
UNIT 34 ETHNIC RELATIONS AND CONFLICTS

Structure

- 34.0 Objectives
- 34.1 Introduction
- 34.2 Concepts Associated with Ethnic Relations
 - 34.2.1 Ethnic and Ethnic Group
 - 34.2.2 Ethnicity
 - 34.2.3 Ethnic Identity
 - 34.2.4 Ethnic Boundary
 - 34.2.5 Majority and Minority Groups
 - 34.2.6 Conversions
- 34.3 Widespread Interest in and Basic Approaches to the Study of Ethnic Relations
 - 34.3.1 Factors Associated with the Widespread Interest
 - 34.3.2 Basic Approaches
- 34.4 Dimensions of Ethnic Relations in India
 - 34.4.1 Language and Region
 - 34.4.2 Religion
 - 34.4.3 Caste
- 34.5 Role of the British Administration and the Constitution of India in Relation to Ethnic Groups
 - 34.5.1 British Administration
 - 34.5.2 Constitution of India
- 34.6 Ethnic Conflicts in India
 - 34.6.1 Language Conflict
 - 34.6.2 Religious Conflict
 - 34.6.3 Common Features of Ethnic Conflicts
- 34.7 Solutions to the Problem of Ethnic Conflicts
- 34.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 34.9 Key Words
- 34.10 Further Reading
- 34.11 Specimen Answers to Check Your Progress

34.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you should be able to

- define and clarify the concepts related to ethnic relations
- state the factors associated with the spurt in the interest on ethnic relations
- describe the basic approaches to the study of ethnic relations
- list and explain the major premises on which ethnicity operates in India

- state the position of the British administration and the Constitution of Independent India toward ethnic groups
- describe the types of ethnic conflicts found in India
- state the measures suggested to tackle the problems of ethnic conflicts.

34.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous Block of ESO-12 we looked into the role and status of women in India. We also examined some contemporary issues relating to women's status. In this unit, we are going to describe ethnic relations and ethnic conflicts in India. We will begin our description with definition and clarification of concepts associated with ethnic relations. The concepts defined are ethnic, ethnic groups, ethnicity, ethnic identity, ethnic boundary, majority and minority groups and conversions. We will then proceed to outline the major factors associated with the increasing and widespread focus on the issue of ethnic relations all over the world. We will also lay out the basic approaches in sociology to the study of ethnic relations. Then we shall turn our attention to ethnic relations in India. We will first describe the premises on which ethnicity operates in India. This will be followed by an observation of the role of the British administration and the Constitution of free India on ethnic relations in India. In our description of ethnic conflicts in India, we shall focus mainly on conflicts based on language and religion. We shall also summarise the main features exhibited by ethnic conflicts in India. This will be followed by a section on suggestions to solve the problem of ethnic conflicts in India.

34.2 CONCEPTS ASSOCIATED WITH ETHNIC RELATIONS

Across the world today, there is a serious and growing concern over the issue of ethnic relations and conflicts. India too shares this concern, as ethnic conflicts pose a serious problem in Indian society. Before we describe the nature of ethnic relations and conflicts in India, we must be clear in our minds as to what the term ethnic and other terms associated with ethnic relations mean. So our first task is one of definition and clarification of terms associated with ethnic relations. In this section we will define the following terms. (1) Ethnic and ethnic groups, (2) ethnicity, (3) ethnic identity, (4) ethnic boundary, (5) majority and minority groups, and (6) conversions.

34.2.1 Ethnic and Ethnic Group

The term 'ethnic' is derived from the Greek word 'ethno' meaning 'nation'. It was originally used to denote primitive tribes or societies that formed a nation on the basis of their simplistic forms of government and economy.

But sociologists and social anthropologists use the term ethnic in a wider sense, based on their studies of pre-colonial and plural societies. Their studies revealed the coexistence of many groups that can be termed 'ethnic' within a nation. So in the course of time, ethnic has come to mean that which pertains to a group of people who can be distinguished by certain features like race, language or any other aspect of culture.

Ethnic group, is, therefore, defined as a cultural group whose members either share some or all of the following features—a common language, region, religion, race, endogamy, customs and beliefs. Members may also share a belief in common descent. On the basis of this definition we may say that the Jews, Negroes, Japanese, Muslims, Biharis all form distinct ethnic groups. Ethnic group thus refers to a group of people who share some common physical and/or socio-cultural characteristics.

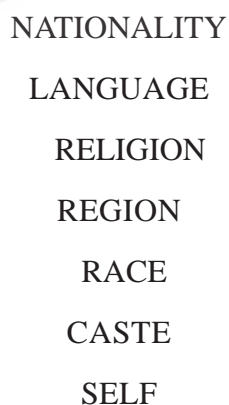
Here we may ask the question; why is it so important to understand the concept of ethnic groups in the context of our examination of ethnic relations? We may say it is important because ethnic group defines an individual's social personality. It is formed on the basis of cultural and racial uniformity. The essence of this group lies in the individual's feeling of belongingness to it because of cultural association shared with other members. Birth determines incorporation into these groups, thereby making membership relatively restrictive, however, exception to this rule exists, for instance, in the form of conversions. We shall talk about conversion later on in this section.

34.2.2 Ethnicity

Ethnicity refers to the interrelationships between ethnic groups. Thus the phenomenon of ethnicity becomes more pronounced when viewed at an interactional level. Cohen (1974) defines ethnicity as a process of “interaction between culture groups operating within common social contexts”. Though ethnicity is manifest in intra-ethnic relations, it becomes more apparent in inter-ethnic situations, as the very essence of ethnicity stems from the need to establish ethnic identity.

34.2.3 Ethnic Identity

Ethnic identity reflects both ‘likeness’ and ‘uniqueness’. On the one hand, it reflects on what the members of an ethnic group hold in common, at the same time differentiating them from other ethnic groups. The following is a diagrammatical representation of some of the factors of ethnic identification as arranged around the ‘self’.



The order of arrangement may vary from one social context to another depending on the issue. Also some of these factors may vary in significance from society to society. For example, in India, caste happens to be an important form of ethnic identification but it is of no significance when studying a European community.

Activity 1

Go to any locality in the place where you live and find out the following information from at least 15 households.

- 1) Religion to which the members of the household belong
- 2) Language i.e., their mother tongue
- 3) Region and State to which they belong
- 4) The identity they value most
 - a) caste
 - b) religion
 - c) region/language or
 - d) any other
 - e) all of the above

Write a note of about two pages on “Ethnic Composition and Identification of a Group”. Compare, if possible, what you have written with those of other students at your Study Centre.

34.2.4 Ethnic Boundary

Ethnic boundary refers to a social boundary, which does not always correspond to territorial boundary. The individual defines one self through one's ethnic identity whereas ethnic boundary defines the social limit of the ethnic group. A dichotomisation of “others” as strangers, as members of another ethnic group, has two implications:

- i) The recognition of one's own social boundaries (in group and out group) and
- ii) The limitation of common understanding and mutual interest. People outside the boundary are not expected to have a common understanding and interest.

34.2.5 Majority and Minority Groups

The study of ethnic groups incorporates both the majority and the minority groups. The term ‘majority groups’ refer to the numerical representation of persons in a group and its control over economic and political resources. Usually it has been noticed that one ethnic group appears to be in dominance over other ethnic groups. However, we cannot overlook the internal disparities that exist within each ethnic group in terms of economic status. That is, certain sections in the minority group may enjoy majority status and vice-versa, in which the group may occupy either minority or majority status as a totality.

There exists a relationship of inequality between the majority and minority groups. The dominant group or the majority group enjoys numerical strength and control over economic and political resources. This group has all the privileges and advantages. The minority group on the other hand consists of

people who are immigrants to the host society. Their numerical strength is low and they are in a subordinate position to the majority group, in relation to control over the limited resources.

The co-relation between numerical strength and control over economic and political resources is a point of argument. As history provides many evidences of minority dominance over mass majority, for example, the British colonialism in India and the domination of a White minority on the Black majority in South Africa during the days of apartheid. In the 1980s we had the immigrant Bengali minority occupying higher offices in Assam. These instances reveal that the myth surrounding the 'minority group' concept, as being a group, which is subjected to dominance and inferior status because of its low numerical strength, is not true. As it is obvious that a group having control over political and economic resources irrespective of its numerical strength becomes a 'majority minority'.

34.2.6 Conversions

In the earlier subsection 34.2.1 we mentioned that membership into an ethnic group is primarily determined by birth, though conversions constitute an exception to this rule. Conversion, literally, means change into another form. The most popular example of conversion is religious conversion.

Conversions pose a problem in group-identification and boundary maintenance. That is, in situations, where members of one group have become members of another ethnic group there develops a problem regarding the allegiance of these converted members to either of these ethnic groups. The process of conversion has gone on for centuries. For instance, Hindus have converted themselves into either Islam or Christianity. Caste mobility has also taken place, whereby using a higher caste as their reference group, the lower castes have gradually claimed a higher caste status. Process of **miscegenation** has taken place, whereby children have been born from racial intermixture. These kind of conversions lead to a problem in the study of inter-ethnic relations. But in spite of these conversions ethnic groups still persist, as they are not affected by these changing loyalties.

Check Your Progress 1

i) Which of the following would you identify as ethnic groups?

Tick the right answers.

- a) Politicians
- b) Khasi
- c) Brahmin
- d) Girls
- e) Landlords
- f) Gujaratis
- g) Buddhist

- ii) State whether the following statements are true or false. Make a T for true or F for false against each statement.
 - a) Membership into an ethnic group is open to all and not restricted.
 - b) The factors, which constitute ethnic identification, may vary in significance from one society to another.
 - c) A minority group in every society is economically and politically very backward.
 - d) Ethnic boundary always corresponds to a territorial boundary in a society.
- iii) Write any three ways of achieving conversions in the Indian context. Use four lines for the answer.

.....

.....

.....

.....

34.3 WIDESPREAD INTEREST IN AND BASIC APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF ETHNIC RELATIONS

In the previous section, we clarified the terms associated with ethnic relations. We observed that ethnic groups refer primarily to categories of ascription and identification by actors or individuals themselves. We said ethnic identity constitutes the basic form of identity by which an individual defines himself or herself and others. We undertook the task of definition and clarification because this exercise provides a framework for understanding ethnic relations in specific contexts. Before, we move on to examine ethnic relations in the Indian context, we have to be clear about two more things. Firstly, what are the reasons behind so much interest being shown in the study of ethnic relations and secondly what are the basic approaches in sociology toward the study of ethnic relations.

34.3.1 Factors Associated with the Widespread Interest

Let us take the first question. What are the factors held responsible for the spurt in focus on ethnic relations. Research has pointed out that there are several inter-related factors that have promoted this widespread interest in the study of ethnic relations. The important factors have been:

- i) **Migration:** The movement of individuals from one place to another, within a nation or between nations has led to multiplicity of groups existing within an area.
- ii) **Culture contact:** When people migrate, they take their culture along with them. They come into contact with another type of culture existing in the area to which they have migrated. This leads to the existence of different

kinds of culture groups within an area. The nature of interaction between the groups varies from place to place and from time to time depending on several factors.

- iii) **Development of technology:** Technology especially improvement in transport and communication has made the world a smaller place to live in. It has facilitated both movements of people as well as ideas and things from one place to another.
- iv) **Emergence of thickly populated cities:** The growth of cities along with the opportunities provided for varied kinds of employment has attracted many people from different socio-cultural and geographical backgrounds to converge in a city. Cities host a plurality of ethnic groups within it.
- v) **Conflict:** The increased frequency of ethnic conflicts, specially between different racial groups and religious groups has drawn world wide attention.

34.3.2 Basic Approaches

Now coming to the question relating to the basic approaches to the study of ethnic inter-relationships, we can say that explanations regarding ethnic relations can be broadly classified under two categories, namely the 'consensus approach' and the 'conflict approach'. Let us look at them separately.

a) **Consensus Approach**

This approach views the phenomenon of ethnic inter-relationships from structural- functional perspective. Structural functionalists believe that society, like the human body, is a balanced system of institutions. Each unit or institution in society serves a function in maintaining that society. Events outside or inside the society may disrupt the social order of that society, but social institutions make necessary adjustments to restore stability. The consensus approach is based on the above mentioned belief of structural functionalism. We will refer to two theories, which are based on the consensus approach here. One theory is based on the study of ethnic relations in American society. It is called the 'Cultural **Assimilation**' theory or the 'Melting Pot' theory. The other theory is based on the study of pre-colonial societies. This theory was further developed by sociologists like Barth in the 1960's to understand ethnic inter-relationships in a wider context.

i) **Cultural Assimilation Theory or Melting Pot Theory**

The theory of 'Cultural Assimilation' or the 'Melting Pot Theory' reflects the consensus approach. The theory is based on the study of American society. This theory assumes that the immigrant minority communities will get totally assimilated into the host society to the extent that they imbibe all the values, norms and attitudes of the host society. In other words, the ethnic identity of the minority group will be merged into that of the host community. In the context of the American society, this meant that the identities of the immigrant communities would get merged into the American identity and they would begin thinking from the standpoint of the Americans in general. This theory did not meet with wide acceptance, as later studies reveal that the immigrant communities such as the Italians, Chinese and others maintain their distinct identity.

ii) **Theory based on the Study of Pre-Colonial Societies**

Another theory was put forward by sociologists is based on the study of pre-colonial societies. The basic tenet of this theory is that, though ethnic groups coexisted within a nation, they each maintain separate identities through minimal social contact. This is exemplified by the presence of ethnic division of labour, which means, the preferential treatment meted out to the members of one's own ethnic group during recruitment to jobs. This indicates an absence of shared values and common will between members of diverse ethnic groups.

This theory was later developed further by sociologists like Barth (1969). According to him ethnic groups are not "maintained due to an absence or mobility and contact" but it entails the "social process of exclusion and incorporation". Stable social relations are maintained across ethnic boundaries like those of occupational and neighbourhood relations. In fact, Barth says that, social interaction between ethnic groups becomes the foundation for ethnic distinctions. The very persistence of ethnic groups in contact implies not only criterion for identification but also the structuring of interactions, which allows the persistence of cultural differences. For instance, in any social milieu we can observe the coexistence of national institutes, which cut across ethnic boundaries and at the same time we have voluntary associations and institutions that are formed to facilitate the pursuit of cultural and educational activities of a particular community.

b) **Conflict Approach**

In contrast to the above mentioned consensus approach we have the conflict approach to the study of 'ethnic relations'. Conflict approach views ethnic groups as interest groups, which are in relation of inequality, competing for common goals which may lead to a total change in the social system. The protagonists of this theory argue that since conflict is ingrained in society, any approach that overlooks this aspect is incomplete. The theorists view ethnic conflict as a means of protest for either improvement of the existing social system or a demand for total change in the system. In 1980s there was a spurt in ethnic conflicts all over the world, for example, the racial discrimination of the Blacks by the Whites in South Africa, religious conflicts between the local Sri Lankans and the immigrant Tamils, and many others. The manifestations have been in terms of riots, terrorism, demonstrations, wreckage, killing and burning of property. Ethnic conflicts are said to arise between groups that are based on unequal relationship, namely the 'majority group' and the 'minority group'. The attempt of the dominant group is to maintain their social status and authority whereas the minority group tries to alter this position. Sometimes, these attempts may take the shape of peaceful protests and endeavour to bring about change through constitutional and democratic means. But mostly, it takes the shape of deviant behaviour ranging from violent protests, riots and disturbances to crimes against person and property, organised terrorism and overthrow of the existing power.

Check Your Progress 2

- i) State the five factors associated with the widespread focus on the issue of ethnic relations. Answer in about four lines.

.....
.....
.....
ii) Tick the correct answer of the following question.

Which the following approaches is reflected in the Cultural Assimilation Theory or the Melting Pot Theory?

- a) The consensus approach
- b) The conflict approach
- c) The evolutionary approach
- d) None of the above

iii) State whether the following statements are true or false. Mark T for true or F for false against each statement.

- a) The study of ethnic relations is confined only to the U.S.A.
- b) The consensus approach views the phenomenon of ethnic relation from the Structural Functionalist Perspective.
- c) Barth, the sociologist, emphasises that ethnic groups can coexist and interact with one another without losing their cultural distinctiveness.
- d) According to the conflict approach ethnic conflicts arise between groups that are based on unequal relationship.

34.4 DIMENSIONS OF ETHNIC RELATIONS IN INDIA

The previous two sections, 34.2 and 34.3 provided us with the background knowledge about ethnic relations and interactions. Equipped with this fair amount of conceptual information about ethnic relations, let us turn our attention to India. In this section we will describe the major dimensions of ethnic relations in India.

India is a country of immense diversity. In Block 1 unit 1 of ESO-12 we outlined the different forms of diversity in India. We said race, language, religion and caste constitute the major forms of diversity in India. Groups of people in India differ from each other not only in physical or demographic characteristics but also in distinctive patterns of behaviour. These patterns of behaviour are determined by social and cultural factors like language, region, religion and caste. According to Punekar (1974) the four major premises where ethnicity in India operates are language, region, religion and caste. It may be argued that castes are divided into subcastes, language into dialects, region into sub-regions, religion into sects on ethnic lines. However, ethnic diversity is less obvious at these sub levels when compared to the larger levels of caste, language, religion and region.

Let us now examine each of the premises in detail. Language and region have been combined, as in India the division of territory or states is on the basis of language.

34.4.1 Language and Region

During the colonial rule, India was divided into several provinces for administrative purposes. This division paved the way for other language communities, in the post-colonial era, to make demand for a separate state of their own. The formation of Andhra Pradesh in 1953, on the demand of Telugu speakers in Madras Province, opened doors for other language groups to make similar demands. Further, these demands were endorsed by some of the nationalist leaders. Thus today, each language group has a State of its own, such as, Gujarat for the Gujaratis, Kerala for Malayalees and so on. At the state level, regional language is often used as the medium of instruction in schools, and colleges. This affinity and allegiance felt towards one's own language and region is often reflected outside the State of origin, that is when migrants to a new setting start their own voluntary associations to cater to their cultural needs. Thus language, in India, has been an important premise on which people have established their identities and have drawn social boundaries for defining their 'in group' and the 'out group'. Thus, it is not uncommon to find a Tamil Association in northern belt like UP or Delhi or a Malayalee association in Middle East or a Bengali association in the U.S.A.

Figure 34.1 shows the varying dimensions of ethnic conflict in India.

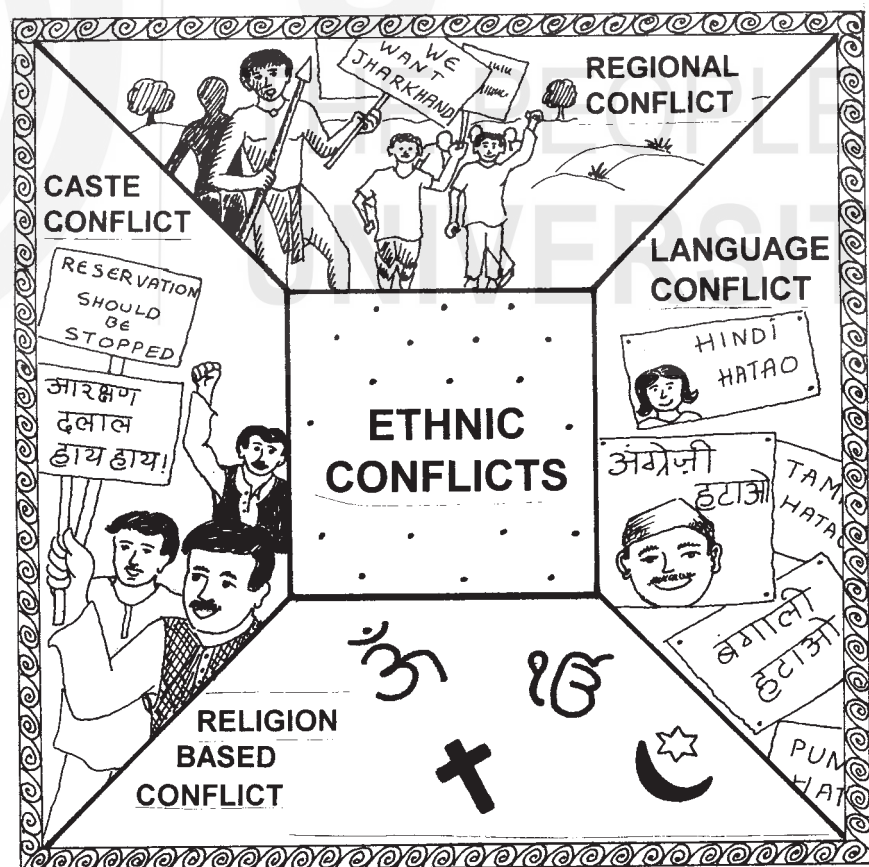


Fig. 34.1: Ethnic conflicts

34.4.2 Religion

Another form of ethnic identification is religion. In India Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Sikhism and Zoroastrianism are some of the religions practised by its people. In Block 4 of this course, you were introduced to the social organisation of these religious communities in India. In terms of numerical strength, Hindus form the majority community in India. A number of Hindu Gods and Goddesses are worshipped by different linguistic groups spread across India. It is the numerical strength of the Hindus that has been one of the factors which have led certain Hindu loyalists like the RSS (*Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh*) to assert that India is a Hindu State. In terms of economic dominance, there are disparities within a religious group and between religious communities. For instance, the Zoroastrian community is numerically very small in India. But their economic resources and status are much better than many other communities.

There is historical evidence to prove that the various religious communities in India have coexisted peacefully through time. Of course, there is also evidence that reflects the conflict between religious communities. The most well known clashes have been between Hindus and Muslims. One of the major social problems of India has been the communal divide problem. When one group asserts its interests and identity at the cost of another group, the communal divide emerges. For more information on the problem of communal divide, you must listen at your Study Centre to the audio program that has been specially prepared for this unit relating to Block 8.

34.4.3 Caste

Caste is another very important premise for ethnicity in India. Caste operates in different ways in the context of ethnic relations. Generally speaking people belonging to the same caste of different linguistic states belong to one ethnic group. However they rarely intermarry or involve themselves in any other close interactions. This has made some scholars to assert that there is no conscious solidarity of caste across the language boundaries. Some others argue caste at the same time causing fission within a particular ethnic group. For example, the Kashmiris are divided into several caste groups, which causes fission within the group, yet at the same time, a Kashmiri Brahmin finds his counterparts in other linguistic groups such as the Tamils and the Bengalis, this brings fusion to the group in a broad sense. Further, in an otherwise unranked system of ethnic dichotomy, this pan Indian system of stratification is the only factor that ranks ethnic groups hierarchically. The following figure (no. 34.2) will make this explanation clear. Under the varna system, the total Hindu population can be divided into four categories - the Brahman, the Kshatriya, the Vaishya and the Shudra.

The early vedic literature and religious texts prescribed each of the castes with their rightful occupation, rights and duties. The Brahmins, with their occupation of priesthood and scholarly pursuits, occupied the top of the social ladder; the Kshatriyas were the warriors, and were second in status, the third were the Vaishyas, the traders and the last were the Shudras, who pursued menial and lowly occupations. The 'outcastes' like the Chandals were not included in the *varna* scheme. There was restriction of social interaction between the three "twice born" castes and Shudras, and no interaction with the outcastes. Thus

members of a caste group formed as in-group and others who did not belong to it formed the out-group. Caste identity was important for the individual and social boundaries were drawn for interaction between castes.

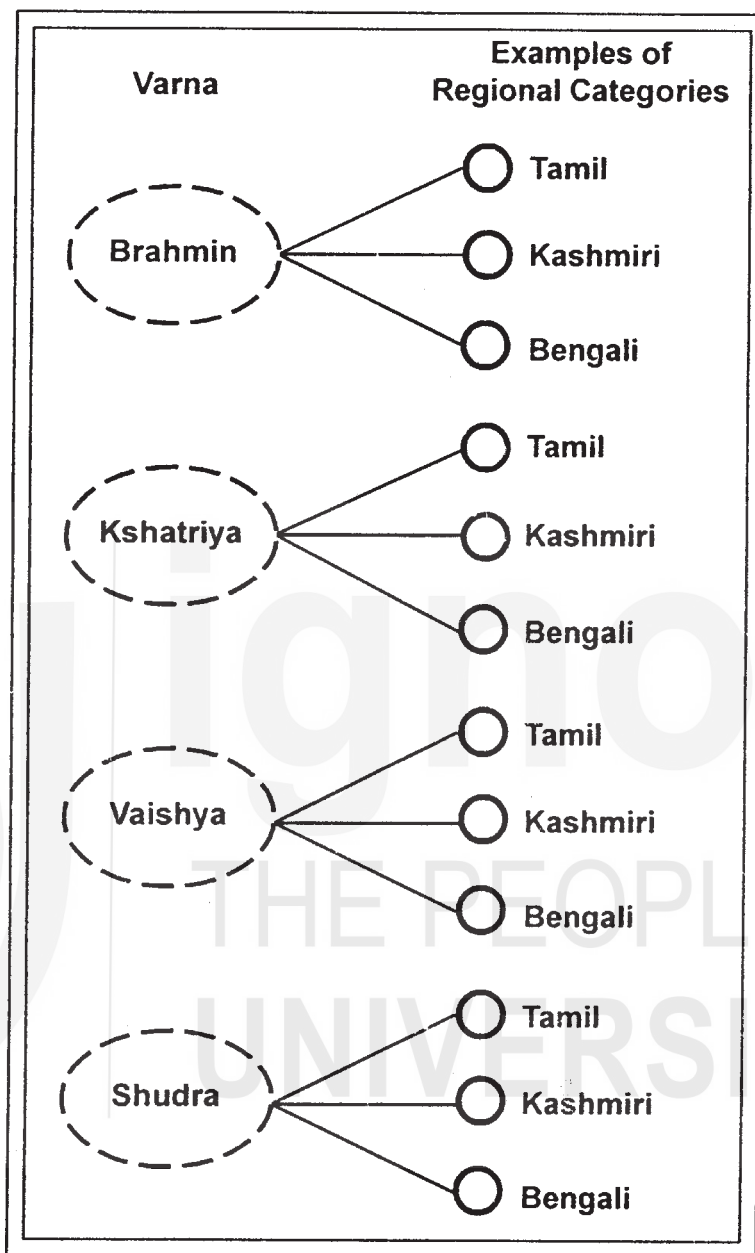


Fig. 34.2: Examples of categories of varna system

The *varna* system, however, has provided flexibility in terms of social mobility. Over the ages, several lower castes have used a higher caste status as a reference group, and have sanskritised their ways and formulated mythologies to legitimise their claims. For instance, a tailor caste in Tamil Nadu, which claimed the status of the Bhavsara Kshatriyas, went to the extent of organising an All India Conference in order to legitimise their claims.

This social mobility when accompanied with economic and political power automatically brought about an enhancement in the status of the lower castes. But most of the situations show the close association of ritual purity, economic and political power and education, as echoed in the *varna* scheme. Thus the “twice born castes” not only had ritual purity but also had greater access to

economic and political power and education. The Shudras and the outcastes, on the other hand, not only suffered the stigma of ritual impurity but also lived in abject poverty, illiteracy and had no political power.

Since the British rule, however, the political, economic power equation, between different castes has been altered. Both the British government and the Constitution of free India tried to introduce legal provisions to reduce the inequality between castes. The Backward Classes movement which emerged significantly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries also contributed to upward social mobility of the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other Backward Classes. Groups of cognate (related) castes formed a large ethnic block and began to fight for a shift in the traditional distribution of power. They became politically viable. In the next unit, on social movements, we will be referring to the Backward Classes movement. What is important to remember here is that the caste has become an important basis of division between different groups of castes. In some cases, the cleavage has been between the Brahmin and the non-Brahmin upper castes. For instance, the *Satya Shodhak Samaj* (Truth Seekers Society) founded in 1873 by Jotiba Phule was anti-Brahmin in its orientation. Phule fostered a sense of identity among many middle level non-Brahmin castes like the Kunbis, Malis and Dhangars in Maharashtra, Brahmins were identified as exploiters and the non-Brahmins as the exploited (Rao 1974: 10).

In some other cases the cleavage has been between upper non-Brahmin castes and lower non-Brahmin castes as in many parts of north India. Lower non-Brahmin castes have formed their own caste associations in order to gain access to modern economic, educational and political benefits. Still another kind of cleavage has been between certain untouchable castes and the clean Hindu castes. The SNDP movement, which we will be describing in our next unit, is an example of this type of conflict. Izhavas (toddy tappers of Kerala) organised themselves in the late nineteenth century to fight the exploitation of clean Hindu castes like the Nayars and Nambudiris of Kerala (Rao 74: 11-12). The Scheduled Tribes have also formed their own respective ethnic block in different parts of India in order to fight the exploitation by the non-tribals.

Let us now briefly look at the position of the government toward ethnic groups in both British India and Independent India.

34.5 ROLE OF THE BRITISH ADMINISTRATION AND THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA IN RELATION TO ETHNIC GROUPS

So far we have observed that language, religion and caste have been the premises on which ethnicity operates in India. It would be interesting at this point, to find out what has been the attitude or position at the governmental level toward ethnic groups. In this section, we will briefly state the role of the British administration and the Constitution of Independent India towards ethnic groups.

34.5.1 British Administration

As mentioned in the earlier section, it was during the British rule that ethnic groups like certain backward castes and classes began to organise themselves into strong associations. The British administration, on its part, provided its own source of legitimacy to the awakening among the non-Brahmin and depressed castes. Several new avenues were thrown open for claiming higher status. English education became the basis of new employment opportunities, which were free of caste consideration. Education was made available to everyone, though in actuality only the Brahmin and upper non-Brahmin castes made use of it.

The British introduced a series of administrative reforms such as the Minto-Morley Reforms of 1909, Montague Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 and the Govt. of India Act of 1935 which gave the backward classes and minority groups increased political power, economic benefits and educational opportunities (Rao, 1974: 6). In 1850 the Caste Disabilities Removal Act was passed to provide liberty to all for conversions at will from one religion to another or from one caste to another. Members converting into another religion or caste did not lose their rights of inheritance, including property. Freedom to practice one's own religion, language and culture was bestowed on all.

34.5.2 The Constitution of India

After the advent of independence in 1947, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar was appointed Chairman of the Drafting Committee and Minister of Law in the Government. For deliberations of important subjects different committees were set up. The Minorities Committee was set up under the Chairmanship of Sardar Vallabh Bhai Patel. Reservations in Legislature and Services was discussed by this committee. After heated debates it was agreed that the Constitution that was being drawn for India must contain adequate safeguards for those people who have been hitherto discriminated and exploited. The Constitution of India conceived of equality in terms of equality of opportunity and equal protection under the laws.

Certain groups were specifically singled out for special treatment namely: (a) the Scheduled Castes, (b) the Scheduled Tribes, and (c) the socially and educationally Backward Classes. The Constitution sanctioned reservation of seats in the educational institutions, in public employment and in State legislatures including the national Parliament in favour of members of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes. It also sanctioned reservations in educational institutions and public employment in favour of socially and educationally backward classes of citizens.

The Constitutional provisions are arranged in five sections. The various provisions relate to several aspects like right to equality, prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth and right to profess and practice religion. The Constitution through its article 17 abolishes the inhuman practice of untouchability and forbids the practice of it in any form, making it an offence punishable by law.

The Constitution has also made provisions for the minorities. Though the Constitution has not specifically defined a minority, it has established the liberty of the minorities by making freedom from disabilities a fundamental right.

According to the Constitution any group which constitutes numerically less than 50 percent of the population can be called a minority. But this leaves the term ambiguous, as it does not explain whether this “less than 50 percent of the population” is as compared to that of a region or State of India. The minority Acts however, cover all religions excepting Hinduism, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The following are some of the Acts passed in favour of the minorities. Article 15 of the Constitution, explains the specific discriminatory situation on religion, caste race, sex and so on. It prohibits the subjection of any citizen to any disability, liability, restriction or conditions on groups only of the above mentioned factors. Article 29(1) endows the right to any citizen who possesses a distinct language, script or culture to conserve the same. Article 30(1), bestows the right on the linguistic and religious minorities to establish and administer educational institutions.

The intention of the Constitutional guarantee on minority rights, is mainly to promote the distinctiveness of religious and linguistic minorities in the country. Their distinctiveness was not seen as division by the founding fathers of Indian Constitution, but as a positive contribution to the rich tapestry of unity in diversity in India. They felt that minorities were in a weaker position and that they needed protection if they were to participate in national development. The legislation on Scheduled Castes, Tribes and other Backward Classes was meant to promote the advancement of socially and economically disadvantaged groups.

Both minority rights and reservation policy for the Backward Classes are becoming increasingly sensitive issues in Indian society. In several ways and at different times both have been the focus of divisive debate and destructive violence. In our next section, we will describe certain forms of conflicts that have emerged on ethnic grounds.

Check Your Progress 3

i) What are the premises on which ethnicity operates in India? Use three lines for your answer.

.....
.....
.....

ii) How did the British contribute to the formation of an ethnic bloc among the backward classes? Answer in about four lines

.....
.....
.....
.....

iii) Tick the right answer.

The Constitution of India

- a) does not support the reservation policy or the policy of protective discrimination.
- b) grants protection only to Scheduled Castes and Tribes.
- c) grants protection to minorities and promotes the advancement of the socially and economically disadvantaged groups.
- d) grants protection only to linguistic minorities.

34.6 ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN INDIA

The civil rights endowed with the minorities and the existence of social relations across ethnic boundaries have not prevented the occurrence of violence between ethnic groups. Over the years, from time to time, we have evidenced a great show of violence and hostility breaking out between ethnic groups. This surge of violence is a concerning issue for the government. The question arises as to why people who have co-existed peacefully for decades, suddenly turn hostile towards one another. The manifest issues are mostly religion and language.

In the following pages we shall examine a few of these issues and analyse the latent causes behind these violences.

34.6.1 Language Conflict

In 1980s tension and conflict arose over the issue of language. The government's desire to create a wider national movement in an otherwise segmental ethnic society expedited tensions in several parts of the country. The Government selected Hindi as the national language to create a national community by joining all the members of the different ethnic communities. This attempt at 'unity in diversity' had adverse effect on the Indian population. We have evidences of violence in the South like Tamil Nadu, where severe rioting took place over the Hindi issue. According to the non-Hindi speakers, the language policy of the government meant an advantage for the Hindi speakers, who are perceived to dominate the economic institutions and have political authority. To illustrate this type of conflict, we will describe the language conflict in Assam.

In Assam too, riots broke out in 1972, between the immigrant Bengali Hindus and the local Assamese population. The Assamese demanded the withdrawal of the option of answering in Bengali. Earlier, similar riots had occurred after independence, when the Assamese had demanded their language be made the regional language. These conflicts must be viewed within the economic and political structure of Assam.

There are three communities that dominate the different sections of the economic sphere of Assam. The Bengali Muslims, who are migrants from Bangladesh, who either serve in the tea gardens or manage their own land; the Marwaris, who monopolise trade; and the Bengali Hindus, who are migrants from West Bengal, and dominate the administrative services. The Assamese were unable to avail these opportunities as they lacked in skills and contacts to take up banking activities of the Marwaris. Secondly, they lacked education

to take up the administrative jobs. Finally, they were unwilling to work in the estates at low wages.

India's Independence had two effects on Assam. The Congress party that came to power in the State then, was dominated by Assamese and there was a growing emergence of an Assamese middle class. This middle class with its interest in the administrative services considered the Bengali Hindus an obstacle to their economic advancement. Also any policy giving job preference to the Assamese would have automatically applied to the Bengali Hindus who have lived there for many decades. And the latter being more qualified stood a better chance for recruitment. These facts materialised in the growing fear of economic domination amongst the Assamese middle class who wanted to prevent the growing economic strength of the Bengali Hindus. The Assamese middle class reacted through an assertive regional identity in order to claim their due share in the economic development.

34.6.2 Religious Conflict

The genesis of religious conflicts in India is often attributed to the advent of Muslims to this country. But this kind of theorisation is erroneous, as communalism, as a socio-political form is a modern phenomenon. Tensions had prevailed between the Hindus and Muslims prior to the colonial rule, due to the expropriation or dispossession of power of the Hindus by the Muslims (Malabar). But these tensions were accentuated later with the British introduction of electoral policy and the imperialist divide-and-rule policy; this gave rise to the competitiveness and hostility between the two communities. This later materialised in the emergence of the Muslim League leading later to the formation of Pakistan.

Though the nationalist leaders believed that the communal problems would be resolved in the post-Independent period, they were proved wrong. Let us look at some examples of ethnic conflict based directly on religion.

i) Hindu-Muslim Conflicts in Moradabad, Uttar Pradesh

The manifest cause behind the rioting of August 1980, was the entry of a pig in a congregation during Id. Some 50,000 persons were gathered to listen to the *qutbah* or sermon, when the pig wandered inside violating the Muslim sense of cleanliness and defiling the sanctity of the prayer. This incident was followed by looting, arson, and rape by a frenzied mob. The rampaging and killing by one group was retaliated by the other party.

This incident throws light on in the socio-political structure of the town. The Muslims in this town had been traditional artisans engaged in making brassware vessels. In the latter part of 1970s, some of them have started manufacturing brassware and exporting it to the West Asian countries. This has broken the existing monopoly of the immigrant Punjabi businessmen. These immigrant Hindu Punjabis were originally from Pakistan who came to India after Partition. The relative success and prosperity to the Muslim businessmen disturbed their Hindu counterparts. The Muslims were securing extensive orders from West Asian countries and their commonality of religion with these West Asian countries magnified and adverse fears of the Hindu businessmen on communal lines. The Muslims were rapidly acquiring sufficient capital to purchase sophisticated tools, to own property and were expanding their business in a

large scale. The spectre of Muslim dominance and Gulf money was raised. The political parties exploited these fears. The trade interests and economic jealousies became instrumental in fanning the fires of communalism aided by political parties and financed by traders. A climate of hostility and suspicion was created, which resulted in violent rioting.

ii) **Hindu-Sikh Conflicts in Punjab**

When viewing the Hindu-Sikh situation we are faced with a problem. Compared to the previous cases of language and religious conflicts discussed earlier, here we are confronted with people who are culturally well assimilated. The Hindus and the Sikhs in Punjab often intermarried. The case of one of the sons of a Punjabi-Hindu family being converted to Sikhism is not uncommon. Unlike the Hindu-Muslim relations, there have been no historical animosity between the Sikhs and the Hindus. Yet sharp conflicts arose between the two communities in 1980s.

There had occurred a succession of violent happenings. Starting with the killing of innocent people in Punjab, followed by the army action in the Golden Temple, and the subsequent assassination of the late Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. This assassination was followed by a frenzy of mass killing of Sikhs in Delhi and surrounding areas. There was a one sided brutal assault on the Sikhs. Their property was set on fire and goods stolen from their shops. The whole community was made a scapegoat for the actions of a few co-religionists. The intensity of the violence was more on the outskirts of the city than within.

The Punjab problem can be viewed in the light of the political rivalry between one-time ruling Congress party at the Centre and the Akali Dal in Punjab. This militant political wing of the Sikh community demanded not only religious autonomy but economic and political autonomy as well. Their demand of share in river water, hydro-electric power, control over Chandigarh, Abohar and Fazilka areas, all echoed this desire.

The Akalis represented the aspirations of the Sikh upper class, who had come in direct conflict with the Punjabi Hindu upper class. The difference in the ideologies of the Hindus and the Sikhs could be traced to their social division. A high proportion of the Sikhs resided in the rural areas and were engaged in rural activities, whereas a high proportion of the Hindus lived in the urban areas and followed commercial and administrative services. In their inter-commercial rivalry, the businessmen of the two communities found it to their advantage to mobilise their respective communities. The Akalis on their part wanted to assert their religious hold over the prosperous Jat Sikhs, who dominated the rural areas, and were getting increasingly alienated from the traditional religious hold. Thus both for the Akalis and the affluent section of the Sikhs, the assertion of the communal identity by way of religious channel had become most essential for mass support. This growing need to alienate from the mainstream of Indian nationalism, derived its support and finance from affluent Sikhs, especially those residing abroad. The Sikhs were divided into the terrorists, the supporter of the fundamentalist ideology and those who did not support it, the moderates.

34.6.3 Common Features of Ethnic Conflicts

Certain general features can be observed from the study of ethnic conflicts in India. These are:

- Ethnic conflicts are a consequence of organised communal bodies. For the conflict to become a public issue, usually the organised bodies, which are backed by political parties, have to come to the fore. Thus communal bodies become institutionalised.
- Ethnic conflicts indicate that whatever be the manifest cause - language, region or religion - the latent cause is not rooted in cultural disparity. Conflicting economic and political interests form the basis of the latent cause. The tensions generally arise when a minority group feels deprived of an equal position in either the economic or political sphere as compared to the majority group, uses the primary ties to motivate and activate their ethnic group against the dominant group. For instance, the Hindu-Sikh conflict was between peoples who were not culturally different, but rather were well-assimilated group. Thus, we may say, that ethnic conflicts arose not because of some common goals but because of conflicting interests.
- The allegiance or the basis of group loyalty depends on the principle of mutual interest. For instance, during the 1972 Assam riots, the Bengali Muslims, who share cultural similarities with Bengali Hindus did not side with them, instead they supported the Assamese in exchange of not being ousted from their land, by the politically active Assamese.

Activity 2

Take a month's issue of a newspaper. Note down the following:

- i) Reports about common, friendly celebration of festivals by members belonging to different ethnic groups.
- ii) Reports about ethnic conflicts.

Here note down a) what is the main issue involved, b) which are the groups in conflict and c) who are the leaders backing this conflict.

Write a note of about two pages on 'Ethnic Relations and Conflicts'. Compare, if possible, what you have written with those written by other students at your Study Centre.

34.7 SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEM OF ETHNIC CONFLICTS

A coherent and effective response to ethnic conflicts has to keep in mind, the common as well as the unique factors, which account for clashes between groups of people. Some insist that so long as economic inequalities exist, such clashes are bound to persist. Since it is not easy to end economic disparities between people, ethnic conflicts will also not be easy to stop.

Some others argue that before looking at the long-term solutions to these problems, certain immediate steps can be taken. Those who favour this suggest that the first step towards sustenance of communal harmony is to identify the causes that flare up riots. These are: (a) rumours, (b) suspicion against the other community, (c) building up sectarian feelings amongst people by religious heads, local political party, and self styled leaders. To overcome these it is important to induce encouragement in people to widen their perspectives, to keep an open mind and to be tolerant towards others. This can be achieved by encouraging the members of the different communities to have a dialogue, with each other. This would help in understanding the other community and also reflect their own limitations and the possibility of overcoming them. People favouring these measures also insist that cross-cultural participation must be more frequent, especially during festivities and ceremonies. The people in the riot prone areas must be made to understand not to give ear to rumours unless it is followed with evidence. Because of the absence of direct communications, politicians, self-styled leaders and miscreants circulate rumours, which cannot be verified. This aggravates tensions. The process of sustenance of communal harmony is most essential in spite of it being slow and requiring a lot of patience and toil to reach to the grassroot level of society in order to motivate and socialise people.

Check Your Progress 4

- i) Which of the following would you list as an ethnic conflict? Tick the right answer.
 - a) Fight between X and Y politicians for the post of Chief Minister.
 - b) Hindu-Muslim conflict in Moradabad in UP in the 1980s.
 - c) Clashes between two women over jumping a queue at a bus stop.
 - d) The non-Brahmin movement in South India to fight against exploitation by the Brahmins.

ii) What are the common features exhibited by ethnic conflicts in India? Use four lines for your answer.

.....

.....

.....

.....

iii) What is the long-term suggestion advocated by some to contain the problem of ethnic conflicts? Use two lines for your answer.

.....

.....

34.8 LET US SUM UP

In this unit, we examined the phenomenon of ethnic relations and ethnic conflicts in India. We began the unit by defining and clarifying terms like ethnic, ethnic groups, ethnic identity, ethnic boundary, majority and minority groups and conversions. We defined ethnic as something pertaining to a group of people who share some physical and/or socio-cultural characteristic. Then we moved on to state the factors associated with the widespread interest in the study of ethnic relations all over the world. The factors mentioned are migration, culture contact, technology, cities and conflicts. We also outlined the basic approaches to the study of ethnicity namely, the consensus approach and the conflict approach. Having sketched the framework for looking at ethnic relations in specific societies, we went on to describe ethnic relations in India. We described the premises on which ethnicity operates in India namely region, language, religion and caste. We noted the role of the British and the Constitution towards the ethnic groups in India. We then observed that clashes have occurred between ethnic groups over control of social, economic and educational resources. We then outlined the forms of ethnic conflict in India namely language conflicts and religious conflicts. We summarised the common features found in ethnic conflicts. Lastly, we stated the solutions offered to tackle the problem of ethnic conflicts in India.

34.9 KEYWORDS

Assimilation It refers to a mental process, whereby the minority migrant group starts identifying themselves with the host community. Its identity merges into that of the dominant group.

Miscegenation This is a term introduced by a group of sociologists, in their study of ethnic relations between the Whites and the Blacks in America. It means racial intermixing.

34.10 FURTHER READING

Barth, F. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organisation of Cultural Differences*. Alien and Unwin: London.

Barua, Indira et al (ed.) 2002. *Ethnic Groups, Cultural Continuities and Social Change in North-East India*. Mittal: New Delhi

Danda, Ajit K. 1999 (ed.) *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Integration*. The Asiatic Society: Calcutta

Gupta, Dipankar 2000. *Culture, Space and the Nation-State*. Sage Publications: New Delhi

Weiner, Myron 1978. *Sons of the Soil: Migration and Ethnic Conflict in India*. Oxford University Press: Delhi

34.11 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- i) b, c, f and g
- ii) a) F b) T c) F d) F
- iii) The three ways of achieving conversion in Indian Society are (a) inter-ethnic marriages, (b) taking up another religion, (c) caste mobility.

Check Your Progress 2

- i) The five factors are migration, culture contact, technology, emergence of thickly populated cities and conflicts between ethnic groups.
- ii) a
- iii) a) F b) T c) T d) T

Check Your Progress 3

- i) The premises on which ethnicity operates in India are language, region, religion and caste.
- ii) The British threw open educational and employment opportunities to all members irrespective of their caste or religion. They passed a series of legislative reforms, which gave increased economic political and educational benefits to the hitherto backward classes.
- iii) c

Check Your Progress 4

- i) b and d
- ii) Ethnic conflicts in India seem to be an organised body of conflicts supported by political parties. Though the manifest cause seem to be the region, language, religion or caste, the latent cause seem to be conflicting economic and political interests.
- iii) Reduction or removal of economic inequalities between people is a long term solution to the problem of ethnic conflicts.

Structure

- 35.0 Objectives
- 35.1 Introduction
- 35.2 Social Change and Social Movements
- 35.3 Nature of Social Movements
 - 35.3.1 Definition
 - 35.3.2 Examples
 - 35.3.3 Types
 - 35.3.4 Functions
- 35.4 Origins of Social Movements
 - 35.4.1 Relative Deprivation
 - 35.4.2 Structural Strain
 - 35.4.3 Revitalisation
 - 35.4.4 Importance of Understanding the Origins
- 35.5 Role of Leadership and Ideology in Social Movements
 - 35.5.1 Leadership
 - 35.5.2 Ideology
- 35.6 Life Cycle of Social Movements
- 35.7 Let Us Sum Up
- 35.8 Key Words
- 35.9 Further Reading
- 35.10 Specimen Answers to Check Your Progress

35.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you should be able to

- describe the link between social change and social movements
- explain the nature of social movements with the help of definitions, examples, types and functions
- examine the main factors associated with the origins of social movements
- describe the role of leadership and ideology in social movements
- point out the various stages in the life cycle of social movement.

35.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit of this course we looked at ethnic relations and ethnic conflicts in India. In this unit we will discuss some aspects of collective actions of people which lead to social change. These types of actions are known as social movements. We will begin this unit by pointing out the link between

social change and social movements. We will then define what a social movement is, cite some examples of social movements, list the types of social movements and point out the functions of social movements. This will be followed by an examination of the origins of social movements. Here we will focus on the three factors associated with the emergence of social movements. The three factors described are **relative deprivation, structural strain and revitalisation**. We shall also point out the importance of discussing the origins of social movements. In the section after this we will be describing the role of leadership and **ideology** in social movements. Then we shall briefly state the stages in the life cycle of a social movement.

35.2 SOCIAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

One of the main problems of sociology is to understand how and why societies change. All societies undergo changes. In some cases these may be radical in the sense that some social institutions may be replaced by new ones. Or, there may be major changes in the existing social institutions. For example, the prevalence of nuclear families in the place of traditional joint families has brought a change in the family as a social institution. Furthermore, there are other institutions, which no longer exist. For instance, if a society based on slavery is replaced by feudalism then the social institutions in that slave society may disappear too. If we observe societies over a period of time (i.e., historically) we will find that changes have taken place in all of them. In some cases these may be gradual, i.e., spread over a long period of time. In others they may be rapid.

Social change, as we know by now, does not take place merely by chance or due to some factors predetermined by fate. There are several forces operating simultaneously in society, which bring about change. Some of these may be external to social institutions. Changes caused by a change in the economy or the production relations is one such instance. Industrialisation creates changes in social institutions. The changes in the family structure, mentioned above, are caused by the impact of industrialisation. Nuclear families are more adaptive to the nature of industrial societies than joint families. The latter are more suited to pre-industrial, mainly agrarian, societies. At the same time, there are change producing agents inside a society as well. Social movements are one of these internal forces, which contribute to changes. Of course, they may at times prevent or resist changes. We shall look at the change promoting and change resisting aspects of social movements in our next section.

35.3 NATURE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In this section we will describe the main features of social movements. We will be giving definitions, examples, types and functions of social movements.

35.3.1 Definition

The International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences (1972) defines a social movement as a variety of collective attempts to bring about change. The attempts

may be to bring about change in certain social institutions and to create an entirely new social order. Or the attempts may represent a socially shared demand for change in some aspects of the social order. Turner and Kilhan define a social movement as a “collectivity which acts with some continuity to promote or resist change in the society or group of which it is a part” (cited by McLaughlen 1969: 27). Toch (1965) emphasises that a social movement is an effort by a large number of people to solve collectively a problem they feel they share in common.

These definitions bring out, above all things, two important qualifying features of a social movement. Firstly, that social movements involve collective action as against actions of a small group of individuals. Secondly, the collective attempt is designed to promote change or resist change in the society in which the attempt is made. So collective attempt may be to alter, inaugurate, supplant, restore or reinstate all or some aspects of the social order.

Let us look at these two features in a little more detailed manner in order to understand how social movements are different from other kinds of collective behaviour like a mob or a crowd. We will also see the difference between social movements and other movements like a cooperative movement or a trade union movement.

Social movements involve collective action by the people. Any form of collective action cannot be labelled as a social movement, even if it is directed towards changing the existing social values. For example, in some places when a car or a truck knocks down a pedestrian a mob collects immediately and starts beating up the driver. The mob is provoked because the driver's actions have led to injury or loss of life. Hence this could be regarded as a form of collective action to ensure sanctity of life and to prevent rash driving. But can we call this a social movement? No, because this is just an impulsive outburst. Hence, another feature of a social movement is that it should be sustained and not sporadic. Similarly social movement differs from a crowd by being a long-term collectivity, not a quick spontaneous grouping. However crowds may emerge as a result of social movements. A *morcha* taken up by members of a woman's organisation, a part of the women's social movement may attract a crowd.

At the same time one has to keep in mind that social movements are different from other movements in society. For instance, we have the cooperative movement or the trade union movement, which we are quite familiar with. Both these movements have features, which are common to those discussed above. Namely, they attempt to change the existing social relations and try to promote change. They are also sustained movements as they have existed over a period of time. However, they have one feature, which excludes them from being social movements. These movements are institutionalised movements. By this we mean that trade unions, cooperatives or such other organisations function under a given set of rules. These include procedures for recruitment and subsequently, expulsion, exclusion and punishment. The membership of these organisations is not open to all. In fact membership may not be open to even those who are expected to be participants of the movement. Let us clarify this. A trade union is expected to fight for protecting and enhancing workers' rights. But all workers do not automatically become members of a trade union. They can become members only if they agree to

the objectives of the trade union and they formally enroll as a member. Similarly a cooperative which is expected to help poor peasants will not automatically include all such people as its members. There are some formalities to be fulfilled such as registration of membership, purchase of shares etc. Therefore these organisations have a formal set of rules for membership. Only those accepting and abiding by these rules can hope to be included as members can be dropped or suspended from membership.

A movement, which is institutionalised in the above manner, can function with a fixed structure and a hierarchy. In other words, the structure of such organisations cannot change. A trade union will have its hierarchy based on authority. There will be a president, secretary and committee members etc. Each of them has separate responsibilities and they hold varying degrees of authority. This type of a hierarchy is necessary for any institutionalised movement. In fact this is what helps it to sustain itself.

Social movements on the other hand, will not have any of the above features. The two features of social movements, namely, sustained action and spontaneity operate simultaneously. These together distinguish a social movement from other movements. Existence of either of these features does not result in a social movement. To explain, earlier examples of trade unions and cooperatives show that these movements have sustained over a period of time. But this is because they are institutionalised and not because they are spontaneous. On the other hand, sporadic outbursts such as beating up a rash driver are collective behaviour, which is spontaneous. It is not a social movement because it is not sustained.

We are laying stress on spontaneity because social movements do not follow a fixed pattern of hierarchy. They are thus able to innovate new features of organisation. Institutionalisation would in fact prevent any form of innovation because of its fixed structures.

If we now take into account the features which we have discussed so far, we can define social movements as, collective action by large groups of people which is directed towards changing some of the values, norms and social relations in a society but which are spontaneous and sustained.

We had mentioned earlier in this section pertaining to the two qualifying features of social movements. That a social movement constitutes a collective attempt not only to promote change but also to resist change. This feature has to be kept in mind because all social movements do not attempt to change the existing situations. For instance, we all know that right from the nineteenth century there have been collective attempts to remove the social practice of sati. Raja Ram Mohan Roy actively campaigned against sati and was chiefly responsible for legal action being taken against sati in the nineteenth century. Even during his time, there were collective attempts to resist the introduction of the law abolishing sati. Even today there is a sizeable section of population who do not recognise or pay heed to the law against Sati.

The enthusiasm with which some people tried to celebrate and promote the performance of Sati in Deorala, Rajasthan, was a movement which could be regarded as change resisting (see figure 35.1). In addition, there could be movements, which promote casteism or, more specifically, attempt to reinforce the hegemony of the castes. Movements, which preach domination or

superiority of certain castes or a particular religion over others, movements that spread communal or ethnic prejudice, are all change-resisting movements. They attempt to change the prevalent norms, values and social relations and replace them with **obscurantist values**.

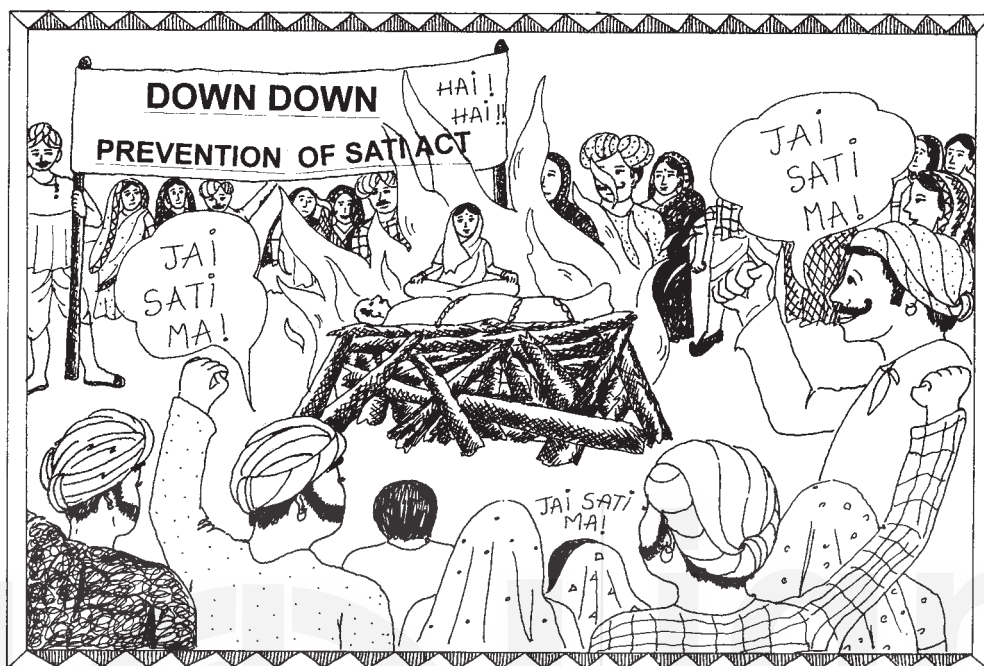


Fig. 35.1: Collective action to resist change prevention of sati act

35.3.2 Examples of Social Movements: Some Concrete Instances

We have so far attempted a definition of social movements. This should help us understand what social movements are and how they differ from other movements. However the discussion so far may appear somewhat abstract. Till now we only know some features of social movements. But what in concrete terms are social movements? One example which comes to our minds immediately is the process of sanskritisation expounded by the eminent sociologist, M.N. Srinivas. In this process we find that members of a caste group try to elevate their position to that of a caste deemed higher than their own. They do so by internalising the values, rituals and social behaviour of the members of that caste. Prof. Srinivas has given the cases of the Lingayats in Karnataka. We can find similar instances elsewhere. In a similar move the Rajbanshis in Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri districts of West Bengal sought to elevate their position to that of the Kshatriya caste. This community belongs to the Bodo-Kachari group of North East India. Its members inhabit, apart from the above mentioned districts, parts of the neighbouring states of Assam and Bangladesh. Till the Census of 1901, the Rajbanshis were bracketed with the Koch, a tribe belonging to the same group. It was then believed that both came from the same ethnic origin. However in 1909 the Rajbanshis, under the leadership of Thakur Panchanan Barman declared that their identity was different from that of the Koch. They stated that they were in fact Kshatriyas from North India who had taken refuge in this part of the country. The Kshatriya *Sabha* was formed and it urged all Rajbanshis to revert to their original status. The Rajbanshis started following the rituals of Kshatriyas such

as wearing the sacred thread, change in marriage practices, abstention from eating beef or pork, etc. They also started adopting the title “Thakur” along with their names. The Rajbanshis have been recognised as a separate group since the Census of 1911.

This movement is a social movement because it displayed the features of a social movement discussed earlier. Though the Rajbanshis formed an organisation (*Kshatriya Sabha*) and operated through it to elevate their status, it was not a formal organisation like a trade union or a peasant organisation. The *Sabha* did not have a formal set of rules and regulations relating to membership.

It is not necessary for a social movement to strive only for elevation of status; there can be movements with political or cultural dimensions. The Naxalite movement, which started in 1968 in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal, could also be regarded as a social movement. In this movement peasants and agricultural workers engaged in a violent struggle against those whom they defined as their exploiters. The movement spread to other parts of the country and it was declared illegal by the government. This in fact prevented it from developing a formal, institutional structure. The different groups engaged in various regions could operate only clandestinely i.e., secretly. However after 1978 the government removed the ban on Naxalites provided they discarded violence and used peaceful means to press for their demands. As a result several Naxalite groups declared themselves as political parties and developed formal institutional structures. The movement then ceased to be a social movement.

In the cultural field too we have social movements. We can observe such movements in literature and in drama. In films, the New Cinema or Parallel Cinema movement started in the late 1960s is one such instance. Young film-makers started making films, which were realistic and dealt with the everyday life of the common man. This was in contrast to the romantic films in the commercial sector. This movement did not originate from a formal organisation such as a federation or an association. It was started by film-makers who shared the common belief that realistic films based on good literature should be shown to the people.

We can cite the SNDP Movement (*Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana* Movement) as an example of a social movement which has social, political, educational and religious dimensions to it. The movement arose as a backward classes movement in the nineteenth century in Kerala. It focused on the conflict between untouchable castes (Izhavas, toddy tappers of South Travancore, Kerala) and the clean Hindu upper castes (Nayars, Nambudiris). The Izhavas were subject to several ritual as well as civil disabilities. They had to maintain a prescribed limit of distance from the upper caste, could not use the roads, tanks, wells or temples used by the higher castes. They were denied admission to the traditional caste Hindu schools and were kept away from administrative jobs. Under the leadership of Sri Narayana Guru Swamy, the Izhavas formulated a programme of social uplift. The issues they undertook were right of admission to public schools, recruitment to government employment, entry into temple and political representation. They fought for social mobility, for shift in the traditional distribution of power, and transformed themselves into a large ethnic block, which became politically viable. (Rao 1974: 22).

Activity 1

Take a map of India with all the states marked on it. Identify at least one social movement that has been associated with each state. Remember that a social movement can cover more than one state. Compare your answers if possible with those given by other students at your Study Centre.

We can now see that social movements have varied dimensions. As such they can cover all parts of our lives. There can be social movements, which promote change, and there can be those which resist change. This distinction has to be kept in mind because all social movements do not attempt to change the existing situation. Now let us move on to another aspect of social movements, namely, types of social movements.

35.3.3 Types of Social Movements

Social movements can be classified under various typologies depending on such factors like aim of the movement, organisation, means adopted to achieve the aims, value strength and so on. Some of the types are:

- i) **Migratory movements:** When a large number of people migrate due to discontent and or due to the shared hope for a better future in some other land, we talk of migratory movements. For instance the mass exodus of men to Gulf countries specially from the state of Kerala is an example of a migratory social movement. Similarly the mass migration of people from Bangladesh to India during troubled times is another instance of a migratory movement.
- ii) **Reform movements:** This type of a movement constitutes a collective attempt to change some parts of a society without completely transforming it. A reform movement accepts the basic pattern of the social order of that society and orients itself around an ideal. It makes use of those institutions such as the press, the government, the school, the church and so on to support its programme. Reform movements usually, rise on behalf of some distressed or exploited group. Reform movements are almost impossible in an authoritarian society. Such movements are mainly possible in democratic societies where people tolerate criticism. For example, the socio-religious reform movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in India aimed to remove social practices like sati, denial of education to women, ban on widow remarriage, ill treatment of widows, child marriage, caste disabilities and so on.
- iii) **Revolutionary movements:** Such a movement seeks to overthrow the existing system and replace it with a totally different one. Revolutionary movements aim at reconstructing the entire social order. They challenge the existing norms and propose a new scheme of values. The examples that immediately come to one's mind are the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution which resorted to overthrow the existing socio-political order prevailing in France and Russia respectively.
- iv) **Resistance or Reactionary movements:** These arise among people who are dissatisfied with certain aspects of change. The movement seeks to recapture or reinstate old values. For example the Islamic Fundamentalist movement and the *Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh* (RSS) can be classified under the heading reactionary or resistance movements.

Within every society, at different points of time we can have general movements or specific movements. All these types of movement generally have a programme of protest and action, establishment of a power relationship favourable to the movement and promotion of membership gratification.

35.3.4 Functions of Social Movements

So far we have defined and explained the main features of social movements with the help of examples and typologies. Another important aspect of social movements, which needs consideration, is the functional aspect of social movements.

According to Touraine (1968) social movements have three important functions. They are:

- i) **Mediation:** They help to relate the individual to the larger society. They give each person a chance to participate, to express his ideas and to play a role in the process of social change.
- ii) **Pressure:** Social movements stimulate the formation of organised groups that work systematically to see that their plans and policies are implemented.
- iii) **Clarification of Collective Consciousness:** This is a significant function. Social movements generate and develop ideas which spread throughout society. As a result group consciousness arises and grows.

Check Your Progress 1

- i) Define a Social Movement. Use two lines for your answer.
.....
.....
- ii) Which of the following are social movements. Tick the right answers.
 - a) Bhakti Movement
 - b) Panchayati Raj
 - c) Strike by workers
 - d) Brahma Samaj
- iii) State whether the following statements are true or false. Mark a T for true or F for false against each statement.
 - a) All social movements strive only for elevation of status.
 - b) Reform movements aim to change some parts of a society while revolutionary movements want to reconstruct the entire social order.
 - c) Social movements help an individual in a society to relate himself to a larger group in that society.
- iv) Which of the following movements are change promoting (CP) and which are change resisting (CR). Mark CP or CR against each of the following movements.

- a) Anti-Reservation movement
- b) Sati Movement
- c) Women's movement for equal status
- d) Literacy Movement
- e) New Cinema Movement
- f) Movement for entry of untouchables into temples.

35.4 ORIGINS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

After having described the main features of a social movement, let us move on to the question of emergence of a social movement. What are the social conditions or motivational forces that are both necessary and sufficient to the generation of a social movement? In this section we will discuss the origins of social movements by describing three factors which are associated with the emergence of social movements. But before doing so, let us specify the minimum conditions that are necessary for a social movement to emerge.

A social movement represents an effort by a large number of people to solve collectively a problem or problems that they feel they have in common. In doing so the people must first of all understand the problem. Therefore, the problem must be observable. Secondly, it must be objective. This means that it exists even if we are not aware of it. A low caste status or lack of realism in films is there even if people at a given point of time are not aware of its existence. When people become aware of the problem it means that their consciousness of the problem is real. Hence they are now subjectively aware of the objective situation. This would mean that problems are not created by people out of nothing. They exist in reality but it is only when people actually understand a problem that they try to find out means to overcome it.

All this may seem somewhat complicated but it actually is quite simple if we try to go into major details. First of all we must try to understand why there is a sudden need for collective action. We are using the word 'sudden' because if a problem exists in reality why is it that people react to it only at a given point of time and not earlier. In order to understand this mystery, or rather, understand the very existence of social movements, we must go into its origins. It is only then that we can understand the nature of any social movement. M.S.A. Rao (1979) had done a great deal of research on social movements and he identified three factors relating to the origins of social movements. We shall attempt to explain these in this section.

35.4.1 Relative Deprivation

The first factor is relative deprivation. A social movement usually starts because the people are unhappy about certain things. They may feel that they are not getting enough. In other words, they feel that they are deprived of something. The Naxalite movement would have this as a cause. The peasants felt that they were being exploited and deprived of their rights and the fruits of their labour. They therefore decided to protest. Similarly, the movement for abolition of reservation of seats for backward classes in educational institutions, which

took place in Gujarat, was again a result of relative deprivation. The upper castes felt that their children were being deprived of seats in good schools because of the reservation policy. At the same time those pressing for more reservation are doing so because they too feel deprived.

We should keep in mind that deprivation is relative and not absolute. A movement against or for reservation does not mean that the concerned castes feel that they are totally deprived of educational facilities. They in fact feel that given their ability they are getting less. What we are trying to stress on here is that social movements do not arise only when there are extreme conditions, e.g. contradiction between the very rich and the very poor. Social movements can arise out of relative expectations and not necessarily out of extreme or absolute conditions.

35.4.2 Structural Strain

However, all social movements do not arise out of relative deprivation. They can also originate from structural strain. When the prevailing value system and the normative structure does not meet the aspirations of the people, the society faces strain. What happens at this time is that a new value system is sought so as to replace the old. This leads to conflicts and tension. Usually individuals in such a situation violate the social norms. For example where intercaste marriage is not permitted we may still find a few cases of such marriage, in violation of the norms. However only when individual actions are replaced by collective action does a social movement take place.

Let us take the example of the women's movement to illustrate the point. In a largely traditional society like India, women are usually assigned passive roles. A woman is expected to be subordinate to males. It is believed that as a daughter a female must obey her father; as a wife, her husband and as a widow, her sons. Such a value system would encourage women to be content as housewives and mothers. The duties outside the house, such as education, earning a livelihood etc. are the domain of males.

Over the years we can see that opportunities for both education and employment are being increasingly made available for women. As a result, the roles of women are changing. However the value system remains the same. Therefore, women may take up jobs but their household duties remain unchanged. This obviously results in greater burden of work on the working woman.

In employment too women are discriminated against. All jobs are not open to them. For example, though the employment of women as salaried workers has increased they are mainly employed as school teachers (that too in primary schools) or as office employees. In other jobs, such as factory work, the number of female employees has decreased. In technical education there is no legal discrimination against women, but we find that there are very few women engineers. In management institutes too the number of female students is very few.

These disparities occur mainly because we have, in keeping with our value system, categorised certain types of employment as 'manly' or masculine. Factory work, engineering, flying planes, managing industries or offices are 'manly' jobs. Women are more suited to 'feminine' jobs such as teaching children, working as typists, receptionists, telephone operators, airhostesses

etc. Parents and elders impress upon girls the type of jobs, which are suitable for them. If a girl has an aptitude for engineering her parent may dissuade her to take it up as a career and may possibly impress on her to read home science instead. Therefore even when there is no legal ban, the value system enforces women not to pursue certain careers.

Moreover, if a woman's place is in the home, a single woman working in the city and living alone is viewed as something unusual. Girls who go out to work or study are looked down upon in many places. People feel that if women educate themselves and take up jobs they will neglect their traditional duties and they will refuse to subordinate themselves to the men folk. Independent minded girls or those who are bold enough to venture out of their homes are regarded as easy prey to males. Such people are victims of eve teasing.

An accumulation of all these factors have made women challenge the existing values. This has resulted in the women's movement, which is also referred to as the feminist movement. Women who have become conscious of these prejudices and evils in society are now collectively trying to redefine the value system. This need has arisen because the traditional value system is causing strain to women who want to think and act as independent beings. As such this movement is not directed against males. It is only an assertion that a new value system based on equality of all human beings should replace the existing value system.

35.4.3 Revitalisation

We may quite often find that relative deprivation and structural strain are related to each other. They together form the basis of a social movement. In the case of the women's movement, relative deprivation is a cause for structural strain. Similarly an examination of social reform movements may reveal that both these causes exist. However we must keep in mind that social movements are not merely protest movements. Though social movements express dissatisfaction and dissent against the system, they may also offer a positive alternative. Indeed they may be started for revitalising the existing system which is undergoing structural strain. Revitalisation is therefore the third factor associated in the emergence of a social movement.

This urge for revitalisation can generate a movement, which promotes patriotism, and national pride could be caused by youth movements, which encourage young people to help and organise the oppressed, or the literacy movements are other examples. These movements are started in order to solve a problem collectively. They do not merely protest against what they define as wrong but also try to provide an alternative.

35.4.4 Importance of Understanding the Origins

The three factors discussed above are not exclusive, in the sense that if one exists the other two cannot. They are, as we have seen, interrelated. In fact we may find that all three can be found in most social movements. At the same time we will find that normally in any movement one of these predominates over the other two. In examining the origins of a social movement we have to try to locate the one which predominates. This is important for determining the shape of the movement. What does the movement try to gain? Which

interests does it represent? These are important questions for sociologists or for any one interested in studying changes in society. After all, if features of social movements are similar how does one distinguish one social movement from another? All social movements are not the same. They represent or fight for different sections of the population. At times two social movements may be contrary to one another. The pro- and anti-reservation stirrers are such instances. In some parts of Bihar we find that the poor peasants are organised under the Naxalite movement while the landlords have organised themselves under the *Bhoomi Sena* Movement. Different caste groups or religious communities organise social movements for revitalisation but these may be counterposed to each other. An analysis of the genesis of a social movement will help us in understanding these issues.

35.5 ROLE OF LEADERSHIP AND IDEOLOGY IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

People organise themselves to begin a social movement because they are discontented with the way things are. They wish to see it changed but despair at the available means of doing so. The mobilisation of discontent lies in bringing the affected group into action. Social movements constitute people's efforts to organise themselves to fight against inequalities, discrimination and deprivation. Widespread collective mobilisation has led to organised movements with defined ideologies and leaders who have brought important changes in the societies from which they originate (Rao 1979:1). Apart from the three factors mentioned in the previous section relating to the emergence of social movements, there are two more factors, which contribute to the origins as well as the sustenance of social movements. These factors are leadership and ideology. Let us look at them separately.

35.5.1 Leadership

No social movement begins all of a sudden because thousands of people feel that they have a common problem. While studying social movements we will inevitably find that in the initial phase or even later on, one person or a small group has motivated the others to start a movement. In most of the movements mentioned earlier we will find that they were shaped by a leader. The Rajbanshi Kshatriya movement was under the leadership of Panchanan Thakur who was the first to assert that the Rajbanshis were Kshatriyas. He mobilised the people around this demand. The Naxalite movement had the initial leadership of Charu Majumdar, Kanu Sanyal and Jungal Santhal in West Bengal, N. Patnaik and Chandra Pullu Reddy and Nagi Reddy and Seetharamiah in Andhra Pradesh. The women's movement too has several leaders in different parts of the country. In Kerala the SNDP movement had Sri Narayana Guru as its chief leader. The movement was, characterised by collective leadership with a division of labour among the different types of elites (Rao 1979: 251).

Leaders are important for movements because they help clarify the issues and thus shape the movement. It is the leaders who provide guidance to a movement. They prevent it from becoming a desperate, unruly collection of people. A movement can degenerate into a mob if it does not have a leader or a group of leaders guiding it.

The importance of leadership does not necessarily mean that it is all pervading, that people have no independent role to play and they are manipulated by the leaders. On the contrary, the leadership is expected to reflect the views of the people. Just as we have seen earlier that social movements arise when there is a concrete problem and when people become aware of it. Similarly, a leader is able to visualise this problem. The person does not necessarily create it. The most important aspect of leadership is that it tries to articulate the views of the participants. It is impossible for all people to give their views simultaneously. This would result in chaos. The leader tries to present these views in an organised manner.

At the same time the leadership of a movement also tries to impress its own views on the people. The leader has ideas about the movement, the shape it will take and the nature of its demands. Leadership therefore involves a two-way process. On the one hand the leader tries to lead according to his understanding of the situation and the issues involved. On the other hand the leader incorporates the views and ideas of the participants and articulates them in the process. Both aspects must be present to ensure a stable leadership of a movement. If a leader only tries to impose his or her own views without taking into account the views of the participants the movement is likely to degenerate. A similar situation will occur if the leadership solely relies on the diverse views of the participants without enunciating its own.

We can therefore see that leadership is necessary for helping to develop and shape a social movement. The objectives of a social movement arise out of the problems the people are facing. In the case of the reservation movements both pro and anti) it would mean greater seats for that section of the people. For the women's movement it would mean greater freedom and less oppressive social restrictions. At the same time, how the participants attempt to achieve the stated objectives will be largely determined by the leadership the movement can throw up. We can thus find that social movements with common objectives adopt different strategies for achieving their goals.

35.5.2 Ideology

Apart from the role of the leader another important factor in determining the nature of a social movement is ideology. There are other important aspects of a movement, which are determined by its ideology. Let us look at this aspect in greater detail.

In very rare cases are people attracted to a movement because of a promise for better facilities. There is something deeper, which makes people committed to it. People do not join a movement because they take a fancy to a leader. Normally they follow the leader because of what he represents, i.e., the ideas that he places before the people. People can be lured by promises of better physical facilities and opportunities for social life only for a short time. They however need something more to sustain their interest in the movement. This is where ideology plays a role in sustaining the movement.

What exactly do we mean by ideology? Ideology very simply denotes a set of related beliefs held by a group of people. It helps in understanding a situation. Further it legitimises actions pursued by the people. Therefore, just as a leader is important for guiding a movement, an ideology is also important as it makes

people understand and justify the implications of their actions. One can rarely conceive of a social movement without an ideology.

Let us try and illustrate the above with some examples. When women perceive the problem of sexual inequality in society they organise a social movement which attempts to fight against the problems which are there. What form does this collective action take? This depends on how the problems are perceived. Will the problem of sexual inequality be looked upon as a male, female problem where the solution lies in an attack on the menfolk? Or will it be seen as a problem inherent in the social values and hence the solution lies in changing these values. Like these, there can be other interpretations of the same problem. The actions taken for achieving the goals will also be diverse. For some the use of violent means may be regarded as a corrupting force. Others may believe that they are necessary means. These types of diversities, which are found in social movements, both in identifying the problem and in the means to attain the goals, are determined by ideology. Ideology therefore indicates the goals, means and forms of practical activities of social groups and of individuals. It supplies the justification for various social, political and moral ideals.

We can often see that social movements having the same goals may adopt different means to attain them. Both the Naxalite movement and the *Bhoodan* movement had the same goal of helping to overcome the problems of the rural poor. The *Bhoodan* movement adopted a peaceful, non-violent approach. It sought to distribute land to the poor by appealing to the rich landowners to donate their surplus land to the rural poor. The Naxalite movement on the other hand adopted more forceful means. It believed that the landlords were the enemies of the poor. Hence the only way to help the poor would be to eliminate their enemies. Both movements justified their actions. Therefore we can see that ideology distinguishes one social movement from one another, even though the goals of both may be similar.

We can take another example to illustrate the above point. The movement for preservation of the ecology has taken different paths. The aim of these different movements is the same: preservation of the natural environment. However there are differences on how environment should be preserved. Sundarlal Bahuguna is leading a social movement, which has become internationally renowned. His emphasis is on protection of trees in the hilly regions. The *Chipko* movement, as it is called, has been effective in preventing felling of trees in the Gharwal region of Uttar Pradesh. This movement also believes that if the environment is to be preserved, growth of industries must be checked, industrialisation will destroy the environment, and subsequently, the local population. On the other hand there is another movement in the same region based on the same goal of preserving the forests, led by Chandi Prasad Bhatt. The means are somewhat different from those of the *Chipko* movement. Bhatt's movement believes that small industries should be allowed in this region to provide employment to the people. The existence of forests is necessary, this movement asserts, but if forest related employment is not available the people may be forced to cut down trees to earn their livelihood. This movement views industrialisation as a form of modernisation but it has to be regulated. The *Chipko* movement has a different view on this matter. The divergence in the two movements is not based on scientific analysis, though both use scientific data to prove their respective stands. Ideology plays an important part in

determining these actions and in analysing the situation. Bhatt's movement believes that industrialisation is a form of progress whereas Bahuguna's movement has different views on this. Both justify their approaches on ideological basis.

Apart from helping to distinguish one movement from another, ideology helps to sustain a movement. It distinguishes a social movement from mere instances. People can be mobilised when they feel that they are being deprived. However in order to carry on the movement they need some justification for their actions. The Kshatriya movement began when the Rajbanshis felt that they were being treated as inferiors. But in order to sustain the movement they needed the belief that they were in fact originally from an upper caste.

We can therefore see that ideology is an important component of a social movement. It conceives a movement, sustains it and offers solutions. Both leadership and ideology are indispensable as leaders operate within the ideological framework.

Activity 2

Read in detail about any one of the following social movements.

- 1) Chipko Movement
- 2) Sarvodaya Movement
- 3) Yadav Movement
- 4) Bhoodan Movement

Write a note of not more than two pages on nature of the movement, root cause for its emergence, ideology and leadership. Compare, if possible, your note with those written by other students at your Study Centre.

35.6 LIFE CYCLE OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

After having described the crucial role played by leadership and ideology in social movements, let us now state the stages through which generally a social movement passes through.

Stage one reflects the social unrest present in a society. Almost all social movements are rooted in social unrest and problem. Collective tension builds up as a result of this. This stage is followed by stage two in which collective excitement can be witnessed in the society, where people feel they have a problem in common. Certain social conditions are identified as the root cause of the misery and excitement sets in. The movement gains support and a guiding ideology. Agitations rise everywhere. This period is generally brief and leads quickly to action.

Stage three is the formalisation stage through some movements, like migratory movements, may be able to operate without formal organisation. In this stage, a chain of officers is drawn up. There is division of labour among leaders and the followers. Fund raising is systematised and ideology becomes clearer than before. The leaders clarify the ideology in that they remind people of the discontent they share in common, identify their opponents and state the

objectives of the movement. The strategy and tactics for protest and for action are drawn and a moral justification for having adopted a particular course of action is established.

The fourth stage is one of institutionalisation. The movement crystallises into a definite pattern. Efficient bureaucrats replace agitators; buildings, offices are established. The aims of the movement become accepted in that society. This period may last indefinitely. The fifth stage is one of dissolution. Different movements come to different ends at different points of time: some movements end early while some dissolve after the objective has been achieved. Sometimes differences of opinion among the leaders within a movement may lead to divisions within a movement, with each group having its own ideology and programme of action. Only some movements achieve full institutionalisation.

It is not necessary that all movements pass through all these above mentioned stages. But what can be certainly said about all social movements are:

- a) they play a major part in social change,
- b) they help in quickening the pace of change, and
- c) they influence many aspects of the peoples lives: moral, political, social, and cultural.

In India social movements have tried to change certain aspects of the traditional value system though they have not always been successful in doing so.

Check Your Progress 2

- i) What are the three factors associated with the emergence of social movements? Use two lines for your answer.
.....
.....
- ii) State whether the following statements are true or false. Mark a T for true or F for false against each statement.
 - a) Structural strain is caused when the norms and values of a society disappear suddenly.
 - b) The leadership of a social movement plays an important role in achieving its objectives.
 - c) Ideology gives always a political slant to a movement.
 - d) Ideology helps in distinguishing between movements with similar objectives.
- iii) Identify the name of the movement with which each of the following leaders is associated.
 - a) Vinoba Bhave
 - b) Charu Mazumdar
 - c) Sri Narayana Guru
 - d) Sunderlal Bahuguna

iv) List the stages through which a social movement is generally seen to pass. Answer in about four lines.

.....

.....

.....

.....

35.7 LET US SUM UP

In this unit we looked at an important component of collective behaviour and social change in India, namely social movements. We began the unit by pointing out the link between social change and social movements. We said social movements are one of the internal forces, which contribute to change in a society. We then moved on to describe the nature of social movements. We first defined a social movement as a collective attempt to promote or resist change. We elaborated the definition with the help of examples. We then moved on to types of social movements. Here we talked of migratory, reformatory, revolutionary and reactionary movements. We then stated the functions of a social movement namely mobilisation, pressurisation and clarification of collective consciousness. In our discussion of origins of social movements we focused on three factors associated with the emergence of social movements. The three factors are relative deprivation, structural strain and revitalisation. In the section on origins we also stated why it is important to understand the origins. We said that examining origins helps us to locate which factors predominate and shows us how a movement takes a particular shape. We then moved on to discuss the role of ideology and leadership in stimulating as well as sustaining a movement. Finally, we stated the stages through which a social movement is seen to generally pass.

35.8 KEYWORDS

Ideology	A set of related beliefs held by a group of people
Obscurantist Values	Values, which are, opposed to inquiry, reform or new knowledge i.e. values, which have become redundant with time
Relative Deprivation	A feeling or a state of being deprived in relation to certain conditions and expectations
Revitalisation	Restrengthening
Structural Strain	The strain experienced in a society because the prevailing values and norms do not meet the aspirations of the people.

35.9 FURTHER READING

Kumar, A. 2001. *Social Transformation in Modern India*. Sarup: New Delhi

Rao, M.S.A. 1979. *Social Movements and Social Transformation: A Study of Two Backward Classes Movements in India*. Macmillan: Madras.

Shah, Ganshyam (ed.) 2002. *Social Movements and the State*. Sage Publications: New Delhi

Wilson, John 1973. *Introduction to Social Movements*. Basic Books: New York.

35.10 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- i) A social movement is a collective effort by people of a society to promote or resist change.
- ii) a and d
- iii) a) F b) T c) T
- iv) a) CR b) CR c) CP d) CP e) CP f) CP

Check Your Progress 2

- i) The three factors associated with the emergence of social movements are relative deprivation structural strain and revitalisation.
- ii) a) F b) T c) F d) T
- iii) a) *Bhoodan* Movement
b) *Naxalite* Movement
c) *SNDP* Movement
d) *Chipko* Movement
- iv) The stages are:
 - a) Social unrest
 - b) Collective excitement
 - c) Formalisation
 - d) Institutionalisation
 - e) Dissolution.

UNIT 36 DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND CHANGE

Structure

- 36.0 Objectives
- 36.1 Introduction
- 36.2 Link between Development, Planning and Change
- 36.3 Perception of Social Thinkers on Development and Change
 - 36.3.1 Development and Change as Interchangeable and Logically Related Terms
 - 36.3.2 Development and Change as Modernisation
- 36.4 Contemporary View of Development, Planning and Change
 - 36.4.1 Development
 - 36.4.2 Planning
 - 36.4.3 Change
- 36.5 Development Planning and Change in the Indian Context
 - 36.5.1 Development: Mixed Economy and Rural Development
 - 36.5.2 Planning: Five Year Plans
 - 36.5.3 Change in Relation to Caste, Rural and Urban Life and Women
- 36.6 Let Us Sum Up
- 36.7 Key Words
- 36.8 Further Reading
- 36.9 Specimen Answers to Check Your Progress

36.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you should be able to

- state the link between development, planning and change
- describe the perceptions of different social thinkers on development and change
- define and state the contemporary view on development, planning and change
- describe the approach to and experiences of development planning and change in the Indian context.

36.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous unit we described **social change** in terms of social movements. In this unit, we are going to focus primarily on changes that are brought about through conscious and deliberate planning. Before we proceed to describe the structure of this unit, we want to point out two things. Firstly, we would advise

all students to go through Block 8, units 33 and 34 of the first electric course of Sociology of Bachelor's Degree Programme at IGNOU, the Study of Society, before reading this unit. Units 33 and 34 of Block 8 of that course are on Social Change and Social Development. These units will help you to have a conceptual clarity about the terms change and **development**. Secondly, in this unit, we have described development planning and change under separate headings in order to help you understand the way they have been defined and described in social sciences. We have focused on the link between development planning and change wherever possible.

Coming to the structure of this unit, we have begun the unit by stating the link between development, planning and change. Then we have proceeded to describe the way development and changes have been viewed by sociologists over the years.

We have focused on the perceptions of social thinkers who have viewed development and change as interchangeable and logically related terms. We have also stated the perceptions of thinkers who viewed development and change in the context of **modernisation**. This description of the perceptions of social thinkers will provide background information relating to development and planning in modern times. We then proceeded to define and describe development, planning and change in contemporary times. We can say that all this constitutes the first part.

In the second part we will look at the relevance of development planning and change in the Indian context. We will begin our description by stating the Indian approach to development. We will then describe some of the schemes of development relating to rural India. In our examination of planning in India, we will refer to the approaches of the five-year plans. This will be followed by a description of changes in 'caste', 'rural and urban life' and 'position and role of women' in India. Here again the focus of description is on the changes that have taken place in the above mentioned areas as a result of planned development.

36.2 LINK BETWEEN DEVELOPMENT, PLANNING AND CHANGE

Development, planning and change are interrelated terms. In sociology, development essentially refers to a process of social change, which is planned and desired by a society. Development is a value-laden concept. Social change refers to alterations that occur in the social structure and social relations. It is a value-free or neutral concept. Planning, which simply means arrangement of parts in a certain design or a formulated scheme for getting something done, is an important factor in social change. Planning implies that ways and means are devised and decisions for future actions are chalked out well in advance. All cases of social change cannot be described as development. Only, planned and desired social change can be described as development. Thus, we can see that the three terms are closely inter-linked but have their own specific meaning.

There has been an immense sociological contribution in the area of social change and development. Compared to the contributions in these areas, the role of sociologists in the analysis of planning has been very recent and limited.

In the next section we shall briefly describe the important sociological contributions in the areas of social change and development. This will provide a background for understanding development planning in the context of change.

36.3 PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL THINKERS ON DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE

In the early sociological writings, the terms and notions of development and change are used interchangeably. A clear distinction could either not be made, or if made, they were treated as logically related terms. In many of the early sociological theories of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the notions of 'change', 'development', 'evolution' and 'progress' are sometimes confused or combined in a single term. In the mid twentieth century the terms 'change' and 'development' were primarily viewed in the context of 'modernisation'. Let us now look at the perceptions of some social thinkers on development and social change.

36.3.1 Development and Change as Interchangeable and Logically Related Terms

We will look at the perceptions of thinkers like Comte, Spencer, Durkheim, Weber and Marx.

- i) **Auguste Comte:** Auguste Comte tried to understand social changes that occurred in the early years of the industrial revolution as an evolutionary process. Evolution implies gradual transformation or change through a series of stages. The theory of evolution explains that societies pass through a number of stages starting from a simple form and becoming more complex as the process of evolution progresses.

Auguste Comte put forward the idea of evolutionary change and also related the idea of progressive change through the development of intellect, in particular the scientific thought. He was of the opinion that the human mind, human society and human knowledge all went through a process of development and change, from metaphysical (non-scientific) to positivism (scientific).

- ii) **Herbert Spencer:** Herbert Spencer treated human society as a biological organism and, therefore, tried to study 'development' in the sense of change from within. In his opinion, social bodies are like living bodies. Thus, with increase in size, their structural complexity too increases. Spencer propounded an analogy between society and an organism and between social and economic growth.
- iii) **Emile Durkheim:** Durkheim conceived society in terms of an evolutionary scheme. He talked about social solidarity. By solidarity he meant the moral beliefs and ideas which defined the commonness underlying social life. Like a social evolutionist, he opined that in pre-industrial societies, mechanical solidarity was based on agreement and identity among people, while in post-industrial societies organic solidarity derived from agreement to tolerate a range of differences, conflicts being moderated through a variety of institutional arrangements. Division of labour was almost absent

in pre-industrial societies, while it is highly specialised and categorical in modern societies.

Durkheim tried to explain social change as the result of changes in the bonds of morality, which he called social solidarity. He also laid emphasis on the processes of social evolution. According to him, alterations in the modes of functioning of societies as organic wholes could be studied scientifically.

- iv) **Max Weber:** He examined the question of development and change in the context of his study on capitalism. According to him, culture (people's beliefs and values) is the key element in development. Unlike Durkheim, he tried to find as to what it was in people's religious and ethical beliefs that had enabled societies which started with similar technological endowment to develop and change in quite different ways.
- v) **Karl Marx:** Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in contrast to Durkheim and Weber argued that the processes of social change and development were in their nature not gradual and evolutionary; rather they were characterised by conflict of interests among classes in society. They essentially talked about disequilibrium between the productive potential of a society and the distribution of goods and services among its members. Therefore, according to this view, social change arises out of potential struggles and radical breaks in continuity, rather than from gradual evolution. Class struggle has been recognised as the driving force of social change and development.

36.3.2 Development and Change as Modernisation

We will look into the contributions of W. Moore, Mc Clelland and critics of the modernisation theory.

- i) **Wilbert Moore** (1951) understood social change as total transformation of a traditional or pre-modern society into a technology-dependent social organisation, generally found in the advanced, economically prosperous and relatively politically stable nations of the western world. He described the general conditions for industrialisation which include change in values, institutions, organisations and motivations. According to the modernisation theory development takes place from within a society and follows essentially the same pattern in all societies. The end-result of development, according to the modernisation theorists, is prosperity and relative political stability.
- ii) **David Mc Clelland**(1961), like Max Weber, emphasised that internal factors like the values and motives of the persons provide opportunities to shape their own destiny. Thus, the problems of backwardness, poverty, malnutrition etc. are vitally linked to traditional and non-traditional thought. Therefore, educational programmes and technical aid aimed at increasing the 'need for achievement' of the people of backward areas are needed to solve these problems. Mc Clelland's idea of the need for achievement crystallises this view of the motive force in social change in general and the industrialisation process as a particular case of social change. He concluded that modernisation or development could be achieved through a process of diffusion of culture, ideas and technology.

- iii) **Critics of the Modernisation Theory:** A.G. Frank (1967) opined that the modernisation theories are inadequate from the policy point of view, because they fail to define correctly the kinds of social and economic processes at work in the developing countries. Rejecting the western model of development, he asserted that it is not necessary that development would occur in all societies if they adopt the economic policies and parliamentary democracy on the pattern of west.

The modernisation theories could not come true, as experience showed that all developing societies have not followed the path of development of the already developed countries. It is suggested that each society's development problems can be understood only in relation to its place in a world system. This viewpoint raised questions as to whether or not the best path to development is revolution or complete withdrawal from the world system of social, political and economic relations. These thinkers became known as 'Dependency Theorists'. Their theories do not give much weight to the role of culture and ideas in development. They provided a simple and powerful model of the origin and nature of underdevelopment. However, the experience of development of Third World countries and the continuing failure of the developed countries to cater to the needs of all their citizens to achieve their own steady economic growth and development made it apparent that neither Durkheimian nor Weberian theories/traditions explain the process of change adequately.

Barrington Moore (1966) gives an explanation that stands apart from dependency theory. He differs from both Marxism and modernisation theory. He views development primarily as an internal process, the result depending on the relative power of social classes. He argues that there may be different routes to development, such as bourgeois democratic revolution led by a strong indigenous middle class; fascist revolution where middle class with its entrepreneurial skills was weak; capitalism characterised by an authoritarian style; and peasant revolution leading to communism in a situation under which centralised monarchies stifled the impulse to capitalistic development and the way forward depended on an uprising by the mass of peasants led by intellectuals.

Check Your Progress 1

- 1) State whether the following statements are true or false. Mark a T for true F for false against each statement.
 - a) All change is development.
 - b) Early sociological theories by Comte, Spencer and Durkheim viewed development and change as interchangeable and/or logically related terms.
 - c) According to modernisation theorists the end result of development is prosperity and political stability.
 - d) Development refers to unplanned process of social change in modern times.

Social Change

ii) How did Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels view social change and development? Answers in about five lines.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

iii) Tick mark the correct answer of the following question.
Who among the following viewed human society as a biological organism?

- a) Herbert Spencer
- b) Max Weber
- c) Emile Durkheim
- d) Karl Marx

iv) Write any two criticisms of modernisation theory. Use seven lines for your answer.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

36.4 CONTEMPORARY VIEW OF DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND CHANGE

We have seen how in many of the early sociological writings, the terms, concepts and notions of development, change, evolution and progress are used interchangeably. In the mid twentieth century development was used in the context of modernisation theory. A clear distinction could either not be made, or if made, they were treated as logically related terms. The general level of abstract ideas and words does not always have a clearly defined meaning. In this situation, it is important not only to define the terms precisely, but also see how they were defined in different periods of time, so that they can be understood by a large number of people.

In the following section, we will state how the terms development, change and planning have been defined and described in sociological writings since the mid twentieth century.

36.4.1 Development

As defined in the Oxford English Dictionary, development means a gradual unfolding; a fuller working out, of the details of anything; the growth of what is in the germ. Thus, we can apply the term to understand the development of a child or of a disease. However, its usage in the last five decades in social sciences has been quite different and complex. It has been used in different ways by different people. Development inevitably means different things for different individuals and social groups. Due to different assumptions made about the nature of the development process, various words are frequently used to describe the process. Areas where development is slow, for instance, the economically backward areas are termed as less developed, developing, underdeveloped, and traditional.

a) **Development as Industrialisation and Technological Advancement**

The term development has been used to make a distinction between the prosperous industrial societies versus the rest of the societies and also to describe the process of industrialisation and modernisation. This usage has several distinctive features and does not take into consideration the general theories like the theory of social evolution. It takes into account only a specific kind of changes, which occur either at the present time or took place in the recent past. Three terms are commonly used to indicate the stage of development: traditional societies, transitional societies, and modern societies. Growth of knowledge and control over nature, which in other words, means development of human powers of production, is treated as the most significant element in the transformation of a society. Technological determinism and industrialisation are the important features of this type of development.

Industrialisation, urbanisation and development are related processes. Increasing urbanisation and rising number of factories and movement of goods and labour from rural areas to urban areas are the inevitable consequences of these processes. Industrialisation, in fact, is a phase of economic development in which capital and labour resources shift both relatively and absolutely from agricultural activities to industry. Industrial production can be contrasted with craft production in terms of its scale; employment of a large number of workers; use of machinery; and the resulting geographical concentrations and production for a large market. Thus, the key elements of an industrial society seem to be the type of technology employed in production, the scale of organisation of labour in relation to that technology, and the extent of specialisation leading to various types of changes in society. With the introduction of new technologies, less labour is required for agricultural production and more for industry. The industries being more concentrated in the urban areas the surplus of rural agricultural labour migrates to the urban areas. The migrated population has to find new ways of earning a livelihood with new rules. These changes, besides technological changes, include changes in the way people come to see themselves and others and changes in the ideological framework. In the process, a contradiction is said to exist between the forces of production, such as technology, technical knowledge, and crafts, and their relationships with production like legal arrangements, social organisations, forms of contracts, forms of distribution, etc. Modernisation theory, building on the ideas of Durkheim and Weber, emphasises that industrialisation involves changes in people's attitudes and expectations as well as in the structure of their

relationships. Planned changes in economic, social, political and other spheres have been more recently defined as development.

b) **Development as Socio-Cultural Development**

Since the 1960s there is an increasing emphasis by sociologists to look at development from a 'holistic' point of view. This means, defining development not only in terms of industrialisation or economic dimensions but also in terms of socio-cultural dimensions. Until recently, the popular notion was that economic growth was a sufficient and necessary condition to stimulate development in all other sections of society. This has been proved incorrect. Economic advancement of one group of people has not and does not trickle down to all other groups in a society. Also the achievement of high levels of economic advancement by some countries has not helped to solve some of their serious social problems. It is therefore, increasingly being emphasised that the ultimate aim of development is the improvement of the quality of life of every human being in society. Development is multidimensional. It takes into consideration matters like equity, social participation, environmental sustainability, decentralisation, self-reliance, basic human needs satisfaction etc.

Some sociologists emphasise that improvement in quality of life involves psychological, social and moral dimensions apart from political, economic and cultural dimensions. For instance, they point out that an improvement in the psychological quality of life entails the idea of life satisfaction including positive mental health. This requires a proper balance between material and non-material life goals of a people. The improvement in social quality of life means an increase in the strength of family stability, interpersonal bonds and social solidarity. An improvement in the moral quality of life means developing a concern for others and not merely a concern for self. (Sharma 1986: 20). Thus the sociological approach to development looks at this process as alterations that affect the whole socio-cultural matrix of society. Development has come to mean a planned, stimulated movement of all sectors of a social system in the direction of the overall desired goals set by a society. Today Sociology of Development attempts to understand development and experiences of masses in a particular society in respect of their struggle to survive and change. One of the important aspects of Sociology and Development is to understand how transition occurs in society from one stage to another.

36.4.2 Planning

In the present century there have been several attempts to bring about social change by planned efforts. Planning has become an important factor in social change. Changes result from simultaneous decisions on many aspects and usually cause mixed positive and negative impacts. Planned change or development may be defined as transformation that aims to minimise the negative impacts on society. In the past, efforts were oriented towards achieving economic growth assuming that the benefits of economic growth will automatically trickle down to all sections of society. However, it could not come true. Economic growth has failed to lessen the gaps between different sections of society. It is proved now that economic growth alone is not effective. Inequality and poverty have persisted despite impressive rates of growth. Somewhere they became worse during the growth period. Active government

interventions into the socio-economic system are, therefore, needed; reliance on market forces alone not being sufficient.

Planning is a needed strategic intervention to bring about development. Planning becomes necessary to promote economic and social development. The task of planning is to design strategic interventions for social change. Each country, based on its history, socio-political institutions, development priorities, resource endowments and institutional structure, undertakes development planning. Planning generally improves policy making.

The methodologies of planning are usually concerned with the choice of technique. Planning can take place at different depth levels. It may be carried out in many different ways. However, it is desirable to have a multiple perspective in development planning.

Developmental planning methods, which take into account different dimensions and integrate them into one are in their infancy. Endogenous development is the main focus of developmental planning efforts. Developmental planning is usually done from the perspective of government agencies. Sociologists have constantly reminded government agencies to extend the notion of planning from the idea of a planned economy to that of a planned society.

Developmental planning is at the cross-roads today. Social and cultural dimensions of development are usually understood as additional programmes and as investment outside the industrial and agricultural growth frameworks. This is where sociological analysis assumes immense value. By “keeping everything in view”, by defining clearly and describing the interconnections between social phenomena of different kinds, a sociologist makes planning more effective. (Bottomore 1987: 308).

Activity 1

List the development schemes that have benefitted both the people as well as the natural environment of the locality in which you live over the past five years. Compare your list, if possible, with the list prepared by other students at your Study Centre.

36.4.3 Change

Change is an empirical reality. Sociology has its roots in the attempt to understand the processes of social change. Except a few sociologists like Marx and Sorokin, many of the early grand theories of social change (like the linear theories of Comte and Spencer and the cyclical theories of Pareto and Toynbee) paid relatively little attention to the analysis of particular processes of social change. They did not also discriminate factors involved in social change (Bottomore 1987: 276).

In the recent decades, there have been attempts to analyse social change in terms of specific models, which are based on the experience of change in particular societies. Attempts are being made to construct these models within a broader theoretical framework. Sociologists are focussing on questions relating to change, the direction and rate of change and the factors in social change.

Social Change

Social change, as defined in an earlier section, is looked at as an alteration in social structures (including the alteration in the size of a society) or in particular social institutions or in the relationship between institutions (Bottomore 1987: 279).

In order to understand the manner, direction and rate of change, sociologists have tried to seek historical description and interpretation. For instance, the direction and rate of change in India before and after independence were different. Comparisons between societies cannot be made unless each society has been understood in terms of its historical linkages and internal processes.

Regarding the rate of change, it has become a popular observation that there is an acceleration of social and cultural change in modern times. Ogburn (1922) was one of the first sociologists who systematically examined rate of change especially in the sphere technological inventions. He pointed out the gap between the rates of change in different sectors of social life. For instance, there is a gap between the rapid rate of technology and the slower rate of change in familial, political and other institutions and in beliefs and attitudes. He made a distinction between material and non-material cultures. The situation where changes in the non-material culture do not synchronise exactly with the changes in material culture has been described by the concept of culture lag. The problem of culture lag, in recent decades, has acquired greater importance with the emergence of planned socio-economic development in the developing countries as a primary issue in world politics (Bottomore 1987: 379).

Sociological studies have focused on changes caused by industrialisation, specially the disharmonies in the transitional period and the adaptation of the individual to rapid social changes. In the technologically and industrially advanced societies studies have focused on changes in the family, social stratification, law, moral and religious ideas attitudes the social problems stimulated by rapid economic advancement.

Regarding the factors in change, it is now increasingly being emphasised that social change is brought about due to the cumulative impact of a host of interrelated factors. Conquest, demographic, technological geographical factors, decisions and actions of individuals and planning are the factors in social change.

There may be various factors which bring about social change, and these may be categorised as those inherent in social systems; those related to the impact of the social environment on the social system; and those arising from the impact of the external environment. A change from one source may lead to a sequence of changes. Technological, agricultural, industrial and ecological changes tend to affect the social structure. The consequences are structural differentiation, integration or establishment of new coordinative structures and social disturbances.

Since 1960s, there has been a growing emphasis on social planning as an important factor in bringing about desired social change. Planning for development has become a popular slogan and approach in many of the Developing countries. In our next section we will look into development planning and change in the context of Indian society.

Check Your Progress 2

i) Tick the correct answer of the following question.

What is the focus of the sociological approach to development?

- a) Economic aspect of development
- b) Socio-cultural, psychological and moral as well as economic aspects of Development
- c) Psychological and moral aspects of development
- d) None of the above

ii) Tick the correct answer of the following question.

Which of the following effects can be termed as social planning?

- a) Conscious and a deliberate effort to bring about change
- b) Unconscious and accidental effort to bring about change
- c) Sporadic effort to bring about changes in the economy alone
- d) None of the above

iii) What do you understand by sociological approach to development? Use five lines for your answer.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

36.5 DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND CHANGE IN THE INDIAN CONTEXT

So far in the first part of this unit we have defined and described the concepts of development, planning and change in the sociological context. In this part we will see how these terms find their application in the Indian context. We will begin with a description of India's approach to development since independence.

36.5.1 Development: Mixed Economy and Rural Development

India embarked on the process of planned, socio-economic development after independence. The various schemes of development drawn up by the leaders of independent India not only cover economic aspects but also non-economic aspects like health, education, population control, political participation etc. Thus we can say that India's emphasis is on socio-cultural development and not merely on economic development.

The goals of development have been enshrined in the Constitution and various planning documents. Soon after Independence the Constitution laid down that its aim was to build a socialist, secular and democratic polity. This meant a social order, which guaranteed equality, freedom and justice. In order to achieve these goals the government devised institutional mechanisms and mobilised both human and material resources to achieve the goals set by the Constitution. The Planning Commission has stated the following with regard to the goals of development: “To initiate a process of development which will raise living standards and open out to the people new opportunities for a richer and more varied life” (Government of India 1952).

It is not possible to list here all the schemes of development. Let us state some of them and see how the principles of socialism, equality, social justice and democracy have been incorporated in the developmental schemes. Figure 36.1 shows various schemes of planned development.

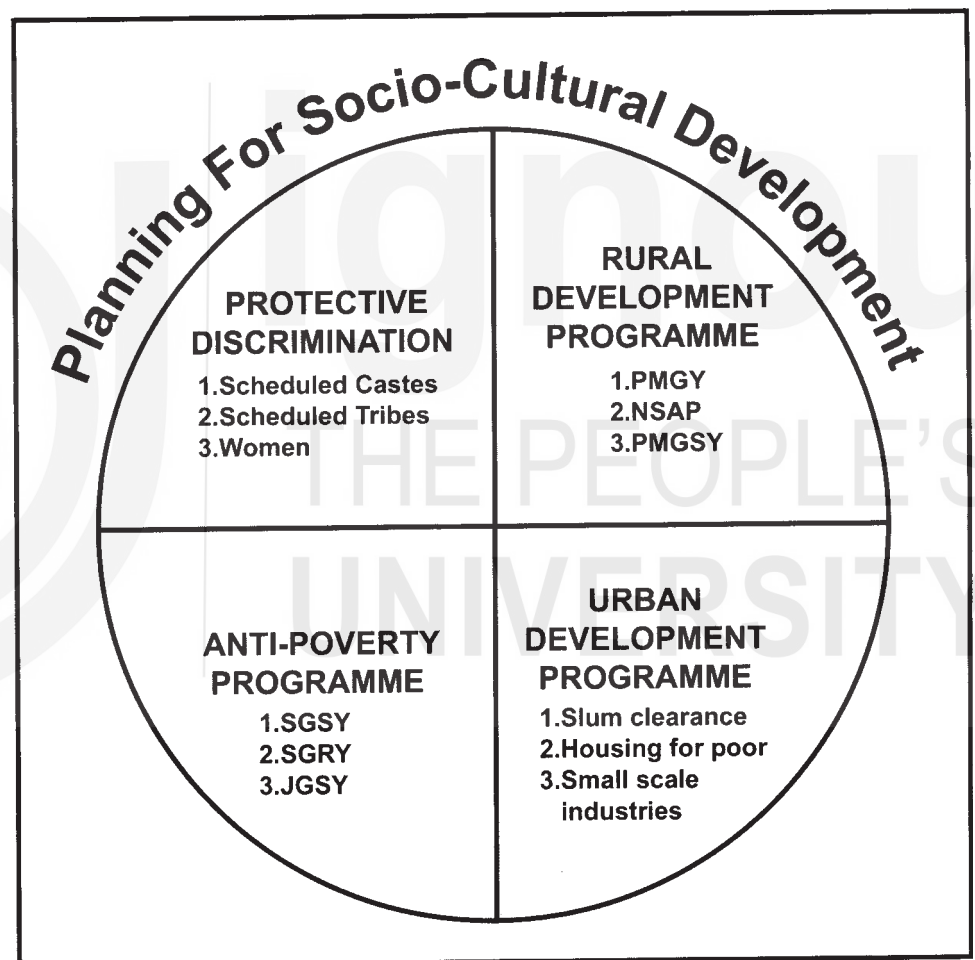


Fig. 36.1: Various schemes of planned development

1) **Socialist Path and Mixed Economy and New Economic Policy**

India has adopted a path of development, which is known as the mixed economy. On the one hand, India has encouraged private business and industry and on the other it has almost full control, at least in principle, over all the major entrepreneurial and business activities. The State acts as an entrepreneur in setting up heavy industries such as steel and generation of electricity. Banks

have been nationalised. Railways and postal services are also a part of the public sector (i.e. run by the government). That the state of India exercises dominant control on key sectors of the economy is indicative of the ideology of socialism. Certain industries have been reserved for the private sector to encourage individual enterprises. In certain industries like textile and cement both private and state enterprise have been allowed to operate. In many other sectors too like health, education and transport both private and state agencies work either independently or in collaboration.

Some scholars argue that India's path of development, in practice has become a capitalist one. They point out that privately managed industries have become attractive and profitable and economic power has come to be concentrated in the hands of a few big private business houses. However, one cannot deny the fact that India is trying hard to pursue a mixed path of development.

In early 1990s India adopted the New Economic Policy with more stress on liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation. Progressive privatisation of the government owned entities, decontrol of industries, structural changes in the economy aimed at export led growth, elimination or reduction of all subsidies are some of the major policy decisions taken by the government as a part of it (refer section 10.3.4 of unit 10, Block 3 of ESO 12). Such changes in the development approach have pushed Indian economy further from a socialist path to a capitalist one.

2) **Rural Development**

Majority of India's population has been living in villages. The developmental plans have devoted a lot of attention to rural sector. A number of programmes like the Community Development Programme, Panchayati Raj, Cooperative Institutions and Target Group-Oriented Programme have been launched over the past four decades.

Two streams of thought primarily have guided rural development through these decades since independence. One of these was initiated by Gandhi and the other by the government. Gandhi's vision of development was that of self-supporting, self-governing and self-reliant village community where every body's needs were met. People lived in harmony and cooperation. He wanted the village community to be politically autonomous and economically self-sufficient. He strongly believed that social equality would prevail in a village community, which would be devoid of any form of exploitation. His plan was one of moral reconstruction of the social order where development involved every aspect of human life, social, economic and political. Many of his followers have launched programmes in different parts of the country based on his ideas. But all his ideas have not been incorporated in the policies and programmes adopted by the government for rural development in post-independent India (Chaturvedi 1987). Let us briefly describe some of the programmes launched by the government.

- a) **Community Development Programme (CD):** CD programme was the first major effort for rural development. It was conceived as a method through which the Five Year Plans would initiate a process of transformation of the social and economic life of the village. The emphasis of CD programme was not on material prosperity but on non-material aspects of community life.

The goals laid out were: a) increase in employment, b) increase in production through application of scientific methods of agriculture, c) establishment of subsidiary and cottage industries, d) promotion of self-help and self-reliance and e) extension of the principle of cooperation.

CD programme came to be viewed as a social movement with active involvement of the people and aimed at all-round development of the countryside. Operationally, this programme was based on the assumption that the described change could be ushered into the countryside by providing the necessary infrastructural facilities in the villages. However, the programme could not achieve the desired results due to several factors arising from such sources like governmental structures and a divided rural society based on caste-based land relations and hierarchical social organisation (Chaturvedi 1987).

- b) **Panchayati Raj:** A committee headed by Balwantrai Mehta was appointed in 1957 to assess the impact of Community Development Programme. The report of the committee pointed out that the goals of CD programme have not been achieved. It advocated that rural development would be possible only with local initiative and local direction. The committee favoured devolution of power at lower levels. So in 1958 Panchayati Raj came into existence in different states with power and duties allocated at different levels. Like the Community Development Programme, this scheme too did not achieve its desired results though the scheme was evaluated and revised time and again through the 70s and the 80s.

The Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act, 1992, which came in to effect from April 1993 provided constitutional status to the Panchayati Raj institutions. The salient features of the Act are: i) to provide three-tier system of Panchayati Raj to all states having a population of over 20 lakh; ii) to hold Panchayati Raj elections regularly every five years; iii) to provide reservation of seats of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled tribes and women (not less than one-third of total seats); iv) to appoint State Finance Commission to make recommendations regarding financial powers of the Panchayats; v) to constitute District Planning Committee to prepare draft development plan for the district as a whole.

According to the Constitution, Panchayats shall be given powers and authority to function as institutions of self-government. The powers and responsibilities to be delegated to Panchayats at appropriate level are: a) preparation of a plan for economic development and social justice; b) implementation of schemes for economic development and social justice in relation to the 29 subjects given in the Eleventh Schedule of the Constitution; and c) to levy, collect and appropriate taxes, duties, tolls and fees. Moreover the Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act gives constitutional status to the Gram Sabha. Gram Sabha means a body consisting of persons registered in the electoral rolls relating to a village comprised within the area of Gram Panchayat. Gram Sabha may perform such powers and perform such functions at the village level as the Legislature of a State may, by law, provide (India, 2003). An all India Panchayat Adhyakshas' Sammelan was held on 5th and 6th April 2002

in New Delhi. On the basis of the discussions and deliberations in the *Sammelan*, a 'National Declaration' was adopted by consensus to strengthen the Panchayati Raj system in the country (Balai Chandra 2003).

- c) **Cooperative Institutions:** Cooperative institutions were set up in the villages, as supportive institutions of CD programme and Panchayati Raj. The aim of the cooperative institutions was: a) to provide essential agricultural inputs and credit to farmers, b) to ensure adequate return to the farmers for their produce, c) to ensure supply of essential commodities to villagers at reasonable rates and d) to promote harmonious relations and a sense of participation among rural people. Credit societies, service cooperatives, producers' cooperatives and labour cooperatives came into existence, as the cooperative movement grew. The dairy cooperatives specially became a big movement, which resulted in what is popularly known as the "white revolution" in India. Though the cooperative societies increased in number through the decades, critics observe that the movement has been only a partial success. It has no doubt provided infrastructural facilities credit and essential agricultural inputs to the large and middle farmers. But the landless and poorer people have not benefitted by this scheme (Chaturvedi 1987).

Activity 2

Go to any cooperative institution in the city/village/town where you live and find out about its aims, functions and difficulties. Write a note of about two pages. Compare, if possible, what you have written with those written by others at your Study Centre.

- d) **Target-Group Planning:** Realising the inadequacies of the programmes launched in the villages, the planners redefined the concept of rural development in the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The focus was on the rural poor, which was defined as the 'target group' for ameliorative measures. The target group included small and marginal farmers, tenants, agricultural workers and the landless. Some of the programmes launched were Small Farmers Development Agency (SFDA), Drought Prone Areas Programme (DPAP), Food For Work (FFW), Minimum Needs Programme (MNP) etc. These programmes were directly administered by the central and state governments. The programmes though well intentioned ran into many difficulties. It paved the way for increasing regional disparities in development; it expanded the power of bureaucrats and undermined the role of local and popular participation in rural society (Chaturvedi 1987).

On the whole, while assessing the development of the rural society in India, it can be said that on the economic front, food production has increased over the years. But the Green Revolution and the White Revolution (mentioned earlier) has not helped in reducing the socio-economic disparities between regions or groups of people. The goal of establishing a social order based on equality and social justice seems still distant.

36.5.2 Planning: Five-Year Plans

So far we have described India's schemes of development. Let us now describe the Indian approach to planning.

Social planning represents an important factor in social change in India. It has been described by some as a movement towards socialism (Bottomore 1987). Social planning in India has aimed at drawing the mass of people into a process of rational and deliberate transformation of their social life. The aim of planning has been to bring social change under purposeful human control.

The Indian Constitution of 1950 defined the purposes of independent India's political system as being to establish social economic and political justice, liberty of thought, expression, belief and worship, equality of status and opportunity and fraternity. The National Planning Commission was set up in 1950 and was conceived as an important agency for achieving the purposes. The National Planning Commission was given the task of assessing the natural and manpower resources of the country. It also had to prepare plans for mobilisation of these resources for economic development. In fact, the two main aims as outlined by the First-Five Year Plan (1951-52 to 1955-56) are to increase productivity (economic development) and to reduce inequalities of income, wealth and opportunities (social development). The first Five-Year Plan ambitiously aimed at achieving, progressively, for all members of the community, full employment, education, security against sickness and other disabilities and adequate income. Thus through planned development, India aimed to bring about a change in the traditional social structure so that through education and full employment, it would become possible for the individual to participate in every aspect of development.

A careful scrutiny of the aims and objectives of each and every Five-Year Plans reveals the emphasis on growth, equality and social justice. The Second Plan (1956-57 to 1960-61) emphasised the achievement of a socialistic pattern of society. The Third Plan (1961-62 to 1965-66) aimed at securing a major advance towards self-sustaining growth. The Fourth Plan (1969-70 to 1973-74) aimed at raising the standard of living of the people through programmes which were designed to promote equality and justice. Between 1966-69 three Annual Plans were formulated. The Fifth Plan (1974-75 to 1977-78) emphasised the objective to achieving self-reliance and adopted measures for raising the consumption standards of people living below the poverty line. The Sixth Plan (1980-81 to 1984-85) evaluating the achievements and shortcomings of the previous plans laid down its foremost object as removal of poverty. The Seventh Plan (1985-86 to 1989-90) emphasised growth in foodgrain production employment opportunities, self-reliance, and social justice (Govt. of India, 1988).

There had been two Annual Plans during the period 1990-91 and 1991-92 formulated within the framework of the Approach to the Eighth Five-Year Plan and the basic thrust of these Annual Plans was on maximisation of employment and social transformation. The Eighth Five Year Plan (1992-93 to 1996-97) was launched immediately after the initiation of structural adjustment policies and macro stabilisation policies, which were necessitated by the worsening Balance of Payment position and inflation position during 1990-91. The Plan aimed at the annual growth rate of about 7.5 per cent. These growth rates were planned to be achieved with relative price stability and substantial improvement in the country's Balance of Payments. The specific objectives of the Ninth Plan included i) priority to agriculture and rural development ii) accelerating the growth rate with stable prices iii) ensuring

food and nutritional security to all iv) containing growth rate of population rate and v) promoting an developing people's participatory institutions like Panchayati Raj institutions, cooperatives and self-help groups among others. The Approach paper to the Tenth Plan (2002-2007) was approved in 2001. The Approach Paper envisages making agricultural development as its core element of the Plan, encouraging rapid growth in sectors with high employment opportunities and restructuring of the target programmes to emphasise cross-sectoral synergies for special groups (India 2003).

India has prepared Five-Year Plans with a long-term perspective. Within the framework of the Five-Year Plan, annual plans have also been prepared and have been integrated with the budgetary process. Every Five-Year Plan has a mid-term appraisal. India has completed more than five decades of planning. Five-Year Plans have been viewed as instruments a) to evolve a socialistic pattern of society, b) to usher in growth with social justice and c) for removing poverty.

Dubashi (1987: 37-8) describes India's approach to planning in the following manner.

- a) Indian plans are comprehensive and balanced and include both public and private investment. Growth of all sectors of the economy is encouraged.
- b) The Indian approach can be called as democratic planning as different from totalitarian planning. In democratic planning people regularly and effectively organise and develop their own social life through active participation. In totalitarian planning, people's participation is not encouraged.
- c) India's approach to planning is aimed at setting up a socialistic pattern of society. Both economic and social aspects of development are considered. Though the Plans have not always succeeded in achieving the objectives, they have constituted a third way to development, rejecting a total capitalistic and a communist way to development.
- d) India's approach to development has strived to combine the economic, technological, human and institutional components of development. For instance, attention has been paid to improvement and upgradation of traditional technology adopted by village and cottage industries. Along with this, India imports high technology from different countries to keep pace with the technological development around the world.

According to Dubashi (1987) India's approach to planning tries to reconcile planning with democracy and increased production with equitable distribution. India's developmental plans encourage establishment of large industry with promotion of cottage industries and introduction of latest technology with upgradation of traditional technology. The Indian approach to planning emphasises both upholding of human values and pursuit of material advancement.

Critics of India's approach to and strategies of planned development point out that all these development efforts have benefited only a class of people namely the industrial, commercial and financial groups, segments of the rural rich comprising sections of landlords and rich peasants; and a section of the urban

Social Change

unemployed and underemployed also reveals the fact that the development measures have not been able to utilise the vast human resources for economically gainful purposes. On the whole, critics point out that disparities between different regions and groups have been increasing over the decades (Desai 1984). Fundamental problems relating to land reform, modernising village structures, and controlling population growth remain unsolved in spite of five decades of planned social change. The achievements in industrial production, agriculture and foreign trade have not helped in achieving the main objectives of planning namely growth with equality and social justice.

A study of the measures, launched in 1991 and the liberalisation process that is still on would show the impact of globalisation and liberalisation policies on productivity, efficiency and growth. “The main gainers have been the MNEs (multinational enterprises) and their affiliates which have better access to technology and other intangible assets.” (Siddharthan 2004). Those with earlier technologies have lost out. Beneficial impact of trade liberalisation on productivity has not yet surfaced. Perhaps more reforms, encouraging in-house development of more efficient ways of production would usher in social change that India has tried to achieve during the last fifty years. It is a pity that the Indian IT (Information Technology) sector has not on the whole been responsive and it does not yet empower local communities to open up the way for expansion. All that one can say at this stage is that current recovery in balance of payment and reserves needs to be sustained in the coming years so that we may expect social change backed by strong economic growth.

Check Your Progress 3

- 1) Tick the correct answer of the following question.
India has embarked on which path of economic planning?
 - a) A totally capitalist path of economic development
 - b) A communist path of economic development
 - c) A socialist path emphasising on mixed economy
 - d) None of the above

- ii) List the specific objectives of the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Answer in about five lines.
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

- iii) Tick the correct answer of the following question.
What is the type of the Indian approach to planning?
 - a) Democratic

- b) Totalitarian
- c) Communist
- d) None of the above

36.5.3 Change in Relation to Caste, Rural and Urban Life and Women

So far we have said that India has embarked on a path of planned socio-economic change. Social planning has been an important factor in social change in India since independence. A detailed examination of the process of social change in India has to include a multitude of interrelated factors apart from planning which have shaped the content, rate and direction of change. Historical forces and internal processes have to be linked up in a description of social change. For instance, colonial rule, specially the introduction of British ideas, science and technology is an important element in social change in India. This element has to be linked up with the caste-anchored character of Indian society while describing the content rate and direction of change. Many who have examined social change in India, have mainly looked at the changes that have taken place in various spheres of life since the British rule in India. Some have emphasised the point that colonialism and the struggle for independence, on the one hand and the pluralistic, caste based stratification of Indian society on the other, has been a major influence of the ideology and the strategies, India has adopted relating to planned socio-economic change since independence.

In each of the previous Blocks of this course, we have dealt with some aspect or the other of social change. In Block 2, we described the changes that have taken place in the institutions of family, marriage and kinship. In Block 3, we outlined the changes in rural and urban economy. In Block 4, we examined the changes in the social organisation of some of the major religions in India. In Block 5, we examined the changes in the caste and class system. In the next Block, which is on Tribes in India, the focus is on change in terms of modernisation of tribal society. In Block 7, the changing role and status of women has been described. In this Block too, we have focused on change via ethnic conflicts and social movements. Instead of repeating what we have described about social change in each of the earlier Blocks, we will briefly recapitulate some of the main features of social change that have been specially brought about as a result of development planning. Here, again we cannot go into details relating to every sphere of life that has been affected by development planning. We will focus only on a few important spheres of change.

Changes in the social structure, institutions and relationships which came in the wake of the British rule has often been described under the following broad headings: i) changes in caste, ii) changes in rural and urban life and iii) changes in the position and role of women. Let us take each of them one by one and highlight the main trends of change that have taken place in these spheres as a result of development planning since Independence.

i) Caste in Contemporary India

The striking feature relating to changes in the caste system is that caste activities have increased and widened into many spheres like education, economy and

polity. In certain castes the old association between caste and occupation has broken down. The government policy of opening educational and occupational opportunities to all and the policy of giving preference to the hitherto underprivileged groups have greatly contributed to the upward mobility of classes. The gradual transfer of power from the British to Indians has been accompanied by a growing activity of caste in politics. Since independence caste activity is increasingly being manifested in political parties and elections. The growth in agriculture, the introduction of land reforms specially in the fifties and new technology have led to important changes in the power relations between castes. These development programmes have eroded the influence of traditional upper castes in the power structure. It has contributed to the rise of a new middle caste-class as a dominant group in many parts of the country (Singh 1987: 59). The type of social stratification that has emerged over the past four decades since independence reflects the growing entanglement between caste and class (Singh 2000).

ii) Changes in Rural and Urban Social Life

Industrialisation, urbanisation and the politico-administrative changes that have taken place since independence have affected various aspects of rural and urban life in India in many ways. Industrialisation, for instance, has made its impact upon the growth of towns and cities, property, joint family, law, division of labour traditional occupations and the caste system. Migration from villages to towns has been increasing over the years. Improvement in medical care, both in urban and rural areas, has affected the mortality rate and is thus a major factor in the rapid rise of India's population.

According to Y. Singh (1987: 57-59) a striking consequence of the development planning activities in India is the emergence of different categories of powerful middle classes in both rural and urban India. For instance, he points out that industrialisation and expansion of development administration has led to an expansion of categories of middle class. This includes civil and professional services, the ministerial services, the army and police services. It also includes, self-employed professional traders etc. He also points out that a class of "merchant capitalists" has significantly risen in size over the past so many years. This class, he identifies, as being different from the industrial capitalist class, which rose to a powerful height in the national economy during the course of the national movement. The merchant capitalist class is a product, according to Y. Singh of speculative entrepreneurship, which mushroomed as a result of expansion of the contractor - commerce sector of economic activities. This class operates with relatively small capital and has a close connection with black market economy and some sections of the political and bureaucratic elite. New technology, new system of government, administration, judicial procedures, forms of education, new cultural values introduced by the British and free India have not only challenged the old structures in rural and urban society but have also given rise to new kinds of conflict and confrontation between castes and between classes.

Some scholars have pointed out that the concept of culture lag is very relevant to India when we look at the contradictions and conflicts in rural and urban India. The increasing activities of castes seem incompatible with the rationality, mobility and equality of a democratic polity (Bottomore 1987: 285). According to Y. Singh (1987: 61) erosion of authority, delegitimisation of established

institutions and dissatisfaction with the existing processes of development and change has contributed to the problems of violence and lawlessness in the country. The rural-urban nexus has strengthened over the decades, but along with it social problems like poverty, unemployment, crime, violence, alcoholism, drug addiction, prostitution, juvenile delinquency have increased in both rural and urban areas.

ii) **Changes in the Position and Role of Women**

There is no denial of the fact that the position and role of women has been subject to important changes over the last hundred and fifty years and more. Socio-religious reform movements of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, national movement for independence and the constitutional provisions have had a significant impact on the status and role of women.

Right from the nineteenth century, legislations have been passed to emancipate women from disabilities, which confined their role and lowered their status. With independence, there has been a constitutional commitment to promote justice, liberty and equality. The period after independence witnessed the enactment of a number of laws that sought to apply the principle underlying the constitutional guarantees to the sphere of social life. The reform in personal laws governing marriage and inheritance, the labour laws ensuring human conditions of work, maternity benefits and welfare of workers have been some of the measures aimed at removing the disabilities that contributed to the low status of women.

The policies and programmes of planned socio-economic development attempted positive action to improve and widen opportunities for women to participate in the socio-economic processes of development in a more effective manner. With the acceptance of planning it became evident that if development was to be accelerated, the economy could not afford to ignore the potential for contribution of half the population. Hence efforts were made to involve women in the development process.

Two developments contributed greatly to the special focus on women in the planning process since the 1970s. The UN Declaration of 1975 as the International Women's Year and 1975-85 as the Women's Decade can be considered as important landmarks in matters pertaining to women. World attention was drawn towards women's problem, needs and their potential. Debate and research led to a re-examination of women's role in society and in the development process. There was also a demand for measures which would enable them to realise their full potential and contribute to society. Action was initiated on several fronts, but most notably on health, education and employment by national, international government and non-governmental agencies.

The other factor, which sharpened the focus on women's participation in development, was the change in development theory. The realisation that the benefits of planned process of development do not trickle down automatically to poorer and weaker sections of society stimulated special efforts towards the weaker and exploited sections of society. Specially targetted programmes were conceived and implemented along with other measures to raise the rate of growth. Women were identified as one such disadvantaged group to whom special attention needs to be paid. Education, vocational training, health

Social Change

services, family planning, welfare schemes sought to change and improve the conditions of living and mental horizons of women. To cite an example, the government began its efforts to promote self-employment of women around 1978 with a series of measures. These measures included skill training and provisions of services and facilities in the area of credit, material supply, marketing, product development etc. The new Industrial Policy Resolution of 1978, for the first time recognised, women entrepreneurs as a special group needing support and assistance.

However, developmental efforts undertaken in every sphere, have not had always the desired and a uniform effort on all categories of women. We must remember that women do not constitute a homogeneous category in India. Groups of women not only differ from one another in terms of physical and demographic characteristics but also in behaviour patterns determined by factors like region, caste, class, religion etc. Only certain sections of women like the upper and middle castes and classes have benefited by these programmes. A vast majority of Indian women, across the nation are still subject to discrimination, exploitation and lead a confined, restricted life.

The limitations arising out of a limited and faulty conception and implementation of developmental measures pose problems towards the progress in the desired direction. Apart from these limitations, problems arise because the degree of social acceptance of desired goals set by the Constitution vary from group to group and from time to time. Attitudes which define women primarily as a housewife, wife and a mother influence the treatment and position accorded to women. Even among the educated and working women, conflict between home-making and seeking a career occurs. The contours of a woman's life have expanded but her options and choices in life are still limited. Both men and women have to redefine their attitudes and values if the goals of equality, justice and development are to be achieved.

Check Your Progress 4

i) What are the important changes that occurred in the caste system in the last five decades of the twentieth century? Answer in about six line.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

ii) State whether the following statements are true or false. Mark a T for true or F for false against each statement.

- a) Caste activities have greatly decreased in all village since development planning has been undertaken.
- b) Industrialisation and expansion of development administration have stimulated the growth of the middle class.

- c) With development planning, India has been able to solve its basic problems of unemployment, population growth and poverty.
 - d) India's development planning has given special focus to integrate women into development process.
- iii) What are the two factors, which sharpened the focus on women's participation in development since the 1970s? Answer in about five lines.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

36.6 LET US SUM UP

This unit describes development planning and change in general and in the Indian context. We began the unit by pointing out the linkages between development, planning and social change. We said development is a planned social change and planning is a factor in social change. Development is a value-loaded term while change is a value neutral term. All change is not development. Then we went on to describe the perceptions of some social thinkers on development and change. Here we identified those perceptions, which viewed development and change interchangeably or as logically related terms. We also stated the perceptions of those who viewed development and change as modernisation i.e., the process of social change whereby a less developed country tries to catch up with the technological advancements of more developed countries. Then we moved on to define and describe the contemporary connotations of development, planning and change. All these were described in a general context. While coming to a specific context we looked at development planning and change in the Indian context. We outlined the approach and schemes of planned development in India. We described the mixed economy approach and stated some of the schemes relating to rural development. The schemes described are CD programmes, Panchayati Raj, Cooperative movement and Target Group Planning. We then examined social planning in terms of the basic approach of the Five-Year Plans. While describing change as a result of planned development we focused on changes in caste, rural and urban life and position and role of women.

36.7 KEYWORDS

Development	A process of social change, which is planned and desired by a society
Modernisation	A process of social change whereby a less developed country tries to catch up with the achievements of a technologically advanced country

36.8 FURTHER READING

Bottomore T. 1987. *Sociology. A Guide to Problems and Literature*. III Edition. Allen and Unwin: London.

Byres, Terrence, J. 1997. *The State Development Planning and Liberalisation*. Oxford University Press: New Delhi

Shukla, K.S. (ed.) 1987. *The Other Side of Development*. Sage Publications: New Delhi.

Singh, Y. 2000. *Culture Change in India: Identity and Globalisation*. Rawat: Jaipur

Srinivas, M.N. 1986. *India: Social Structure*. Hindusthan Publishing Corporation (India): Delhi (Originally published in 1969 by the Director, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting: New Delhi.

36.9 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- i) a) F b) T c) T d) F
- ii) According to Marx and Engles social change and development are characterised by conflict of interests among classes in society. They argued that social changes arise out of potential struggles and radical breaks in continuity, rather than from gradual evolution.
- iii) a
- iv) 1) Modernisation theories fail to define conclusively the kinds of social and economic process at work in the developing countries.
- 2) Modernisation theories argue that each society's development problems can be understood only in relation to its place in the world system. But it is not proved that all developing countries follow the path of development of already developed countries.

Check Your Progress 2

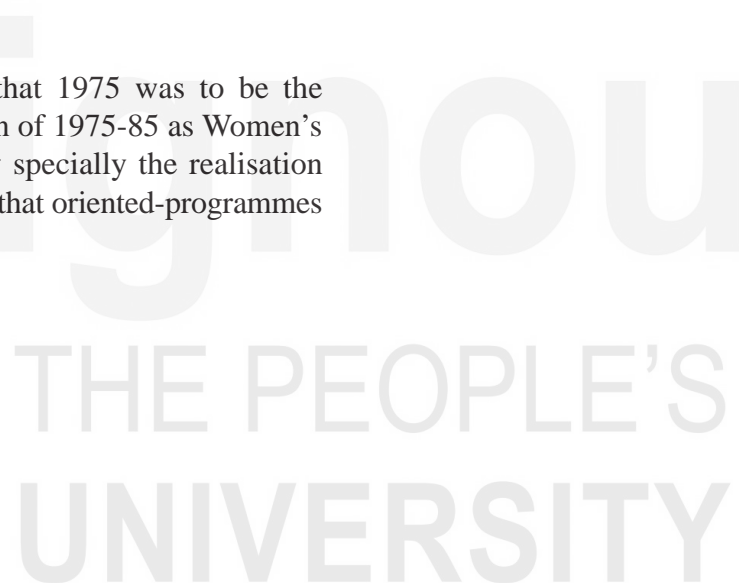
- i) b
- ii) a
- iii) It looks development as alterations that affect the whole socio-cultural matrix of society. Here development is viewed as a planned and stimulated movement of all societies of a social system in the direction of the overall directed goals set by the society.

Check Your Progress 3

- i) c
- ii) a) priority to agriculture and rural development b) accelerate the growth rate with stable prices c) ensuring food and nutritional security to all d) containing the growth rate of population rate and e) promoting and developing people's participatory institutions like panchayati raj etc.
- iii) a

Check Your Progress 4

- i) The caste activities have increased and widened into many spheres like education, economy and polity. The association between caste and occupation has broken down. The new educational and occupational opportunities facilitated the upward mobility of the underprivileged groups. The growth in agriculture and introduction of land reforms have led to changes in power relation between castes.
- ii) a) F b) T c) F d) T
- iii) The two factors are a) the UN declaration that 1975 was to be the International Women's Year and the declaration of 1975-85 as Women's Decade, b) the change in development theory specially the realisation that economic benefits do not trickle down and that oriented-programmes have to be devised.



UNIT 37 ECOLOGY AND THE FUTURE OF SOCIETY

Structure

- 37.0 Objectives
- 37.1 Introduction
- 37.2 What is Ecology?
- 37.3 Approaches to the Study of Ecology
 - 37.3.1 Determinism and Possibilism
 - 37.3.2 Cultural Ecology
 - 37.3.3 Ecosystem Model
 - 37.3.4 Systems Model
- 37.4 Ecology in the Context of Indian Society
 - 37.4.1 Basic Needs of Human Society
 - 37.4.2 Situation in the Indian Context
- 37.5 Health and Environment
 - 37.5.1 Food Contamination
 - 37.5.2 Effects of Toxins
 - 37.5.3 Effects of Chemical Effluents
 - 37.5.4 The Pesticide Threat
- 37.6 Exploitation of Forests
 - 37.6.1 Deforestation
 - 37.6.2 The Timber Business
 - 37.6.3 Tree Density in U.P.
 - 37.6.4 Hug-the-Tree-Movement (*Chipko Andolan*)
- 37.7 Preservation of Forests: Steps towards Future
 - 37.7.1 Forest Use in States of India
 - 37.7.2 Conservation and Afforestation
 - 37.7.3 Subsidy and Conservation
 - 37.7.4 Further Developments
- 37.8 Let Us Sum Up
- 37.9 Key Words
- 37.10 Further Reading
- 37.11 Specimen Answers to Check Your Progress

37.0 OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit you should be able to

- define ecology and state the interconnection between human beings and their environment
- list some of the approaches in ecology

- state the basic needs of human society and describe the nature—human beings nexus in the context of Indian society
- describe the health hazards that follow from pollution of water, atmosphere and soil
- examine the situation regarding forest exploitation
- describe the social movement which has emerged to check forest exploitation
- list the measures taken to preserve forests for the present and for the future.

37.1 INTRODUCTION

This unit describes certain aspects of the interaction between human beings and their environment in the context of Indian society. We have begun this unit by stating what is ecology and gone on to describe the interconnection between human beings and their environment. We have outlined some of the basic ecological approaches, which explain this interrelationship between society and environment. Then we have focused on ecology in the context of Indian society. We have listed the basic needs of human beings and described the situation regarding human dependency on nature in India and the condition of India's environment. We have focused our attention on sources of water and atmospheric **pollution**. We have then listed the health hazards that follow from food **contamination**, toxins, chemical **effluents** and pesticides. While examining the situation regarding human exploitation of forests we have described **deforestation**, timber business and the growing social movement in Uttaranchal (*Chipko* movement) to check indiscriminate felling of trees. While describing the efforts taken to preserve forests and the steps towards future use of forests we have focused on measures relating to conservation and **afforestation**.

37.2 WHAT IS ECOLOGY?

Ecology is the study of the interrelationship between organisms and their environment. It is viewed as an interdisciplinary or multi disciplinary field of science which systematically draws knowledge from many disciplines like genetics, anthropology, sociology etc. As sociologists we are interested in the interrelationship between human beings and their environment. By environment, here, we mean the natural environment, including forests, rivers, lakes, seas, mountains, plains, etc.

Human beings have always had a dynamic interaction with the environment. The interaction has been reciprocal i.e., two-way relationship. Four factors in the environment have been crucial in this interaction. The factors are climate, land and soil configuration, specific location i.e., in a desert, wooded or water logged area, and natural resources including forests, mining deposits and so on. These four factors have had a deep effect on human societies. The culture of a society, to a great extent, reflects the profound impact of environment on human thought and behaviour. Occupation, food, clothing, shelter, religion,

arts, morals, ideas and so many other cultural creations of human beings are influenced by the kind of environment they live in.

At the same time, human beings have also made a deep impact on their natural environment. The culture of a society, especially the quantity and a quality of technology has affected many elements in the environment. For instance, the invention of saw or axe or electronically operated cutting machines has helped in a quick and efficient way of felling trees. Timber is needed by human beings for a variety of purposes. Excessive felling of trees produce a strain on the environment that a new approach and technology is required to combat the ill-effects created on the environment as well as the human society due to a quick and drastic reduction of forest cover. The way in which human societies deal with the environment determines their future.

As industrialisation specially technology has advanced in a society, the interaction between human beings and their environment in that society has taken an alarming turn. Air, water, atmosphere, forests, rivers, plants and many elements of nature have been affected by the kind and quantity of technology used. Nature affected by technology, in turn, has created problems for man especially in terms of health. Pollutants, for instance, from factories, is so much changing the environment that the entire culture, a product of the environment must adjust to the situation of its own making.

There are many facets to the interaction between human beings and their environment. This interaction varies not only between cultures but also within a society. It is not uncommon to find that within a nation or a country there are groups of people who differ from one another in many aspects of living. Sometimes, a government, keeping in view national development, may introduce or impose technology on a group of people depending on nature for their living. Such a group of people, who have been depending on and interacting with nature with simple technology, may find the new technology absolutely disrupting. The equilibrium that they had created with nature may be destroyed by the new governmental plans and schemes. Such a group of people may feel totally uprooted and alienated when their source of economic, social, moral, physical and mental well being is altered by the introduction of new technology.

What we are trying to emphasise here is that the interconnection between human beings and their environment is a complex one. It has varied through time, place and people. Where there is a balanced, reciprocal relationship between a human society and their environment, there is little to worry about. But what seems to be a growing threat to the quality of human life and the very survival of man, is the problems created by the exploitation of nature by human beings. The problems of “taking too much from the environment and restoring too little” have to be solved. In this unit we are going to focus only on certain aspects of the interrelationship between human beings and their environment. We will focus our attention especially on the problems created by indiscriminate use of nature by human beings in the Indian context. But before that let us describe some of the approaches to the study of the interrelation between human beings and their environment. The ecological approaches gives us an idea as to what factor and how much each factor contributes to the interaction between human beings and their environment.

37.3 APPROACHES IN ECOLOGY

Approaches to the study of the interrelationship between organisms and their environment are varied. Here we will describe four approaches. They are 1) **Determinism** and Possibilism, 2) Cultural Ecology, 3) Ecosystem Model and 4) System model.

37.3.1 Determinism and Possibilism

The first approach in the study of ecology that we introduce is called determinism. The determinist argument revolves basically around the question of which factor influences the other more—human beings or their environment. In this theory the environment is given primacy in terms of influence. In doing so, however, it is understood that human beings are not entirely passive. That is to point out that humans are not completely at the mercy of their environments. However, it should be noted here that in modern civilisation nature does not determine human behaviour so much. In fact, in many areas human beings are taking a heavy toll of nature. This toll has been in terms of cutting down forests indiscriminately.

In possibilism approach, primacy is given once again to environment. The basic idea of this theory is that environment is the key factor in civilisational developmental possibilities. That is to say if the natural environment provides mineral and forest, good climate, proper topography and so on, it leads to a strong powerful nation. If resources like timber, oil, precious metals coal, etc., do not exist in sufficient quantities then a nation becomes weak, inefficient, and dependent on other nation-states. Let us take an example. Often developing nations have to export timber and other raw materials. When timber resources fall below a certain danger mark, say ten per cent forest area, then the donor country suffers. The people and communities have to bear with the consequences.

37.3.2 Cultural Ecology

We now consider the theory of cultural ecologists. These ecologists feel that the state of environment is directly related to the state of technology prevalent in any society. Cultural ecologists feel that technology, economics and population form the basic influences on societal processes. The relationships between technology and natural environment are significant. Thus, if we have electronic sawing machines, huge trucks to load it away, and a great need for timber for houses, furniture, shipbuilding and so on, forest cover (for example) will reduce greatly. So cultural ecology deals with the impact of culture on nature. There are occasions when this impact is beneficial, at others it is not so. Today, there is an imbalance against forests in India and the World.

37.3.3 Ecosystem Model

This model points out that human beings play powerful role in maintaining the balance between organisms and their environment. Human beings can preserve or destroy nature. The main advantage of this ecological model is that it is dynamic. Here the human being is considered to be one part of the overall ecosystem. The model points out that nature cannot now destroy entire towns and cities in a regular way. It may be possible in a calamity like a major earthquake. But this is a factor not to be easily ignored. It has been seen that

deserts infiltrate into villages, and floods inundate many fertile fields with silt. Thus, the ecosystem model indicates that there will be a severe backlash from natural disasters if human beings do not mend their irresponsible attitude. This includes all environment including forests, urban dwellings, transport system and even developmental paradigms or models.

37.3.4 Systems Model

Let us now examine the Systems Model. The advantage of this model is that it puts human beings at the centre of the scheme of ecological issues. Nevertheless it retains its interactive view. This is a great advantage since it posits mutuality between human beings and nature. This implies that ecological devastation can be halted only by a new creative and regenerative attitude. Thus the environment itself cannot be held responsible. So, human beings cannot expect the forest to regenerate itself! Human society must take the initiative to reverse the damage in all ecological areas of which acute deforestation is a real problem. Consider the diagram (figure 37.1) given below:

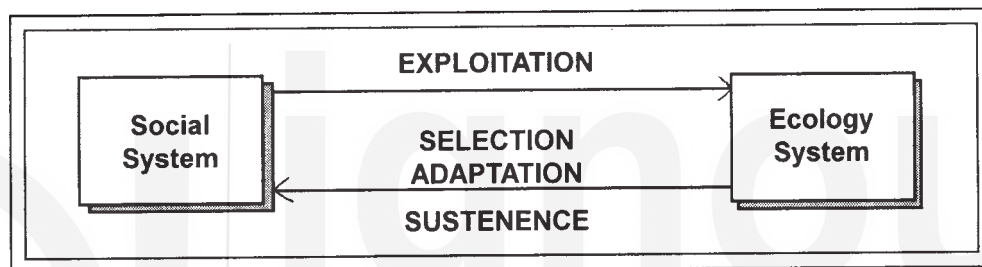


Fig. 37.1: The systems model of ecology

As we can see here the social system or society as a whole selectively exploits the ecological system. Simultaneously, the ecological system adapts to society and sustains it and its technological needs. Thus we find that the social system takes inputs from the ecological system including fuel, petroleum, food, wood, and so on. On the other hand, human beings very often do not pay back to nature for what they have taken. In other words, this “ecological borrowing” is on a vast and usually non-returnable basis.

We have seen in this section on ecological approaches that the interconnection between human beings and nature is reciprocal process. All these models indicate to us without any exception the guilt of humans in destruction of forests, minerals, and other natural wealth. It is human beings who pollute the river and seas with chemical effluents and technological wastes. It is amply clear that the flora and fauna are simply not considered when the forests are attacked and destroyed for commercial profits. This scenario can be changed only when all of us, no matter in what part of the country or world, decide to save our natural, forest and other wealth from permanent destruction. If the warnings that are given against this mass destruction are not heeded then mankind, as a whole will be in grave danger. The consequences may be totally unpredictable and uncontrollable. The people should be made aware of the advantages of the forests (McIntosh, 1985). A Certificate Programme in Participatory Forest Management was started in 1999 by Indira Gandhi National Open University (IGNOU) with the general objective of developing an approach to the integration of forest depended communities into forest management.

In our next section we will look at ecology in the context of Indian society.

Check Your Progress 1

Use the space given below for your answers.

i) What is ecology? Use two lines for your answer.

.....
.....

ii) What is the Cultural Ecology Approach? Use three lines for your answer.

.....
.....
.....

iii) Briefly explain the basic advantage of the systems model. Use four lines for your answer.

.....
.....
.....
.....

37.4 ECOLOGY IN THE CONTEXT OF INDIAN SOCIETY

In this section we will list the basic needs of human society before we look into the situation regarding the interaction between human beings and their environment in the context of Indian Society.

37.4.1 Basic Needs of Human Society

All living systems at all biological levels remain interacting with the environment, which makes a complex network of ecosystem. Ecosystem is defined as the interaction of all living beings within themselves as well as with the environment, living in a single location (Malik and Bhattacharya 1986: 3). Human beings interact with one another as well as the environment. The environment including rivers, lakes, sea, atmosphere, forests, plants, deserts, hills, plains etc. helps in satisfying some of the basic needs of human society. Water and air, for instance, are essential for human survival. Water is needed for a variety of human purposes. Apart from human beings, plants, trees, animals, soil also need water for their sustenance and growth. Human beings also need plants, trees, soil and animals for their survival. Hence, there is a complex system of interdependency between living organisms and their environment. Similarly, the atmosphere (including air) is a basic and crucial component in the life of all living organisms including human beings. Air is needed for breathing. Without air no human life is possible.

Hence, it is very important that the water, the human beings use and the air they breathe are free from contamination. It is also essential that every human society has enough stock of healthy water and atmospheric resources, in order to build up a healthy future for its oncoming generations. Preservation of natural resources, and prevention of indiscriminate use of nature by human beings are essential steps for ensuring a long and better quality of life for all living organisms.

37.4.2 Situation in the Indian Context

That nature has been so much a part of Indian social life. Its significance has been very much evident in both the oral and written traditions of Indian literature. Trees, plants, streams, rivers, lakes, seas, sky, waterfalls, hills, mountains, snow, rain etc. have been intertwined with every kind of human experience. But, like in many other countries of the world, the interaction between human beings and their environment is taking an alarming turn in India too. Overemphasis on industrialisation, eagerness to catch up with the technological advancements of the developed world, pressures created by a rapidly increasing population are some of the factors which are threatening the human environment equilibrium in Indian society.

As it stands today, technology has not advanced so much that Indians are less dependent on nature and more dependent on technology. The average Indian citizen is still very much dependent on natural environment for the satisfaction of his/her basic needs. Agriculture is the main occupation in India. And this occupation is so much intertwined with nature. Water, soil, atmosphere greatly shape the kind and extent of agricultural activities in India. If monsoons fail a chain of serious and alarming consequences follow. Every aspect of human activity is affected by lack of or insufficient supply of water. To a sizeable extent, the problems posed by environment factors are created by the way human beings have used nature. Contamination of water sources, indiscriminate felling of trees, atmospheric pollution created by smoke and fumes, extensive use of pesticides for plants and crops are some of the problematic areas in Indian society. Indian society cannot afford to misuse nature upon which is dependent both the quantity and quality of life.

Let us now briefly describe the way in which water, atmosphere (including air) plants, crops and soil are contaminated by technology and human misuse in India.

37.4.3 Water Pollution

India is a nation, which is the abode of many rivers such as the Ganga, Jamuna, Krishna, Indus, Brahmaputra, Godavari. The longest river in the world, the Brahmaputra also runs through India. These rivers are not only a source of life but also religiously significant to the people of India. Apart from this many beautiful lakes such as those of Udaipur, Nainital, Bhimtal, Ootacumund and so on also exist. However, water is still a very scarce and valued resource. Of all available water seventy per cent has become polluted over the years. This is a very large percentage of water to be polluted. This includes the waters of the Dal Lake of Srinagar down to the Chaliyar and Periyar rivers in the South. Again we find that the waters in the Hooghly and the Damodar in the East and the Thane in the West have water pollution levels that are very high.

Ganga, a symbol of purity has had chemical effluents continuously dumped into it from the factories.

Water pollution is also evident from our bad drainage system. The disease arising from dirty water drains, and from the waste matter from human settlements are major pollutants. Pollution from them accounts for four times as much as does industrial effluents. Most of these pollutants are disposed of untreated into the water-ways. In 1981 out of India's 3119 cities and towns only 217 had some sewage treatment facilities. Take example of Delhi which had a population of 3 million in 1960 and by 2003 the population is about 14 million. The available water resources cannot support the increase and water treatment capacity of waterwork is simply too low in comparison. In Delhi, urban genocide is a real prospect (Soni 2003). Such a high percentage of pollution is a cause of grave concern. It has been discovered that two thirds of water based diseases like typhoid, cholera and jaundice cause very severe health problems. As quoted in Gadgil (1998), as per an estimate of World Health Organisation more than five million people die every year because of unsafe drinking water

Activity 1

Observe the functioning of the drainage system in your area and answer the questions.

- i) Is it functioning properly?
- ii) If not, then how is it affecting your life and the life of the people living in your area?
- iii) Are people in your area aware of the effect of bad drainage on their health or not?
- iv) Do you think the functioning of the drainage system is related to your social life? If so, give two examples.

Write a note of about two pages and compare your answer, if possible with the notes of other students at your Study Centre.

When water sources get polluted we find that all life forms are affected for the worse. Industrial effluents and pollutants very often kill fish forms, and plants. This leads to lowering of our food quantum and breaks down the livelihood of many Indians.

Similarly, all over India the pollution of river and lake water due to direct drainage of sewage into it, the unloading of industrial effluents, and the unabated washing of clothes with detergents has led us to badly polluted water sources. It is really necessary to find out what can be done about these problems. They must be resolved. This is because pure drinking and potable water is a must for forging ahead towards health and greater prosperity.

Today steps are being taken to contain water pollution. Government as well as voluntary agencies are using the television, radio, press, and other educational sources to warn people of the dangers of living with water contamination. However, the 1987 water policy of the Government of India was not able to change the way water resources were managed in India. Unless,

an operational agenda is adopted, even the 2002 water Policy is likely to result in non-implementation (Shah and others 2004).

37.4.4 Atmospheric Pollution

Let us now turn to the issue of atmospheric pollution and the problems that have arisen due to this. In its pristine (pure) state atmosphere provides man and animal a clear source of oxygen for breathing. If it is not pure due to exhaust fumes from industries and motor cars then we find that it can lead to many diseases including tuberculosis, asthma and even cancer. The Motor Vehicles Act, 1989 has a major objective to check this pollution emitted from motor vehicles. The atmosphere is not unlimited and we find that industrial production, commercial and private use of vehicles leads to a blackening of the atmosphere. In fact, inhaling of the polluted atmosphere in a big city equals the nicotine smoke of several cigarettes. One of the most dangerous forms of pollution is cigarette smoke. Not only does it cause ill health for the smoker but also the non-smokers in the vicinity also. The government banned this in public places, buildings and institutions. The increasing amounts of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere have led to the “greenhouse” effect whereby the earth’s temperature becomes much higher than it should be for efficient environmental functioning. The immediate effects of air pollution are diminished visibility, health hazards, and diseases of crops and vegetation. In fact, the marble of the Taj Mahal itself is getting dangerously eroded due to the polluted air that is poured out from industrial chimneys.

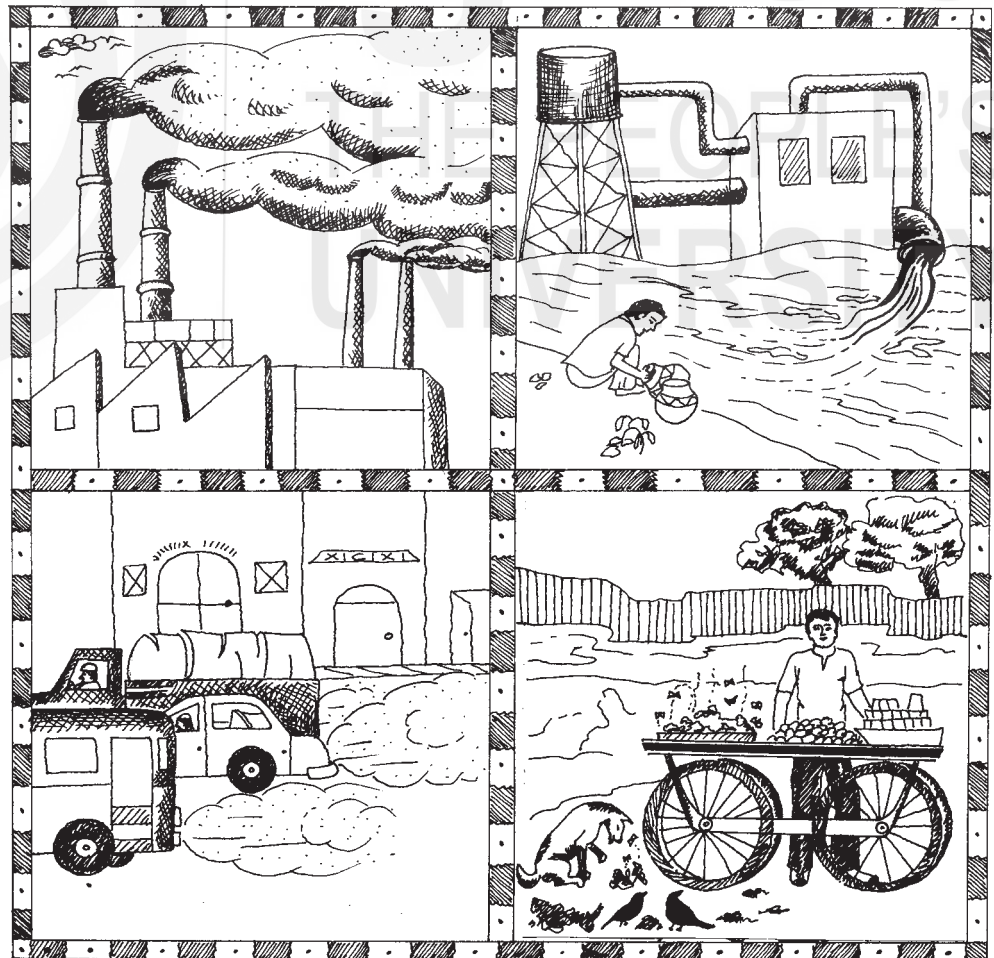


Fig. 37.2: Environmental Pollution

Our knowledge of the long-term ill effects of atmospheric pollution is not very much, but we do know the matter is serious. An increase of 1-2°C in world temperature would completely upset the efforts of Indian agriculturists. There would be more heat in the summer and more rains in the monsoon. Thus atmosphere is an important fact for all human activity. Endeavours should be made to make the air pure. Air pollution levels are being steadily controlled in many major cities of the west. However, in India these levels are alarmingly increasing. A large percentage of metropolitan dwellers in India suffer from respiratory diseases. Figure 37.2 shows various sources of environmental pollution in our society. Those living in large cities and their congested conditions are well aware of the various types of pollutants that plague the atmosphere. Compulsory use of compressed liquid gas for running public transport in Delhi had been known to reduce the pollution level in Delhi's air. Yes, this does not seem to be adequate measure to contain the extreme air pollution of the city. We need more efforts in several directions.

37.4.5 Land Degradation

On the fertility of agricultural land depends our capacity to feed the population of India. Increased foodgrains production is feasible only by intensive farming and multicropping. Water resources are relatively unharnessed and efforts can be made to harness a larger percentage of these.

India's total area comes to about 328 million hectares. Of this the cultivated land is about 43.6 per cent, and permanent pastureland is about 14.6 per cent. Potentially arable land is about 14.6 per cent. Forested area makes up about 10.7 per cent. Barren and uncultivable lands are 6.4 per cent. Urban land is about 5.5 per cent. Under the above distribution of lands, according to forecasts, India should reach a target of 300 million tonnes in foodgrains. This estimate is based on an average of four tonnes per hectare, from lands that are irrigated. On a similar projection for 2000 A.D., the production was upto 426 million tonnes. However, such estimates are based often on very many factors remaining constant. For example, they would need good regular monsoons. This is not a realistic assumption, more so, with atmospheric pollution disturbing geographic air movements.

The Indo-Gangetic Plain a major agricultural belt is very much subject to top-soil **erosion**. Hence, unless top-soil is kept fertile we find that it will become much less productive. Crop leftovers and organic manure needs to be further used to maintain fertility. The reason they are not used is the ready and cheap availability of relatively crude/inferior chemical fertilisers. However, with organic manures greater productivity is possible. They also regenerate the soil and make it more fertile. This knowledge needs to be disseminated to all Indian farmers. It is also important that the land be made nitrogen rich for higher productivity. Thus, the land's fertility needs to be protected and it should be seen that we keep manuring and fertilising it. This would help restore and maintain an ecological balance, with land fertility. Such soil erosion leads to severe economic stress on human societies. The yield is lowered if the soil erodes and therefore this must be protected (Chopra 1982).

Check Your Progress 2

- i) Write a note on Water Pollution. Use three lines for your answer.

-
-
-
- ii) Write a note on atmospheric pollution. Use about five lines for your answer.

37.5 HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENT

While describing the situation regarding water and air contamination we referred to the health hazards that contamination gives rise to. The nature and extent of use of environment by human society is closely related to health systems. Let us look at the health aspect more closely. For example, the water we drink, the food we eat is closely related to our physical well being. If drinking water is contaminated disease inevitably follows. Thus, the drinking water should be clean and free of diseases. Of all diseases that take a significant toll of human lives only small pox has been fully eliminated. Due to the unfortunate and widespread use of pesticide sprays in India where wheat, lentils and rice are usually taken as meals the toxic pesticide residues of DDT (Dichloro Diphenyl Trichloroethane) and BHC (Benzene Hexachloride) are also inadvertently consumed. Although, the amount taken involuntarily ingested is miniscule it is more than the danger level defined by WHO (World Health Organisation) Surveys which have shown that toxic pesticides like DDT and BHC enter into the food chain and poison the diet of Indians. Deplorably, it has also been found that miniscule quantities of DDT are deposited in the breast milk of mothers. Baby foods available in the markets are also not free from such contamination. Toxicologists believe that not only present generations of babies but future generations too will suffer because of this. Social systems and institutions, such as hospitals and allied medical services are all pressed into service severely because of this 'slow' food poisoning. Measures to remedy this must be taken post haste. All acts concerning prevention of food adulteration must be strictly enforced via inspections and other measures. Let us now examine the impact of food contamination, toxins, chemical effluents and pesticides on health.

37.5.1 Food Contamination

We cannot say with great certainty what food contaminations will ultimately result in, yet some concrete indicators do exist. In the Chikmangalur and Shimoga districts of Karnataka about 300 people suffer from arthritis, since 1975. Many people have suffered from terrible personal tragedies because of food contamination.

Another similar tragedy took place in 1975. Farmers in Lakhimpur Kheri in Uttar Pradesh had been using BHC for foodgrain preservation. The people who used such foodgrains suffered from severe convulsions.

The danger of pesticides to human health is that they usually get into the human system and accumulate there. When pesticides like BHC and DDT are swallowed they go into the small intestine. There they hook into fatty tissues of the body forming about ten per cent of total body weight. These pesticides often attach themselves to the vital human organs such as kidney, liver, heart and thyroid.

37.5.2 Effects of Toxins

Toxins create health and mental problems like anxiety, sleeplessness, depression and so on. Headache, memory loss, body tremor, blurred vision, even nervous breakdown are reported. However, these symptoms occur due to prolonged exposure and intake of malathion and other pesticide drugs.

The problem is that since pesticide intake via food may take many years to take its poisonous effect the link between the diseases and pesticide, intake is not easy to prove. However, the question now being debated is whether pesticide intake through foodstuffs is carcinogenic or not. Researchers investigating the Bhopal gas tragedy reveal that we are only able to detect and see very limited aspects of chemical damage caused to human health in the long run.

So far as vegetables are concerned we find that pesticide sprays on vegetables, create high levels of toxicity. This happens in the case of cauliflowers to make them appear white. Ladyfingers are dipped in copper sulphate to make them look alluringly green. Further, the rule that no spraying should be done at least a week before the harvest is generally flouted.

It has been suggested as a preventive health maintenance measure that washing with water and dousing into vinegar can help remove the toxins to a large extent.

Further, it has been researched that dangerous illegal dyes are being used in chilli powder and turmeric to heighten their colour tone. Mustard oil is being adulterated with linseed oil and the toxic argemone oil. The latter causes limb swelling, heart attack and blindness. There is thus no knowing to what extent these environmental hazards contribute to physical diseases.

37.5.3 Effects of Chemical Effluents

Another major source of health problems and hazards is the chemical effluents, which are let out without any thought into rivers and into fields. This is a major source of health hazard. As mentioned earlier in urban centres, the fumes of exhausts of motor vehicles poison the atmosphere. Such fumes contain large quantum of manganese and lead. These settle on water and food sources themselves.

If absorbed by human beings, beyond the danger level they can cause nerve damage and death, more so among children. The social system is thus in a malfunction. Human life is being endangered. The other related problem is whether industrial packing of tin, plastic, paper etc. is sufficiently safe.

In agriculture, which is now deeply committed to using many pesticides the problem is acute. Thus, the use of pesticide sprays has now become ten times more in the last 30 years. They have become an absolutely necessary part of the whole agricultural scene. The pesticides that are in the use do not become harmless or inoperative easily and can have damaging effects even upto twenty years after ingestion. The soil soaks up these pesticides allowing crops and groundwater to absorb them. Trees and wildlife also suffer the onslaught. Thus, it is not only human beings that suffer degradation but animals, plants, and soil as well. The entire efficiency of the social system is thus at stake.

It is not only vegetarian food that is contaminated but non-vegetarian food also. The animals swallow grasses and foddors which have been sprayed with pesticides. As such they themselves imbibe high amounts of DDT which lodge in their flesh milk and eggs.

37.5.4 The Pesticide Threat

In the 1980s the pesticide threat was considered to be acute. The Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) analysed 1,500 samples of food. Almost all of them were contaminated by DDT and BHC. In over 25 per cent of samples the pesticides had crossed the safety limit to quite an extent. The findings were alarming. Milk from 50 lactating mothers in India had four times as high DDT and BHC residues than in other countries examined. Thus, this contamination chain can be illustrated (figure 37.2) as follows:

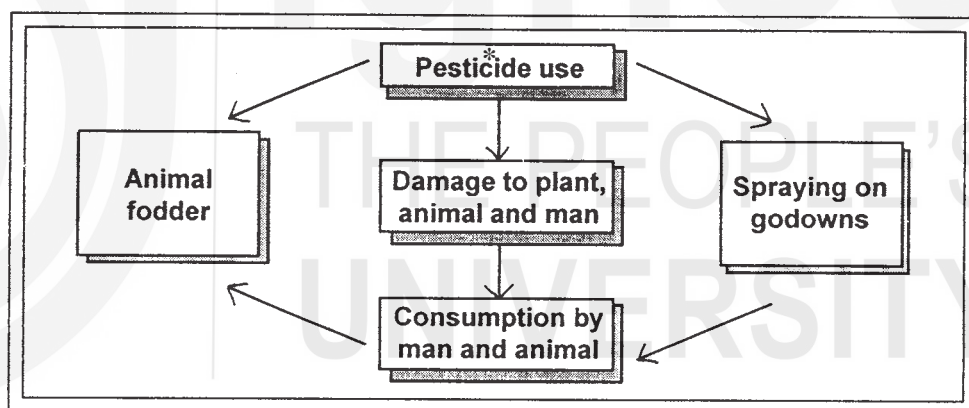


Fig. 37.3: Contamination Chain

As things stand today babies are consuming through food and milk three times as much as the safe digestion limits of pesticides. However, according to some researchers pesticide levels according to them are still relatively safe. No large-scale studies have been done on this subject in India as yet. The advanced countries of the west had a similar laxity of approach until the publication of the book, *Silent Spring*. This was written by a genetic biologist Rachael Carson (1962). It indicated that vast environmental and health problems were being caused due to pesticides.

If fact, almost daily we are finding in newspapers reports by various agencies about poisonous elements in water, milk, fruits, vegetables, eggs, meat, wheatflour, bottled water and soft drinks. Reports have come out against pesticides that have damaged brains of infants in Rajasthan, led to cancer cases in Kerala.

A seven-year study conducted across twelve states by the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) found dangerous levels of residues of pesticides (DHCH and DDT) in milk products. Delivering the sixth JRD Tata Memorial Lecture in 2003, Dr. Swaminathan called for a National Pesticides Policy.

What then can be done to make pesticides and their chemicals less hazardous to human health? i) Pesticides should not be misused, and ii) no spraying should be done a week before harvest. Thus there should be pest management programmes for judicious use of pesticides. iii) War on pests using their natural enemies like bigger insects should be waged. iv) Industries should be asked to stop dumping untreated chemical wastes into the rivers by statute. v) Dangerous pesticides like DDT and BHC should be replaced by less dangerous ones. Finally, market surveys to warn of toxicity levels in various food items should be initiated. Thus an overall policy needs to be enunciated if the war on pests is to be of great use to human beings and not adversely affect our health. This is of course, easier said than done. Even the rich countries have had trouble developing new less deadly pesticides. However, the future of society is deeply dependent on eliminating these dangerous chemicals. They should soon be replaced by less dangerous ones.

37.6 EXPLOITATION OF FORESTS

We will now turn our attention to another aspect of interaction between human society and environment. We will describe the way human beings have been increasingly destroying the forest cover in India.

Today the situation of forests in India is alarming. Barely 10 per cent forest cover exists. The minimum 'safe' forest cover is about 30 per cent. Safe forest cover means that monsoons and all agricultural activities related to the same will be benefited and go on normally. The forests too will regenerate themselves. The ministry concerned should attempt to ensure that forest cover does not go below 10 per cent and is raised gradually to the maximum extent possible. Forests and flood control are closely interlinked. Forests play a most important role in controlling floods by:

- i) regulating water run offs from the forests
- ii) allowing water to go into the soil
- iii) preventing landslides and topsoil erosion.

One of the most important features that a good forest provides is a brake against flash floods. These are prevented by a strong forest cover of 30-40 per cent. Such floods are often associated with major landslides. These were true of the Teesta (1968), Alakhananda (1970) and Bhagirathi floods (1978). In each case, floods led to landslides, which blocked the river. These in turn led to damming of rivers and even more violent floods. In October 1968 the human effect of such floods was seen. Landslides blocked the Teesta and when it broke loose some 33,000 people died in three days in Sikkim and West Bengal. Thus, such imbalances can take a heavy toll on society and its day to day working.

The degraded land in India is about 178 million hectares and total arable land is under moderate to severe degradation process (Prakash and others 2003).

In the following subsections we will focus our attention on the increasing exploitation of forests via deforestation and timber business. We shall also point out how in the State of U.P. attempt has been made to check this exploitation.

37.6.1 Deforestation

Let us consider now whether deforestation or reduction of forest cover reduces rainfall. Studies have indicated that annual rainfall is closely connected with forest cover. The higher the forest cover the greater is the rainfall. Thus droughts, which cause immense social problems, are the result of over-cutting of trees. Droughts create conditions for further droughts, as cattle are replaced by goats, which graze fodder grasses. The problem is that forests have been mercilessly and thoughtlessly denuded during the last hundred years in India. Between 1951 and 1972, 3.4 million hectares of forested area was cut for use in industry, dams, roads, and so on. The present rate of deforestation in India is still an incredible one million hectares every year. These statistics do not include the areas near dams and industries whose tree cover has been completely destroyed. They also do not account for illegal felling and 'contract' felling by the forest department. On the one hand, tree felling creates disturbances in the climatological cycle. On the other it makes room for tree use in houses, furniture etc. However, the negative factors far outweigh the positive factors of the situation as has been indicated.

Forest department statistics say that 23 per cent of India's is forest land. But this is not forested area. It simply means area that is under the control of the forest departments. For example, the State of Forest Report of the Forest Survey of India shows that Delhi's green cover of 8,800 hectares in 1999 increased to another 2,310 hectares in 2001. But the final report of the Supreme Court Appointed Environment Protection and Control Authority (CEPCA) noted that most of the city is devoid of forest cover because the forest cover is concentrated in New Delhi and South Delhi.

The National Forest Policy of 1952 wanted to bring 33 per cent land under forest cover. Again progress during 1951-80 was meagre. Of the 3.18 million hectares that were "greened", only 0.6 million hectares (19 per cent) were for trees. The National Forest Policy of 1988 was a kind of breakthrough that aimed to involve local communities in protection and management of degraded forests and to share benefits derived from such activities. Consequently, the Joint Forest Management Programme gave impetus to formation of village forest protection committees. Reviews of the practice of JFM show that we need to take lessons from grassroots experiences of JFM and evolve new strategies to save and augment India's forest wealth.

What is very problematic is that large portions of the population are deprived of firewood for their hearth. Most parts of India are facing this problem, from North to South. The problem of facing firewood shortage for the hearth is sociological one. However, its origins are in the ecological sphere. When ecology degrades beyond a point, tree cover is decimated. Human beings in the Developing World will find it difficult to even have firewood to cook their food with.

Activity 2

Deforestation is a serious environmental hazard in India today. Try to ascertain through the voluntary agencies what percentage tree cover is there in your village/town/city. Also find out if there are voluntary agencies working on afforestation or restoration in your locality. Give your suggestions and observations for the greening of your area in one page.

37.6.2 The Timber Business

Timber selling has become a large-scale business. Thus, for example, the Himachal Pradesh government earns about 75 per cent of its revenue from the regular commercial felling of 2,00,000 trees. This amounted to Rs. 600/- per tree in 1982. The commercial value to the feller was about Rs. 2000 to Rs. 2500, which makes it very lucrative for him. Another problem threatening forest and endangering social life is indiscriminate resin extraction from pine trees. While half inch cuts are allowed the contractors make four inch cuts literally bleeding the tree dry. Against a maximum of three cuts, the resin takers make up to ten such cuts. This reduces the life span of the trees to half their hundred years, which is tragic.

The government is however making some efforts to ban commercial felling of trees. Some State governments however want the Central government to make up for the revenue they lose. Police check posts have also been put to detect and intercept timber smugglers. If we take the case of Uttar Pradesh we find that the forests of the foothills were cut down to contain malaria. Crop lands have come up since then and have yielded very good results. However, the fact remains that corruption is given a renewed lease in timber smuggling activities. Something should be done to stop this from occurring. Let us now study the situation of forest restoration movement to conserve the forest cover.

37.6.3 Tree Density in U.P.

Before separation of Uttaranchal from the total recorded area of forests in U.P. was 5.17 million-hectare or about 17.5 percent of the land area. Over 67 percent of the forestland occur in the hills with about 15 and 19 percent, respectively in each of the Tarai and the Vindhyan regions while the Gangetic Plains have less than 5 percent forest cover. Of the 17.5 percent of the forest area only 11.5 percent is under the tree cover of which only 8 percent are dense forests which is far less than the required 33 percent of the geographical area (Joshi 2002). The best tree density for soil and water conservation exists only in the remote regions. About 8 per cent of the area is facing severe soil erosion and needs something to be done about it immediately. Chandi Prasad Bhatt, the founder of the Chipko Movement (which aims at preventing indiscriminate felling of trees) feels that this decimation has been very bad ecologically speaking. Thus, the tree felling has led to much social disturbance in the forest area of Gavahat. Women have to walk many miles for firewood and fodder. Hills have been degraded of their top soil. This area is landslide prone and soil erosion is heavy problem. In 1970 the Alakhananda which is a tributary of the Ganga had an immense flood. The whole of village Belakuch was flooded and swept away along with several busloads of tourists. This flood affected a 400 kilometre stretch, killing people, cattle, destroying bridges, timber

and fuel. The silt of the flood water literally blocked the Upper Ganga Canal which starts from Haridwar about 350 km from the beginnings of the Alakhananda. This destruction of habitation, human life and animal life could have been prevented had the thick foliage of the trees has been maintained. It is the trees which prevent flooding by storing water in their roots. Fuel scarcity has also become another problem. As mentioned earlier women have to walk between 1-15 km to collect their fuel wood. Forests of oak and rhododendron (shrubs bearing flowers in clusters) are very difficult to find. Even the afforestation programmes have replaced oak with chir. In 1962-63 the hillsides were blasted to open up communication and road networks. In Chamoli district itself 1100 km of motorable roads came up. As a consequence timber felling become both necessary and very profitable. The issue is the same everywhere picture of exploitation of forests and of ruining the ecological balances. This in its turn implies that individuals are trespassing the concerned laws. It also indicates that there are ruthless groups and lobbies operating in and through these forested areas (Desmond 1985).

37.6.4 Hug-the-Tree Movement (*Chipko Andolan*)

Has there been some counteraction to indiscriminate tree felling? Yes, the people themselves have come forward and taken action through the Chipko Andolan or 'hug-the-trees' movement. This movement has become known worldwide for its policies of:

- i) hugging the trees earmarked for felling. One's life is risked for that of the tree in defiance of the feller(s);
- ii) having spread countrywide, even into the Southern state of Karnataka as Appiko, where afforestation is relatively more important;
- iii) prevention of depletion of forest cover;
- iv) afforestation programmes.

Such programmes it will be require concentrated mobilisation of social networks, social resources, and organisational skills. They need to do these activities on a long-term basis without expecting immediate results. Society as a whole has to be galvanised into action for ecological restoration of human nature balance.

The *Chipko Andolan* began in Gopeshwar of Chamoli in March 1973. Ten ash trees were to be cut down for commercial use by a sports firm. Where no other argument bore fruit the villagers hugged the trees. A year later in 1974 in Reni (65 km from Joshimath), the women rallied behind Gaura Devi (50) and blocked the path leading into the forest.

The movement is an ecological forest-conservation movement. Its founder Chandi Prasad Bhatt believes in organising people for forest preservation. Sunder Lal Bahuguna on the other hand campaigns and publicises against deforestation. He is for greening of the forests. He believes that saving the forest is a first step towards saving the people themselves (for more information on Chipko movement see Jain 1984, Weber 1987). In the next section we will state some of the problems facing the preservation of the forest cover as well as the steps taken to preserve forests in India.

Check Your Progress 3

i) What are the effects of pesticides on health? Use about five lines for your answer.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

ii) Write a note on the Hug-the-Trees Movement (Chipko Andolan). Use about five lines for your answer.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

37.7 PRESERVATION OF FORESTS: STEPS TOWARDS FUTURE

What is the future regarding Indian forests? What are the major problem areas regarding conservation of forest reserves? Let us look at the problem as it exists in certain states like Meghalaya, M.P., Bihar, Gujarat and Orissa.

37.7.1 Forest Use in States of India

a) **Meghalaya**

Here the traditions are oral and as such we cannot find out how much is clan land or community land. There is a simple plywood factory in Meghalaya near the Assam border. However, there is a proliferation of saw mills there. Sawed wood has become a source of much income. The laws are quite unclear. It is this sort of situation, which is giving rise to problems, viz. they provide employment to people in saw mills and transport, carpentering etc. These problems are pitted against those of alarmingly depleting forest reserves. Should society look into its short term interests viz. chopping trees for marginal employment or halt this plunder for larger gains e.g., regular monsoons, topsoil protection, protection of flora and fauna and so on?

There is another problem—that of the shifting cultivation (*jhum* cycle). Fields are left fallow after cultivation for a few years. This is too small a period for any forest to grow. They need 20-30 years. The short *jhumming* cycle does not allow the forest to grow. Rather it destroys it. These slash and burn tactics are running forest and vegetation cover. What is worse is that the steepness of slopes leads to much soil erosion in the monsoons.

b) **M.P., Bihar, Gujarat and Orissa**

The problem in Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat and Orissa is the same. Apart from Himalayan forests those of Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa are deciduous and some of them are evergreen. These forests are the home of very many tribals (44 million *adivasis*). These tribals depend on these forests for sustenance. Madhya Pradesh earns 12.5 per cent of its revenue annually from its forests. Certain wood pulp projects accepted by the government go against the interests of the *adivasis*. Again this dealt with monoculture growth of pine trees. This project was finally abandoned but felling of trees goes on unabated. From 1958 to 1975 trees worth Rs. 35 crores were felled in this state. Such wanton commercial plunder of trees is now recognized as criminal. Trees take a long time to grow and mature. To hack them for commercial revenues is, gross misdemeanour stemming from corruption and ignorance. It must be stopped forthwith by law. Alternative building materials for houses like cement, plastic and so on must be encouraged. Some of these are now replacing traditional structures in the hills of U.P. and Uttaranchal.

In Bihar the *adivasis* have now taken up the issue of tree protection in a big way. A large number of tribals have been arrested and about 25 killed in the 'tree war'. The issue on hand is to replace sal by teak. The latter is pure commercial timber of no use at all to the tribals. In 1978 when negotiations failed Singhbhum tribals attached tree nurseries and destroyed saplings and forest buildings. Again during 1978 foresters inspecting a teak nursery were trapped and locked in it for 22 hours. They were rescued by the police. Since mid 1980 the Jungle Kato Movement began cutting down hundreds of trees. In Gua in Singhbhum many tribals were shot at and killed while doing this. This is criminal reprisal against tribals who are raising up for a just cause. They have every right for self-determination concerning their age-old association with the environment. Such police action was unwarranted. The tribals who had maintained the equilibrium of nature were subject to brutal assaults.

37.7.2 Conservation and Afforestation

In Gujarat the smokeless *Chullha* was provided at a nominal cost to save on fuelwood. Popular participation became necessary in the afforestation programme. The Gujarat Government has asked villagers to plant fruit, fodder and fuel trees in the forests nearby. School children have also been involved in afforestation programmes. Saplings were given to them and they were asked to care for them. The Madhya Pradesh Lok Vaniki Act, 2001 applies to private and revenue areas which the *Bhuswami*, the Gram Panchayat or Gram *Sabha* intends to manage as tree clad area. It can go to a long way to support private sector participation raising of forests on large degraded lands under agricultural tenures in Rajasthan desert areas and uneconomic holdings in rainfed areas.

In Tamil Nadu a project was undertaken to give 500 saplings of fuel, fodder and fruit trees. Cash incentives were given based on the surviving saplings and plants. The Tamil Nadu Government trained a cadre of people to help in their afforestation efforts. Voluntary efforts have had greater popular response. The Chipko Movement had notable success in the Chamoli District in Uttaranchal. Eco-development camps and the afforestation efforts they espouse

were expected to be successful. Such camps provided ways and means to educate people to view environment, especially trees, in the proper light. These camps tried to cover the entire country and were a kind of literacy programme on the value of trees and forest to the environment (see the video programme Evergreen Tree at your Study Centre). Saplings were kept and then planted in the forest. Similar efforts were on at Ranchi and in Jamkhad, Maharashtra. So far as the Chipko Movement is concerned two strands were clearly discernible. The first was that of the Chandi Prasad Bhatt group who saw tree felling in the context of the hill requirements as valid. Sunderlal Bahuguna has gone against this position and for him all trees should be conserved in the hills. Both these movements had mobilised a number of social groups. Many demonstrations were held. Due to these pioneers in Indian ecological movements, awareness of the dangers of poor forest levels (below 20 per cent) increased all over the country. Very much more, however, needs to be done in this crucial area (Bahuguna 1987: 238-248).

Forest conservation priorities cannot be determined in isolation from local people and broader patterns of natural resource use, and this must be complimented by policies promoting sustainable and equitable development of the natural resource base as a whole. In acknowledging this factor, the Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India issued policy guidelines for the involvement of village communities and voluntary agencies in the regeneration of degraded forest lands on 1 June 1990 under the JFM (joint forest management) programme. Joint Forest Management is a concept of developing partnerships between fringe forest user groups and the forest department on the basis of mutual trust and jointly defined roles and responsibilities with regard to forest protection and development. Under the JFM programme, the user (local communities) and the owner (government) manage the resource and share the cost equally. The effective and meaningful involvement of local communities in evolving sustainable forest management systems is now being looked upon as a significant approach to address the longstanding problems of deforestation and land degradation in India. The linking of socio-economic incentives and forest development has been singularly instrumental in eliciting community participation. The institutional involvement in various forest protection and developmental activities has made promising impacts on the biophysical and socio-economic environment of the JFM areas. Currently, it is estimated that 10.24 million hectares of forest lands are being managed under the JFM programme through 36,075 committees in 22 states. As a follow-up, the Government of India issued guidelines on 21 February 2000 for strengthening of the JFM programme (Ministry of Forest and Environment, Government of India).

Following the lessons learnt from the JFM experiment during the 9th five-year plan, the Government of India's Ministry of Environment and Forests issued in 2003 the guidelines of its National Afforestation Programme (NAP). The guidelines are to initiate steps for implementing the NAP during the 10th five-year plan. Short term objectives of NAP include regeneration and eco-development of degraded forests and adjoining areas on a watershed basis and also augmentation of the availability of fuelwood, fodder and grasses from the regenerated areas. For more information on this point, read IGNOU courses, PFM-04 and PFM 02.

37.7.3 Subsidy and Conservation

Also active on environmental issues and tree conservation, Madhva Ashish of Mirtola in Almorah, District Kumaon suggested that overgrazing and overpopulation had severely disturbed the ecological balance of the area. According to him, the hill lands, helped by a good monsoon, provide just three months subsistence rations to hill folks. He suggested that consumption of these three months should be subsidised by the government, and thereby all the ecological benefits would accrue to the hill folk. Overgrazing and overcutting lead to making inroads to non-replaceable capital resources. Ashish had also suggested that a light metal ploughshare be invented as a substitute for the present oak tree ones. Thousands of mature oak trees were felled to make this ploughshare. He further observed that the hill problem would not be solved through agriculture. According to him the stopping of hill agriculture and the subsidising of the hill areas nine months of the year were eminently feasible suggestions. The hill population, he felt, can be rehabilitated in various different ways including compensation for crops, work in the forest department, provision of one high yielding stall fed cow, and a milk collecting scheme. Ashish had thus outlined a feasible ecology programme for the hills specially the Kumaon hills. What is less known, however, is that Madhava Ashish has 'adopted' and has been protecting tree cover in and around the Mirtola area. Mirtola represents one of the most lush and beautiful tree forests anywhere in the country. We each need to follow this example and make trees and forest protection our individual and communal responsibility. This along with government cooperation will lead to a holistic recrudescence (break out afresh) of trees, and ecology. It will gradually but surely redress the imbalance between human beings and nature (Ashish 1981: 25-46).

37.7.4 Further Developments

Meanwhile Chipko-lite organisations have sprung up all over. The most famous of these is the Appiko in Karnataka, Pandurang Hegde.

There have also been efforts by the Government to alleviate the alarming rate of tree felling. The Indian Forest Bill of 1980 qualified people's rights in the forest and over its products. Forest officials and police had been given sweeping powers for confiscation and seizure.

The problem concerning contractors has yet to be solved since this is linked with poverty in the forests and hills. For this reason there was marked opposition to the Forest Bill 1980. There are also ambitious plans for afforestation. Forests are, however, not being destroyed only by local population and contractors. Corruption in the Forest Departments, timber traders and smugglers are all part of this destruction. Wildlife too has to bear the brunt of an ever receding home. The big game like the lions, tigers and elephants suffer first. Over time the entire food chain down to the monkeys and squirrels has to bear with man's inordinate greed, rapacity, and folly. The task is an uphill one and it will take years before we can be complacent. Many game reserves have been started to preserve animal life. This is a good start. But, we must aim at a human attitude in which human beings, nature and the etiological world (animals in relation to man) share the planet without fear of being exploited and decimated by human society.

37.8 LET US SUM UP

We have seen in this unit that environment and human society are intimately related. We began the unit by describing what is ecology. Here, we specially focused on the relationship between human beings and their environment. We said there is a reciprocal relationship between human beings and nature. We then outlined the approaches in ecology, which explained the human being-nature nexus. While focussing on ecology in the context of Indian society we listed the basic human needs and pointed out the situation in India where the environment is very crucial for the satisfaction of needs and survival of human beings. Here we also explained the state of water and atmospheric pollution in India. While examining the interrelationship between health and environment, we focused on health hazards due to food contamination from preservatives, chemical effluents from industries and overuse of pesticides in food. We then considered the related issues of deforestation and the *Chipko andolan* that was the response to it. Finally, we considered the use of forests in certain states and steps taken via conservation and afforestation to maintain a balance between human beings and nature.

37.9 KEYWORDS

Afforestation	Raising seedlings and plant them in order to raise forest trees on forest land
Contamination	Poison of a food item with a chemical and make it unfit for consumption
Deforestation	Cutting down trees from the forest with no regard for the minimum tree cover required for soil conservation
Determinism	The term refers, in the context of their unit, to the view that ecology determines the entire flow of events.
Effluents	The toxic waste chemicals thrown by industries into the rivers or over land
Erosion	The term refers to the process when topsoil from the land gets torn off and runs away into the gully or hillside and is lost to cultivation.
Pollution	The process whereby through chemical preservatives the environment as a whole gets poisoned.

37.10 FURTHER REAPING

Birch, Charles and Cobb, John B. Jr. 1984. *The Liberation of Life: From the Cell to the Community*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Foley, Gerald and Barnard, Geoffrey 1986. *Farm and Community Forestry*. Natraj Publishers: Dehradun.

Mohan, Madan 2000. *Ecology and Development*. Rawat: Jaipur

Singh, Pramod (ed.) 1987. *Ecology of Urban India. Volume II*. Ashish Publishing House: Delhi

Sinha, S.P. 1986. *Urban Environment and Contemporary Ecology*. The Indian Publications: Amballa Cantt.

Thaper, Valmik 2003. *Battling for Survival: India's Wilderness over Two Centuries*. Oxford University Press: New Delhi

37.11 SPECIMEN ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

- i) Ecology is the study of the interrelation between organisms and their environment.
- ii) The thinkers of this school feel that the state of ecology is directly linked to the state of technology. This approach emphasises that technology, economics, population form a basic influence on social processes.
- iii) The advantage of the Systems Model is that it puts man at the centre of ecological issues. Accordingly the social system selectively exploits the ecology system. At the same time the ecological system adapts to and sustains the social system.

Check Your Progress 2

- i) The pollution and dirt that arise from water drains and waste matters from human settlements are at times equal to industrial effluents.
- ii) In its natural state the atmosphere provides man with oxygen. However, if this becomes clouded with smoke from cars, factories, stoves and so on it can lead to a source of ill health and disease.

Check Your Progress 3

- i) Pesticides affect all vital organs of the body like kidney, liver, heart and thyroid. Headaches, memory loss, body tumor, blurred vision, heart attacks, arthritis, limb swelling are some of the health problems created by exposure to and intake of pesticides.
- ii) The hug-the-tree movement or *Chipko Andolan* arose in the then state of UP around 1973 to check the felling of trees and reduction of forest cover. The villagers hugged the trees (ash trees in Gopewar of Chamoli district) which were to be cut down for commercial use by a sports firm. In 1974 women rallied around the forests and blocked the path leading into the forest.

REFERENCES

(These are given for those students who wish to follow certain points in detail.)

Ashish, Madhava 1981. "The Effect of Overgrazing in the Kumaon". In J.S. Singh, S.P. Singh, C. Shastri (ed.) *Science and Rural Development in Mountains—Ecological Socio-Economical and Technological Aspects*. Gyanoday Prakash: Nainital pp. 25-46

Bahuguna, Sunderlal 1987. "The Chipko—A People's Movement". In M.K. Raha (ed.) *The Himalayan Heritage*. Gian Publishing House: Delhi, pp. 238-248

Barth, Fredrik 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. The Social Organisation of Cultural Differences. Alien and Unwin: London

Barua, Indira et al (ed.) 2002. *Ethnic Groups, Cultural Continuities and Social Change in North-East India*. Mittal: New Delhi

Bottomore, T. 1987. *Sociology: A Guide to Problems and Literature*. III Edition. Alien and Unwin: London

Byres, Terrence, J. 1997. *The State Development Planning and Liberalisation*. Oxford University Press: New Delhi

Carson, Rachael 1971. *Silent Spring*. Penguin Books: Middlesex

Chakarabarti, Balai Chandra 2003. "Panchayat Drama: Where do We Go From Here?" *The Statesman*. June 3

Chaturvedi, H.R. 1987. "Rural Development: Rhetoric and Reality". In K.S. Shukla (ed.) *The Other Side of Development*. Sage Publications India Limited: New Delhi

Chengoppa, R. and Rajihata, C. 1989. "Poison in Your Food". In *India Today* (June 15 Issue), pp. 74-81

Chopra, Ravi 1982. *The State of India's Environment—A Citizens Report*. Centre for Science and Environment, Delhi

Cohen, A. 1974. *Urban Ethnicity*. Tavistock Publications: London

Danda, Ajit K. 1999 (ed.) *Ethnicity, Nationalism and Integration*. The Asiatic Society: Calcutta

Desai A.R. 1984. *India's Path of Development*. A Marxist Approach. Popular Prakashan: Bombay

Desmond, D'Abreo 1985. *People and Forests: The Forest Bill and a New Forest Policy*. General Editor, Alfred de Souza. Indian Social Institute: Delhi

Dubashi, P.R. 1987. Development: An Overview. In K.S. Shukla (ed.) *The Other Side of Development*. Sage Publications India: New Delhi

Eshleman, J.R. and Cashion, B.C. 1983. *Sociology: An Introduction*. Little Brown & Co: Boston

Social Change

- Frank, A.G. 1967. *Sociology of Development and Underdevelopment of Sociology*. Catalyst Volume 3: Buffalo
- Gadgil, Ashok 1998. Drinking Water in Developing Countries. *Annual Review, Energy and Environment* 23: 253-86.
- Gadgil, M. and R. Guha 1995. *Ecology and Equity: The use and Abuse of Nature in Contemporary India*. Routledge: London
- Gore, M.S. 1973. *Some Aspects of Social Development*. Tata Institute of Social Sciences: Bombay
- Government of India 1952. *First Five Year Plan*. Planning Commission: New Delhi
- Government of India 1988. *India 1987. A Reference Annual*. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting: New Delhi
- Government of India 2003. *India 2003, A Reference Annual*. Ministry of Information and Broadcasting: New Delhi
- Gupta, Dipankar 2000. *Culture, Space and the Nation-State*. Sage Publications: New Delhi
- Heredia, Rudi 1986. *Minority Rights and Reservation Policy: Towards Coherence and Consistence*. *New Frontiers in Education*. Vol. XVI, No. 2, April-June: pp. 60-63
- Horton, P.B. and Hunt C.L. 1981. *Sociology*. McGraw Hill: London
- Jain, S. 1984. *Standing Up for Trees: Women's Role in the Chipko Movement*. UNASYLVA (FAO, UN Journal of Forestry) 36(146): 12-20
- Jain, S. 1988. *Case Studies of Farm Forestry and Wasteland Development in Gujarat, India*. FAO (UN): Rome
- Kumar, A. 2001. *Social Transformation in Modern India*. Sarup: New Delhi
- Kuppuswamy, B. 1987. *Social Change in India*. Vikas Publishing House: New Delhi (Originally published in 1972.)
- McClelland, D.C. 1961. *The Achieving Society*. Van Nostrand Company: Princeton
- Mc Intosh and Robert, P. 1985. *The Background of Ecology: Concept and Theory*. Cambridge University Press: New York
- Malik, S.L., and Bhattacharya, D.K. 1986. *Aspects of Human Ecology*. Northern Book Centre: New Delhi
- Mc Laughlen, Barny 1969. *Studies in Social Movements: A Socio-Psychological Perspective*. The Free Press: New York
- Mohan, Madan 2000. *Ecology and Development*. Rawat: Jaipur
- Moore, Barrington 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Beacon Press: New York

- Moore, W.E. 1951. *Industrialisation and Labour: Social Aspects of Economic Development*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca New York
- Mukherjee, P.N. 1977. "Social Movements and Social Change". *Sociological Bulletin*, Volume 26 (1) March
- Ogburn, W.F. 1966. *Social Change*. Dell: New York. (Originally published in 1922)
- Prakash, Om, G. Sastry and YVR Reddy 2003. Suitabe Schemes: Impact of Watershed Development of Programme on Conservation of Natural Resources in Rainfed AERs of India. *Wastelands News XIX (i): 55-59*
- Pushpa Sundar 1988. "Education and Socialisation of Professional Women: The Case of Women Entrepreneurs". In Karuna Chanana. (ed). *Socialisation Education and Women*. Orient Longman: New Delhi
- Punekar, V. 1974. *Assimilation*. Popular Prakashan: Bombay.
- Rao, M.S.A. 1979. *Social Movements in India*. Volume I and II, Manohar Publications: India
- Rao, M.S.A. 1979. *Social Movements and Social Transformation: A Study of the Backward Classes Movements in India*. Macmillan: India
- Rao, M.S.A. 1974. *Social Movements and Social Transformation*. Macmillan: Madras
- Shah, Ganshyam (ed.) 2002. *Social Movements and the State*. Sage Publications: New Delhi
- Shah, Tushaar, Christopher Scott, Stephane Buechler 2004. Water Sector Reforms in Mexico, Lessons for India's New Water Policy. *Economic and Political Weekly XXXIX (4): 361-370*
- Sharma, S.L. (ed.) 1986. *Development: Socio-Cultural Dimensions*. Rawat Publication: Jaipur
- Sillitoc, Paul, Alan Bicker and Johan Pottier 2002. *Participating in Development: Approaches to Indigenous Knowledge*. ASA a Monograph 39. Routledge: London
- Singh, Y. 1987. "Development in India: Continuities and Contradictions". In K.S. Shukla (ed.). *The Other Side of Development*. Sage Publications India: New Delhi
- Singh, Y. 2000. *Culture Change in India: Identity and Globalisation*. Rawat: Jaipur
- Soni, Vikram 2003. Water and Carrying Capacity of a City. *Economic and Political Weekly XXXVIII (45): 4743-4748*
- Srinivas, M.N. 1986. *India: Social Structure*. Hindustan Publishing Corporation: (India), Delhi. (Originally published in 1969 by the Director, Publications Division, I.E., New Delhi
- Srinivas, M.N. 1972. *Social Change in Modern India*. Orient Longman: New Delhi

Social Change

Sills, David, L. (ed.) 1972. *International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*. Macmillan & Free Press: New York

Sundaresh, Aruna 1986. *Constitutional Law and Reservations. New Frontiers in Education*. Volume XVI, No. 2, April-June: pp. 33-36

Thaper, Valmik 2003. *Battling for Survival: India's Wilderness over Two Centuries*. Oxford University Press: New Delhi

Toch, H. 1965. *The Social Psychology of Social Movements*. Methurin Publication: London

Touraine, Alain 1968. *The May Movement*. Random House: New York

Weber, Thomas 1987. *Hugging the Trees: The Story of the Chipko Movement*. Viking, Penguin Books: Delhi

Weiner, Myron 1978. *Sons of the Soils Migration and Ethnic Conflicts in India*. Oxford University Press: New Delhi

