

Unit 29 Social Movements: Meanings and Dimensions

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Learning Objectives

Social movements have emerged to be a crucial area of social science inquiry. This unit deals with

- the concepts of social movements
- origin of social movements
- element of social movements and
- transformation of social movements

29.1 Introduction

Social Movements are parts of social progression. These phenomena represent varieties of collective actions across time and space. As social processes social movements emerge as manifestation of collective discontent against the established social, economic and political orders. These emerge as the collective critic of the society rejuvenating vital social forces. As student of sociology you would be interested to know the meanings and several social, political, economic, cultural etc dimensions of social movements.

This unit introduces you to some of the fundamental issues of social movement. It aims to conceptualize social movement from a socio-historical perspective. There are several traditions of conceptualizing social movements. Glimpses of these traditions are also presented here. There are several causes of social movements. In this unit we have elaborated the causes or origins of social movement and have explained the roles of ideology, leadership and organization in social movements. The processes of transformation of social movements are in also discussed here. Since we would be dealing with varieties of issues, involved in social movements in the following units of this block these key issues are clarified at the outset for cognitive coherence of this the block.

29.2 Concept of Social Movements

Social movements have broadly been perceived as 'organized' or 'collective effort' to bring about changes in the thought, beliefs, values, attitudes, relationships and major institutions in society or to resist any change in the above societal arrangements. Blumer (1951) defines social movements as 'collective enterprises to establish a new social order of life'. To Toch (1965) social movement is an 'effort by a large number of people to solve collectively a problem they feel they have in common'. According to Haberle (1972) it is 'a collective attempt to bring about a change in certain social institutions or to create entirely a new order', J.R. Gusfield (1972) perceives a social movement as a socially shared demand for change in some aspect of the social order'. To Wilson (1973), social movements may either be for a change or resistance to

change. Thus to him, a social movement is an organised endeavour to bring about or to resist large-scale changes in the social order by non-institutionalized means.

a) Historical and Social Context of Conceptualization

It is significant that social movements are conceptualized in a particular historical and social context. For example in the North American society, in the wake of the emerging threat from the Fascist and the Communist movements in the 1930s "social movements are conceptualized by scholar like Haberle in 1951 as the potentially dangerous forms of non-institutionalized collective political behaviour which if left unattended, threatened the stability of the established ways of life". Social movement however, is not solely destructive. As a collective agency it possesses several creative potentials. Thus many scholars like Blumer and many other have highlighted the emergence of new norms of adaptive behaviour, problem solving and learning orientation potentially present in social movements. In the 1950s and 1960s the scholars like Turner and Killian (1957), Parsons, (1969) Smelser and others viewed social movement from collective behaviour perspective. In this approach social movements are viewed as non-institutionalized collective actions, which are not guided by existing social norms, formed to meet undefined or unstructured situations and are understood in terms of a breakdown either in the organs of social control or normative integration, due to structural changes. The resulting strains, discontent, frustration, and aggression from this situation ultimately lead the individual to participate in non-institutionalized. It is also pointed out that this behaviour pattern has a 'life cycle', which moves from spontaneous crowd action to the formation of public and social movement (Cohen, 1995:671-72, cf. Jamison and Eyerman, 1991:14).

Again each society has its own perception on the social movements which is developed based on its own socio-economic, cultural and the intellectual tradition. For example, the scholars in the Europe conceptualized social movements in a somewhat different term, based on their socio-political conditions and the intellectual heritage, from that of the Americans. While in the US it is an empirically observable phenomenon, in Europe it has emerged to be theoretically connected object. The Marxian theoretical position was widely followed in Europe; Weberian position was widely used in the United States.

It is significant that after the World War II the philosophy of the 'welfare state' was widely accepted all over the world except in the authoritarian regimes. As a corollary to this welfare state philosophy institutionalized conflicts between labour and capital were recognised as legitimate collective social behaviour in the modern society. According to Eyerman and Jamison the existence of strong, institutionalized, reformist social democratic labour movement in all the countries of Western Europe affected the way social movements were conceived by social scientists. As the conflict between labour and capital got institutionalized in the social democratic tradition, labour movement also got a legitimate place as organised collective behavior in the modern societies. In the United States social movement has remained anti ideological and the distinction between social movement and social institution. Thus Smelser distinguishes between general movement (long term shift in societal norms and values and change in attitude and consciousness) and social movements (immediate observable outburst of collective behaviour pushing long term changes along with it). Thus he distinguishes between norm and value oriented social movements respectively. And accordingly, a social movement to him, was an observable expression of general movement (Eyerman and Jamison , 1991:17-18)

Social movements in the developing countries were manifested in different

socio political contexts. Anti colonial, workers and the peasant movements were the dominant patterns of collective actions with a wide political connotation in built in these movements. While the anti colonial movements aimed at the liberation of the colonized countries from the imperial powers, the workers and the peasant movements were directed against the oppressive capitalists and landowners of these countries. Significantly, the nationalist spirit of the cross section of the population was the most appealing force in the anti colonial movement, while the workers and the peasant movements were mostly organised based on the Marxian philosophy of class struggle. In the post World War II period success stories of the workers and the peasant movements in the then Soviet Russia, China, Vietnam and Cuba had become the guiding spirit to the workers and the peasant movements in the developing countries. Social movements of various forms have got wider legitimacy in the political culture in the societies. In a state of increasing poverty, illiteracy, corruption and sharpening class inequality a vast section of the population have accepted organised collective action as a mode of protest and survival. However, in the wake socio political transition, globalisation and introduction to new economic order in these countries the forms of collective action have under gone a qualitative change.

b) Change in Perception since late 1950s

The established social and the political order of Europe and America received a severe jolt in late 1950s and 1960s with the vehement outburst of the Black civil rights, students, women's, peace, gay and environment etc. movements. The hitherto existing theoretical perspectives however, were unable to explain these movements which marked a sharp departure from the earlier organised movements of labor and the working class. These departures were largely viewed in terms of the emergence of new social actors and categories due to the fundamental shift in social structure and the emergence of post-industrial society. The 'postindustrial movements engage different actors, different loci of conflict and different issues than those of the industrial society. Even at the empirical level, these social movements exhibited new characteristics and new ideas. Hence there was a need to move beyond the existing framework of explanation.

Touraine (1981, 1983) observes these phenomena as 'new social movement being potential bearers of new social interests'. To him, it is through the process of collective will formation that social movements come to recognize themselves as collective actors with a historical project. The European tradition tried to discover a process of new knowledge and collective identity formation in these actions. Here the most common approach has been to analyze social movement to be the carriers of political projects, and historical actions.

Thus in the European tradition social movement is seen in terms of structures and long term processes. There is a concern for distinguishing the new from the old social movements.

For the European sociologists, it is the political meaning of the movement that is of utmost significance. For example, Alberto Melucci (1988) sees social movements in primarily symbolic terms and identity formation as a kind of dramaturgy. Social movements make power visible, and they challenge the dominant meaning systems or symbols of contemporary everyday life. He talks about the issues of identity in social movements in great length. We shall discuss this issue in the next two units of this block.

The American sociologists have however, seen knowledge and identity as non-empirical objects. The knowledge component of a social movement to them provide the issues or ideologies around which movements mobilize resources or socialize individuals.'

Since 1960s and onward the collective behaviour approach is being contested by the resource mobilisation theorists to emphasis on the effectiveness of the movement organization (see Zald and McCarthy 1987). As an alternative to collective behaviouralism, the theory of resource mobilisation has emerged in the American tradition to explore why some movements are more successful than others. Tilly (1978) for example identifies collective action in terms of the pursuit of common interest, which is typical of social, all movements. This approach assumes that collective actions are related to the specific opportunity structures. Here importance is given on the rationality of human action, whereby the participants in the social movement calculate the cost and benefits of their participatory action in collective mobilization. In this approach social movements are seen 'either as the creation of entrepreneurs skillful in the manipulation or mobilisation of social resources or as the playing out the social tensions and conflicts'. Thus the motivation of the actors is seen as rational economic action. The resource mobilization theory, indeed, aims to interpret those sets of social movements that are the visible parts of the American social reality in management term. It is linked to the policy problem of containment. (Ibid: 47)

Social movements in the developing countries have conventionally been conceptualized either from the Marxian or from the Functionalist perspectives. However the proliferation of the new social movements, manifestation of new form of collective actions, resurgence of the violence in the new contexts and the articulation of new forms of collective actions in these societies have generated enormous interests among the social scientists, policy planners and social activists for the study of social movements. However there has been a tendency to analyze social movements of these societies following the theoretical tools widely used in the western societies.

Reflection and Action 29.1

What do you mean by social movements? How has the issue of identity been conceptualized as an essential part of social movements?

29.3 Origin of Social Movements.

There are several schools of thoughts on the origin of social movements. The classical model of thought is represented by the versions of mass society, collective behaviour, status inconsistency, raising expectations, and relative deprivation.

- a) The **mass society** theorist, like Kornhauser (1959), is of the view that due to the lack of an intermediate structure people in the mass society are not integrated in the society. This leads to alienation, tension and ultimately social protest. In the mass society individuals are related one another not by variety of groups etc., but by their relation to a common authority, i.e. the state. In the mass society, in the absence of independent groups and associations people lack the resource to ward off the threat to their autonomy. In their absence people lack the resources to restrain their own behaviour as well as that of others. Social atomization engenders strong feelings of alienation and anxiety, and therefore, the disposition to engage extreme behaviour to escape from these tensions (Kornhauser 1996 : 92). It is pointed out that the mass society is conditioned by elite domination over the mass. It replaces the democratic rule. In this society individuals are objectively atomized and subjectively alienated. In this system people are available for mobilization by elite. To Kornhauser "alienation heightens responsiveness to the appeal of mass movements because they provide the occasions for expressing resentment against what is, as well as promises of a totally different world. In short, people who are atomized readily become mobilized" (Ibid: 92).

b) The proponents of the theory of **status inconsistency**, like Broom (1959) and Lenski (1954), are of the view that the objective discrepancy between persons ranking and status (dimension e.g., education, income, occupation) generate subjective tensions in the society leading to cognitive dissonance, discontent and protest. The state of severe status discrepancy, according to these scholars, lead to subjective tensions and dissonance. According to Geschwender (1971) the set of circumstances described by the status inconsistency hypothesis would produce varying intensities of dissonance and dissonance-reducing behaviour according to the degree of discrepancy between relevant status dimensions (cf. Mc Adam 1973 : 136).

c) The theory **structural strain** as propagated by Smelser, Lang and Lang, Turner and Killian suggests that any severe structural strain can help manifest social movements. To Smelser the more severe the strain, the more likelihood of social movements. In general it is argued that there are sequences leading to the manifestation of social movements. These sequences move from structural weakness due to the strain in society leading to psychological disturbances and ultimately to the manifestations of social movements. There are, however variety of reasons behind the structural strain. Individuals experience strain out of disruption in the normal functioning of the society. this disruption may be caused by the process of industrialization, urbanization, migration, increase in

unemployment. The increase in the quantum of disruption is positively related to the manifestation of social movement. In this perspective social change is the source of structural strain. Social change is described as stressful because it disrupts the normative order in which people are accustomed leading to a feelings of anxiety, fantasy and hostility (Mc Adam 1997). Thus in general this theory visualizes social movements as collective relations to such strains that create severe tensions. Some aggregate of there tensions reach reach to a "boiling" point triggering social emergency. This model emphasizes wage on the psychological effect that strain has on individuals than on the desire for a political goal (Ibid)

In this context it is important to mention here that Smelson has highlighted the significance of the generalized beliefs' in conjunction with other five factors - structural conduciveness, structural strain, a precipitating factor, mobilization of the participants for action, and the failure of social control are necessary conditions for a collective episode (Smelson, cf. Walsh 1978: 156)

Thus the classical model has observed social movements as response to structural strain, it is concerned with the psychological effect that stain has on individual and that collective participation in the movement is guided by urgent psychological pressure and not by the aim to change the political structure. (McAdam, D. 1996: 135-143)

d) The **theory of Relative Deprivation** has been got a place of prominence in the social movement study. In the Marxian analysis economic deprivation has been identified to be the prime cause of social conflict among the two antagonistic classes i.e. the 'haves' and the 'have nots'. To Aberle (1966) deprivation has also non-material base e.g. status, behaviour, worth etc. Relative deprivation, i.e., the discrepancy between legitimate expectations and the reality is the central point of social movement. Gurr (1970) has perceived deprivation as a gap between expectations and perceived capabilities involving three generalised sets of values: economic conditions, political power and social status (cf.Rao, 1982)

e) The **theory of Cultural Revitalization**. As propagated by Wallace (1956) expresses the view that social movements are manifested out a deliberate, organised and conscious action of the member of the society to construct a more satisfying culture for themselves. To him, the revitalization

movements undergo four phase of progression: from cultural stability to increased individual stress to cultural distortion and disillusionment to cultural revitalization.

It is to mention here that no element of strain and deprivation alone can produce a movement unless there is a subjective perception about these objective conditions of deprivation. Ideology, organization and leadership play crucial role towards the manifestation and sustenance of social movements. We shall be dealing with the issues in the next section of this unit.

Reflection and Action 29.2

You must have seen several discontents to get collectively manifested in your society. Are all these discontents being termed as social movements? What are their origins?

29.4 Components of Social Movements

Conventionally ideology, collective mobilisation, organisation and leadership are identified to the vital elements of social movements. Ideology provides a broad frame of action and collective mobilisation in the social movement. It also provides legitimacy to the process of interest articulation organized collective action. There are different ways of formulating ideology in a social movement. However, in the context of new social movements role of ideology has been a subject of close scrutiny. Some aspects of this issue we shall discuss in the next unit.

Collective mobilization is again a central element of a social movement. The nature and direction of a social movement is widely shaped by the nature of collective mobilisation. Collective mobilisation may be radical, non-institutionalized, spontaneous, large scale or it may be non-violent, institutionalized, sporadic, restricted. It may also undergo a process of transformation from radical to reformative or institutionalized. Routinisation of charisma is an illustration to this point.

Leadership and organization are closely linked to the process of collective mobilisation. A leader can be charismatic figure or a democratically elected one. In the context of new social movements the issues of leadership, organization ideology and collective mobilisation have acquired several new dimensions.

For years, social movements as an area of legitimate sociological research have occupied a position of marginality both in the functionalist and Marxist paradigm. For the functionalists social movements were sources of potential disruption to an entity. Here only by assigning a marginal position to social movements was 'integrity of the functional theoretical system ensured. On the other hand, though the Marxist analysis is concerned with social transformation, this has identified the "classes" as the sole agents of social transformation. Non-class movements are viewed critically, and sometimes with contempt or hostility' (Scott, A. 1990: 2). Over the years, however, these single order explanations have proved to be inadequate in analyzing the complexity of the phenomena of social movements, and a vast body of literature has emerged in this emerging area of social inquiry. These studies have made sincere efforts to comprehend the issues and dynamics of social movements by using cases from various parts of the world. Significantly, the dynamics and components of the social movements—ideological orientation, organizational set-up, patterns of mobilization, leadership, tactics of collective action, issues involved in the social movements and their linkages with the wider social processes and so on—are critically scrutinized through their efforts to explain the phenomena of collective mobilization with new perspective(s). Thus in these efforts of the social scientists there has been not only the quest for

identification of the 'newness' in the emerging social movements of the 1960s and thereafter, but also a genuine urge to locate the various elements of commonalities in these episodes.

New Components: New ideals, Collective identities and Resources

In the context of the emergence of new social movements the issues of values, culture, subjectivity, idealism, morality, identity, empowerment, etc., have got new coinage and added prominence in these efforts. Thus Bertaux (1990) adds the view that 'subjectivity' and 'idealism' are essential elements of social movement and must be taken seriously.

Similarly, social movements help generate a sense of collective identity and new ideas. Melucci has emphasized on collective identity formation in the context of new social movements. To him, social movements grow around relationships of new social identity that are voluntarily conceived 'to empower' members in defense of this identity (Melucci, 1996). Eyerman and Jamison (1991) assert that 'by articulating consciousness, social movement provides public spaces for generating new thoughts, activating new actors, generating new ideas (1991: 161-66). To Hegedus (1990) involvement in an action is a matter of conscience and emotion, of responsibility (1990: 266).

However participation in social movements may not necessarily always be for the quest of an identity; rather, it may be for the gratification of political and material interests. Tilly (1978a): McAdam (1982), Tarrow (1994 and many others are of the view that social movements manifest in response to the increase in the potential political opportunities and growing receptivity of the state to the activities of the challenging groups. In general, these scholars emphasize on the various resources involved in the manifestation and operationalisation of social movements.) Tilly (1978a) for example identifies collective action in terms of the pursuit of common interest, which is typical of social movements. This approach, known as resource mobilization, assumes that collective actions are related to the specific opportunity structures. Here importance is given on the rationality of human action, whereby the participants in the social movement calculate the costs and benefits of their participatory action in collective mobilization. In this approach social movements are seen 'either as the creation of entrepreneurs skillful in the manipulation or mobilization of social resources or the playing out the social tensions and conflicts'. Thus the motivation of the actors is seen as rational economic action. The resource mobilization theory, indeed, aims to interpret those sets of social movements that are the visible parts of the American social reality in management terms. It is linked to the policy problem of containment (47).

Reflection and Action 29.3

Critically analyze the relevance of identity and ideology in social movements.

29.5 Transformation of Social Movements

Every social movement is having a life history and undergoes a process of transformation. The movement may emerge to be routinised accompanying a decline in support for a movement, (Clark, Grayson & Grayson 1975: 19). Such process of transformation of the movement is indeed contextual and cultures, polity and economy specific. Zald studied transformation to social movements in the comparative frame. He finds that the process of transformation of social movements in the United States and Western Europe has been oriented to be reformist while in the Eastern Europe social movement transformed itself into regime challenges (Zald 1988: 19-24). It is observed in the developed societies that in the absence of a shared culture of popular opposition to the authorities and powerful groups, in the absence of a grass-roots organisation structure, lack of space for unconventional tactics and likely co-option of the dissidents

and critics by the state, collective mobilization are not sustained for a larger time (Oberschall 1978, Gamson 1975, Walsh 1978). Here most of the social movements are institutionalized in nature.

The emergence of a 'national social movement' from within the institutionalized frame of reference of the state, as pointed out by Tilly (1998), "a social movement is neither a party nor a union but a political campaign. What we call a social movement actually consists in a series of demands or challenges to power-holders in the name of a social category that lacks an established political position" (Tilly 1985: 735-36).

As pointed out earlier, ideology, organization, leadership, subjectivity, idealism and orientation towards change are important components of social movements and closely attached to the process of collective mobilization and new identity formation. Change in the form of these components brings tremendous change in the character of the social movements, and accordingly social movements may also be categorized. P.N. Mukherjee (1979) categorizes social movement as 'revolutionary movement' and 'quasi-movement' based the nature and direction of change initiated by the process of collective mobilization (in a movement under reference). To him, when collective mobilization aims at effecting wide-ranging and far-reaching changes of a system it may be called a revolutionary movement, and when it aims for changes within a system only it may be called a quasi-movement. Sociologists observing the life histories of various social movements point out that sooner or later a social movement becomes subject to the process of routinization. Often a protest movement starts off with a radical ideology but develops its own establishment in turn. To Rao (1985), when a movement with a defined ideology becomes a well-established political party, it ceases to be a movement (1985: 251). SinghaRoy(1992) highlights that in the Indian context any attempt to analyze social movements ought to reflect upon the dynamics of the movements over a period of time since the transformation of these movements are not discreet. Rather, the ideological re-orientation and organizations of those movements continue to remain attached with the collective mobilization in one form or the other. Thus over a period of time there is the process of institutionalization of mobilization. T.K. Oommen (1994) points out that the processes of mobilization and institutionalization do co-exist, and that 'institutionalization provides new possibilities of mobilization'. According to him, the processes of institutionalization and mobilization are to be viewed essentially to be the two different phases of a movement 'rather than mutually inimical processes ... In the final analysis mobilization is not displaced by institutionalization but goes hand-in-hand to a large extent and often the later process accentuates the former' (Oommen 1994: 251-53). (We shall discuss this issue in unit to 32 again)

The process of institutionalization, according to Oommen (1984), refers to a 'socially prescribed system of differentiated behaviour based on a relatively stable interaction pattern hinged on socially accepted values, norms, roles and practices'. While studying the process of institutionalization of collective mobilization he emphasized the role of institutional entrepreneurs towards the process of institutionalization. He however visualizes a contradiction in the institutional role of such entrepreneurs, as all may not accept their initiatives. Thus to him institutionalization of mobilization may not lead to bureaucratization, formalization or a status quo. It may rather bring 'with it possibilities of change, because the value-dissensus it creates may eventually lead to confrontation between the contending collectivities which provide the potential for continuous change' (Oommen 1984: 234-5). In his study of the agrarian labour movement in Kerala he highlights that the emergence of movement organization leading to routinization of charisma, development of bureaucratic structure, emergence of a parallel elite, persistence of mobilization beyond the purpose for which it emerged, invariably lead to the institutionalization of social movement. He argues that 'there is no inherent

tendency towards institutionalization of a social movement even when it occurs, it does not necessarily stop or even decelerate the process of mobilization which is so fundamental and prime to the very survival of a movement'. To him mobilization implies a collective action affecting the quality of politics. It calls for the 'induction of new structure into the system to meet the new challenges. That is mobilization necessitates the creation of new institutions and their institutionalization'. He also finds that mobilization is a continuous process with a varying scale and intensity over a period of time (Oommen 1984: 238).

While examining the issues of transformation of social movements in India, the observation made by Bipin Chandra (1996) in the context of the Indian national movement is worth mentioning. He highlights that this movement 'derived' its entire force from the militancy and spirit of self-sacrifice of the masses, including a large section of the peasantry and small landlords. This movement followed the strategy of truce-struggle-truce, in which phases of extra-legal mass movements alternate with more passive phases carried on within the confines of legal space. To Chandra, this strategy of Gandhi had the capacity to utilize the constitutional space without getting co-opted, and to maintain contacts with the masses and absorb their creative energies. This strategy, according to Chandra, bears close resemblance to the strategy of war of position as put forward by Gramsci. Gramsci saw India's political struggle against English as containing three forms of war: war of movement, war of position and underground warfare. Gandhi's passive resistance was a war of position, which in certain movements becomes war of movement and in others, underground warfare. Boycotts are a form of war of position, strikes are war of movement, the secret preparation of weapons and combat troops belong to underground warfare (Gramsci 1996: 23).(1998)

The Indian National Congress accepted the strategy of war of position, which had two basic thrusts. It was hegemonic and it alternated between phases of extra-legal mass struggle and phases of truce functioning within the law. This entire political process of 'truce-struggle-truce' was an upwardly spiraling one which also assumed that the freedom struggle would pass through several stages ending with the transfer of power by the colonial regime (Chandra 1996: 26-9).

Reflection and Action 29.3

From your known experience or based on secondary source of information write a life history of transformation of a social movement in about 500 words.

29.6 Conclusion

In this introductory unit of this block we have raised several issues for discussion which would be dealt with in the remaining three units of the block. As the outset we have clarified the meaning and dimensions of social movements. The conversational modes of conceptualization of social movements, the shift in this mode since late 1950s, the emergence of new social movements, the European, American and the Indian orientation of social movement studies are discussed here. We have also examined the issues origin and vital elements of social movements. A brief discussion on social movement studies in Indian is also presented in this block.

Further Readings

1. Shah, G. (ed.) 2004 *Social Movements*. Sage Publication: New Delhi
2. SinghaRoy, D.K. 2004 *Peasant Movements in Post Colonial India: Dynamic of Mobilisation and Identity*, Sage Publication: New Delhi
3. Singh, R. 2003 *Social Movements, Old and New*. Sage Publication: New Delhi

Unit 30 Types of Social Movements

Contents

- 30.1 Introduction
- 30.2 Nature of Social Conflict
- 30.3 Types of Social Conflicts
- 30.4 Polymorphy of Social Movements and the Problem of Classification
- 30.5 Developing a typology of Social Movements
- 30.6 Old and New Types of Movements
- 30.7 Conclusion
- 30.8 Further Reading

Learning Objectives

After going through this unit on types of social movements you will be able to:

- describe the nature of social conflict;
- explain the types of social conflicts;
- discuss the polymorphy of social movements and the problem of classification;
- develop a typology of social movements, and finally;
- distinguish between the Old and New types of social movements.

30.1 Introduction

It is desirable, that before we initiate the discussion on the 'types of social movements' or try to develop a typology of movements, some preliminary explanation about its conceptual background need to be presented. Social movements are a form of collective action. Collective action refers to the mobilisation of a group of people putting their efforts including struggles and strives to achieve certain collectively shared goals or values held as important for society. It may be realised that collective actions can be consensual and co-operative without any element of conflict. One can visualise the co-operative efforts of a group of people to make a ceremonial or festive occasion a grand success. These are examples of consensual and non-conflictual collective actions. In the study of social movements, it is important to note that we deal only with conflictual collective actions. Neil Smelser refers to them as, "uninstitutionalised mobilisation for action" (1962:71). The conflictual un-institutionalised collective actions can be of various types. They may range from an episodic, short-lived, leaderless and unorganised collective outburst of, some times of violent nature, of an unexpected gathering of a wayside crowd to a systematically organised with some degree of understandable structure with leadership and communication struggling for or against certain social and cultural practices or to achieve certain set of goals and objectives held important for the community or society.

We need to remember that while all social movements carry some elements of conflicts in them, not all forms of conflictual collective actions can be treated as social movement. In social sciences, different forms of conflictual collective actions carry specific conceptual meaning. Collective action, such as *riot*, *rebellion*, *revolt* and *revolution* carry conflict contents, including the element of violence in them. Readers are advised to gain conceptual clarity about these different types of collective action from the relevant literature on the subject (such as Rajendra Singh; 2001 : 32-37). Conflicts, as readers can understand, stands out as the central element lying at the core of non-

institutionalised, nonconsensual and conflictual collective action. And these forms of collective action also include the conception of social movements. A brief analytical discussion on the nature and forms of social conflict, therefore, becomes essential.

30.2 Nature of Social Conflict

Social conflict is essentially an inter-actional concept. It presupposes the existence of two or more individuals or groups: castes, communities and classes in a situation of opposing claims and contestation about some issues, goals and objectives. As an adversarial concept, conflict always involves the elements of struggle, strife and active effort of one group to exclude or cancel the claim of another group over some values, object or goal. Conflicts vary from a mild disapproval to a brutal physical assault and killing. At this stage, a few points need to be emphasised. First, the mere existence of conflicts do not presuppose the existence of collective action. And all forms of collective actions do not involve conflicts. Secondly, norm oriented institutionalised collective actions such as efforts of a collectivity to make a festive occasion a success or instances of the collective celebration of ceremony or performance of a ritual are devoid of conflict contents.

As one can easily make out, in the study of non-institutionalised conflictual collective action, one has to exclude personalised types of conflicts such as one often witnesses in his everyday life between parent and child and husband and wife or differences and conflicts between the neighbours. Personalised conflicts do not belong to our field of study. But an outburst of spontaneous or organised protests and violence of one group against the other or against some institution and social practice do. A slogan shouting collectivity of people, marching in protest against the exploitation or against the use of unjust power by a caste, class, gender or institutional authority characterise the nature of collective conflict. Some examples such as the cases of peasant uprisings against the erstwhile class of zamindars in the countryside for ownership and control over land or the sit-in "dharna", protests and strike in the industry by the worker for the demand of increase in wage, bonus and better work conditions, including the demand for the share in the decision making process against the capitalists, can be easily cited. Further, like the above two examples, the case of farmer's strikes against the state for the demand of cheaper cost of electricity and chemical manure or for the sale of their agricultural produces such as grain and vegetables can also be presented as the examples of collective conflict in society.

Conflicts also manifest when one group of people in order to gain and retain an exclusive possession of values and objects try to cancel out the chances or opportunities of another group in achieving the same values and objectives. The acts of one group to expel and exclude another group from the social values against their wishes always tend to involve conflict. Lewis Coser rightly defines conflict as a "struggle in which the aim is to gain objectives and simultaneously neutralize, injure or eliminate rivals" (1956:8). Conflict is always an adversarial concept involving tussle and tension between at least two groups of people in opposition of each other.

Social conflicts are not homogeneous phenomenon. They tend to fall in different categories and types and assume different forms. Since conflicts lie at the core of conflictual collective actions and their typologies, as we shall see below, they sometimes tend to correspond to the typologies of social movements, it is appropriate that a brief discussion on the typology of social conflicts be presented before we discuss the typology of social movements.

30.3 Types of Social Conflicts

Social movements are expressions of conflicts. Conflict presupposes a clear

definition of the opponent, "*the enemy*" or the adversary. All conflicts, according to Alain Touraine (1985 : 750-80), have (a) organised actors, (b) valued or desired stakes and (c) tussles and competition among the actors to achieve those stakes. Against the background of the structure of the concept of conflict, let us study different types of conflicts. Touraine formulates eight types of social conflicts.

- 1) Competitive pursuit of collective interest: This type of conflict is characterised as the expression of the relationship between the actor's input and output in an organisation, or of their relative deprivation. If the employee of a company invests high or low input and receives high or low reward, there can be four possible combinations: (a) high input low reward, (b) high input high reward, (c) low input low reward, and (d) low input and high reward. The first situation has greatest chance for producing conflict. Industrial unrest, labour strikes and workers movements can be result of the first situation.
- 2) Reconstruction of social and cultural or political identity: In this type of conflict situation the adversary is projected and defined as "they", the other' and as 'foreigner' or as 'invader' rather as class opponent or class enemy. Social world gets divided between the 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. The conflict is generally around the conception of the ' *defense of the community*' Many contemporary movements in India, such those of *Shiv Sena* in Maharashtra, and in the recent past, *Jharkhand* in Bihar, *Gorkhaland* in Bengal and *Uttarakhand* in Uttar Pradesh are and have been the expression of this type of conflict . In its uglier expressions, this type of conflict can have a tendency to take the forms of regionalist, linguistic, racist, caste and communal movements. Actors in this type of movement tend to raise slogans relating to the 'purity', and 'moral health' of society being put in danger by the 'others, the 'outsider'. It can produce an intense solidarity among the 'inside' members of the 'brotherhood' and generate a fierce hatred against the 'other' who are generally projected as the 'corruptors' and 'polluters' of the society. Here the left wing concept of 'class enemy' gets replaced by right wing concept of 'cultural enemy' .In both situations the spirit of science is the causality.
- 3) A political force. This type of conflict generally aim at changing the '*rule of the game,*' and not just the advantage in the given system. Industrial disputes, trade union and worker's movements generally assume the form of political conflict. Shorter and Tilly in their study of strikes in France (1971) argue that strikes, instead of being the expression of deprivation were reflections of their sharp progress and decline of political influence of the workers union. Sudden change in the structure of power or in its normative bases have a strong tendency to generate this type of conflict.
- 4) The defense of the status and privilege. This type of conflict is illustrated by the attempt of an interest group converting their essentially private selfish interest into public issue. Thus, in its worst expression, one notes that a basically corrupt and essentially dishonest political system often raises the slogan, "nation is in danger "merely to hide their ugliness and divert people's attention from the declining political ethics and public trust in the system of governance. Its milder manifestations are found in the cases of farmer's mobilization and teachers struggles. In many cases, farmers movements and teachers struggle instead of defending their income directly, begin proclaiming that agriculture and education be given *national priority* as these are matters of '*national importance*'.
- 5) Social control of main cultural pattern. Touraine conceives of the conception of cultural pattern in terms of three constituent elements. (a) *a model of knowledge* ,(b) *a type of investment* and (c) *a body of ethical principles* and these three elements in return represent respectively the conceptions of *truth, production* and *morality*. These elements are subject

to society's capacity to produce it self. In the large complex societies there is always tussle and conflict between the ruling groups and also between the ruling groups and the masses. The ruling group attempts at identifying itself with the main cultural values of society in order to use those values as weapon of exercising domination over the masses. The masses on the other hand attempt at dislodging the dominant ruling group in order to identify themselves with the same values. This type of tussle between culture and power remains a perpetual social reality in most of the complex and large societies.

- 6) Creation of a new social order. The sharpest example of this type of conflict is found in the cases of the revolutionary overthrow of an entire political system and its method of governance by the masses in order to establish a 'new community' with a 'new political system' and a new 'social order'. Such a collective action involves almost all sections of society in a mass upsurge initiating a vast and radical changes in society and in its method of governance. One of the most important consequences of revolutionary type of collective action is that revolution abolishes all types of social conflicts, and by abolishing conflict, revolution abolishes all possibilities for the emergence of social movements. One can note, that movements are expressions more of democratic open than the totalitarian closed societies. Revolutions kill movements. Revolutionary leaders call for social 'order' as the precondition of development. But generally, the need for 'order' is cleverly manipulated in the defence of the power and privileges of the new political class and 'new leaders' (see Rajendra Singh ; 2001:121) .
- 7) National Conflicts. According to Touraine historical conflicts at their highest level are national conflict. Identity and continuity of a society undergoing the process of development and industrialisation can not be defended by the actors or by their social relations as the nation alone can proclaim identity and control over the changes. 'In all countries, 'states Touraine, 'conflict around control of change is conflict about states (1985 : 758). Here emphasis is the need to separate political system as the representative of social, cultural and economic systems from the state as the main agent of historical transformation among societies.
- 8) Conflict of neo-communitarianism. National conflicts generally show the separation between social and historical conflicts. The negative equivalent of national conflict is neo-communitarian conflict. The neo-cmmunitarian conflict attempt at rejecting the historical transformation which generally come from abroad and tend to erode the traditional values and forms of social organization. It refers to the atavistic, indigenous ideologies and demands and in process assume the forms of restorative-revivalist and sometimes, even fundamentalist inward- oriented conflicts and movement.

30.4 Polymorphy of social movements And the Problem of Classification

Social movement, like social conflicts are not homogeneous phenomenon. We have suggested above, that the elements of conflict lie at the core of social movements. The range and variations in the types of social conflicts are bound consequently, to give rise to different types of social movements in society. Social movements generally emerge as a response to some collectively shared social issues, questions and challenges in a situation of conflict .The nature of social issues and conflicts, in a complex society like India, vary by regions, castes, classes, communities and by territorial groups, like tribes, peasants and urban communities. Readers can easily understand that sea-shore fisherman of Kerala may have type of issues and conflicts entirely different from those of the mountain people of Himalaya in Uttarakhand. Consequently, different types of movements find their expressions in society. The polymorphous nature

of movements need to be made amenable for scientific analysis.

Codification and classification are essential methodological steps undertaken to make a range of complex and widely varied social phenomenon, such as social movements, amenable to scientific inquiry and analysis. Classification of movements into different 'types' are based on the principle of 'resemblance' and 'difference' (see, Durkheim : 1963). In what ways do different movements resemble and differ with each other?. In the study of social movements, the problem of typology has been acute. Suiting the theoretic or ideological preference of the scholar, the same movement, has in the writing of one scholar, been characterized as 'peasant movement' and in the other as sectarian one (for detail, see Rajendra Singh; 1984: 93-95). While it is simple to treat 'tribal uprisings' as 'tribal movements' or women's protests against gender discrimination as 'women's movement', it is far more difficult to separate reformative, restorative and revivalist move movements from other types of social movements, including tribal and women's movements. Readers require for an illustration a case from Kathleen Gough's (1974:94) system of classification and typology of social movements. Taking goal, ideology and method of organization, Gough presented a five-fold typology of peasant movements in India. The five-fold types are:

- 1) restorative rebellion,
- 2) religious movements,
- 3) social banditry,
- 4) terrorist vengeance, and finally,
- 5) mass insurrection.

I have critically examined the limitations of Gough's classification (ibid: 93-9). How could the revolt of raja Chait Singh (1778-81) and Vazier Ali (1799) against the British could be included in the category of 'peasant movements'?. Similar problem is noticed in other studies (such as Malavya ; 1956; : 183-4) including those by historians (such as Irfan Habib; 1975 : 36 and S.B Chaudhary; 1957 : 32) who treat the Mutiny of 1857 as the example of 'peasant uprising'. The revolt of the Rajas and Vaziers can not be treated as or equivalent of peasant movements. What is therefore, required is an objective method helpful in developing a workable classification and typology of different types of social movements in India. Before we discuss the theme on the 'types' of movements, it would be beneficial to acquaint the readers the way attempts have been made to formulate a working typology of movements.

Reflection and Action 30.1

Do you know of a social movement which has taken place in your society/ community in the past or present. Give a description of a page on this social movement and in which type of social movement will you place it and why? in another page.

Compare your report with those of others at your Study Center.

30.5 Developing a typology of social movements

Scholars in the field have attempted, on different grounds, at developing a typology of movements. Some illustrative attempts can be described here. As reported by Oommen in his ICSSR's Survey Report of 1969-1979 M.S.A.Rao makes a distinction between three levels of conflicts and social structural changes in society, and correspondingly, arrives at the conception of three types of social movements, namely, *reformist*, *transformative* and *revolutionary* (1985 : 84-85). 'Reform' movements, according to Rao, bring about partial changes in the value-paradigm of society. The 'transformative' usher in middle

level social structural changes. The 'revolutionary' movements, on the other hand, bring about radical changes in the totality of social and cultural systems of society. Ghanshyam Shah, on the basis of the socio-economic characteristics of the participants and the nature of social issues involved, presents eight types of social movements in India (1990:27) These types are: (1).Peasant movements, (2).Tribal movements, (3).Dalit movements, (4).Backward caste movements, (5).Women's movements, (6) Students movements, (7). Middle class movements, and finally, (8).Industrial working class movements. T.K. Oommen offers threefold classification of movements. His classificatory schema is based on the way society responds to the situations of social strains (1985:86-87). Oommen's analysis reflects some degree of methodological realism when he observes that, "None of the attempts made so far is comprehensive enough to encapsulate all varieties of movements found in India" (ibid). It need to be realised that all topologies and classifications are provisional and tentative in nature. In fact, there exists an underlying hypothesis or a theory in light of which grounds of classifications is decided. **Typologies and classifications are tools to help meeting the theoretical requirements of a particular study at hand and to illuminate the nature of empirical realities.**

Rajendra Singh, (1984:93) in his endeavor to develop a relatively more dependable model of classification of social movements into different types has developed a set of three inter-related indicators or questions. These are as presented below:

- a) What were or are the foci of the movements?. The answer of this question would require identifying the axial or central issue at the stake of the movement. It would generally refers to the aims, objective or issues involved in the movement such as those relating to forest and tribes, land and its produce, communal, gender, religious, ecology and environment , industrial workers etc; around which a protesting or angry collectivity of men and women comes into being.
- b) Who are the people who are participating in the movement ?.This question relates to the structure of membership of the people and to their participation in the movement .The identity of the participants belonging to a specific section of society: class, caste, gender or religion or even a region who rise to share the foci or the objectives (a above) of the mobilised collectivity and decide to 'swim or sink together', helps in narrowing down the process of classification to locating a more dependable specific 'type' of movement. And finally,
- c) What is the nature of the adversary group or institution or social practice against whom (which) the movement is launched .The identification of the target group or the 'enemies' of the people, caste, community, gender etc; of the movement

The three indicators, 'Who' 'What' for and against 'Whom', constitute a triangular paradigm of classification of movements into different 'types' such as *peasant ,tribal, dalit, women's , ecology , workers , sub-nationalist* etc;. However, the above classificatory model has also to take into account the changing nature of the contemporary Indian society. In the contemporary setting, India's social and economic character seems to be defined by its movement from an incomplete and *immature modernity* and development to an equally incomplete and *immature post- modernity* (see, Rajendra Singh; 2001:16-8, 43-70). The mutually odd combination of these two types of movements tend to characterize the historico-specific representation of the Indian society. By the phrase 'representation' of society we mean, "...the system of people's ideologies, ideas and concepts; their myths, legends and history; their conception of past, present and future; their defeats, successes, aspirations and struggles"(ibid; 44). There has been discussions on different types of movements such as *old movements, alternative movements classical*

movements, new movements, micro-movements, , proto-movements (ibid; 20) or even as Touraine conceptualizes ' *beyond social movements* ' (Touraine ; 1992). Before we elaborate on the typologies of movements, it is appropriate that a brief discussion on the conception of social movement be presented at this juncture.

It may be realised that social movements are not 'made. It can not be artificially invented. Movements are always the natural expression of the conflictual contents of society that lie at the core of its structure. The very making of society and social structure; the process of stratification of population into unequal stratum: castes, class and occupational groups are based essentially on the principle of in equality. The distribution of social values such as material resources, power, prestige, honour etc; carry the natural condition of conflicts in them The birth of rich and poor, weak and strong, powerful and powerless, the dominant and the dominated in society are the perennial and inescapable social realities conducive to producing relative social deprivation, conflict and opposition among different groups and segments in society. It has been mentioned somewhere that "Movements are not made; much less they are launched or led by leaders. Whenever opportunities permit or human disenchantments exhaust the limit of human perseverance, movements decoil (unfold) automatically and reveal themselves in the actions of the awakened conflictual consciousness of the collectivity. (Rajendra Singh ; 2001: 20) . In the light of the above observations, one can easily identify some of the 'normal types' of social movements. These are: universalism, relativism, social optimism and the idea of self-renewal and self-actualisation. (see for detail, Rajendra Singh ; ibid : 40-41).

Reflection and Action 30.2

You all may have read about the 1857 uprising of Indians against the Colonial rulers. Try to gather more information about this uprising from history text books.

Analyse the different aspects of this uprising and state what type of a social movement it was and why?

Compare your answer with those of other students at your Study Center. You may ask your Academic Counsellor to explain this topic in the context of the 'uprising' as a social movement.

30.6 Old and New Types of movements

The plural and transforming nature of social conflicts in the contemporary India, the claims and contestations of different collectivities; the types of stake they articulate and the nature of the method and style of their mobilisation suggest of two major typological orientations in the themes on movement studies. These orientations help us in identifying the different types of social movements in India. The traditions of movement studies in India have been broadly divided into themes of:

- 1) *the classical tradition,*
- 2) *the neo-classical tradition and finally,*
- 3) *into the contemporary 'new' social movement (hereafter referred to as NSMs) study tradition (Rajendra Singh; 2002 : 89).*

However, by far the most popular and currently widely used classification of themes of movements in types, are those of **Old and New** social movements. The first, refers to the conventional 'old' themes of *peasant, tribe and industrial worker* and other movements. It may be understood, that these old themes, as we shall note bellow, some times continue to persist as the main concern of a number of studies on social movement in India. The second orientation

however, reveals the emergence of new types of movements such as, for example, those on the issues of *identity, environment* and collective mobilisations of people on the questions relating to *gender and social justice* etc.; Some times these two themes tend to overlap upon each other, blurring the line of their mutual separation.

It may be pointed out that the articulation of the conception of *the classical* 'old' and NSMs are found in the writings of a large number of European and American scholars (such as Tilly et al 1975, Tilly ; 1978, 1985, Melucci ; 1980, 1981, 1985, Habermas ; 1981 and 1985, Jean Cohen ; 1982 and 1985 , Arato and Jean Cohen ; 1984, Eyerman ; 1984, Eder; 1985, Offe; 1985, Touraine; 1985, Eyerman and Jamison1991; and Frank and Fuente ; 1987, etc;). Indian and other Asian scholars (such as Omvedt ; 1988, 1989, 1993 ; Rajendra Singh ; 191995, 2000 ; Ramachandra Guha1989 and Wignaraja ; 1993) have already initiated theoretical discussions and field reporting on the questions on relating to the conceptions of 'old' and 'new' social movements.

The classical tradition mostly include the contributions of western social psychologists, such as, G. Tarde's *Law of Imitation* (1903),Gustave Lebon's *The Crowd* (1909), William McDougall's *The Group Mind* (1920) and E. D. Martin's *The Behaviour of Crowd* (cited in Smelser; 19 62 : 20) on the collective behaviour of crowd and riotous mob. These studies did help in laying down of the tradition of collective behaviour studies in social sciences. One may also include William Trotter's study of *Animal behaviour in Peace and War* (1920) which analyses the behaviour of animal in extreme situations. Trotter's study provided a powerful paradigm for similar study of stress and its impact on human behaviour to social science studies on collective behaviour. (b) *The neo-classical* tradition is generally reflected in social movement studies based on the (i) functionalist and (ii) Marxist theoretical models (see, Rajendra Singh ; 2001 : 156-158, 171-174). (i) The functionalist model treats society as an organised 'whole', consisting of interdependent parts or constituent units; the 'whole' is based on value consensus and it has an ability to resolve the problems of *deviance, conflicts, protests and oppositions* by producing appropriate *adjustive-adoptive* and *conflict-resolving* social responses (Berghe ; 1969 : 302-305). The functionalist model had, it seem, a strong organismic root. Walter B. Connan's powerful book, *The Wisdom of Body* (1932) provided a strong analogical base bestowing upon society an inherent restorative ability somewhat akin to the self-healing ability of human body. (ii) The Marxist model is based on a set of conceptions about the idea of *materialistic* conception of *social classes, dialectics as philosophy and methodology* in social sciences, *mode of production* and *class formation, class dialectics, classes and social structure, materialistic conception of history and class transformation and materialistic determinism of history, knowledge and human symbolic expressions including human consciousness etc;* and finally, (d) the contemporary or 'new' social movement tradition. In developing the typologies of traditions in the social movements themes into 'old' and 'new' types, we, on various grounds, include the classical and neo-classical studies into the broad category of 'old' and the contemporary themes, in the category of the 'new' types of social movement study tradition. Each of the above two major types of movements are further divided into sub-types. The sub-types of the 'old' movements are divided in the following traditions: (a) Peasant movements and agrarian struggles; (b) Post-history and peasant consciousness, subaltern studies , (c) Tribal movements , (d) Workers movements (see Rajendra Singh ; 2001 :227). We are going to present first, the social characteristics of 'old' social movements. It will be followed by the characterisation of the 'new' social movements, bellow.

a) Social characteristics of 'old' social movements and their sub-types

- 1) Old or classical social movements have generally been defined by their *class contents*. It has been treated as the child of three major socio-

economic characteristics the contemporary world, namely *capitalism, industrialism and materialism*. Readers may find discussions on these concept in publications (such as Rajendra Singh ; 2001:44-50). Old social movements are therefore, mostly '*class-bound*' movement. The term 'class' is required to be explained. Omvedt insists that the concept of class need to be defined in terms of social Marxist concept of *relations of production* (see for detail, Omvdt; 1982:13) Reduced to its simplest meaning, the term 'class' refers to (a).the division of population into unequal groups; (b). inequality among the groups emerge because of differential distribution of economic resources; (c) a minority group happens to get more share in the ownership and control over the economic resources than it actually requires; others; the majority groups, consequently, gets less than what they actually need; (d) this faulty system of the distribution of economic resources or property gives birth to 'the rich' and 'the poor' or the bourgeoisie and the proletariats classes in society, (e) the poor on account of 'being on the same boat' develop a sense of class unity among themselves and enter into an antagonistic relationship with the class located above them. This antagonistic relationship between the rich and the poor, in course of their dialectical relationship gives rise to what Marxist scholars refer to a 'class struggle'. Most of the studies on peasants and peasant movements (such as, Dhanagare; 1983, Oommen; 1990, Omvedt; 1982 etc;) or those on trade unionism and the working class movements (such as, Giri; 1958, Mathur; 1964, Karnik; 1978 etc) are some of the examples of old movement studies based on class model .

- 2) The class based old social movements tend to have a strong ideological grounding in the conception of 'class struggle', 'class revolution' and in the overthrow of the entire political system of governance and re-establishment of a new social order. Many 'old' social movement studies of Marxist theoretical orientation (such as, Sundaryya ; 1972, Sunil Sen;1982, Mitter; 1977, P.N. Mukherji; 1980 and 197 etc;) envision a radical recasting of society . Phrases such as ' peasant war' (wolf; 1971) or 'agrarian struggle' Desai;1986) have been in usage to orchestrate the revolutionary ethos of the Marxist construction of peasant conflict in the countryside . The role of violence in such types of collective mobilisations are not ruled out as all revolutionary struggles have witnessed the use of violence in wide scale in the name of ' cleaning the system' or 'the 'purging' of the corrupt from the society.
- 3) In the case of old social movements, it may be noted that the adversaries are easily identifiable social groups- a caste or a class. The peasant uprisings in the region of Avadh and eastern districts of the state of Uttar Pradesh (see, M.H Siddiqi; 1978, Rajendra Singh; 1984 respectively) have had a clear image and known identity of the opponent. The category of the rural dominant, then (that is, the abolition of talukdari and zamindari system in 1952, in Uttar Pradesh) who generally belonged to the classes of talukdar and in Avadh and the Zamindars in the zamindari region of East U.P. respectively were clearly identifiable group of rural population. Restive and insurgents; the tenants could name them, blame them and hold them responsible for their misery and the life of subjugation and wretchedness. It were their victimisation at the hands of the local landlords that forced the peasants ultimately to get organised and rise to voice their resentments through collective struggle. Like-wise, the opponents in Shiv Sena movement in the state of Maharashtra, or tribal's uprisings in Jharkhand region, now in the state of Chhattisgarah, have had a clear picture of the Dikhu- the "outsiders" who were held responsible for the tribals exploitation and social miseries. In addition, it can also be pointed out that the opponents or the target of the movements, in most of the cases are or were located in the same locality or region, such were the

situations in the cases of peasants uprisings against the zamindars and talukdars residing in the villages along with the peasants (ibid, Siddiqi; 1978, Rajendra Singh ; 1984).

- 4) And finally, The mass society conception of movements generally reflected in the writings of scholars such as (Lederer; 1940, Arendt; 1951, Kornhauser;1960). Their attempt at presenting a social diagnosis of the contemporary societies present a pessimistic picture of people's place in society. They emphasise on the growing process of social alienation, anomie and the fragmentation of social world one lives in. The image of the modern mass society is characterised by the increasing sense of social rootlessness, facelessness and powerlessness. The individual finds himself in a highly bureaucratised and mechanical social world, finding it difficult as how to orient his relation towards others in different social situations. There is a sense of loss of direction. The dissolution of normative bases of social anticipations expectation produce atomised mass society.

b) Social Characteristics of New Social Movements and their Sub-Types

New NSMs are the reflections of a new 'representation of society characterised by post-capitalism, post- industrialism and post-materialism. In the 1960's and 1970's European and American societies gave rise to large-scale movements around issues and questions which were non-materialistic in nature. These movements generally raised questions which were basically cultural and humanistic. Unlike the region or locality bound old types of social movements, the new movements espouse the goals, objective and values of universalistic application. Their objectives are to defend the essence of the mankind and protect the conditions on which human life depends on .The ideological discourse of the 'new' movements centre around the question of identity, human dignity, peace and social justice. There has been a radical shift from the discussions on capitalism 'class exploitation', class revolution etc;' to the questions of the expanding nature of state power and the shrinking space of the citizen and the civil society. In these new movements, at the stakes are the problems of individual freedom, personal liberty, identity and social equality. These mobilisations did not carry with them the questions of 'employment' 'wage', 'bonus' and economic security as it used to be in the industrial sector or the question of 'land' and 'share' in land produce' as one used to notice in the cases of peasant movements in the countryside. The NSMs can be divided into two sub types.

The ethos of NSMs germinated in India during the Freedom Struggle movement back in the 1920's and 1930's or even earlier .The emphasis on *Swadeshi* (indigenous), village handicraft, self-help, native small scale industries and boycott of foreign goods as weapon to defend the self-identity and to fight against the British colonialism in India , was a part of emancipatory ideology of the Indian National Congress as far back as 1906-10 (Sitaramyia; 1941, 85) The appearance of Mahatma Gandhi on the scene was an epochal event in the long history of India. Mahatma's insistence on *ahimsa* (non-violence), *stayagraha* (insistence on truth), *civil disobedience*, *non-cooperation*, *local-self government* and the call for the restoration of *village panchayats* (ibid; 84, 135,140-41, 160, 195-96, 202-3, 215-216) and on the *spinning wheel and khadi* (charkha and home spun cloth) for winning *swaraj* (independence), self-reliance and social reconstruction of the Indian society was indeed one of the most successful post- industrialist and post-modernist expression of new social movement in the human history. The *bhoodan-gramdan* (Oommen;1972) and *sarvodaya* (Radhakrishna;1987) movements are the example par-excellence of the new social movements in Indian. The contemporary NSMs mirror the image of a new society in the process of its self-making. These movements project a new self-consciousness among the individual and communities about not only their culture and society but also about their future. And in this, the NSMs can be treated as the reflection of the cultural revolt of the contemporary

individual against the exercise of increasing surveillance and control of the state over the civil society on the one hand and on the other hand growing realisation and self- confidence of the civil society that (a) it ought not to place the destiny and future of the mankind in the hands of the state alone; it must remain vigilant against the unwisdom of the state and the political system and; (b) that society has an agency and that it can alter the path of its movements and transformation. The NSMs are divided in (1) **Inclusivist type** of movements, and (2) **Exclusivist type** of movements. For the detail references, discussion and analysis of themes of these types of movements, discussed bellow, the readers are advised to check the relevant literature contained in books (such as Rajendra Singh ; 2001 :88-104, 227-298)

1) **The Inclusivist New movements:** The inclusivist movements actively articulate generally universalised, non-violent and mostly pacifist, pan-humanist homophilic values. In India, the NSM of inclusivist type found its early expressions in the bhoodan-gramdan and sarvodaya movements. In the contemporary setting, the manifestations of inclusivist movements are seen in the forms of mobilisations in the defence of ecology and environment. These movements also find their manifestations in the collective struggles for identity, equality, personal dignity and social justice.

~~Readers may note, that most of the collective protest and mobilisations of women and the Dalits in India belong to this type of inclusivist movements. Farmer's movements fighting the state for fair price of their agricultural produce, cheaper rate of the cost of chemical manure and more reasonable cost of electrical power deal also belong to this type of movement. What is important to note is that these movements are non-~~

political and they do not question the legitimacy of the state. With some degree of variations, most of the NSMs aim at connecting the centres of power with the grassroots localities. As we have suggested earlier NSMs are mostly non-violent in their expressions. However, there can be exceptions. Dalit struggles and mobilisations, mainly an identity-oriented collective protest, some time, may give expressions to caste violence. Movements relating to peace, disarmament, human rights and personal liberty are inclusivist type of NSMs.

Most of the NSMs struggle for social reconstruction of society, ensure equality and social justice for all. They also aim at resolving the social structural anomalies of society- such as discrimination of the human on the basis of caste, community, region and race. These movements are non-radical, non-separatist and non-autonomist. Inclusivist types of movements high light the internal and external structural tensions of the contemporary society, now loudly defined *by market, technology, communication and democratic* upsurge at a global level. The NSMs symbolize cultural pluralism, polymorphy of new types of social conflicts and increasing emphasis on the democratization of all aspects of society.

2) **TheExclusivist movements:** The exclusivist movements generally develop the conception of the 'other' and hold them responsible for their miseries. These movements, instead of integrating the members of the community in socially cohesive 'whole' split the population in 'we' and 'they'. The conception of the 'outsiders' is one of the dominant characterizing element of exclusivist type of movements. In India, the exclusivist type of NSMs find their manifestation in the narrowly defined mobilisation *of subnationalism, community divides and ethnic* demands. The 'son of the soil' paradigm of *subnationalist* and *semi-autonomist* movements belong to exclusivist type of movements. The exclusivist movements, in many cases, articulate demands for socio-spatial enclave with some degree of socio-economic and political autonomy. Most of the exclusivist movements generally give a call to the community to rise in defense of their social,

economic and cultural identity. The mobilising slogan is that the 'purity' and the symbol of their cultural essence and heritage are in danger; requires sacrifice in terms of money, efforts and struggles. The nearest example of the exclusivist movements are the subnationalist mobilisation in the state of Assam with a slogan that, '*Assam is for the Assamese*'. In the recent past, the call for *Gorkhaland* and *Uttarakhand* in north India illustrate the character of exclusivist movements. Further, the regionalist movements of the mainly tribal population of the state of Bihar, in the near past, for Jharkhand state essentially because it has dominantly tribal character, mentioned above in the section on 'old' social movements show the elements of exclusivist NSM. The radical and ultra-radical exclusivist movement some times tend to assume fundamentalist character. The violent struggle for the 'homeland' in Sri Lanka and the fundamentalist struggles with religious orientation being witnessed in some parts of West Asia are wholly in contrast to the homophilic, pan-humanist with universalised goals and values of the inclusivist movements. However, it must be noted that whether NSMs are inclusivist or exclusivist, they are non-class, non-materialistic and mostly non-political movements.

In the light of the above discussion, we are going to identify some of the ideal-typical characteristics of the NSM bellow.

c) **The ideal-typical character of the NSMs**

- 1) Most of the NSMs base their ideological conceptions by imputing a duality between the state and the civil society. The assumption is that the social space of the civil society getting increasingly shrunk the "social" of the civil society is being systematically eroded by the penetration of the expanding tentacles of power and control in almost every aspect of life. What more is disturbing the reality is that the expansion of the state coincide with and overlap upon the process of the expansion of market. The institutions of state and the market grip the civil society so tenaciously that society is rendered helpless in their combined pressure of surveillance and control. NSMs therefore, emerge in the 'self-defense' of the community. The state, in the name of the 'public' interests attempt making encroachment at almost every aspects of the 'private' lives of the individual (see Rajendra Singh ; 2001 : 99). Its perhaps on account of the all-round attack of the state and the market on the civil society the diverse forms and types of NSMs : urban, ecological, anti-authoritarian, anti-institutionalists, feminist, anti-racist, ethnic and regionalist have sprung up in the contemporary society. The site of the struggle have shifted from the traditional workplace of industries and factories, and field and farms. The basic agenda of the NSM is to establish a post-bourgeois, post-industrial, post-materialist democratic civil society. Such an agenda is, indeed, a new phenomenon in the contemporary the post-modern world.
- 2) The NSM radically alter the Marxist paradigm of explaining all forms of social conflict and contradictions in terms of class and class conflicts, a point we have suggested earlier. The Marxist system of the explanation of movements and change in society could not account for the issues emerging from the questions relating to ecology and environment, gender, race, ethnicity etc; Marxism treated all forms of struggles as class struggle and all forms of social conflicts as class conflicts. It went far beyond to assert that human cognition and the consciousness is fashioned by the material forces and conditions of society. Further, it went to treated all forms of social groupings and organisation as class grouping and class organisation. It may be realised that many types of contemporary struggles, such as those of anti-racism, disarmament. Feminist and environmentalist movements are not class struggle, nor do they reflect movements of classes. The groupings in the above movements are not class grouping -

they often go beyond class confines. Marxism as a method and a general theory of explanation in social sciences is in shambles; at the face of the new social reality, it has totally collapsed both as philosophy as well as methodology of science. Marxism saw all forms of conflict located in the class structure of society. In the contemporary setting of societies conflicts spill over space wider than the space of classes and often crossing over the boundaries of a nation and society. Contemporary movements are trans-cultural, trans-national and trans-political systems of societies. NSMs raise questions and issues of universal nature, relating to future of the humankind. Their goals and values are global and overarching the width of mankind. Their agenda include issues relating to disarmament, peace, nuclear pollution and nuclear war; issues regarding the defence of the planet (the earth), ecology, environment and human right .The ideological paradigm of the NSMs go beyond the confines of materialistic determinism and successfully overcome the inabilities of Marxism.

- 3) With the collapse of Marxism, it became evident that the class background does neither determine the identity of the actor nor define the nature of its stakes. Therefore the NSMs generally abandon the industrial worker model of union organisation as well as the political model of political parties. With the exception of the German Green and the Green Party, most of the NSMs evolve grass-root politics , initiate grass-root actions , micro-movements participated by small groups and struggle for localised issues and questions with small institutional base. The new movements generally, produce horizontally organised democratic associations, “ that are loosely federated at the national level (Jean Cohen; 1985 : 667) According to Cohen the NSMs target the social domain of the civil society rather than launching an attack on the economy and the state (ibid).The chief social characteristics of the NSMs are seen in its self-limiting nature. According to Cohen, (ibid ;1985 : 679) they are self-limiting in four senses as presented below.
 - a) Generally, the actor in NSM's do not struggle for the return of the utopian undifferentiated communities of the past,
 - b) The actors struggle for the autonomy, plurality and difference, without rejecting the egalitarian principles of democracy, parliament, political participation and public representation of its juridical structures,
 - c) The actors make a conscious efforts to learn from their past experiences, to relativise their values through reasoning, except in the cases of the fundamentalist expressions of the NSMs, and finally,
 - d) The actors in the NSM's accept the legitimacy of the state and the formal existence of the market.

30.7 Conclusion

We have tried to identify social movements as a specific form of conflictual collective action. The structure of conflict and their typology suggesting their linkage, in some cases, with the different forms of movements have been discussed and highlighted in some detail. There has been an attempt to convey to the readers that the nature and types of social movements are related to the nature of the 'representation' of society. The 'representation' of society defined mainly by capitalism, industrialism, materialism and modernism generally gave rise to 'classical', 'neo-classical' or **old** social movements. The transformation of society from capitalism, industrialism, materialism and modernism to post-capitalism, post-industrialism, post-materialism and post-modernism gave rise to an altogether new forms of collective action, we refer to them as NSMs. Social movements, at this juncture get divided in two different types, namely, the **old** and the **new** social movements. The new social movement went under further sub-division into different sub-types.

The major sub-types have been those of **Exclusivist and Inclusivist** types of NSMs. Each of these two major sub-types of the NSMs is divided into separate types.

It may be remembered, that no system of classification is complete and perfect. The relevance of classification is defined by their ability to and effectiveness in simplifying social reality and help rendering their explanation. The application of the classificatory principle of 'resemblance' and 'difference' has to be carried on with caution keeping in mind the nature of social reality one is classifying.

30.8 Further Reading

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Unit 31

Peasants Movements

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31.1 Introduction

The central concern of this unit is to examine the various dimensions of the peasant movements. This unit is presented within the conceptual framework of social movements and collective identity formation. It begins with a conceptual discussion on peasants and peasant movements. It also briefly deals with the social background of the emergence and the processes of manifestations of the radical peasant movements. The transformation of peasant movements from the phase of the radical to the reformative of these peasant movements and the various dimension of this transformation are also discussed in this unit.

31.2 Conceptualizing Peasants and Peasant Movements

Let us begin with some conceptual clarifications. In this section we shall be discussing the concept of peasants, peasant caste interface and peasant movements.

a) Peasants

Historically peasants have had paradoxical social identities. In social science literature they have been depicted on the one hand as reactionary, conservative, awkward, homologous, incomplete-part society and dependent, on the other as revolutionary, progressive, self-conscious, heterogeneous and self-sufficient social category with the potential for autonomous collective action. However, notwithstanding such paradoxes, social scientists have broadly underlined the subordinated, marginalized and underdog position of the peasantry in human society. In the sociological and the anthropological literature peasants have widely been described as *culturally* 'unsystematic, concrete tradition of many, unreflective, unsophisticated and the non-literati constituting the mosaic of the "little tradition" (Redfield 1956), 'incomplete' and a 'part society with part cultures' (Kroeber 1948). *Politically* they are found to occupy an 'underdog position and are subjected to the domination by outsiders (Shanin 1984), unorganized and deprived of the knowledge required for organised collective action (Wolf 1984: 264-65). In the *economic term*, they are identified to be the small producers for their own consumption (Redfield 1956), subsistence cultivators (Firth 1946) who produce predominantly for the need of the family rather than to make a profit (Chayanov 1966). *Historically*, peasants have always borne the brunt of the extreme forms of subordination and oppression in society. However the specific socio-economic conditions of their existence

have largely shaped the roles of the peasantry in social change and transformation.

In the context of the 18th century peasantry in France Karl Marx highlighted that their mode of production had isolated them from one another. To him, 'they are formed by simple addition of homologous magnitude, such as potatoes in a sack form a sack of potatoes' (Marx 1974:231). To Lenin, however, the peasantry in late 19th- and early 20th-century Russia was differentiated by the unequal patterns of landholding, income and by their contact with the market as well. To him, there was a striking difference between the working peasant and the peasant profiteers. While the former was a faithful ally of the working class, the later was an ally of the capitalist (Lenin, 1919rpt, 1972:497-498). On the other hand Kautsky has highlighted the process of the dissolution of self-sufficient peasant households in the wake of penetration of capitalist urban industry, increasing rural and urban divide and the growing indebtedness and landlessness of the peasantry in Russia (Kautsky 1899 rpt.1988). Antonio Gramsci has seen the peasantry in the context of Italy as a part of a larger socio-political order and not a discrete entity. Having understood the nature of peasantry's subordination, Gramsci highlighted that their subordination could be broken through the alliance of workers and peasants and through the development of class-consciousness among the peasants (cf. Arnold 1984: 161-62). Frantz Fanon while studying the peasantry in the context of Algeria, points out that in colonial countries they play a revolutionary role in bringing about change in the social and political order of society. To him, peasants are posited to a situation where 'they have nothing to lose and everything to gain' by way of their participation in the change (Fanon 1971: 47). Alavi highlights the crucial roles played by the middle peasantry in the Russian and Chinese revolutions (Alavi 1965). However in his observation on the peasantry in South Asia, he points out that peasant 'finally and irrevocably takes the road to revolution only when he is shown in practice that the power of his master can be irrevocably broken; then the alternative mode of existence becomes real to him (Alavi 1973: 333-34). Barrington Moore while recognizing the revolutionary role of the peasantry in the radical movements, points out that such roles are dependent on the structure of power and the class alignments within a society. Turning to India, he mentions that because of the passive character of the Indian peasantry and the specific structural features of Indian society, which is dominated by caste, religion and ethnic considerations, peasantry has not been able to play any revolutionary role in the country (1966).

b) Peasants Caste Interface in India

Peasants in India represent a vast mass landless agricultural labourer, sharecroppers, tenants, poor artisans and small and marginal cultivators having a close social interface with the socially deprived, like the scheduled tribes, scheduled castes, other backward classes and women. The so-called 'outcastes' of the *Varna* hierarchy in the real sense of the term form the core of the peasantry in rural India. In the localized vocabulary peasants are denoted by the usage like *kisan*, *krishak*, *roytu*, *chashi*, etc. more or less indicating cultivators who cultivate land with their own labour, and also the categories, namely, *adhiar* and *bhagchashi* (sharecropper and tenant) and *majdoor*, *majur*, *collie*, *pait*, *krishi shramik*, etc. agricultural labourers. These terms signify specific cultural connotations, which are more often than not used to indicate the marginalized and inferior status of these categories in the agrarian society as against the superior categories like *bhuswami*, *malik*, *jotedar*, *bhadralok*, etc., whose major source of earning is from the land, but without getting manually involved in the process of cultivation. Thus peasants are a socially and economically marginalised, culturally subjugated and politically disempowered social groups who are attached to land to eke out a subsistence living.

The peasant societies in India have widely been affected by the broad process of social transformation caused by the introduction of land reforms, rural development initiatives and new agricultural technology and the rejuvenation of the Panchayati Raj Institutions. However, studies conducted in several parts of the country (SinghaRoy 1992, 1995; Rogaly 1999; Mukherjee and Chattopadhyay 1981; Byres 1981 and many others) show that such changes have only partially altered the core issue of livelihood security of the peasantry who have still remained economically marginalized, predominantly becoming either landless, semi-landless, marginal or small cultivators without possessing advanced means of cultivation. The age-old association between this lowest ritual status and low economic position has always provided a basis for their socio-economic marginalization, political dis-empowerment and collective mobilization in the peasant movements and in various struggles against their oppression in society

c) Peasant Movements

An important dimension of a social movement is its life history and the process of transformation it undergoes. The movement may emerge to be routinized accompanying a decline in support for the movement. The movement may also acquire a reformative character. In Indian context there has been the processes of transformation of social movements from that of the intensive phase of radical action to institutionalization (SinghaRoy 1992, Oommen 1984).

Peasant movements are important variants of social movements (Dhangare 1983). These movement can be categorized in terms of their ideological orientation, forms of grassroots mobilization, and orientation towards change as 'radical' and 'institutionalised' to analyze their dynamics. A 'radical peasant movement' is viewed as a non-institutionalized large-scale collective mobilization initiated and guided by radical ideology for rapid structural change in peasant society. A 'institutionalised' peasant movement', on the other hand, is one where institutionalized mass mobilization is initiated by recognized bodies for a gradual change in the selected institutional arrangement of society. It has been observed that peasant movements, however, are not discretely radical or reformative, rather one may be an extension of another through transition over a period of time (SinghaRoy 1992: 27), that the process of mobilization and institutionalization do coexist and that institutionalization provides the new possibilities of mobilization (Oommen 1984: 251) and that the process of transformation of these movements from 'radical' to 'institutionalised' directly affects the process of new collective identity formation of the peasantry.

31.3 Peasants Identity in Revolutionary Movements

Social isolation, cultural segregation and economic exploitation have accentuated the historical processes of marginalisation and political subordination of the peasants. The collective realizations and awareness of the peasants on these issues have resulted into the outbreak of various historical peasants' movements in the world. Wolf highlighted several historical revolutions and political upheavals, fought with peasant support, that have shaken the world of twentieth century. To him, peasants participated in the great rebellions because of the suffering caused by the demographic crisis, ecological crisis and the crisis in power and authority. As the poor peasants depend on the landlord for their livelihood they are 'unlikely to pursue the course of rebellion unless they are able to rely on some external power to challenge the power which constrains them'. To him there are two components of the peasantry, which possess sufficient internal leverage to enter into sustained rebellion: "landowning middle peasantry; a peasantry located in a peripheral area outside the domains of landlord control." He also points out that the 'peasant rebellions of the 20th century are no longer simple response to local problems, if indeed they ever were. They are but parochial reactions

to major social dislocations set in motion by overwhelming societal changes" (Wolf, 1984: 269-271).

~~What have been the nature of political identity and action of the peasantry~~ in the peasant movements? Shanin points out that in history the peasantry many time has acted politically as a "class like" social entity. 'Their common interests have driven the peasants into political conflict with large capitalist landowners, with various groups of town men and with the modern state'. To him, in a modern society its character as a social entity determines the patterns of peasant's political action and influence. He identified three main types of these actions: **independent class action** (as formulated in the Marxian class analysis; **guided political action** (in which the peasantry is moved by an external uniting power elite); and the **fully autonomous, amorphous political actions** in the form of: *local riots* and *passive resistance* of the peasant (Shanin, 1984: 256-58)

To Shanin, army and guerilla action plays a crucial role in the political life of the peasants. These actions represent the peasantry as 'class-for-itself.' Such actions according to him enhance the potential of the peasant to act politically and to think nationally. 'The professional rebels, national wide ideological and organizational cohesion, their stability and zeal and their ability to work out a long term strategy may enable them to unite the peasantry, sometimes transforming its revolt into a successful revolution (Ibid. 261).

Alavi (1971) highlights the crucial roles played by the middle peasantry in the revolutions of Russia and China. To him, it is the middle peasantry, and not the small peasantry, who gave the major stimulation to peasant rebellions. Barrington Moore (1966) while recognised the revolutionary role of the peasantry in the radical movements, points out that such roles are dependent on the structure of power and the class alignments in the society. Turning to India, he mentions that because of the passive character of the Indian peasantry and the specific structural features of India society which are dominated by caste, religion, and the ethnic considerations peasantry has not been able to play any revolutionary role.

(Revolutionary Role in India Freedom Movement)

31.4 Radical Peasant Movement in India

To highlight the diversified facets of the peasant movements we shall discuss some aspects of the peasant movements in India, since India has been the hotbed of several peasant movements. Peasant movements, however, are not episodic. These undergo a process of transformation along with the broad social, economic and political transformation of the society. Many of these peasant movements have retained their continuity with the past, by maintaining legacy of the celebrated peasant movements in one way or the other. However, the contemporary peasant movements have undergone substantial changes in the ideological orientation, leadership, organisation, and significantly in the forms of collective mobilisation and the tactical line of action. All these have affected the process of gross-root mobilization, process of new identity formation and transformation of radical peasant movements into an institutionalized one. Peasant movements, however, are not discretely radical or reformative, rather one may be an extension of another though transition over a period of time (SinghaRoy 1992: 27) The process of transformation of the peasant movement from 'radical' to 'reformative' directly affect the process of new collective identity formation of peasantry. Is the process of new identity formation of the peasantry autonomous of the issues, aims and ideology of a given social movement? Do they acquire an autonomous identity in the process of transformation of the movement from radicalization to institutionalization?

The process of transformation of the peasant has affected not only the form and extent of their participation in these movements, but also the very essence of their collective identity formation, the nature of the autonomy of these mobilizations and the new identity formed therein. However, the direction of transformation of the peasant movement and their consequent implication for the peasantry has not been the same across the country because of the diverse patterns of economic development and social and political formations in the peasant societies.

Since the middle of the last century the peasant societies of Indian experienced three vehement peasant movement. The poor peasantry of undivided Bengal revolted for the peasant societies of Indian experienced three vehement peasant movement: The poor peasantry of undivided Bengal revolted for Tebhaga (two-third of the share of the produce from land) 1946-47. Peasantry of the Telengana region of Andhra Pradesh revolted against the landlords, moneylenders and the state for the abolition of forced labour, forced collection of high rate of interest and for their indignity in the society in 1948-52; and the peasantry of Naxalbari of the West Bengal revolted against the local landlords money lenders and the state in (1967-71).

Though the Tebhaga, Telangana and the Naxalite movements took place in different geographical places and in different period of time, there are some striking similarities among these movements:

- a) Increasing landlessness, poverty, under employment and various types of social and economic deprivation of the backward classes Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and their exploitation by the upper caste landowners and money lenders were the major issues involved in this movement
- b) All these movements were organised under the auspice of the organisation and leadership of the Communists(of different political establishments)
- c) All these movements were ideologically radical in nature. These movements challenged the normative and the pre-existing institutional arrangements of the society.
- d) Uninstitutionalised collective mobilization and action were sponsored in these movements.
- e) These movements were immediately directed against the traditional landlords, police administration and other apparatus of the state
- f) These movements looked for a radical change in the pre-existing agrarian arrangements of the society
- g) Though the leadership of these movements came mostly from the urban intellectuals and the higher caste groups, the poor peasantry especially from the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, were the main driving forces in these collective mobilizations
- h) All these movements experienced the phenomenal participation of women in all phases of progression of the collective mobilization; and exploitation of women by the upper caste landowners had become a prominent issue in these movements.

31.5 The Tebhaga Movement (1946-47)

The Tebhaga movement was manifested in the undivided Bengal in mid 1940s centering around a demand for *tebhaga* (two-third shares) by sharecroppers of their produce for themselves, instead of one-half traditionally given to them by the *jotedars*—a class of intermediary landowners. This movement grew against the backdrop of the flourishing interest of the intermediary class of landowners on the one hand and that of the deterioration of the economic status of the agricultural labourers, sharecroppers and poor peasants on the

other. The deteriorating economic condition of the lowest strata was reflected in the rapid expansion in the number of the sharecroppers and agricultural labourers in the Bengal agrarian society of the time. Report of the Land Revenue Commission in 1940 observed that of 8,547,004 inquired acres all over the Bengal Province undivided Bengal 592,335 acres were transferred, of which 31.7 per cent was turned over to *barga* (sharecropping) and 24.6 per cent to under-tenants (LRC 1940, Vol. 2: 120). The traders, moneylenders and intermediary landowners exploited to the hilt the poverty of the poor peasant and lent him money at usurious rates of interest. When the poor peasant was unable to repay the debt and lost his land to the creditor, he was resettled on the same land on condition that he handed over half of the produce to the creditor. The peasants who were not settled on it as sharecroppers became agricultural labourers. The Land Revenue Commission pointed out in 1940 that agricultural labourers constituted 22.5 per cent of the total number of families of Bengal (LRC 1940, Vol. 2: 117-20).

The exploitative intermediacy systems of land tenure, which was introduced through the Permanent settlement, had furthered the process of downward mobilisation of the peasantry of Bengal. The emerging patterns of exploitation and social oppression, impoverishment and pauperization of the peasantry got institutionalized during the British rule (Rasul 1974). Questions pertaining to the deteriorating economic condition of the peasantry received organised focus since early 1920s with the formation of the Communist Party of India (CPI) 1921, the Workers and Peasants Party (WPP) 1922 and the Krishak Praja Party (KPP) in 1929. The Bengal Kisan Sabha (VKS), a provincial branch of the All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS) was formed in 1936. The KPP won the provincial election with promise to abolish the intermediary system of land ownership. In alliance with the Congress it formed the first popular Ministry in Bengal and subsequently appointed the Land Revenue Commission in 1938 to look in to the agrarian issues. This commission recommended in 1940 that "All *bargadars* should be treated as tenants, that the share of the crops legally recoverable from them should be one-third, instead of half" (Vol. I, 1940: 69). However as the KPP did a volte-face on agrarian problems the government showed no urgency for implementing the recommendation of the Land Revenue Commission the AIKS began to radicalize its agrarian programme. In November 1946 the BKS passed a resolution in Calcutta for ' *Tebhaga*' (two thirds share of the produced crops) for the sharecroppers and ' *langal jar janin tar*' (land to the tiller).

North Bengal, especially the Dinajpur district became centre of the BKS activism because of the high intensity of the sharecropping system of land cultivation there. The poor peasantry of Khanpur village, who were mostly from the scheduled castes (Rajbansi, Polia, and Mali), the scheduled tribes (the Oroan, Colkamar Santal) and ex-tribes (Mahato) responded spontaneously to this movement. When the movement escalated into mass action, the sharecroppers began to harvest paddy and carry it to their own *kholan* (courtyard) under the instructions of the local leaders. In a surcharged situation of heightening tension the local (landowner filed a FIR against the sharecroppers. Early on the morning of 20 February 1947 police entered the village and arrested a few sharecroppers. This news spread like wildfire all over the village, and an alarm was raised by the beating of drums, blowing conch shells and beating gongs and utensils by the peasant women. The village and its environs reverberated to the sounds of drums, tin jars, gongs and conch shells. A vast mass of poor peasants and sharecroppers from both Khanpur and its neighbouring villages, armed with bows and arrows, *lathis* and axes, surged on the police. They demanded the release of their sharecroppers. But the police were adamant and ended up firing 119 rounds, injuring hundreds and killing 22 sharecroppers, including two women.

The episode of Khanpur triggered off the *Tebhaga* movement very quickly in

most part of Bengal. Poor peasants ignoring their conventional ties with the landowners declined to share half of their produce with the landowners. Protest, firing, killing became part of this agrarian society in 194. However the colonial rulers used all possible repressive measures to crash this movement by introducing a reign of terror in the rural areas.

31.6 The Telangana Movement (1946-52)

The Telangana Movement (1946-52) of Andhra Pradesh was fought against the feudal oppression of the rulers and local landowners. The agrarian social structure of Hyderabad emerged to be very oppressive in 1920s and thereafter. The process of the sub-infeudation in the landholding accentuated the insecurity of the tenants and the poor peasants. In rural Telangana's political economy, the *jagirdars* and *deshmukhs*, locally known as *dora*, played a dominant role. They were the intermediary landowners with higher titles cum moneylenders-cum-village officials and were mostly from the upper caste or influential Muslim community background. Because of their privileged economic and political status they could easily subject the poor peasantry to extra-economic coercion through the *vetti* (force labour) system. At the bottom of the agrarian hierarchy were the untouchable castes and tribal groups, such as the Konda, Reddy, Koyas, Chenchus, Lambodis and Banjaras. The lower strata of the agrarian hierarchy had a sub-human level of existence. The Harijans and the tribals were the worst sufferers under this system (Dhanagare, 1983). Besides the unbridled feudal exploitation, the Muslim ruler also maintained the utter isolation of from the vast masses of his Hindu subjects (Sundarayya, 1985).

The Indian National Congress, Andhra Jana Sangam and Andhra Maha Sabha (AMS) raised the issue of poor condition of the peasantry of Telengana since late 1920s. Several resolutions were passed against the *jagirdari* and the *vetti* system by the AMS. Under the auspices of the AMS the Jagir Ryotu Sangham was formed in 1940 to bring pressure upon the government to solve the problems of the *jagir* peasants working under the *jogirdars*. Significantly the Andhra Communist Party was established in 1934. After the ban on the Communists was lifted in 1942, they captured the leadership of AMS. They raised the issues of 'abolition of *vetti*', 'prevention of rack-renting and eviction of tenants', 'reduction of taxes, revenue and rents', 'confirmation of occupancy (*patta*) rights of the cultivating tenants', and so on. All these processes of mobilisation of the peasantry increased tensions in the rural areas of Telengana, which ultimately culminated into the political consciousness of the peasants, and gradually there was a new awakening (Kannabiran, V., Lalitha, K. et al. 1989.)

It was against such forced labour and illegal exaction and against eviction of the poor tenants that the peasantry of the Telangana region of Hyderabad State, waged innumerable struggles. The beginnings of the Telangana armed struggles were against the atrocities of Vishnur Ramchandra Reddy, the *deshmukh* in Jangaon tehsil of Nalgonda district, in 1946, when his goondas attacked and murdered Doddi Komarayya, the local Andhra Mahasabha worker, in Kadivendi village on July 4 (Sundarayya, 1985:13-14). This incident intensified the struggle between the landlords openly supported by the Nizam's government and the poor peasantry organized by the CPI in the disguise of the AMS.

The movement took a new turn with India attaining independence in 1947, and the subsequent refusal of the Nizam to join the Indian Union. The CPI openly called for a guerrilla struggle against the *razakars* (state paramilitary wing) and the government forces by forming village defence committees and by providing arms training to the *dalams* (armed squads). The administrative machinery of the Nizam came to a standstill in nearly 4000 villages. In its place were established *gram rajyas* (village administrative units). *Vetti* was abolished, and some 1.2 million acres of land was redistributed very quickly. Unpaid debts

were cancelled, tenants were given full tenancy rights, toddy tappers got back rights over trees, untouchability was abolished and a new social awareness became visible. Armed women defended themselves against the *razakars* (K. Lalita, V. Kannabirn et.al. 1989: 14). With the Nizam refusing to merge with the independent Indian Union, the Indian government initiated army action against the Nizam, and subsequently against the CPI in September 1948. The CPI adopted the path of a protracted struggle. They planned for a liberated area and intensified their struggle. However, it was very difficult for the communist cadres in Telangana to withstand the Indian Army. Several hundred peasant rebels were killed. Many died for lack of shelter and support. With the Nizam already overthrown by the Indian Army, the logic of the movement was re-thought by the leaders and the common peasantry of Telangana. In 1951 the politbureau of the CPI called off the struggle.

Sundarayya (1985) presents an overall balance-sheet of this peasant uprising: 'As many as 4000 communists and peasant militants were killed; more than 10,000 communist cadres and people's fighters were thrown into detention camps and jails for a period of 3-4 years; no fewer than 50,000 people were dragged into police and military camps from time to time, there to be beaten, tortured and terrorized for weeks and months together. Several lakhs of people in thousands of villages were subjected to police and military raids and to cruel lathi-charges; the people in the course of these military and police raids lost property worth millions of rupees, which were either looted or destroyed; thousands of women were molested and had to undergo all sorts of humiliations and indignities' (Sundarayya, 1985:4).

31.7 Naxalite Movement (1967-71)

The agrarian society of independent India experienced a new epoch in the history of peasant movements with the peasant uprising of May 1967 under the Naxalbari *thana* of Darjeeling district of West Bengal. Immediately after the country's independence, the Govt. of West Bengal enacted the West Bengal Estate Acquisition Act (1953) to abolish the *zamindari* and other intermediary systems and the West Bengal Land Reform Act (1955) to put a ceiling on landholdings, to reserve for the sharecroppers 60 per cent of the produced share, and to put a restriction on the eviction of sharecroppers. However due to the lack of the political will the progressive provisions of these acts remained in the statute book only. Moreover eviction of the tenants and the sharecroppers, sharp downward mobility of the peasants, their economic insecurity and unemployment emerged to be the integral part of the agrarian society of that period. The sharecroppers who constituted 16 per cent of the rural households in 1952-53 came down to 2.9 per cent in 1961-62. Though because of malafide land transfer proportion of the marginal and the small cultivators increased among the rural population, in real term poor peasantry was under going a desperate situation caused by their livelihood insecurity. This was clearly visible from the phenomenal increase of the agricultural labourers from 15.3% in 1961 to 26.2 in 1971 and the decline of the category of cultivators 38.5% to 32 % during the same period (Census of India 1961, 1971). Significantly the All India Credit Committee in its report of 1968 pointed out to the 'emergence of sharp polarization between classes in the rural areas' (Govt. of India: 1968)

In this backdrop while the economic condition of the poor peasantry was deteriorating, the political happenings in West Bengal took a new turn. In February 1967 the United Front (dominated by the communal parties viz. CPI, CPI (M) RSP etc.) came to with the promise like 'land to the tiller', 'proletarian rule', etc. The United Front pledged to implement the land reforms, promising land to all landless households and invited more militant initiatives from the peasantry as an organized force (Banerjee 1980: 105). The Left political parties

had initiated rigorous mobilisation of the peasantry in the Naxalbari areas since the early 1960s when the landowners of the Naxalbari region started large-scale eviction of sharecroppers. The CPI-M Darjeeling district committee started to organize the peasants on a militant footing after the United Front Government was formed.

The Naxalite movement spread rapidly in many parts of the country, protracted arm resistance, declaration of liberated area, killing and arrest became a regular phenomena in the agrarian society of West Bengal. By the end of June 1967 the CPI-M leadership came out against the Naxalbari leaders, calling them 'an organized anti-party group advocating an adventurist line of action'. Nineteen members were then expelled from the party. The rift was complete. Moving through the stages of the Naxalbari Peasant's Struggle Aid Committee and a Coordination Committee, the CPI-ML was finally formed in May 1969 by the organized militant groups (Chatterjee 1998: 89).

31.8 Emerging Agrarian Social Structure and Peasant Movements

The agrarian societies of Andhra Pradesh (AP) and West Bengal (WB) have undergone a phenomenal change since the proliferation of the radical peasant movements. Both the states have initiated the elaborated land reform programmes affecting the agrarian social structure therein. However, the story of implementation of land reform laws has not been the same in AP and WB. AP has achieved a very low rate of success in acquiring and distributing surplus vested lands among the rural poor. West Bengal, however, has achieved a phenomenal success in this regard. In Andhra, till July 1992, only 0.729 million acres of land was declared 'surplus vested', of which 0.549 million acres was taken possession of and 0.504 million acres distributed among beneficiaries. In West Bengal, 1.229 million acres of land was declared surplus vested, of which 1.201 million acres was taken possession of and 0.936 million acres distributed. A recent report shows that the Government of West Bengal had, till September 2000, distributed 1.045 million acres of land amongst 2.544 million beneficiaries. During this period the names of 1.495 million sharecroppers were recorded involving an area of 1.105 million acres of land (Government of West Bengal 2002). This process of implementation of land reforms has diversely affected the patterns of landholding and the agrarian relations prevailing in Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal.

Table 1 shows that over the years the percentage of the marginal cultivators has increased in both the states. However, in WB the percentage increase of the marginal cultivators has been phenomenal with 23.84% and there has been a steady decline of all other categories all over the years including the small cultivators. On the other hand the emergence of the marginal cultivators have not been that sharper in AP with only 13.15%.

It is significant that marginal holding has been the mode of land ownership in West Bengal for the vast majority of the landowning household. That more than 40% of the marginal cultivators possess land of below 0.20-hectare size. All the small and the marginal cultivators are putting together represent a total of 70% of the land owning households in West Bengal. For Andhra

Pradesh they represent around 44% of the landowning household. However, the average size of land ownership is very low in West Bengal i.e. only 0.46 hectare while for A.P this is 0.78 hectare. The landless and the semi-landless constitute as high as 53.4% of the rural households in West Bengal and around 46% in A.P. Significantly in spite of land reform their proportion in the rural society is progressively increasing.

As against the broad scenario peasant movements have acquired new dimension in these states. Over the years the Left Parties have emerged to be the proud owners of a historical heritage of radical peasant movements. As the old issues were not resolved even after the proliferation of the radical movements poor peasants of West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh was continuously mobilized on the issues of land reform and rural development especially by the communists. In West Bengal mobilization of the peasantry got a momentum since the United Left Front government has come into power in 1977. Indeed regular mobilization of the peasants has since been made to be a vehicle for the implementation of the land reform and rural development schemes. In Andhra Pradesh on the other hand the communist who are in opposition and the radical outfit of the communists mobilize the peasant on regular basis on several issues. Some of the emerging features of the agrarian social structure and mobilization of the peasants in three villages with the background radical movements are described below.

The rural society of Andhra Pradesh specially of the Telangana region have been experiencing constant mobilization of the peasants. It has experienced the vehement out burst of the celebrated Telangana movement. This area has a high concentration of the Scheduled Castes and Other Backward Caste household in the category of poor peasants. It is only partially agriculturally developed and land reform has been implemented only to a limited extent. Indeed land reform has not been able to alter the pre-existing agrarian arrangement as the old landlords (who are mostly the absentee landlords now) control a vast part of the village lands through their relatives living in the neighbouring areas. In this backdrop landless and the marginal cultivators who are also associated with various non-agricultural activities form the bulk of the peasantry. Though the alternative economic activities have been an inseparable part of livelihood security of the peasantry here, these have not widened the process of economic mobility among them. Thus the peasantry of this village has remained more or less economically homogenous.

In recent years this village has been experiencing the extensive and frequent mobilizations of the poor peasantry under the auspices of the various Naxalite Groups and the other political parties. The peasants are thus exposed to various categories of political activities organised by Andhra Pradesh Civil Liberties Committees (APCLC), Organisation for the Protection of Democratic Rights, Citizens Forum, Thudum Debba (militant organisation of the Scheduled Tribes), Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS- an organisation of Scheduled Castes) Ryto Seva Samithi, Jala Sandhana Samithi (demanding irrigation facilities for the peasants), CPI(ML) (People's War) and various other Naxalite outfits, besides the regular political parties viz., Telegu Desam Party, National Congress' Bharatiya Janata Party, Communist Party of India and the Telangana Rastriya Samiti (TRS). Various NGOs are also active in this area. Identification and distribution of surplus vested lands, speedy and impartial implementation of the development schemes, employment generation programme, irrigation, health, road, school etc facilities, harassment of the villagers by the police, suicide by the farmers, reservation for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, compensation to the rape victim, prohibition, regional autonomy etc. have been the major issues for the mobilization of the peasantry of this area. Mobilisation is by and large institutionalized even though PWG plays a crucial role in their mobilisation. Significantly, wider economic and political processes are at time explained to be the cause of localised problem of the peasantry here. For example poverty, illiteracy and unemployment etc. of these peasants are explained in terms of the Telegu domination over the Telangana. The peasants are however very secretive about their political identity and frequently use political passivity as a weapon of their political action. With the organizational support from outside, leadership has been generated from within whereby the peasants have been trained to articulate and to talk of various societal issues politically. In the process of the mobilisation of the peasantry

the historical categories of caste, gender, regional, ethnically etc. have acquired several new meaning and significance.

The Tebhaga movement infected areas of West Bengal has remained symbolically a political hot bed for the mobilization of poor peasantry. Since mid 1980s this area has emerged to be agriculturally developed and occupationally diversified. Though land reform programme has been rigorously implemented, marginal and insignificant landholding has not been able to ensure economic security of the poor peasantry. Various new issues are cropped up in the village viz, problem of unemployment of the educated youth, road, transport and education facilities etc, implementation of the state sponsored development schemes, total literacy campaign, child and health care facilities, representation of women in the statutory bodies and so on. All political parties (CPI, CPI(M), RSP, and Indian National Congress, the Trinamul Congress) cutting across the ideological and organisational barriers raise similar issues. Significantly there has been frequent defection of political party supporters from one group to another.

Mobilisation has been absolutely institutionalized in this area. As peasantry occupies diverse economic positions the form and extent of their participation to the mobilisation have been diversified in nature. A large section of peasantry does not follow the path of political mobilisation for economic gain and has developed critical attitude for the leader. However, a section of the peasants because of their persisting poverty has emerged to be dependent on the political leaders to get the benefits of the development schemes for their livelihood security. They are indeed the poorest segment of the peasantry of this village and are available for all types of mobilisation.

Similarly the Naxalbari area also has remained agriculturally backward. Though there is a trend towards occupational diversification, none of these options has emerged to be economically viable except for the jobs in the plantation. Peasantry of these villages has remained more or less economically homogenized and the bulk of the peasantry of these villages is from the Scheduled Caste and Tribal background.

There have emerged multifaceted political mobilisations spearheaded by the CPI(M), Trinamul Congress, Indian National Congress, SUCI and the various groups of the Naxalite outfits viz, COI(M-L) (Kanu Sanyal), CPI(M-L) (Mahendra Mukherjee), CPI(M-L) (New Democracy.), CPI (M-L) (Janashakti), CPI(M-L) (Liberation.), Maoist Communist Centre (MCC), CPI(ML) - 2ND Central Committee, CPI(ML) - Party Unity etc. Of late, activists of Kamtapuri movement have also started organizing peasantry of these villages. There has been large-scale participation of the peasantry in all types of political mobilisation and collective action; and over the years these have shown an increasing trend. The most important occasions for these activisms have been that of participation in the meeting, processions and in the elections campaign, and on other various localised issues.

Notwithstanding the presence of the large number of the Naxalite groups and propagation of a section of the Naxalite for non-participation in the parliamentary democracy mobilisation process has remained largely institutionalized. Peasants are however divided among themselves not as much based on economic differentiation, as on their political association to political parties. Their association to political party moreover is not based on their conviction to political ideology; rather it is part of their survival need. Peasantry is very open and vocal about their political affiliation. Due to the prevailing agricultural backwardness and poverty the peasantry have emerge to be dependent on the political leaders. These relations prevent them to be critical of their leaders. A

31.9 Change in Collective Mobilization

Over the years there have been phenomenal changes in the pattern of collective mobilisation of the peasants. The Tebhaga, Telangana and the Naxalite movements even though were fought in different places and at different points of time, ideologically and also in terms of orientation towards change and forms of mobilisation, these were radical peasant movements. In recent years peasant movements have emerged to be reformative and institutionalized both in West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh. The Chart II describes the major trends of mobilisation of the peasantry in these two phases.

Chart :II Trends of Mobilisations in the Radical and Contemporary Peasant Movements.

Radical Peasant Movement	Reformative Peasant Movements
a) Mobilisation was initiated for specific goal and directed against the identified class enemies - the big landowners, usurers, police and administration.	- Mobilisation is initiated for diversified goals and not always directed against the class enemies.
b) Aggressive and hostile mobilisations without immediate limit.	- Aggressiveness and hostilities are limited within given direction.
c) Mobilisations against old norms and values	- Re-informing selected old norms and values through mobilisations.
d) Mobilisation was initiated by the political party of single ideological pursuit	- Mobilisation is initiated by the political parties of diversified political pursuits.
e) Mobilisation for far reaching structural change.	- Mobilisation mostly for structural stability and reformative initiatives within the given structure.
f) Rural poor mobilised to be the "change agencies"	- Rural people mobilised to be 'beneficiaries'
g) Rural poor mobilised for an egalitarian social order	- Rural poor participated in the mobilisation as survival strategy.
h) Radicalization of mass mobilisation	- Institutionalization of mass-mobilisation
i) Mobilisation for unrecognised demands and mostly by the unrecognised and secret organisations	- Mobilisation to pressurize the bureaucrats to implement recognised demands
j) Mobilisation faced opposition by the government authority	- Mobilisation planned and executed by the political parties in power.
k) Mobilisation directed against promordial dependency and extra-economic coercion of the lowest section of agrarian	- In the process of mobilisation the lowest section has become dependent on the political society. leaders to get economic benefits.

The contemporary peasant societies of West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh however have experienced diverse forms of grass root mobilization. In West Bengal the

Left political parties who once sponsored radicalism and militancy for collective action are now concerned with institutionalized mass mobilization and electoral politics. In Andhra Pradesh CPI and CPI(M) the major communist parties are in opposition and have accepted the parliamentary electoral politics. The PWG (Ganpathi Faction) is a group among these Naxalite outfits which is opposed to the parliamentary democracy at present, while others have started taking part in the democratic process. At this level we may draw a comparative picture of mass mobilisation between Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal

Chart III: Facets of Commonalties and Differences between the Grass-root Mobilization in Contemporary Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal.



31.10 Conclusion

In this unit we have discussed some of the crucial features of peasant movements in Indian society. We started with a conceptual discussion on peasant and peasant movement. The role peasant on revolutionary movements has also touched upon very briefly. The causes of the emergence of radical peasant movement, the form and extent of participation of peasant in these movements, and the course of action in these movements have been discussed. The process of transformation of these, movements over period of time and their socio-political ramifications for the peasants are also analyzed.

31.11 Further Readings

- 1) Dhanagare, D.N. 1983. *Peasant Movements in India 1920-1950*. Oxford University Press: New Delhi.
- 2) Mukherjee, P.N. 1979. *From Extremism to Electoral Politics: Naxalite Participation in Elections*. Manohar: New Delhi.



Unit 32 NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

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32.1 Introduction

Since the middle of the last century 'social movements have moved from non-institutionalized margins of society to its very core'. The manifestation of new forms of organised collective actions since 1950s has added several new dimensions to the issues of social movement. In this context this unit will examine the social background of the emergence of new social movements. There are several new features of these movements. We have discussed these features at length in this unit. We have also tried to distinguish the new from the old social movements. The validity of these distinctions is also critically examined. The issues of new identity and autonomy of new social movements have been high lighted by several scholars. There issues are also examined in this unit.

32.2 New Social Movements: The Background

Since last five decades, especially after the proliferation of the Black Civil Rights Movement in the West in 1950s and 1960s, students movements in 1960s and 1970s, Women's Movement, anti-nuclear protests, gay rights, animal rights, minority nationalism etc. ethnic movements in 1970s and thereafter, social movements has emerged to be an area of special attention. There have been sincere efforts by the social scientists to redefine social movements from a critical and cognitive perspective. In this effort the prevalent schemes of analysis were questioned and many of the elements were identified in these social movement and at times several marginal issues were emphasized in a new contexts. The emergence of new forms of collective action especially in Western Europe and North America posed serious challenges to the social movement theorists to conceptualize this phenomena in terms of the prevailing discourse on social movement studies

Till 1950s the workers movements, peasants and tribal movements, at times caste, race, or linguistic and ethnic movements or other varieties of collective mobilisations are mostly explained within the Marxian framework of class struggle and the functionalist framework of mal functioning of the social order. It was however realized in the backdrop of the proliferation of these movements that these perspectives of studying social movements were deterministic. Within these conventions, social movements were analyzed mostly in terms of the ideological and organizational orientations. The Marxist scholars highlighted the class ideology of the collective mobilization. It emphasized on the role ideology that provided the legitimacy to such mobilizations. It focused on the unequal access to and control over the means of production between the two antagonistic classes that led to conflict in the society. In the functional analysis on the other, the organizational aspect of social movement articulated. For the Functionalist social movements were sources of potential disruption to an

organisation. Organized collective actions are viewed as dysfunctional aspect of the society. Here only by assigning a marginal position to social movement 'integrity of the functional theoretical system was ensured. On the other hand, though the Marxist analysis is concerned with social transformation, this has identified the 'classes' to be the sole agents of social transformation. Non-class movements are viewed critically, and sometimes with contempt or hostility' (Scott, A. 1990: 2).

Significantly both the Marxism and Functionalism provided single order explanation of the social movement. However the proliferation of these social movements in the 50s and 60s asked for a new perspective for analysis as there were new orientations. Most of the old movements are oriented to achieve in some form or the other materialistic goal. The new social movements on the other, are oriented to be non-materialistic, resort to plural, multiple and wide varieties of collective mobilisation, highlight the issues which cut across the boundaries of state, class, societies, culture and the nation. We shall be discussing these aspects of social movements in great details in the next section.

32.3 New Social Movement : Concepts and Features

It was indeed difficult to conceptualize the essence of all new forms of collective action within the paradigm of ideology or the rationally organised interest group. The practices of these new form of collective actions social movements are essentially non-violent, pragmatic, non-integrated, non-hierarchical, non-coercive, cross-class, cross-ideology, cross age in their constituencies (Hegedus, 1990: 63). Larana, Johnston and Guesfield (1994) suggest that the analysis of new social movements be advanced cross-culturally and by contrasting them with the class based movements of the past. They suggest the following characteristic features of the new social movement:

- a) There is no clear structural role of the participants of the new social movement as, very often than not, they have diffuse social status as youth, student, women, minority, professional groups etc.
- b) Ideologically these movements posited in sharp contrast to the Marxian concept of ideology of the working class movement. It is difficult to characterize new social movements as conservative or liberal, right or left, capitalist or socialist. These movements exhibit plural ideas and values.
- c) Mobilisations are linked to issues of symbolic and cultural identities than to economic issues.
- d) Action within these movements is a complex mix of the collective and individual confirmation of identity. Indeed the relation between the individual and the collective is blurred in these movements.
- e) These movements involve personal and intimate aspects of human life, e.g. eating, dressing enjoying, loving etc habits and patterns.
- f) Non-violence and civil disobedience etc. are the dominant patterns of collective mobilisation to challenge the dominant-norms of conduct.
- g) The proliferation of these movements are caused by the credibility crisis of the conventional channels for political participation.
- h) The new social movements are segmented diffused and decentralized (Ibid. :6-15).

Alan Scott identified the following prominent characteristics of these movements: a) These movements are primarily social and are more concerned with cultural sphere and mobilisation of civil society on socio-cultural issues, than with the political issues like seizure of power. b) These movements are

to be located within civil society and these are little concerned to challenge the state directly. These movements rather defend the civil societies against encroachment from increasingly technocratic state or from 'inner colonialisation' by society's technocratic sub-structure. c) These social movements attempt to bring about change through changing values and developing alternative life-styles. These social movements are concerned with cultural innovations and creation of new life-styles. These also pose a challenge to the traditional values. 'The focus on symbols and identities is viewed as the source of new social movement's significance'. The new social movements bring about changes by challenging values and identities of the social actors rather than by more conventional and direct political actions. The processes of transformation of values, personal identities and symbols can be achieved through creation of alternative life-style and the discursive reformation of individual and collective wills. The main characteristics of new social movements organization are summarized by Scott as follows: i) locally based or centered on small groups ii) organised around specific, often local and single issue iii) cycle of movement activity and mobilisation; i.e. vacillation between periods of high and low activity, iv) often loose systems of authority, v) shifting membership, vi) 'common social critique' as the ideological frame of reference (Scott, 1990: 18).

32.4 Distinguishing Old from the New

However, it is problematic to use organizational form as a criterion to distinguish new social movements from that of old ones. First, there is a continuum from loose to tight organization. and, because there may be a progress within the movements towards the more formal and hierarchical end of this continuum over a period of time. To Scott (1990), there are important continuities between the new and older social movements. 'Thus the claim the new movements needs to be understood in a way which is qualitatively different from traditional approaches can not be sustained on empirical grounds alone. It is rather through the underlying social changes the distinctiveness be identified (Ibid: 35).

Irrespective of the distinction between the old and the new social movements we may identify the crucial roles played by social movements to develop a critic of the society. In the process of globalisation when the state is emerging to be more and more technocratic and all-powerful the voices and views of the individual citizen against the discontent of various forms remain mostly unheard. Again in the countries where the state represent the dominant section of the population, and the state machinery is involved in the corrupt practices, the access of the marginalised people even to the minimum need of the life remained unrealized. Social movements provide a framework to develop a critic of the society. It brings the institutional arrangements of the society under close scrutiny. The organising mechanisms, collective activism and the leadership of social movement provide the required space not only to develop a critic of the society but also for a transformative politics within the given structure. It also provides the space for the emergence of plural social structure with representative civil bodies to function as watchdog in a liberal democracy. Through this critic social movement produces a new collective identity. Eyerman and Jamison (1991) have tried to define social movements as processes in the formation by which individuals create new kind of social identity. To them all social life can be seen as a combination of action and construction whose meaning is deprived from the context and the understanding of the actors derive form it. They emphasize the creative role of consciousness and cognition in human action, what they call the cognitive praxis, which transforms groups of individual into social movement. Thus the cognitive praxis gives social movement particular meaning and consciousness.

32.5 New Social Movements and Quest for New

Identity

In the last unit we have mentioned about the significance of the process identity formation in a social movement, which has always played crucial roles to provide a sense of 'togetherness', 'we' feeling and a sense of 'belonging to' a group in all the critical stages progression of the movement. It not only develops linkages among the members of a group but also establishes linkages with the wider social processes. The process of collective identity formation not only redefines old identities, but also generates new identities with new perspective(s). In recent decades in the efforts to identify 'newness' in emerging social movements of the 1960s and there after, there has also been a genuine to have a fresh look on the issue of identity in social movements.

In the structural functional analysis of the society empirical categories (e.g. tribe, caste, race, aged, etc) has got a place of prominence while describing collective identities of these categories. In the Marxian analysis, on the other hand economic position has got a place of prominence in defining collectivities as 'class'. In this paradigm social identity has been reduced to class identity, which undergoes a process of formation/ transformation from 'class in itself' to 'class for itself. We shall highlight this formation/transformation little later. However, since late 1960s and onward, especially after the proliferation of the students, Green Peace, Black Civil Rights, women's etc movements in the United States and Western Europe efforts are made to comprehend and analyze the emerging processes of new collective identify formation in these social movements and the guiding principles towards these formations. It has been widely realized that it is not merely the empirical and the economic class position, but rather the issue of values, culture, subjectivity, morality, empowerment etc played crucial roles towards the formation of new collective identities in these movements. For example, after studying students' movement in Europe and America, Bertaux (1990) adds the view that "subjectivity" and "idealism" are essential elements of social movement and must be taken seriously. To quote him: subjectivity is central to an understanding of action and especially in the context of social movements, where action is not just norm abiding behaviour, but innovative and risky. Such concept as 'attitudes' or 'values' denote only one fraction of the personality while subjectivity refers to the subject in its totality." Indeed, Bertaux talks about the collective subjectivity: "it concerns with the drastic change in the fabric of social life that takes place when a new movement is born." Regarding idealism, citing example from the first developing western societies, he observes that people who started social movements "were moved by a strong moral feelings—by idealism, rather than by a drive towards self interest" (1990:153).

Social movements help generate a sense of collective identity and new ideas that recognizes the reality itself. This reality is indeed context, culture, historicity and group specific. Melucci has emphasized on collective identity formation "which is an achieved definition of a situation, constructed and negotiated through the constitution of social networks which then connect the members of a group or movement through collective action to provide distinctive meaning to collective action. To him, what holds individual together as a 'we' can never be completely translated into the logic of means-ends calculation or political rationality, but always carries with it margins of non-negotiability in the reasons for an ways of acting together' (Melucci 1992). To him, social movements grow around relationship of new social identity that are voluntarily conceived "to empower" members in defense of this identity (1992, 1996). Eyerman and Jamison (1991) assert that 'by articulating consciousness, social movement provides public spaces for generating new thoughts, activating new actors, generating new ideas. Thus by producing new knowledge, by reflecting on their own cognitive identity, by saying what they stand for, by challenging the dominant assumptions of the social order, social movements develop new ideas those are fundamental to the process of

human creativity. Thus social movements develop worldviews that restructure cognition, that re-cognize reality itself. The cognitive praxis of social movements is an important source of new social images and transformation of societal identities (1991: 161-166). Hegedus (1990) asserts that social movements involve actions for 'doing'. 'The involvement in an action is a matter of conscience and emotion, of responsibility and intention, of reflection and (com) passion, it is basically moral, global and individual (1990: 266). Thus social movements are framed based on a collective identity of various groups viz., women, environmentalists, students, peasant, worker etc. who are organised on the basis of common identity and interests. To Allan Scott (1991), in a social movement the actor's collective identity is linked to their understanding of their social situation. To him 'a social movement is a collective actor constituted by individuals who understand themselves to have common interest, and at least some significant part of their social existence, a common identity' (1991: 6)

Transformation of Identity

Social movements not only help generating new collective identity these also provide a broad field for the transformation of social identity [e.g. transforming *Serie* into *groups en fusion*, (Sartre 1960), 'class-in-itself' to 'class-for-itself', (Marx 1974) etc.]. Sartre calls *serie* the normal state of crowds; that is, series of atomized individuals, each one seen as isolated in his or her inner world going his or her own way and not caring about the other's ways. What Sartre is pointing out, however, is that, whenever and wherever this figure is actually doing or even walking in the street, it has a silent companion: 'social control'. "The public space is wholly under the control of the established power. Every individual, whatever she or he thinks of the manifest public discourse 'All is well' and its latent content 'Nothing can be changed', whether he or she accepts the rule of this power or rejects it, does so secretly, thus behaving as if accepting it. Therefore each one, looking at all the others who work, comply and keep quiet, thinks they are alone in secretly rejecting this social order. When, however, frustration mounts in each person individually, it takes only a small event to trigger an instantaneous and massive change of state, from *serie* to *groupe en fusion*. As soon as each person in a serialized mass realizes that some others contest the established power, as he or she takes one step forward to openly express support, a chain reaction spreads through the atomized series and transforms it into a fluid group (*sartre's groupe en fusion*) which instantly moves from the status of subordinated passive object to that of subject capable of action." (cf. Bertaux. 1990: 155-156). Indeed, new social movements provide the required platform for such transformation.

In the Marxian analysis transformation in the collective identity has been viewed as transformation of the class identities from that of 'class-in 'itself' to 'class-for-itself'. In this analogy, however, transformation of societal identity is viewed in terms of the transformation of class identities only.

It is important that in the context of transformation of a social movements new identities do emerge from within the old ones. For example in the process of sustained mobilisation of the peasantry in West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh new identities have emerged in these peasant societies in the form of gender, ethnicity and caste identities. We shall be discussing this issue in the last section of this unit.

32.6 Autonomy of New Identity

Can new identity as formed out of collective action be autonomous of the ideology and organisation of the movement? Scholars have identified new social movement's ideology with freedom and life. In this context the notion of autonomy is crucial. There are several dimensions to this issue.

- 1) Personal autonomy: 'Psycho-social practices, such as consciousness arising within the women's movement, have had at least one of their aims - the liberation of individual women from personal and ideological barriers to personal freedom through the reconstruction of their life histories and by making them aware of personal oppressions, while at the same time stressing their potential power as women'.
- 2) Extension of Personal and Group Autonomy: 'The narrowly defined political aims of these movements are comprehended as an extension of personal and group autonomy by challenging several restrictions on freedom'. Thus the arguments for free abortions on demand can be viewed as a way of increasing a women's freedom to make choices concerning her own body, of removal or gender or racial discrimination at work as extending of range of individual or collective freedom enjoyed by group members'
- 3) Autonomy struggle: Autonomy struggle of the new social movements demands that the representatives of these movements be allowed to fight their own "without interference from other movements and without subordinating their demands to other external priorities'. These aspects of autonomy are closely linked (Scott, 1990:18-20).

However, any attempt to conceptualize new social movements exclusively in terms of autonomy may be confusing. The distinction between personal and political is not very clean. The issue of personal autonomy, freedom etc. are political in nature" (Scott, 90: 23). The assumption that new social movement is autonomous of political interference and is essentially concerned with cultural issues is also not valid. Many of the new social movements are concerned with the political questions, for example 'citizens' rights; representations, civil rights movements. All these are oriented towards political and legal institutions. Thus the issue of autonomy is to be circumscribed specifically in the context of the social movement under study.

32.7 New Social Movements and Resistance against Domination

Actors in subordinate positions are never wholly dependent and are often very adept at converting whatsoever resources they possess into some degree of control over the conditions of reproduction of the system (Giddens (1982). Thus 'compliance of the subordinate within the power relations may be explained not by lack of resistance, but by the absence of the means to implement such resistance' (Mann 1985). The structure of the domination thus, is not free from contestation. There have been resistance and struggle in various forms against this domination. To J.C. Scott even in the large-scale structures of domination the subordinates have a fairly extensive social existence outside the immediate control of the dominant. It is in such settings that a shared critique of domination develops by way of 'creating a 'hidden transcript' that represents a critique of power as spoken behind the back of the dominant.' He suggests that rumours, gossip, folktales, songs, gestures, jokes and the theater of the powerless function as a mechanism to indirectly develop a critique of power (1990: viii). Let us examine the ways, new collective identities have emerged in India as a language of resistance against domination.

New Collective Identities: Identity is a social construction. 'It is a continually shifting description of ourselves' (Hall 1990). Identities are emerged based on the probability of choice, plurality of options and reasons. And to 'to deny plurality, choice and reasoning in identity can be a source of repression' (Sen 1999: 22). Identities are self-cognition tied to roles, through roles, to positions in organized social relationships. That a given identity can be invoked in a variety of situations or it 'can be defined as differential probability.' Here ' we may reflect on the multiple identities of the contemporary subject, that is the

weaving of the patterns of identity from the discourses of class, race, nation gender, etc. (Stryker 1990:873-74). The construction of identity also involves the social production of boundaries reflecting the process of inclusion and exclusion (Cerutti 2001). As collective identity is a matter of social construction, it gets reconstructed in multiple ways in the process of transformation of social movements. Social movements not only help generate new collective identity, but also provide a broad field for the transformation of this identity.

Sustained grassroots mobilizations have paved the way for the articulation and rejuvenation of gender, caste, farmer, citizen, and ethnic etc identities. In West Bengal peasants have been part of the Kamtapuri Movement as in North Bengal, and limited NGO activism and in Andhra Pradesh the anti-arrack (prohibition) movement, Maadigaa and Thudum Debba, Telangana statehood movement civil liberties, farmers etc movements.

The Kamtapur movement for regional, cultural, ethnic autonomy of the Rajbanshi (a Scheduled caste) has started gaining ground in north Bengal with the demand of a separate state comprising the six districts of Cooch Behar, Jalpaiguri, Darjeeling, North Dinajpur, South Dinajpur and Malda. To initiate this movement, a regional party by the name of Uttarakhand Dal was formed in 1980. Now this movement has got momentum under the leadership of the Kamtapur People's Party (KPP). Through this movement the Rajbanshis are putting up resistance against the gradual erosion of their cultural and linguistic identity, and their economic marginalization in society. They allege that north Bengal has been economically neglected and politically dominated by the Kolkata centered state administration of West Bengal. This movement has taken a new turn with the formation of an extremist group called the Kamtapuri Liberation Organisation (KLO) which has initiated frontal attack on the Left activists in various parts of North Bengal. A section of the Rajbanshis, who are now growing more and more identity conscious in terms of history, language, traditional social structure, occupation and land rights has become part of this movement. Unemployed educated youth and school dropouts are more open in expressing their adherence to this movement than others. A young man from Naxalbari (who preferred to remain unidentified in the wake of police action against KLO activists), says:

"We are deprived of all opportunities in our own land. The outsiders own the tea gardens. All government services are taken away and manned by the *bhatias* (Bengali migrants from other part of the state). ... Marwaris and Punjabis who look down upon us, own all the businesses. They laugh at our language, our food habits, and our dress. We have to speak in their language in our own land.....".

Though the separate Telangana statehood movement in the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh has a long history, it has got a momentum in recent years with the formation of the Telangana Rastriya Samithi (TRS) and its electoral success in the last election. Several issues have been raised pertaining to Andhra domination over the Telangana region in the economic, cultural and political terms. Most important among these have been that of the exploitation of the natural resources of Telangana for the benefits of the other parts of the state, appointment of more and more Andhra-speaking people in the government jobs in the Telangana region, and persisting agricultural backwardness, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, etc., of the people of Telangana. The economic miseries of Telangana are explained in terms of Andhra domination over Telangana. 'The wholesale exploitation of the resources of Telangana for the benefit of the Andhra region is accompanied by attacks on the way of life of the Telangana people. ...The Andhra rulers are never tired of saying that the people of Telangana are uncultured. Thus the suicidal attempt to subjugate Telangana permanently continues' (Jadhav 1997)

Again Maadigaa Reservation Porata Samithi movement of the Scheduled Castes

and Thudum Debba movement of the Scheduled Tribes are demanding re-categorization of each of the Scheduled castes and tribes of Andhra Pradesh into A, B, C, and D categories based on their levels of economic, educational and political advancement for the purpose of getting benefits of reservation. Again there have been the cotton growers' and anti-suicide movements of the farmers in the Telangana region. The anti-arrack movement led by peasant women has had its strong impact all over Andhra Pradesh. Poor peasants have been parts of most of these movements. For example, Rajeeramma, the female *sarpanch* of Malla Reddy Palle, was associated with the anti-arrack movement. She is also a strong advocate of the Maadigaa reservation movement, and a participant in the cotton growers and anti-suicide movements. She is also part of the separate Telangana state movement. She says, 'the life of a peasant women in Telangana is full of struggle and we are all part of the struggle in Telangana'.

The Left political parties have tried both ideologically and strategically to inculcate the 'class for itself' identity of the peasantry. However, over the years, in the process of ideological modification and strategic class alliance with the landed gentry for electoral politics, the basis of class-based politics has widely eroded among the peasantry (Bhattacharyya 1999). Again as the class identity has not looked many of the micro issues. Thus in alongside the old actors of the class, groups, political parties and the state with all its instruments, new actors have emerged' in the form of caste, gender, ethnicity and religion (Webster 1999).

Autonomy of Identity: The process of transformation peasant movements from radicalization to institutionalization has exhibited a trend of transition from the so-called 'old' to 'new' social movements. It has been highlighted that new social movements do not bear a clear relation to the structural role of the participants, that their social base transcends class structures, that they exhibit plural ideas and values, that their ideological characteristics stand in sharp contrast to the Marxist concept of ideology as a unifying and totalizing element for collective action, and that they involve the emergence of new collective identities. 'These characteristics of the new social movements however are not independent of their links with the past. Nor is there any absence of continuity with the old, although that varies with each movement ... Even movements with old histories have emerged in new forms with more diffuse goals and different modes of mobilization and conversion. It is both the newness of expression and extension as well as the magnitude and saliency of such movements that constitutes the basis for revised frameworks of understanding' (Larana, Johnston and Guesfield 1984: 8-9).

The social agenda of the new social movements are 'based on local movements with multiple identities located in civil society, stressing new ways of social communication (solidarity and mutual understanding) and a new harmonic relationship with nature (Schuurman 1993: 189). In the context of West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh, it is observed that the old mass movements that advocated the emancipatory projects for the proletariat through seizure of political power have given birth to various local movements of multiple identities in the process of transformation of these movements and sustenance of these mobilisations. These have started exhibiting a plurality of ideas, values, ideological orientations and collective action. The process of formation of new collective identities frequently and explicitly transcends the pre-defined process of class identity formation as most of the new collective identities, namely, gender, caste, region and ethnicity, are autonomous of the given aims and objectives of the movement of the Left parties.

It would however be problematic to describe the autonomy of the evolved patterns of identity in terms of the new social movements alone, as the substantive issues involved in mobilization do not purely belong to the cultural

domain alone. There are several political and economic issues involved in these mobilizations rather. Through their everyday experiences of struggle and prolonged participation in collective action the peasantry has been trained to defend their identity and to articulate the strategy of their resistance against domination. These everyday life experiences of resistance form the basis of the praxis of peasantry against domination whereby they have also got alternative choices to express their resistance against domination

In the context of new social movements, the notion of autonomy has been used as the expression of personal autonomy, extension of personal and group autonomy and as an expression of autonomy struggle whereby social movements are allowed to grow without interference from the outside (Scott. 1990). Subaltern studies have, on the other hand, visualized the autonomy of the peasant struggle in terms of their localized manifestations. Ranajit Guha argues that during the colonial period, subaltern constituted an autonomous domain with wide variety of generally autonomous modes of thought and action expressed through rebellions, riots and popular movements. To him 'rebellion was not, therefore, merely some automatic reflex action to external economic or political stimulus; it was 'peasant praxis', the expression through peasant action of the collective consciousness of the peasantry (Guha 1983). According to Sumit Sarkar, the spontaneous unrest like the looting of *hats*, tribal movements, kisan movements, and so on often tended to remain autonomous, scattered and remained mostly outside the ambit of the mainstream nationalist movement in colonial India. He also points out that the poor man typically outmatches his oppressor not through any kind of joint action but through an individual battle of wits and often at a great cost to himself (Sarkar 1985: 51-62). Partha Chatterjee is of the view that the 'dominant groups, in their exercise of domination do not consume or destroy the dominated classes for there would be no relation of power and hence no domination. Without their autonomy the subalterns would have no identity of their own (Chatterjee 1998: 166).

The new identities as have been evolved and constructed in the peasant societies of Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal are in their own ways autonomous of the organizational, ideological and pre-defined boundaries of collectivities as propagated in the class discourse. However these multiple identities of caste, gender, region, ethnicity, etc., have defined boundaries of inclusion and exclusion—and also at times use the organizational linkages and ideologies of wider society as guiding principles for their actions. For example, the ethnic movements in north Bengal and in the Telangana region, the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes reservation movements, civil liberties women's groups etc have formed their own organizations at the regional and the state level. Likewise, is the process of formation of NGOs, which is linked with the emerging social development discourse of 'development with empowerment'. The self-assertion of, say, a scheduled caste labourer, and a tribal woman are also linked to the resurgence of the Dalit and women's movements at the grassroots.

But all these identities, and linkages of these identities to the wider world, are not sudden manifestations. Nor are they imposed from outside by the intervention of outside agencies. Rather, peasantry has articulated their issues through their everyday experiences, and the new identities are formed from within in the process of responding to the emerging challenges they regularly face. Sustained mobilizations have made the peasantry aware of the various bases of their oppression and subordination in society, be it caste, class, ethnicity, regionalism, gender, etc. Hence they are to articulate accordingly the art of their resistance both individually and collectively; if needed by reconstructing parallel, and at times alternative, identities. Here linkages with outside agencies come at a later stage through increasing interactivity with the larger world around. Pulla Ravindran) a scheduled caste leader from Warangal

in Andhra Pradesh, recalls his experience:

We have been oppressed and exploited in various ways. At times we are exploited as the Maadigaa scheduled caste. Our women are exploited as women, labourers, and as scheduled caste members. We are also exploited and discriminated against as Telanganites ... As we have been aware of the various situations of our oppression, we resist it in all possible ways. Our oppression however does not end. If we resist from one direction, it appears from the other.. We try to resist oppression from all possible directions now.

In spite of transformation of the peasant movements from the phase of radicalization to institutionalization, and sustenance of the mobilizations, the peasantry continues to be marginalized. Though their identity has been reconstructed over the years, the elements of marginality—both in the socio-economic and the political sense—remain attached to them. The issue of livelihood security is of crucial significance to the peasantry. They tend to use the available channels of political mobilization and activism to ensure the daily livelihood. They are to compromise at times with the structure of domination for their livelihood security. In this context, their participation in routinized collective mobilization, even if it contributes to their domination, is a matter of their rational calculation.

Indeed, through sustained mobilization, peasants have been able to carve out a space for the articulation of their interests and formation of new identities that look for liberation from the coercive bases of dependency and domination. Through these identities they try to gain legitimacy of their praxis against domination.

32.8 Conclusion

In this unit we have discussed the socio-political background of the emergence of new social movements in the West. Scholars have identified several new features of this social phenomena. We have briefly highlighted these features. The distinguishing features between the new and the old social movement are also discussed here. Formation of new collective identity and autonomy of these identities have been subjects of critical query in the social movement studies. These issues have also been discussed here. In the last section we have discussed the process emergence of new collective identities with the transformation of social movements. Here articulation of language of resistance against domination as emerged within new social movements has also been discussed.

32.9 Further Readings

1. Larana, E. et al. (Eds) 1984. *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*. Temple University Press: Philadelphia.
2. Scott, A.C. 1991. *Ideology and New Social Movements*. Unwin Hyman: London.