

### C5 - Social Movements in Modern India

Peasants and farmers movements.

Women's movement.

Backward classes & Dalit movement.

Environmental movements.

Ethnicity and Identity movements.

A social movement essential involves sustained collective mobilization through either formal or informal organisation that is generally oriented towards bringing about change either partial or total in the existing system of relationship, values and norms.

Social movements

1. Integrate
2. Highlight
3. Safety valve | Mediator

#### **Peasants and farmers movements.**

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1. **Eric Wolf** considers that peasants are population that are extensively involved in cultivation and make customary decisions regarding the process of cultivation
2. Peasant movements
  1. When **people living in village communities practicing small time subsistence agriculture** cutting across caste; **rebel against taxation policy, nature and form of land control, introduction of new technology, eviction of land etc.**
  2. Such kinds of organized protest are identified as peasant movement.
  3. Therefore **social mobilization centering on the question of distribution of land, land related taxes, problems of rural labour** comes under the jurisdiction of farmer and peasants movements

#### **Teodore Shanin:**

Paradoxical social identity. Usually subordinate, marginalized. Culturally unsystematic, unreflective, little tradition. Subsistence Economy. Politically driven by outsiders. Caste obstructs Farmer Movements.

**AR Desai ->**

Before Independence -: Peasant movement | After Independence -> Agrarian Movement.

**K.K. Sarkar:-** Tebhaga, AP + Land grab, UP

- Caste gave death to movements

**Barrington Moore ->** Supports the view that caste obstructs Peasant movements.

(People fight for own castes only).

3. Peasant Movement in India can be broadly categorized into 3 schools of thought

1. **Peasant movement absent- (*Barrington Moore and Hayke* )**

1. **Peasant movement in India is absent and social change in India is different on that of feudal Europe and Socialist China.**
2. Believes that Peasant Movement would never be possible in India because Indian peasantry is **not driven by objective class consciousness**.
3. The subjective consciousness driven by religion, caste and language divide the Indian peasantry ---> many peasants consider that terms and condition imposed by landlords acceptable.
4. Therefore Indian agriculture prior to or after independence is neither feudal nor capitalist.
5. Critics
  1. communal consciousness is elastic in nature
  2. Champaran Satyagraha e.g.

- No objective class consciousness
- Only subjective class consciousness Driven by Religion caste Language.
- Landlords conditions acceptable

2. **Similar to Europe-** (e.g;Marxist like *Gail Omvedt, Hardiman, Ashok Rudra* and others)

1. **Peasant Movement** in India is more or less **similar to Proletarian movement** as in case of feudal Europe.
2. different Peasant Movement in India prior to Indian independence emphasized on common economic agenda like abolition of intermediaries, improvement in infrastructural conditions for agricultural pursuits, rebellion

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Sleepy Classes

against excessive taxation. Formation of village cooperative, abolition of forced labour, fixation of rent on the basis of produce and other related economic issues. They also argue that excessive exploitation leading to marginalization of millions of peasants, in India offer conducive platforms for the mobilization of peasantry in Indian society. Therefore Peasant mobilization in India carrying different names, organized by different leaders, appearing in different geographical regions unified the deprived sections of society. Hence it is a form of organized class movement.

- Similar to feudal Europe
- Common Economic agenda against -> Intermediate, Bad agri Infra, Excessive Taxation
- Movement organized

### 3. **Nationalist perspective-** (Nationalist perspectives of *Dhanagere, Ashok Gadgil*).

1. **Indian peasantry is not an economic class. Therefore peasants are microscopic unit of macroscopic Indian society. Peasant Movement** should be considered as a **foundation to national movement** than being a struggle for procuring right over land or produce
2. They consider that nationalist movement in India started with agrarian question and ultimately contributed for making independence India This school of thought indicated that anti-colonial work started from villages and expanded to macrostructure of Indian social and political life.

- Peasantry not an eco. Class
- Micro. Unit of Macro Indian soc.
- Foundation to INM (Not fight for land or Produce)
- Anti – colonial work started in villages

### 4. Transition from peasant to farmer movements

1. Most of the Peasant Movement from **19th century to 1920 --> reflexive, issue based, temporal and community oriented** movements which **demand concession than asking for structural change.**
2. These movements **cannot be considered** as class consciousness in **Marxian** sense of the term asnot driven by **crystallized ideology asking for complete breakdown of economic structure.**

3. However **after 1920** integrative, articulate, **issue based farmers** movements demanded **complete social change and alternation in control** are Mode of production.
4. A **shift from subclass movement to class movement**'. *P.C. Joshi* indicates that a **shift from Peasant Movement to farmer movements speaks about change of feudalist India to capitalists India.**

#### **From Peasant to Farmer Movements**

Before 1920	After 1920
- Issue based	Integrating
- Temporary	change structure
- Community based (less spread)	Alter control, MoP

#### **5. Post Independence movements-**

1. **Gadgil** --> Rising farmer Movement in India that can be attributed to **capitalist adventure like green revolution and growth of co – operative in Indian agriculture.**
  1. Green revolution has consolidated rich and middle classes. These classes have developed frontal organization to protest safeguard their interest. One such of is the rise of '**Bharathiya kisan union**' as pressure group extracting varieties of benefits in favour of privileged section of Indian Peasantry.
  2. **Kannan** finds out most co – operative movements have offered privilege to the rich and middle peasants who have larger share of co operative holding and ultimately got benefitted i.e., justified by their frontal political organization

#### **Farmer Movements:**

- GR
- Growth of co – op. in agri.

1. In contemporary, India farmers are **committing suicide** in different parts of country as the targeted benefits for the farmers are pocketed by the rich peasantry
  1. **Chakravarti** calls this **hegemonic domination** is persistent in India is reacted by the landless masses in terms of popular mobilization like peoples union for civil rights. Peoples union for democratic rights and Maoist movement in different parts of country

Suicides by Margined farmer ∴ benefits pocketed by rich Peasant (Hegemonic Domination)

## Women's movement.

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### Gender Equality: 4 dimensions (by oxford university)

- 1) Redressing Disadvantage
- 2) Countering stigma & violence
- 3) Transforming Institution (social)
- 4) Facilitating Political Participation

**Neera Desai** : WM is sustained, collective action for achieving quality.

### Women's Movement

#### **Pre Independence:**

Led by males

Lacked participation of women

But were meant for women -> RRMR, ICV, Malabari

(exceptions – Pandita Ramaba; Sarojini Naidu)

1920's ->

- Women's India Association
- Emergence of Gandhi & Non-violence
- All India women's conference
- Increased participation of women in outside activities related to freedom struggle

#### After Independence ->

- Constitution ensured protective discrimination
- But far below expectation.
- Led to movements in 1960s
- Various conference in UN related to women's empowerment
- Started people's movement along with activities of the state

#### **Gail Omvedt:**

2 ideologies -

- 1) Women's equality movement -> Equality in P, E, S
- 2) Women's Liberation movement - wants change of structure -> Challenges P, E, S

**1960's** -> Intellectual liberation movement

3 heads (Economic)

- 1) **Developmental** movements -> Eco. + Education status (SEWA, Lijjat Papad, coir movement worker)
- 2) **Ecological** women movement  
Eco-Feminism – Women Problems related with ecological degradation (Chipko, Vesa-Virar)
- 3) Issue based (mainly launched by NGOs, civil society)

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Sleepy Classes

Anti – Dowry | Anti – Liquor (Andhra Pradesh) | Intendence rights  
Anti – rape, Safety movement | Anti–feticide

India still fighting for Equality.

Other points -> SHG, SEWA, MFIs, MNREGA

### **Impact of these movements**

- Increased participation in employment
- PNDT Act
- DV Act
- Increased awareness of ecology
- Increased political participation in PRIs | ULBs

### **Post – 1990s**

#### **4. Participatory movement**

- Better Socio – economic indicators of women
- Increased women leadership (reservation in parliament, corporates)
- Increased participation in higher education.
- MFIs, MNREGA.

### **Honourkilling :**

Honour & shame are vested in the bodies of women, through which communities of men interact.

Case studies: Alex Miller -> Jordon | Sind -> Jajma Noor | Caste, Gender, Patriarchy -> Nikunj Gupta

### **Reasons:**

- 1) Cultural Lag - Ogborn, Nimkoff – Nouveau Riches because of GR, LR but no change in tradition, patriarchy.
- 2) Attempt to oppose Modernity
- 3) Gunnar Myrdal -> Normative vs Instrumental
- 4) Parsons : Institutionalized vs internalized
- 5) AB improvisation -> caste + class + Party + Gender

## Backward classes & Dalit movement

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Backward caste & Dalit Movement: Varna gives Backward, forward castes.

**MSA Rao** : 3 types of BC Movements:

- 1) Brahmins vs Non – Brahmins ( South India) (Shudra – Dalit together) (Justice Party DMK)
- 2) Brahmins & upper Non – Brahmins vs lower Non – Brahmins (excluding Dalits) (OBC movement)
- 3) Dalit vs All ->
  - a) Pure Dalit Movement: Radical By Dalits themselves. SNDP
  - b) Sanskritisation specific (to get higher status) (Nadir Movement, TN, Ramgarhian, Pb)
  - c) Socio – Religious Reform (leadership outside) (Arya Samaj, Gandhi, Sikhism, Bhakti, Buddhism,
  - d) Conversion mvments (Islamic, Christian, Buddhist)

Q. Is there a rise of consciousness of being exploited?

Yes :

- 1) Status diff. b/w converts & non – converts
- 2) Western education bringing ideas of equality
- 3) New occupations (leading to sharing of spaces with upper castes, them protesting)
- 4) Modern Institutions professing equality
- 5) Urbanization
- 6) INM, Socio – Religious Monmt. Brought consciousness

Methods used:

- 1) Protests
- 2) Agitation
- 3) Violence
- 4) Parallel Legitimacy (SNDP)
- 5) Changing cultural Practices (sanskritisation)
- 6) Acquiring Political Power (Justice Party DMC)
- 7) Getting Govt. jobs

Post Independence Fund of BCM:

- 1) Disappearance of sanskritisation in ritual sense ∴ of reservation (though continued in lifestyle ways)
- 2) After Mandal : Skt. Even ceased in OBCs
- 3) Relevance of socio–religio Mvmnts decreased
- 4) But law failed to bring social change -> New BCMs, Acquiring Political Power as aim
- 5) Rise of Dalit Panther, RPI, BSP (Social Engg.) (vertical + horizontal fusing of castes)

### Other important things to know about BCM

1. Backward Classes generally refers to all socially and economically deprived sections of the society.
2. British used the term depressed classes later supreme court classified that the term classes can be equated with caste and hence depressed classes refers to SC and ST while other depressed sections refers to OBCs .
3. **Backward Class movement are mostly found in West and South** while in **North India there has been Backward Class mobilisation** but not movement ---> because
  1. The **traditional caste Hierarchies in North was not so rigid** as it got **weakened after Bhakti movement and Islam**
  2. Brahmins did not rule the secular hierarchy as well (Islamic rulers)
  3. They were rarely the **dominant landlords while Jats and Ashraf Muslims** were economically dominant. Also, **Vaishyas** were largely the **owners of commercial capital**.
  4. Hence dispersed inequality was present in north.
4. In case of South India ritual hierarchy was very rigid .
  1. Stratification was cumulative as brahmins dominated the secular as well as ritual hierarchy
  2. Most graduated from Brahmins in Madras presidency (consisting only 3% of the population and 66% graduates)
  3. Even freedom struggle leaders- mostly all came from Brahmins (Iyengars)
5. Backward Caste movement concentrated in two areas
  1. Bombay Presidency
  2. Madras Presidency
6. **Satya Shodhak Samaj-**
  1. Jyotiba Phule belonging to a gardener caste launched Satya Sodak Samaj as an **anti caste ,anti Brahmin movement**.
  2. **Brahmins** were mainly **outsiders** and **non brahmins** were **original inhabitants** who could be united. (Aryan invasion theory?)
  3. He advocated for **Shudra, Adi Shura unity**.
  4. He said that upliftment of Shudras and Adi Shudras is prime importance than freedom from British rule.
  5. This strategy was that **two enemies cannot be fought at same time**.



6. So he was **ready to align with British** to **fight against Brahmins**.
7. But he also **criticised British for they caused indebtedness of the farmers**.
8. **Gail Omvedt** says that Phule's solution for the upliftment of the marginalized is **strikingly modern** for example as he recommended **bio tech, watershed development dams, inter breeding of animals** for HYV of milk, and woolen which are far ahead of his time.
9. He also emphasized on **Vidya (secular education) and not on Shastra (religious education)**
10. **However Omvedt and Herald Gould** consider that **Sathya Sodak Samaj** was **not a reform movement** rather it is a **transgressive movement (transformation through aggression)** and this is the **foundation to dalit movement initiated by Ambedkar**
11. **David Hardiman-->** argues that Sathya Sodak Samaj and subsequently the initiatives undertaken by Ambedkar has been instrumental for the rise of sub altern movement in West India.

## 7. *Self Respect Movement*

- 1) Political Education of low castes Tamil
- 2) Do away with superstitious & beliefs
- 3) Women rights
- 4) Homes for orphans & widows + their education
- 5) Found support from Reddy, Kammar (AP) + vokkaligas, lingayats (Kain)
- 6) Also, Muslim, Christians supported, ∴ they also disprivileged.

“Swayam Maryada” - More concessions to non – brahmins, Swayam Maryada

1. **Unlike socio religious reform movement -->self respect movement was initiated as a sub altern movement.**
2. Brahminic domination was absolutely exclusive in Tamil Nadu as they got the best from both spiritual and material world
3. Some enterprising educated middle caste non – Brahmins published the non – Brahmin manifesto in 1916 followed by a formation of South Indian Association in 1917
4. After Montague – Chelmsford reform South Indian Association was converted into "**Justice party**" to counter the political influence of congress.

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## 5. Justice party

AB -> SRM, Justice Party advocated Privileges

- Power through secular means
- Anti hindu, Anti Brahmin
- First Justice Party then came
- EV Ramaswamy Naicker
- Asked for reservation
- Congress opposed
- Became anti – Brahmin, anti – congress, anti – Gandhi
- 1944
- Justice party + SRM
- Dravidar Kazhagam

1. No farmer attached to Brahmin should think that his life is a grace of brahmins rather it is the Brahmins who are dependent on non – Brahmins for their sustenance
2. Also focussed on family planning and education
3. Captured power in Madras province in 1920- **Beginning of backward caste mobilisation as a political force**
4. However being a party of urban educated professional middle class was elitist in nature and failed to build a mass base

## 6. Coming of E.V. Ramasamy Naicker

1. He demanded special reservation for non brahmins in assembly which was rejected by congress, so he came out with his own manifesto opposing Brahmins, Congress and Gandhi
2. He found self respect movement in 1925 and advocated for denouncement of brahmins' supremacy
3. Hindu culture should be abandoned as it legitimizes the social hierarchy
4. In 1944 self respect movement and justice party were merged into Dravidar Kazhagam under Periyar. He adopted a militant mass agitation strategy and advocated an equalitarian ideology condemning caste system.

7. **Gail Omvedt** considers that self respect movement exhibits protest against the Socio-cultural economic domination of brahmin through hinduism. Therefore it is **an anti – Hindu and anti Brahmin sub altern movement**.

8. **T.K. Oommen** considers that self respect movement is an attempt of the non Brahmin in search of progressive modernity.

9. **M.N.Srinivas** considers that when Brahmins monopolized over Sanskritisation the non Brahmins wanted to capture secular power.
10. **T.N. Madan** argues that self respect movement is symbols of protest by numerous lower classes that are coming together asserting that Indian society can no longer stay hierarchical. It must cherish the values of democratic and equality but ultimately their consolidation gave way to linkage between caste and politics in India.
11. **M.S.A. Rao** advocates that self respect movement is a **new start in the field of study of social movement** because **all caste movements prior to self respect movement were reformative and revisionary but self respect movement emerged as a reactionary movement with revolutionary ideology.**  
(Pure Dalit Movement)

## 12. Limitations

1. Contributed for intensification of **regionalism, consolidation of caste politics nexus** and **strengthening of cultural consciousness**
13. It finally ended as a reservation movement that was later subjected to horizontal and vertical extension of reservation policy talking about how politics of reservation is predominating over sociology of reservation.

## 8. SNDP Movement: (Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalan)

Parallel source of legitimacy

MSA Rao - Not reformative but a protest movement change in structure not change of structure of caste

1. In later part of 19 th century with the spread of modern secular ideas, Izhavas under Narayanaguru reacted against the domination of Brahmins
2. Narayana Guru adopted a new ideology based on new interpretation of Hinduism
3. M.S.A Rao argues that they adopted the strategy of caste withdrawal and self organization
4. He established parallel sources of legitimacy by creating new institutions like temples, priest, monastery etc
5. It also demonstrated that it was possible to remain within the fold of hinduism and yet escape from the stigma of untouchability

6. The new awareness created among Izhavas by SNDP movement motivated them to take to modern education ,in the long run enabled them access to modern occupation which carried high secular rewards.
7. **Utsula Sharma** in the book “The Dynamics of Caste” considers, SNDP is not a reformative movement rather it is a protest movement
8. **M.S. Rao** argues that SNDP movement contributed for change in structure than change of structure of the caste.

#### 9. **Backward class movement in North India**

AB :

1. Yadavs with the help of myths -> Traced their genealogy
2. Mandal commission mobilized BCS
3. David Hardgrave - Class mobilization driven by caste interests

Gandhi -> change heart of upper caste (Love)

Ambedkar -> change the social structure (Law)

1. Beteille in his book Backward Class and New Social Order advocates that unorganized Yadavs taking the supports of myths, forging their genealogies going for instituted mobilization and ultimately capturing the state power. He believes that Mandal commission has further led to the consolidation of mobilization of backward classes in north India.
2. David Hardgrave, a Marxist, considers that backward mobilization in north India can be best understood as a form of class mobilization driven by caste interest. The BC's specifically the Yadavs speak more about their economy, education and social deprivations than speaking about caste injustice like dalit but ultimately the benefits reaching them is contributing for their secular consolidation both within and outside the power structure

#### 10. Pre independence

1. During freedom struggle Gandhi started **Harijan movement in 1930s** . He favoured a peaceful and gradual abolition of **untouchability through introspection and change of heart on the part of upper caste.**
2. To its contrast Ambedkar **viewed untouchability as a political and economical problem** , believed that caste based inequality couldn't be rectified without changing the social structure itself. Further he adhered to the view that it was in the power of the state and its legislative instrument to start social change.

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## 11. Post independence

1. Trust placed in new Indian government
2. But by the end of 1960s disillusionment among the dalits were obvious due to the failure of governmental reforms like land reforms and also party politics dominated. Hence dalits realised that reformist agenda of those in power would in no way alter the plights of dalits.
3. Ambedkar in 1954 formed the SC Federation--> Federation was converted it into Republican Party in 1956 to counter the congress. Also Ambedkar assumed the leadership of Mahars movements to uplift the Mahars
4. **Dalit Panthers movement**
  1. In 1970s Dalit Panther movement was launched by dalits of Maharashtra led by educated Mahars following the Black Panther movement in USA. Dalit Panther Movement tried to build an alternative socio cultural identity for the oppressed. Most of their activities were limited to publication of their ideas only. Hence it did not alter the social conditions of dalits drastically.
5. By 1980s and 90s socio cultural deprivation has declined due to the constitutional guarantee of abolition of untouchability under Article-17
6. Dalits moved on to fight against political exclusion
  1. 1980s and 1990s dalits adopted the strategy of horizontal mobilization of depressed classes
  2. Today due to their numerical strength and political empowerment they have become equal to brahmins
  3. Their status and political empowerment has also contributed for the softening of their militant struggle
  4. However economic empowerment of dalits is yet to come though political empowerment started as is seen in case of Bahujan Samaj Party
7. Lancy Lobo considers that dalits are so powerless that they cannot defend themselves and they are so powerful that every political formation in India is skeptical about dalit mobilization.
8. **Herald Gould** says that the rise of new India which respects democratic justice can best be explained in terms of dalit mobilization. He makes a comparison between dalit mobilization to working class movement considering that the former is driven by ideology and self respect while the latter driven by time bound interest

9. **Gail Omvedt** considers that dalit movement in India is instrumental in promoting true social revolution. India there are present two kinds of poor - those who are incidentally suffering from poverty and those who are historically pushed into state of poverty. Dalit mobilization is addressing to the needs of culture-historical poor who are made poor for no faults of their own. Hence their self assertion speak about the protection of human right

## 12. Still

1. Nevertheless political improvement of dalit never does mean the mass dalit empowerment rather it is only elite dalit empowerment.
2. Dalit mobilization today is only in the formative stage. Once it matures it will have a major impact on the democratic politics of India.
3. Economic empowerment is still to come

(Poems recitation

Politically empowered not economically

Dalits -> Socially Powerless + Politically Powerful

Rickshawallahs Of Lucknow

Dalits vs working class -> Ideology, Interest

2 kinds of poor ->

- Incidental
- Historically pushed (With imposed Disabilities)→ Dalit Movement for them

Caste clustering, Dalit Elite, Tribal Elite.

## Environmental movements

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Started with Bhopal gas tragedy.

Pallakur District (Drought Prone)

Anti – exploitation of natural resources

Anti – dam

Anti – Polythene

Anti – Global warming

1. Environmental and public health have been struggles in India. The environmental movement in India began in 1980s. The biggest event that developed the movement was the Bhopal gas leakage on December 3, 1984. It released 40 tons of methyl isocyanate, killing 3,000 people and ultimately caused 15,000-20,000 deaths.
2. India has a national campaign against Coca Cola and [Pepsi Cola] plants due to their practices of drawing ground water and contaminating fields with sludge. The movement is characterized by local struggles against intensive aquaculture farms.
3. The most influential part of the environmental movement in India is the anti-dam movement. Dam creation has been thought of as a way for India to catch up with the West by connecting to the [power grid] with giant dams, coal or oil-powered plants, or nuclear plants.
4. Jhola Aandolan a mass movement is conducting as fighting against polythene carry bags uses and promoting cloth/jute/paper carry bags to protect environment & nature.
5. Activists in the Indian environmental movement consider global warming, sea levels rising, and glaciers retreating decreasing the amount of water flowing into streams to be the biggest challenges for them to face in the early twenty first century

**Chipko, N.B.A. , Mitti Bachao Andolan, Koel-Karo Andolan etc.**

Tawa Dam, MP - Salinity because of water Logging

## **THE REASONS FOR EMERGENCE OF ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA?**

PESTE

Eco – Feminism

### **1. CONTROL OVER NATURAL RESOURCES.- (Economic)**

1. Control over natural resources is an important reason for emergence of environmental movement in India.
2. Some good examples of these kinds of movements are like **Chipko and N.B.A.**
3. In the first case, the reason for conflict was control over forest; whereas, in the second the reason was control over water.

### **4. Chipko Movement**

1. The movement started in the **Garhwal Himalaya in April 1973**. Between 1973 and 1980, over a dozen instances were recorded where, through an **innovative technique of protest, illiterate peasants, men, women and children- threatened to hug forest trees rather than allow them to be logged for export.**
2. Notably the **peasants were not interested in saving the trees per se, but in using their produce for agricultural and household requirements.** (Sustenance, survival)
3. In **later years**, however the movement turned its attention to **broader ecological concerns**, such as the **collective protection and management of forest, and the diffusion of renewable energy technologies.**
4. Inspired many other movements
  1. Most of these conflicts have pitted rich against poor: Logging companies against hill villagers, dam builders against forest tribal communities, multinational corporations deploying trawlers against traditional fisher folk in small boats.
5. One important factor is that those poor peoples are solely dependent upon those natural resources for their survival hood. So, the changes in control of resources directly hamper their subsistence economy due to which their survival hood came in danger. Therefore the protest of the people rise against those outsiders, which had ultimately taken the shape of environmental movement in many instances.



## 2. POLITICAL REASONS

### Displacement

Promoting industrialization at the cost of people's discontent

1. After independence in 1947 --> it was assumed that the new government which was more aware of the Indian problems and was equally concerned for the people would definitely seek to eradicate all problems,
2. Observations of industrializations raised hopes but the government policies --  
> **only for industrialization without looking the environment and equal sharing of natural resources.**
3. Displacement of people
  1. Lot of displacement of people due to large projects such as dams like Bhakra – Nangal and many others.
  2. These policies pushed the **local people on the edges more often than not**, the agents of resource intensification are given **preferential treatment by the states through the grant of generous long leases over mineral or fish stocks**, e.g., or the provision of raw materials at an enormously subsidised prices, with the injustice so compounded **local communities at the receiving end** of this process have **no recourse except direct actions**, resisting both the state and out side exploiters through **a variety of protest techniques.**
  3. These new struggles are **waged over gifts of nature such as forests, and waters, gifts that are coveted by all but increasingly monopolized by a few.**

## 3. SOCIO-ECONOMIC REASONS

1. Most of these areas are **tribal dominated**. (Niyamgiri [Niyam raj god])
2. These people have **strong beliefs regarding their forests, land and water.**
3. At the same time they are **also totally dependent upon these resources** for their survival hood.
4. Ultimate recourse is the movement against those people who were harnessing those resources

## 4. ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION/DESTRUCTION

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Sleepy Classes

1. Kundankulum's warm water will affect fish.
- 2) Pollution due to thermal.

## 5. ENVIRONMENTAL AWARENESS AND MEDIA

1. The spread of environmental awareness and media has also played pivotal role in emergence of environmental movement.
2. People were previously unaware of the importance of the environment. But as the environmental awareness increased due various reasons people started protecting their environment.
3. Some e.g. are the local movements to protect the purity of different **rivers such as Ganga and Yamuna.**
4. The **greening of many Indian cities** also comes under this category.
5. The **Bhagidari movement** of Delhi is a good e.g. Of this kind of environmental movement.
6. Media has also played an important role in sustaining theses movements.

## **Ethnicity and Identity movements.**

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How an individual identifies itself with the group or society.

Language, region, religion, caste, history

Follows tradition when followed from generation to generation becomes ethnic identity

Ethnicity & Nationalism : Equality is some what individualistic source of identity Nationalism is a rears of “we” feeling.

Ethnicities may become a source of nationalism. (Khalistan, Dravid movmt)

Ethnic movements: Mobilisation based on ethnic identities. In India -> Real, Imagined ethnicity.

Real -> comes naturally | Imagined -> People made to Believe.

### **Reasons:**

- 1) Threat perception
- 2) In security
- 3) Discrimination
- 4) Marginalization
- 5) Contradiction ideologies.

### **Paul Brass: 3 types ->**

- 1) Intra -> ethnic group: of sria – sunni, Protestant – catnous (not in India)
- 2) Inter : Natinstic movement (shivsena, J&K -> Muslims & K.....)
- 3) State vs Ethnic group : Most common in India | Multiple ethnic groups still not merged as one ration.

1. Identity is a flexible concept derived either from ascription or achievement.
2. Wilbert Moore --in traditional societies identities are drawn from primordial institutions (caste, religion, race) but modern societies identities are drawn from one’s class or occupation

<b>Societies</b>	<b>Identity</b>
Tradition ->	Primordial (caste, religion, race)
Modern ->	Class (Occupation)

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Ethnocentricism -> WG summer

3. 2 schools of thought

1. **Modernisation theory** --> with the rise of modern societies common identities will be developed in terms of citizenship, nationalism, and patriotism
2. **Primordialists**--> primordial identities never die out at any point of time they are simply hidden in modern society.

4. Indian experience with Identity movements

1. Dipankar Gupta says that identity focused movements can be arrested by time frames during independence

Initially

- Linguistic
- Tribal
- Religious

1. Movement to creation of Pakistan on the basis of **religious identity**
  2. Movement to create of separate state of Tamil Nadu on the basis of **linguistic identity**
  3. Movement to create Nagaland the basis of **Tribal identity**
2. During 1940s and 1950 these three movements used language, religion and ethnicity as a foundation to the identity based movements over a period of time it was believed that these Identity Focussed Movements will die out by the acceleration of democracy

It was expected that Democracy will weed out identity movements

But still we have -> NE then Khalistan then Gorkhaland

3. But

1. **Till 1970s** Identity Focussed Movements were greatly concentrating in **North East India** manifesting as **Naga, Mizo Kasi movements** what gave rise to creation of **new status, special central assistance and finally gratification of political dreams of local population**

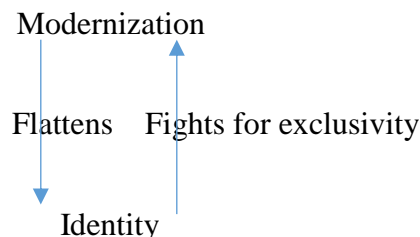
2. **During 1980s** Identity Focussed Movements got a new dimension in a form of **Khalistan movement** which is **not a manifestation of economic privatisation**
3. After 1980s the other forms of Identity Focussed Movements articulated in India includes linguists movement in Assam started by AGP (Assam Gana Parishad) what consequently got transformed into a political party and Gorkhaland movement by Subhash Ghising

## 5. Conclusion

### Identity movements

- 1) Protection
- 2) Glorification
- 3) Revitalization

1. Identity Focussed Movements may be driven by Protection, glorification and revitalisation of cultural identity
2. Identity Focussed Movements may be driven by gratification of community interest or it may intend to replace old order by new order bringing new dominant class against old dominant class.
3. **Ashish Nandhi** advocates that **modernisation tries to flatten culture and communities of the group**. But every culture wants to retain to exclusivity and uniqueness. Therefore cultural revivalism is taking place. Religion, language, tribalism, and traditional culture are re emerging as prime source of identity for men today. Hence more India goes for modernisation more Identity Focussed Movements are getting momentum.



4. **T.N. Madan** considers that in India traditional identity cannot be forgotten due to the influence of modernity because dress, food, inter relationship, behavioral

[www.YouTube.com/SleepyClasses](http://www.YouTube.com/SleepyClasses)



Sleepy Classes

patterns are driven by culture. Therefore more India goes modern more elements of tradition will enter into the life of man from backdoors resulting in glorification of traditional identity by modern man of India who is a part of Indian politics, bureaucracy or academics and that is testimony to the fact that **Indian modernity is more Indian than modern.**

**In India:** Ethnic movements (Paul Brass) ->

- 1) Autonomy movement (Ladakh, Gorkhaland)
- 2) Separate state (Punjabi subba, Telengana)
- 3) Secessionist (Threat to national integration) (often violent) (Khalistan, Dravidian, Naga)

Samuel P. Huntington (Clash of Civilisations) ->

- War of ideologies is over.
- All future wars -> based on identity.

TN Madan + Ashish Nandy -> Both criticise secularization & elimination of Identity movements