork, entertainment, and other forms of expression are sent to a very broad audience through the use of mass media, or less frequently, a single mode. A group of primarily private firms that are print or broadcast news and news commentary for a national audience is another common example of mass media (Britannica).

While the Cambridge dictionary discusses intervention as actively getting involved in a challenging situation in an effort to make it better or stop it from getting worse. Intervention is a multidisciplinary term; hence every discipline uses it differently right from medicine to that of politics or philosophy. In other words, it means to take some action.

Meaning Intervention of Media:

Media power acquisition, challenge, or pursuit or strategic ends is referred to as "media interventions." Media interventions can be used in a variety of social, political, and cultural contexts, ranging from reality television and Grassroots media to public relations initiatives. Studies in media, communication, and culture are consulted by the researchers before making any media intervention (Howley).

Media literacy programs use public health campaigns, development communication initiatives and interventions as symbolic power to bring change in society. Media interventions aim at altering people's attitudes and behavior towards their own and the public's health include initiatives for example- Encourage people to stop smoking and prevent HIV/AIDS. Initiatives to promote media literacy also aim at impacting audience perception and usage of media texts and technologies popular in both formal and informal educational contexts. In addition, since the late 1940s, NGOs and international aid organizations have developed participatory communication projects aimed at the social and economic betterment of poor communities worldwide through media interventions (see, for example, Abrams & Maibach, 2008; Romer et al., 2009). (Gumico Dagron, 2001, Potter, 2010).

Through Media intervention it is possible to deliver preventative health messages. A large portion of the community's knowledge, attitudes, and behavior can also be influenced by them. For instance, there is a high chance that consumers will purchase something if mass media portrays. Media intervention even impacts on individuals' alcohol usage, eating too much fat, or smoking as some sections of media show them in a cool or dazzling way. Studies have shown positive effects through media interventions that it can lower youth (under 25) smoking habits, improve youth attitudes, intentions, and knowledge about, boost youth knowledge,

self-efficacy/self-esteem, and change perceptions, including the choice to imitate healthy role models.

15.3 PLANNING AN INTERVENTION

Planning an Intervention is a difficult task, there are several things which needs to be carried out like - The campaign strategist must decide how to allocate available finances among possible pathways, focal behaviors, message types, channels, and dissemination possibilities when developing the plan. Different questions should be asked like should the campaign concentrate on changing fundamental behaviors or is it planning to change peripheral actions? What proportion of the available resources should be used to directly affect the focal segment. As opposed to indirectly employing environmental factors and promoting interpersonal influencers? Which influences should be looked for? What is the most effective way to combine messages of awareness, teaching, and encouragement? How many messages should be used?

For example – If Alcohol consumption is being studied. A healthy campaign planning begins with an assessment of the behavioral aspects of the teenage drinking problem in order to determine which activities should be undertaken by which sectors of the community. The important youth demographics whose drinking practices need to change must be identified by the designer. Before building models of the direct and indirect pathways of media effect, the proximate and each segment's final target behaviors can be identified. A crucial part of the communication strategy is defining target audiences and target behaviors that can be directly affected by campaign messages. Questions like is it more successful to spread the word using primarily small-screen media or expensive TV channels? Is it better to spread out the campaign communications over time or to deliver them in quick bursts?

While determining the community issue or objective one must solve and take the necessary steps. Some of the steps are as discussed below before making any intervention.

- Listing the issue or objective that the community is working to solve.
- Direct examination of the issue or objective
- Performing research
- Interviewing influential community members
- Examining historical or current records
- Set expectations for what "success" should entail. Give an account of what success would entail. In what ways, if at all, will the community or group change as a result of the intervention would benefit?
- The intervention is intended to achieve objectives. Determine how will you make the intervention effective. What will change, when, and by how much?

- Find and evaluate "best practices" or "evidence-based solutions" that might be used to solve the issue or objective. Indicate:
- Potential or promising "best practices" for your circumstance (take into account numerous databases and lists of "best" or research-based practices that are readily available)
- How certain is it each conceivable "best practice" would be able to lead to the observed development? (Instead of other related circumstances or potential influences)
- Check whether the "best practice" would be effective in your community in producing the intended results.
- Check whether the elements (such as time, money, people, and technical assistance) necessary for the "best practice" to succeed are present
- The "best practice" or evidence-based strategy to try in your circumstance (based on the evaluation)
- (Given the evaluation and the literature) Describe the main parts and components of the intervention. Be specific about the following components for each of these five interventional strategies:
- Deliver knowledge and developing skills (e.g., conduct a public information campaign to educate people about the problem or goal and how to address it)
- Access, obstacles, exposures, and opportunity modification (e.g., increase availability of affordable childcare for those entering work force; reduce exposures to stressors)
- Improve supports and services (e.g., increase the number of centers that provide health care)
- Modify the results (e.g., provide incentives to develop housing in low-income areas)
- Modify wider systems and policies (e.g., change business or public policies to address the goal)
- Determine the delivery method each part and element of the intervention will use to reach the community (e.g., workshops for skill training).
- Make note of how you will modify the intervention or "best practice" to suit the requirements and circumstances of your neighborhood (e.g., differences in resources, cultural values, competence, language).
- Create a plan of action for the intervention. Include: Describe the precise change or component of the intervention that will take place.
- Check the resources (cash and personnel) required or accessible?

- Test the intervention in a small-scale pilot study. Find out how to:
- Test the intervention and the participants
- Analyze how well the intervention was implemented.
- Analyze the impacts, repercussions, and side effects.
- Gather input and utilize it to modify and enhance the intervention.
- Put the intervention into action, then keep an eye on it and assess the results as well as the process (such as the effectiveness and satisfaction of it) (e.g., attainment of objectives).

15.4 SOCIAL MEDIA AND INTERVENTION

Given the growing significance of social media in spreading false information, inciting hatred, and inciting violence, there are questions like the doctrine of information intervention can be applied during mass atrocities when violence and hate are promoted through social media channels. In this essay, we specifically highlight the value of information interventions for social media in particular as well as online communications in general. While mainstream media has been subjected to the more challenging information interventions (such the shutdown of outlets). In doing so, we are especially interested in information interventions as a tool to temporarily block social media in response to non-state actors' attempts to silence specific voices or outlets.

Because social media may eliminate physical and geographic access obstacles, it has become more widely used in public health and health promotion. Social media interventions were successful in certain populations at risk for disadvantage (youth, older adults, low socioeconomic status, rural), which suggests that these interventions may be effective for promoting health equity. However, these interventions also have the potential to increase health inequities for people who do not have access to or do not use social media. Welch, et.al. (2016).

Through improvements in physical activity levels, wholesome dietary alterations, and favorable changes to body composition or weight, social media interventions can positively alter behaviors related to physical activity and diet. The use of social media nowadays (such as gamification, multi-model applications, image sharing/editing, group chats) is supported by fresh data that may be used by policymakers, experts, organizations, and/or researchers to guide the creation of upcoming social media interventions (Goodyear, 2021)

15.5 INTERVENTION OF MEDIA IN HEALTH

Polio is one of the successful campaigns which worked through the intervention of media. With Media Intervention by using celebrities like Amitabh Bachan the benefits of the polio dose was emphasized in simple language. This helped in raising awareness among parents and they visited

the hospitals, centers on their own, and willing offered dose to the child. This again, shows the positive implication of media.

Two studies found that immunization promotion campaigns in the media had a favorable impact on immunization rates, either by portraying immunization trends over time (Macdonald 1985) or by conducting rigorous statistical analysis (Paunio 1991). When the Macdonald study (Macdonald 1985) was re-analyzed using time series regression, a statistically significant shift in level was found. Some studies conclude that less was known about how media initiatives could encourage cancer screening. Based on a before-and-after comparison of means, some studies also revealed statistically significant increases in media intervention utilization (Brasca 1987; Shelley 1991; Bonerandi 1992; Healsmith 1993; Pehamberger 1993; Herd 1995; Lowe 1994; Del Mar 1997). The difference in data was estimated positively in the majority of these trials (although not statistically significant). This indicated that the interventions' impact was diminishing with time. For the two research on HIV education efforts, a mixed trend was seen. Based on a description of usage trends over time (Turner 1987) or a before-and-after comparison, both studies concluded that the use of mass media had an impact (Joshi 1988). Both trials reported an increase in the number of HIV tests run, but this did not seem to be due to additional tests being run on people who were at high risk for HIV. However, only one study (Joshi 1988) found a statistically significant change in the level of the number of HIV tests after re-analyzing the data.

Some studies show that people have become aware because of media intervention, especially in terms of heart attack. A similar rise in emergency department visits for chest discomfort was noted by Eppler (Eppler 1994) based on a before-and-after comparison data; this increase was still statistically significant upon further analysis using time series regression. While both studies discovered that the campaigns led to an increase in the number of patients seen at the emergency department, the percentage of patients seen with a suspected heart attack remained mostly steady. Changes in utilization by people were reported in five studies analyzing the impact of media coverage of health-related topics outside of any planned interventions. Here before data means before intervention and after intervention effect cited from Dunn, A.G., Mandl, K.D. & Coiera, E, (2018).

People's opinions, actions, and effects on their health can be profiled using digital phenotyping tools and information from social media. A growing number of examples show how successful digital phenotyping tools that use social media data are, but little is known about their capacity to make it possible to execute individualised and focused behaviour change treatments to improve health. Similar technologies are already used in marketing and politics to sway consumers' spending and voting choices. To improve health habits in preventive medicine, digital phenotyping tools and behaviour modification therapies may perform better together; nevertheless, implementing behavioural interventions in social contexts may present risks and unintended consequences. 2018 Dunn, A.G. Here,

digital phenotyping means through technology a comprehensive digital portrait of behavior of individual who uses smart gadgets are made. It enables researchers to monitor anxiety and depressive symptoms and provide new diagnoses and therapies. By examining the user's internet behaviors, it can also anticipate a disease relapse. For instance, a business can utilize an app to monitor changes in memory, speed, and typing accuracy. The indicators contained in the user's smartphone usage patterns are used for building data in the application.

Check Your Progress:

1. What is the meaning of Intervention?

2. Write in your own observations on social media intervention

15.6 TOURISM AND INTERVENTION OF MEDIA

Research on the effects of new media in numerous sectors is receiving a lot of global attention. As a socially, culturally, and commercially significant phenomenon, tourism, the development of communication technology has significantly altered the field. Although information processing plays a significant role in the tourism industry. In the situation, communication technology adjustments are important. similarly, to every service. ICT allows decision-makers, participants, and service providers to directly connect with the client. Processing information in a flexible and personalized manner has high ICT and traveler demand may expand informational possibilities diffusion (Bethapudi, 2013:25). (Bethapudi, 2013:25). Pre-, During-, and Post-consumption stages of travel are all heavily utilized by new media technologies. Through a variety of new media platforms, travelers locate and gather information on a specific destination, itinerary, route, lodging, and transportation options during the pre-consumption stage.

In the pre-consumption stage, networking groups with similar interests might provide a pool of information. Following the consuming phase, travelers use a variety of computer platform for route planning, navigation, and processing of snap decisions. Travelers are simultaneously posting their real-time trip experiences on numerous social media platforms. by publishing images, videos, and words on websites like Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. Last but not least, after consumption, tourists will discuss their overall tourism experiences. social media friends and communities about their experience. Here, people record, relive, and evaluate their entire tourism activity (Buhalis & Costa, 2006:39). Even

Electronic visa known as E Visa is available by applying online and taking a print out. Compared to the traditional visa this becomes far easy and handy and even saves time and peace of mind.

Media has been used to spread news on family planning. In turn, this has been impacting the nature of population all over the world. There are several key issues which has been spread out through the help of Media intervention like knowing ones' own right like voice against injustice, Child rights, Domestic Violence. This intervention is not often through the modern media alone like television internet, but also through folk media, theatres, puppet shows, folk songs etc. The point is the closer the information related to one's own language and culture the more effective would be the intervention strategies turn out to be.

Media has played a major role in creating awareness about health issues like Cancer, especially Breast Cancer. The undeniable use of media has been during the Covid where it acted as companion to thousands of people by convening the necessity food through those who had enough food, requirement of medicine, objects, news, awareness, information and even operating like a helpline. Through banners, radio the necessary information like precautions one needs to take, especially with children, senior citizens were been conveyed. Media also connects people both to the person who needs and the person who could supply for example during flood times, disaster times. It intervenes into our lives in simple ways, like guiding us where the traffic jam exists through the data like google map, to how to reach there, again through maps.

Check Your Progress:

1. Write in your words, your observation of Media Intervention during Covid.

2. Explain Tourism and Media Intervention

15.7 SUMMARY

In this chapter we began with understanding the meaning of Intervention i.e., Cambridge dictionary discusses intervention as actively getting involved in a challenging situation in an effort to make it better or stop it from getting worse. Media power acquisition, challenge, or pursuit for tactical or strategic ends is referred to as "media interventions." Media interventions can be used in a variety of social, political, and cultural contexts, ranging from reality television and Grassroots media to public

relations initiatives. Studies in media, communication, and culture are consulted by the researchers before making any media intervention (Howley). We also saw how Intervention of Media has played important role in different areas like Tourism, Healthcare. In terms of Healthcare Intervention of Media plays a important role as creating awareness, spreading of right information, assisting and even provide healthy role models. On the other hand, for Tourism Media has been acting as a service provider, connecting individuals through technology, make the services easy. The chapter also discusses different steps one needs to take while conducting any intervention programs in communities or different sectors. Like Testing the intervention in a small-scale pilot study. Analyze how well the intervention was implemented. Analyze the impacts, repercussions, and side effects. Gather input and utilize it to modify and enhance the intervention. Put the intervention into action, then keep an eye on it and assess the results as well as the process (such as the effectiveness and satisfaction of it) (e.g., attainment of objectives). There are several key issues which has been spread out through the help of Media intervention like knowing ones' own right like voice against injustice, Child rights, Domestic Violence. This intervention is not often through the modern media alone like television internet, but also through folk media, theatres, puppet shows, folk songs etc. The point is the closer the information related to one's own language and culture the more effective would be the intervention strategies turn out to be

15.8 QUESTIONS

1. Discuss intervention in detail
2. Write a note on Media Intervention and Health
3. Explain the planning the Media Intervention

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VIRTUAL MOVEMENTS SOCIAL NETWORKING SITES

Unit Structure

- 16.0 Objectives
- 16.1 Introduction
- 16.2 Meaning of Virtual Movements
- 16.3 Nature of Virtual Movements
- 16.4 Social media and Justice
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16.0 OBJECTIVES

- To learnt about the role and influence of Virtual Movements in the society at large.
- To understand the social networking sites virtual movements through some popular movements.

16.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we will learn about virtual movements which mainly operates through different platforms like social networking sites which became popular in the post liberalization and globalization. Many a times virtual movements need not always carry a social message. As the subject that we are studying is that of social movements hence, we are focusing this chapter more towards movement which had a cause, brought about social change than just movements which are ornamental like Instagram reels, trends etc.

16.2 MEANING OF VIRTUAL MOVEMENTS

Virtual movements can be said as part of cyberactivism, commonly referred to as "digital activism". Virtual movements can be seen as a type of activism that primarily employs the Internet and digital media as important platforms for political action and mass mobilization. Virtual movements can be seen as the adoption and use of new information and communication technologies (ICTs) by people and community, such as the Internet and the World Wide Web" (Loader, 2003, p. 1319, emphasis original). This includes social movements that take place (exclusively) online as well as those that employ ICTs. Due to the new functions of ICTs, the literature on online social movements has come to be

acknowledged as a modest but significant subject for research in information science and associated areas.

Digital networks have been used as a platform for activism by activists and computer experts since the early 1980s experiments to the present day. Online activists initially exploited the Internet as a means of disseminating information due to its ability to instantly reach vast audiences across boundaries. In a more advanced society, the virtual movement have been used as a protest that amplified and mirrored offline demonstrations. Email and social media campaigns are some modes through which virtual movements work.

Virtual movements can be seen as an effective tool for mobilizing the general public in politics and offers fresh approaches to interacting with demonstrators. Online activities can also be significant in nations where public venues are heavily restricted or controlled by the military. In certain circumstances, online movements are preferable to potentially harmful "real" actions. Online protests against certain organizations or events could be also subject to misinterpretation due to fake news. Although a large portion of digital activism falls under the umbrella of electronic civil disobedience, some activists demand that such online political gestures always represent a communal interest rather than a personal agenda and that the identities of the people behind them be made known to the public. It can be also observed that different digital strategies involve utilizing various electronic networks. Email campaigns, SMS messages, Web postings, and online petitions are examples of text-based strategies to promote a cause.

Through the coordinated effort of people throughout the world, more expressive activities also take place. Like Virtual sit-ins are a type of online protest when a networked group of people block on one or more websites to engage in an act of digital resistance. An online software that repeatedly requests the specific Web sites carries out the action. The protestors' automated "clicking's," which are simultaneously carried out from several computers across the world, generate so much traffic that the server for the targeted website is overwhelmed. The activity slows down the website and finally forces it to shut down by cluttering the bandwidth (Britannica).

16.3 NATURE FOR VIRTUAL MOVEMENTS

With the coming on Internet there are several social movements which have emerged virtually and are influencing the real world. This is possible with the advancement of technology, easy availability of internet, free time in the hands of individual, the meaning of leisure being changed from outdoor to that of indoor and even handy like devices.

The greater number of people joining the social media, the role of social media has changed from just a social network platform to that of important mode of communication – informal platform or social platform to that of a formal platform. There are online websites like Facebook, twitter,

WhatsApp, Instagram which are major contributors of the different movements and trends. These have influential capacity to a large extent. Specially platforms like WhatsApp are easy to use and easy to forward. Leaving no time to think or reflect and verify. WhatsApp doesn't let any individual to apply scientific template like that of reflecting, verification, observation, drawing conclusion, cross checking. It makes individual like a robot which need not think.

E movements:

One of the similar names for that of virtual movements is the E movements. The advent of "e-movements" and new types of "e-protest" and "e-activism" has demonstrated the significance of the Internet as a tool for social change activists to organize and mobilize several supporters (Earl & Schussman, 2003). The use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) has also helped extensively the social and political scientists for a number of years. Technology has also historically, positively impacted social movements; one of the similar examples to understand the impact of virtual movements is like how in Europe the printing press brought about massive changes in the late eighteenth century (Tarrow, 1998).

Unlike the traditional social movements, there is no strong leadership but the movement many a times begins with an initiator/ victim or a spark of incident that is when there is certain relatability, commonality the virtual movements spreads across different parts of the world. In more recent times, it has been regular practice to broadcast information of social media and inform about it in radio, television, telephones and even use direct mail, fax machines, and e-mail (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Lievrouw, 2006; Porta & Diani, 1999).

A variety of modern social movements have benefited from the new ICTs that are connected to the Internet, such as websites, streaming videos, blogs, Voice-over-IP, and social networking sites. For instance, today's general people who might not consider themselves activists are actively engaged in online mobilization, whereas historically so-called activists have been the main participants in physical social movements (e.g., Hara, 2008).

Traditional social campaigns have included tactics including sit-ins, protests, street theater, and public rallies to engage opponents or those in positions of power.

A number of movements arose along with the use of hashtags. It became apparent as a pressing necessity and as a generation prepared to support a cause. Along with being a voice against the oppressor, doing what is popular, and occasionally even being the voice of the young and progressive.

There are certain questions we need to ask why the social movements become so popular? One of the important reasons is that the movement doesn't require many a times physical presence, one could reside at the

home and participate some of the examples are like the recent online marathon where one could virtually run and one could get medals by courier so that it feels like a achievement motivation and it can further inspire to run to maintain one's own health and society at large too. There are several causes too associated with these virtual runs like that of bringing awareness about global warming, child rights, women's rights, rights for the differently abled people. Certain percentage of the entrance fees which the organisation earns is further donated to the cause. This helps both the community and at individual level to create a sense of community.

Online movements can lead to physical movement as online movements doesn't have time and space and the people can comment participate on it anytime from anywhere hence, through proper social media marketing and strategy things can become famous, or even trend and thereafter it could be highlighted in the mainstream social media and it could be discussed and it could spread out at a much quicker pace. The point to note is unlike the traditional time media was on a location this changed due to online social movement. So, we can say, that the online social movement could be initiated, pushed to seriousness or a proper political movement through that of online social movement.

Check Your Progress:

1. What is Virtual-Sit-ins?

2. What is E movements?

16.4 SOCIAL MEDIA AND JUSTICE

Social media helps in communicating the problem to a large mass of people in a quick time span. It is a platform for organizations, activists, and people to call for justice and to elevate voices and stories, raise awareness, and establish and deepen relationships.

Organizing Community Reactions:

As shown with movements like #MeToo and #BlackLivesMatter, social media has the potential to develop online communities where individuals may connect and receive support. It can influence through worldwide impact by sharing in large, having large-scale meetings that foster togetherness for a cause.

Lived experience platforms:

Building equality for minorities and underrepresented people and groups within society is a goal of many social justice movements. Social media may offer a platform to magnify and share minorities' experiences and difficulties with possibly millions of people worldwide. Minorities' tales and struggles are frequently unknown or underpublicized. Through this exposure, the underrepresented may more directly express their own lived experiences of racial violence, sexual harassment, and other types of oppression.

Events Promotion and Planning:

Occupy Wall Street, Black Lives Matter movement are just a few examples of how social media has raised awareness of problems pertaining to social justice. Sharing knowledge allows groups to organize in the real world around a cause and reach a wider audience. Rapid-Response Events are planned and organized by the political activist group MoveOn in response to actual events. After a political event or series of events, MoveOn hosts material that is readily accessible and may launch a series of rallies with coordinated demands by 5 p.m. the following day.

Sharing videos and images:

In addition to being a tool for organizing large-scale protests, social media may also be used to record them. In the present world, social media is used to capture almost every social activity. News organizations routinely search sites like Twitter for fresh information or moving images of current events. Demonstrators also utilize social media to disseminate images and videos of events as they happened in an effort to influence public perception of the pro-democracy movement.

NGOs and Fundraising:

Social media can be a potent tool for NGOs and social justice activists alike for telling a story, disseminating information, or starting a dialogue about a problem. The mission of the organization can be helped by connecting with and developing an audience.

A social media fundraising campaign often makes use of the audience's variety to draw attention to a single, narrowly defined objective. By increasing awareness, which might result in more donations, this helps to raise modest contributions from a larger group of donors. A call-to-action can help to increase fundraising efforts. Social media offers a forum for promoting charity giving and the neighborhood, sharing tales, and interacting with contributors.

The ideal way to raise money on social media is with a strategic plan that includes both a goal and a plan of action, while also emphasizing the value of creating awareness and naturally expanding an audience. A media strategy that will guarantee that views are turning into conversions is one that builds a funnel from awareness to engagement to conversions.

Collaboration with Influencers:

A message may be considerably enhanced by collaborating with a social media influencer who has enough followers to affect public opinion. To increase public knowledge and perception of a non-profit, a person with a wider audience who takes a stand on a topic or champions a cause may be able to connect with the target donor demographic.

Announcing Events:

Producing an event, such as a protest or rally, a fundraiser, an educational or instructive event, or a clothes drive, can increase community involvement in a cause. Using social media to promote an event gives you the chance to reach out to each follower's audience as well as the chance to attract the attention of and invite all of your followers. By offering an estimate of the attendance, using Facebook as a platform to promote the event may also aid in planning.

Spreading Knowledge:

Using social media may help NGOs and social justice movements raise awareness of their goals, needs, and occasionally even the existence of a problem. Social media may provide a venue for the sharing of tales, photographs, and information in a digestible fashion that engages an audience by assisting in their understanding. The effort to raise awareness aids in the formation of a community around a problem. Although social media and networking may be done with attention and determination, the assistance of a professional with a degree in strategic communication or subject-matter expertise can significantly enhance achieving concrete goals of development and exposure for a campaign or organization (2).

16.5 EXAMPLES OF VIRTUAL MOVEMENTS

These movements have become problem and have helped in raising awareness among a large section of people. The common point of all these movement is that they helped people in some way, to come together and participate irrespective of their location, class, gender, age.

Ice Bucket Challenge for ALS:

In 2014, the ALS amyotrophic lateral sclerosis Association organized an ice bucket challenge to raise money and awareness for the condition ALS (often known as Lou Gehrig's disease). The quantity of the contribution was significant for the association since it allowed it to fund research and assistive technology projects, as well as expand ALS patients' access to healthcare and services. The ALS Ice Bucket Challenge entailed emptying a bucket of ice water over one's head or the head of another person to raise money for ALS research. Due in part to its nomination process, the challenge quickly gained popularity on social media: Once someone had finished the challenge, they would suggest other people take it on. The nominee was meant to forfeit by making a generous cash gift if they declined to accept the challenge or failed to do so within 24 hours. The ice

bucket challenge's low entry barrier, entertainment appeal (self-made videos that were generally under a minute long), and celebrity involvement all contributed to its success.

Black Lives Matter:

The Black Lives Matter movement started as an online group that used the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter to fight against anti-black racism and police violence that specifically targets African Americans. The online community was able to unite, mobilize, and increase its exposure thanks to the hashtag and social media platforms, and eventually developed into an organization with more than 40 chapters that supports black lives. Alicia Garza's love letter to black people, which she wrote after Trayvon Martin was killed, served as the idea for the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter, which was developed by co-founder and strategic advisor Patrisse Khan-Cullors. The hashtag #BlackLivesMatter was used on Twitter over 30 million times (an average of 17,002 times per day) from its initial use in July 2013 to May 1, 2018, according to the Pew Research Center. Although the hashtag took a while to pick up steam in the beginning, it is now regularly used. The hashtag is most frequently used in reaction to news topics that affect the black community or during protests, marches, speeches, and national conversations. According to further information from the Pew Research Center report, the hashtag was often used to express how the black community and

- Violent activities;
- Fatal police-related interactions;
- Police and law enforcement actions
- Particular national political figures and parties
- Racial discrimination and racial issues
- Activism and protests

Using social media and technologies like hashtags promoted knowledge sharing, aided in raising awareness, and gave the Black Lives Matter group a place online to coalesce and organize.

#LoveWins:

The Supreme Court's decision to allow same-sex marriage in 2015 was applauded by a large audience on a variety of social media sites. In order to advance the marriage-equality story, the Human Rights Campaign (HRC) has been working all year long with digital marketing campaigns, producing fresh material and language depicting devoted, loving same-sex couples. With the courtroom triumph, the HRC's #LoveWins campaign was fully implemented on social media, encouraging the posting of words and images in celebration of the victory along with the hashtag #LoveWins. With 97,592,956 impressions on HRC's breaking news Facebook post and #LoveWins trending internationally all day thanks to 7

million tweets and 16.4 million Instagram pics, the internet campaign was a triumph. Celebrities including Hillary Clinton, Taylor Swift, and President Barack Obama took part, as well as other businesses of all sizes.

#MeToo:

For women from various backgrounds who have suffered sexual harassment, the Me Too campaign (also known as the #MeToo movement) provides a source of support. The movement focuses on the stories of survivors of sexual assault from all spheres of life. Those who participate in the campaign seek to demonstrate how widespread sexual harassment is by speaking and sharing tales.

The #MeToo campaign started in 2006 but gained popularity after several well-known actors came forward to talk about their experiences with sexual harassment in the entertainment business. In an effort to spread awareness of the subject and encourage more support for victims, the Me-Too movement, sexual harassment, and assault were made more widely known.

Movements in Iran:

An Iranian Kurdish lady in her twenties named Mahsa Amini was apparently in Tehran when some of her hair was seen. She was sent to a camp for reduction, where she later passed away while still being detained. Her family says that she was beaten by cops before she passed away. The biggest protests the country has seen since the 2009 Green Movement, when many women disrobed certain scarf in defiance of the conservative Iranian government's restriction like their head coverings, which was spurred by Amini demise. Her passing triggered a movement, and women began to cut their hair, burn posters, and raise their voices. People began speaking out against the treatment of women with discrimination. World over celebrities joined and common people joined and shared the feeling of injustice towards women by encouraging them, citing them. Here both movement which started in physical space moved towards online.

Delhi Nirbhaya:

One of the disturbing incidents in Delhi was that of the Nirbhaya case. Through social media several people raised the Saifuddin Ahmed, Kokil Jaidka & Jaeho Cho (2017) discovered in their study that there existed a striking similarity between online emotional patterns and offline protest emotions as discussed in literature through a computer-assisted emotion analysis of 65,613 Twitter posts (tweets) posted during the Nirbhaya social movement (movement against the Delhi gang-rape incident) in India. Formal statistical analysis of a variety of emotions (such as negativity, optimism, anger, sadness, anxiety, certainty, individualism, collectivism, and achievement) shows that they significantly differed across stages of the social movement. As a result, they had an impact on how the online protest unfolded, drawing connections to offline events. The findings demonstrate the significance of wrath and fear in awakening

society's consciousness and social media can play in sharing emotion related to the protest event (5).

Check Your Progress:

1. According to you, are virtual movements influential?

2. Do you think social media can be used to make awareness?

16.6 SUMMARY

Virtual movements can be said as part of cyberactivism, commonly referred to as "digital activism". Virtual movements can be seen as a type of activism that primarily employs the Internet and digital media as important platforms for political action and mass mobilization. Virtual movements can be seen as the adoption and use of new information and communication technologies (ICTs) by people and community, such as the Internet and the World Wide Web" (Loader, 2003, p. 1319, emphasis original). We also discussed the nature of virtual movements like how it can be accessed from any location irrespective of caste, class, gender. There are several factors which has led to the rise of virtual movements like information exchange at a quicker speed, low-cost interest, handy and commonality like causes, values, movement for right. The chapter also discusses several movements like Me too movement, black rights matter movement and the recent Iran movement where females are raising their voice against the existing system where they are marginalized in terms of opportunities, clothing. The chapter also discusses in detail how social media plays a important role in creating an atmosphere for justice, by acting like observer, creating a space for transparency, by sharing news at quicker speed or even by helping in raising voice, creating a space for community like bonding. The chapter also discusses how social media is used by different stakeholders like NGOs for fundraising, developing space for raising awareness on various issues.

16.7 QUESTIONS

1. Write a note on how social media could influence social justice.
2. Explain virtual movement
3. Discuss two examples of Virtual Social movement

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