

**NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND DEMOCRACY: A STUDY OF
ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN ORISSA**

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

SIBA PRASAD PANDA



**Centre for Political Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110 067
India
2005**



Centre for Political Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067, India

Tel. : 011-26704413
Fax : 011-26717603
Gram : JAYENU


21st July 2005

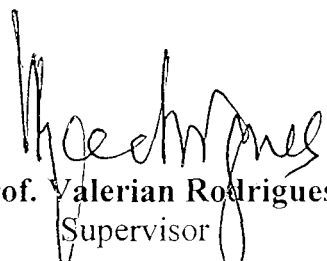
CERTIFICATE

Certified that the Dissertation entitled “**New Social Movements and Democracy: A Study of Environmental Movements in Orissa**” submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other university and is my original work.


Siba Prasad Panda

We recommend that this Dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.


Prof. Sudha Pai
Chairperson


Prof. Valerian Rodrigues
Supervisor

Chairperson
Centre for Political Studies,
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

SUPERVISOR
Centre for Political Studies
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi-110067

For

Nona and Maa

*Whose Blessings are my Source of
Strength and inspiration*

Contents

| | Page No. |
|--|--------------|
| Acknowledgements | i |
| List of Abbreviations | ii |
| Preface | 1-5 |
| Chapter I | 6-31 |
| New Social Movements: The Conceptual Debate | |
| Chapter II | 32-48 |
| Development, Resource Use and People's Movements: A Case of Environmental Movements in India | |
| Chapter III | 49-68 |
| Environmental Movements in Orissa-I: Case of Baliapal and Chilika Movement | |
| Chapter IV | 69-87 |
| Environmental Movements in Orissa-II: Case of Kashipur and Gandhamardan Movement | |
| Conclusion | 88-92 |
| Bibliography | i-xii |

Acknowledgements

Man needs help, support and cooperation from other's to be at his best self. This piece of work is not an exception. This work is the result of the direct and indirect contribution from a host of personalities, who have encouraged and provided me unstint support.

First of all, I owe much to my supervisor, Prof. Valerian Rodrigues, who gave me ample freedom to pursue the research work in my own way. His valuable guidance and support helped me in getting proper direction and framework necessary to produce this dissertation.

Here, I acknowledge my discussions with Prof. Sudha Pai and Dr. Pralay Kanungo during my course work, which provided much needed insights into the topic in the formative stages.

I wish to thank Satpathy sir, Hota Bhaina, Rao Bhaina, Prasad Bhaina and James Bhaina (all from my home town, Malkangiri, Orissa), who have been a constant source of inspiration and encouragement for a long time and insisted me to join JNU to take up an academic career.

This work has benefited from discussion with a number of friends and seniors. I take this opportunity to thank in particular Xeelloo Bhaina, Rama Bhai, Sartik Bhai, Raj Bhaina, Sadada, Kapil Bhaina, Prabhakar Bhai, Robert Bhai Athar Bhai, Nam and my juniors like Jaga, Bulu, Sunil, Pankaj, Madhu, Sanjay and others, who provided significant inputs in different steps of this academic work. A word of thankfulness also to my friends Silu, Sangram, Iswar, Pathakji, Santesh, Ashutosh, Durgesh, Ashif, Muna, Jashu and Hemant, whose companion inspired me in this endeavour.

It is also with gratitude, I remember the assistance furnished by Aroraji, Bhatji, Sharmaji of my centre as well as the staff members of Jawaharlal Nehru University, Centre for Science and Environment and Teen Murty Library.

My sincere thanks go to Mr. Mahender, who typed the whole dissertation with an untiring zeal and labour. Special thanks go to Srinivas sir of Balaji Communications for getting the final print outs. Here I must mention, Jaga, who helped me in the computer work in editing the final copy despite being busy with his own dissertation work.

Last but not the least, I mention my brothers, Niranjana and Gouri Shankar, who have always firmly stood by me in my entire endeavour and gave me needed encouragement. My warmest heartfelt thanks go out to sister Sujata, Bhavi Dharitri, Brother-in-Law Shiva and my Nephews Rahool and Rohan and niece Shivani, who showered their love and care despite their sufferings and strengthened me to face difficulties in my academic pursuits throughout.

Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi
21st July 2005

Siba Prasad Panda

Abbreviation

| | | |
|------|---|---|
| NSMs | : | New Social Movements. |
| ASP | : | Anchalika Suraksha Parisad. |
| CBA | : | Chilika Bachao Andolon |
| CMM | : | Chilika Matsyajibi Mahasangha |
| CSP | : | Chilika Suraksha Parishad |
| GASS | : | Ganatantrik Adhikar Suraksha Sangathan. |
| GSYP | : | Gandhamardhan Surakshya Yuva Parisad. |
| ISFP | : | Integrated Shrimp Farm Project |
| KGPS | : | Khepanastra Ghati Pratirodh Samiti |
| KSP | : | Kashipur Sangram Parisad |
| KYS | : | Krantadarshi Yuva Sangha |
| MTS | : | Meet the Students |
| NTR | : | National Testing Range. |
| OKM | : | Orissa Krushak Mahasangha |
| PSSP | : | Prakrutika Sampad Surakhsya Parisad |

• **PREFACE**

The ethos of democracy rests upon the cultural specificities of a given society. The political transformation, which occurred in post-colonial countries, had never been truly translated into the societal sphere. Though the anti-colonial struggle gave a tremendous impetus to nation building, the project has been cumbersome. The state and its apparatuses have increasingly failed to deliver their promise, thus is resulting in a strong disenchantment with the system. Secondly, the policy of development has resulted in development of the few and impoverishment of the many. Individuals, groups, communities and primordial collectivities are increasingly at loggerheads with the state and its functionaries, primarily because they have repeatedly deviated from the very ethos from which they had emerged, after colonialism viz., freedom of expression, respect for human rights, good governance, pluralism and mutual understanding. Our institutions are not capable enough to cater to the needs of the people at large. Many a times, the state's functioning is not in consonance with the aspirations of civil society. Often NGOs act as an interpretive agent between the two. Another significant actor, which has emerged in this sector are the new social movements.

New social movements are a variety of emancipatory movements that have emerged in the post-war West, which then percolated to the rest of the world. These movements represent a wide range of collectivities that fall outside the institutionalised and organised groups of the society. They mobilise large masses of people, organise movements that cut across previous alliances and, in the process, create social space for political action. Under the rubric of the new social movements (hereafter to be used as NSMs) are placed the women's, the students', the peace and the environmental movements. In the Indian context, the women's, environmental, farmer, and Dalit (ex-untouchables) movements have been generally characterised as the NSMs.¹

Environmental Movement as a Case of New Social Movement

The developmental model adopted by independent India has often witnessed conflicts over competing claims on the environment. These claims are not merely to grab a greater share of the environment but also involve different ways of using nature. The competing claims created by this model have given rise not only to environmental problems but also to environmental movements. As a part of the NSMs, the environmental movements have grown in frequency and intensity and involve people from all strata. They revolve around competing

¹ For the most important classic studies on the "New Social Movements" in India, see Ranachandra Guha (1989), Gail Omvedt (1993), Rajendra Singh (2001), Ghanashyam Shah (2002), Poona Wignaraja (1993), Manoranjan Mohanty (1998) etc.

claims over forests, land, water, and fisheries, and have generated a new movement struggling for the rights of the victims of ecological degradation. These movements have added a new dimension to Indian democracy and civil society.

Environmental Movements and Democratic Alternatives

In recent years, the environmental movements have successfully asserted the people's right to manage their resources and brought a significant change in the existing policy to facilitate such local management. These movements have exposed the claims of formal democracy as the best form of government to bring about people-centred development. In case of these movements, transnational networks of organisations have emerged with initiatives that have their roots in local issues and with local, regional or national bases of popular support. These networks have demonstrated their capability to engage in developing shareable agendas that remain locally sensitive and are still able to go beyond local particularities while taking into account the differences based on the unique conjunctures in their histories of struggles against oppressions differentiated by class, gender, culture or religion.²

Environmentalism and the Deepening of Democracy

The pattern of development, the State is adopting is depleting our stock of soil, water and plant resources at a terrifying rate, in the process causing tremendous deprivation to millions of people in the countryside, people who depend on these resources for subsistence. For the sections of society most critically affected by environmental degradation-poor and landless peasants, women and tribals-it is a question of sheer survival, not of enhancing the quality of life. As a consequence, the solutions articulated by environmental groups in India deeply involve basic democratic questions of "equity and redistribution".³

The struggle against environmental degradation has increasingly come to be understood as a part of the democratic struggle to build and consolidate a new model of citizenship. Efforts to promote environmental rights have brought together numerous segments of the social movements, who have sought to ensure access to essential public goods such as water, air and forest products in adequate amounts and with sufficient quality to guarantee decent living standards; the use of collective goods needed for the social reproduction of specific socio-cultural groups such as fishermen and indigenous people; a

² Jayant Lele and Fahimul Quadir, *Democracy and Civil Society in Asia: Democratic Transitions and Social Movements in Asia*, vol. 2, Palgrave MacMillan, 2002, p. 22.

³ Ramachandra Guha, "New Social Movements", *Seminar*, no. 355, March 1989, p. 14.

guarantee for the public use of natural resources such as green areas, water ways, headwaters and eco-systems, which have often been degraded by private interests that are incompatible with society's collective concerns.⁴

The environmental movements are performing two important functions that are contributing towards deepening of India's democracy. These functions have both a 'supply side' approach, concentrating on the delivery of development projects, and a 'demand side' approach, helping people to articulate their concerns and participation in the development process. This participating process restraints the power of the State and also helps to bring that power under social control. Thus, Indian democracy is going through a process of consolidation by enticing greater popular participation.

BROAD AIMS OF THE STUDY

This dissertation discusses "New Social Movements" especially the environmental movements in Orissa with empirical support. It focuses on the ideology, organisation, mobilisational strategies and State responses to these movements, deciphering how our democracy is being strengthened by grass root initiatives. It seeks to answer two basic questions: (i) what are the prospects for these movements becoming the vanguard of transformation of democracy? (ii) How have these movements affected the articulation of democracy in India, particularly in local context? (iii) What kind of relationship they suggest between democracy on the one hand development on the other. So, the study is based on the following objectives:

- To study the origin, emergence and the nature of the NSMs in India.
- To study the difference between the NSMs and the old class based social movements.
- To study the NSMs as the agents of civil society.
- To study the role of the NSMs in the functioning of the Indian Democracy.
- To study the role played by environmental movements in qualifying the concept and path of development.
- To study the impact of the environmental movements (as NSMs) in shaping civil society in India.

⁴ Henri Acselrad (ed.), *Environment and Democracy*, Bottafofo: IBASE, 1992, preface, quoted in Ramachndra Guha, *Environmentalism: A Global History*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2000, p. 123.

HYPOTHESIS

- The NSMs in the last two decades have enlarged the meaning, content, and the scope of rights.
- The NSMs have transformed the nature of Indian democracy making it more inclusive.
- The environmental movements (as NSMs) have led to the deepening and strengthening of Indian democracy by providing opportunities for wider democratic participation.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Orissa has a long tradition of powerful peoples' movement in the post-independence period. The Chillika Bachao Andolan in the Puri, Khorda and Ganjam district, the Baliapal Movement in Balasore district, the movement in Gandhamardan Hills in Sambalpur district in 1980s and 90s and the recent peoples' agitation in Kashipur block of Rayagada district are few of them. In this study, the researcher has chosen these four famous environmental movements for an in-depth analysis from the new social movements perspective. The reason for choosing these movements has been the geographical location and popularity of these movements. The movements are chosen with the assumption that the nature of discourse they generate, issues they highlight, actors which participate in them, are representatives of the NSMs in general and environmental movements in India in particular.

METHODOLOGY

This study follows descriptive and analytical methods. It has mainly relied on secondary sources and other publications related to social movements and democracy.

STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

The first chapter titled "New Social Movements: The Conceptual Debate" gives an account of the origin of the NSMs in the context of the West and India, looks at their characteristics as distinct from the old social movements and explores their support base, their relationship with civil society, the reasons for their emergence and the theories that explain the NSMs. The chapter discusses the concept of NSM by taking up two questions that seem to have dominated the contemporary debate about them: what is 'new' about the new social movements? And can they be seen as an alternative to the old movements?

The second chapter titled "Development, Resource use and the People's Movement: The Case of Indian Environmental Movements" analyses the relationship between economic development and conflicts over natural resources to trace the roots of the ecological or environmental movements. The chapter suggests that the intensity and range of ecology movements in independent India have continuously widened as predatory exploitation of

natural resources to feed the process of development has increased in extent and intensity. This process has been characterised by the massive expansion of energy and resource intensive industrial activity and major development projects like large dams, forest exploitation, mining and energy intensive agriculture. The resource demand of development has led to the narrowing of the natural resource base for the survival of the economically poor and powerless. In the light of this background, ecology or environmental movements emerged as the people's response to this new threat to their survival.

The third and fourth chapter, based on empirical studies on environmental movements in Orissa, explore the distinctive aspects of four environmental movements, viz. the Chilika Bachao Andolan, the Baliapal movement (both in the costal districts of Orissa) the Kashipur movement and the Gandhamardan movement (both in the tribal dominated districts of Southern and Western Orissa). It seeks to forge and establish link between these environmental movements (as NSMs) and democracy by taking up significant aspects of these movements. The chapter discusses the contexts of these movements, their relationship with the State, the actors involved in them, their ideology and organisation, the specific demands that these movements make upon the State and finally the response of the State.

In conclusion the researcher, having an insight into the broader relationship between environmental movements and democracy, argues how these movements in Orissa have played or are playing an important role in transforming the character of democracy from a procedural to a substantive one and how these movements are engaged in qualitative expansion of democracy. Based on the findings of these movements the researcher goes on to argue that in the post-modern world, the only significant interpretive agent for state and civil society are the new social movements, which are increasingly becoming a global phenomenon of concerned citizens who prefer to act locally to transform globally.

CHAPTER – I

NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: THE CONCEPTUAL DEBATE

In the contemporary social science literature, the term "New Social Movements" is in vogue. It is largely West-Europe-centric, derived from some of the movements there in the 60s & 70s. These movements are generally related to the issues of the 'post -modern society'. They are not raising primarily economic issues and not concerned with state power. These movements are basically concerned with protecting and enlarging the autonomy of Civil Society. These movements are not class based. They raise the issue of humanity cutting across the interests of all classes. In that sense new social movements are social and not political.¹

The new social movements are social and cultural movements and they try to mobilise civil society. There is nothing like leadership and followers in NSMs in the Marxist sense of vanguards. Rather collectivity is a major component part in NSMs. They have no formal organisational structure, hierarchy and command structure and are not driven by any particular ideology. According to Claus Offe the NSMs lack some of the properties of formal organisation and a coherent set of ideological principles. The NSMs suspect any kind of institutional activity. These movements are based on identities and develop around specific "issues." The NSMs are primarily against the state. The principal credential of the 'new' movements according to Amin is – "the rejection of authoritarianism in the state, in the party, in leadership, and rejection of doctrinaire expressions in ideology".²

The doyen of the NSMs theorists is considered to be Alain Touraine. The other major NSM theorists include J. Habermas, A. Melucci and Laclan and Mouffee. By the 'new', all these theorists refer to fundamental shifts in the social structure, and the emergence in post-industrial societies of different actors, different issues and loci of action that are different from the 'old' working class movements.³

Ramachandra Guha, Gail Omvedt, Poona Wignaraja and Fuentes and Frank are some of the theorists who have emphasized the relevance of NSMs from a developing country's perspective. According to Feuntes and Frank, these NSMs are popular social movements and expressions of people's struggle against exploitation and oppression and for survival and identity in a complex dependent society. In such societies these movements are attempts at and instruments of democratic self-empowerment of people, and organized independently

¹ Ghanshyam Shah (ed.), *Social Movements and the State*, Sage Publication, New Delhi, 2002, p.19.

² Ibid., p.88

³ Vibha Arora, "Politics of class (ness) in the Farmer's Movement in India: Validity of the New Social Movement Paradigm", *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 50, No. 1, March 2001, p.85.

from the state, its institutions and political parties and are a reflection of people's search for alternatives.⁴

Gail Omvedt has given her own definition of NSM. According to her, NSMs are revolutionary in aspirations and anti-systemic in their impact. They are oriented as single-issue efforts to bring about change. These are 'social movements in the sense of having a broad overall organization, structure and ideology aiming at social change.' They have a 'new' ideology which is characterised by the use of non-Marxist concepts of exploitation and oppression (appropriation by the state from peasant through the market) and a corresponding rejection of class, class politics and ideology together with the vanguard role of the urban working class and political parties. These are movements of socio-economic categories such as women, Dalit and peasant that have been ignored as exploited by traditional Marxism or who are exploited in ways related to the new processes of contemporary capitalism but left unconceptualised by a pre-occupation with private property and wage labour.⁵

In developing countries like India the new social movements challenge the 'philanthropic orge' of the modern nation state which aspires to be a dominating force with totalitarian ambitions and at the same time claims to be guardian of its citizens. As representatives of 'people's nation' new social movements challenge the state's authority and its claim to represent the people. By affirming the local, the regional and the ethnic, actors of new social movements are attempting to overcome both the economic exploitation and politico-cultural subordination by the state. While the Indian State tries to integrate everybody as a citizen and as a consumer, the actors of these movements seek autonomous social governance. Certain alternatives are represented in Mahatma Gandhi's version of 'village republics' as well as the notion of a 'civil state'.⁶ The political significance of these movements is that they challenge the notion of the integrationist and developmentalist Indian state.⁷

⁴ A.G.Frank and Marta Fuentes "Nine Theses on Social Movements" in Ghanshyam shah (ed.) *Social Movements and the State*. Sage Publication, New Delhi, p. 46

⁵ Gail Omvedt, *Reinventing Revolution: New Social Movements and the Socialist Traditions in India*. Sharpe, New York. 1993, pp. XV-XVI.

⁶ Pramod Parajuli, "Power and Knowledge in Development Discourse: New Social Movements and the State in India", in Niraja Gopal Jayal (ed.), *Democracy in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p. 262.

⁷ Ibid. p.274.

The actors of the new social movements are trying to reclaim their lost territory from such a developmentalist-integrationist state. They use both offensive and defensive strategies against a shared moral sense of injustice. In India, such parameters are *Dharna* [righteousness] and *Nyaya* [justice]. As Offe argues, in the context of the new European social movements, the alternative politics of these groups is in dismantling the 'private versus public' paradigm of old politics. By bringing 'private' and the 'domestic' in to a legitimate public discourse, new social movements transcend 'the institutional boundaries of old politics'. Therein lies the hope of transcending the focus from capturing the state power to transforming the nature of politics itself.

The emergence of the NSMs, or micro-struggles or people's movements is understood and explained in various ways. In the background of the failure of the established political institutions to deliver, and decline of other social movements, people's movements are looked upon as powerful, autonomous expressions of popular dissent. These movements are seen as more flexible and open in nature, which makes it possible for them to address, multi-dimensional injustices. The loose organisational network of the people's movement contributes to their positive potential. Thus, these movements are seen as helpful in the further democratisation of the polity and in enriching the agenda of social transformation.⁸

Who are the people?

These NSMs or people's movements have resorted to the category of 'people' in order to build up dissent against the established political system. The category of people is generally equated with any cultural, social, occupational, ethnic or enforced (such as displaced persons, which are enforced by the development discourse) identity. Most of the time these are local level groups. For example, most of the organisations under the NAPM (National Alliance of People's Movement) are working in small localities where people from that area are identified as an oppressed group. The autonomy of the local group is asserted as one of the movement's main demands. The slogan *hamare gaon mein hamara raj* can be cited as a case in point. The slogan asserts autonomy of native communities in terms of control over natural resources and the decision making process.

⁸ Rajeswari Deshpande, "Social Movements: in Crisis?" in Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palshikar (ed.) *Indian Democracy: Meanings and Practices*, Sage Publication, Delhi, p. 401.

Shifting support base

There is lack of co-ordination and co-operation among the movements. The overlapping character of individual movements disappeared long back. The earlier movements were overlapping in character because they simultaneously addressed many socio-economic issues. Instead most of the contemporary social movements are isolated and address a single issue. Single-issue programmes lead to the prioritisation of certain expression of domination or even of a certain oppressed social section. Each social movement tends to identify its own target group as the most exploited group and sets its political agenda accordingly. Though there is lack of co-ordination sometimes these movements opt for issue-based alliances with other agencies.

Interestingly, the support base of these movements appears to have shifted from the most disadvantaged groups to the middle sections of society. In case of agrarian struggles the focus shifted from mobilisation of poor peasant, agricultural labourers to rich capitalist farmers. The anti-caste movements started mobilising the OBCs. Even the women's movement largely operated among the urban women with middle class background.

The social base and political practice of these movements is in fact as amorphous and heterogeneous in class and ideological terms. Their social base consists of three segments of the social structure⁹, namely (1) the new middle class (human services profession and/or the public sectors). (ii) Elements of old middle class (i.e. independent and self-employed class i.e. farmers, shop owners and artisan-producers), (iii) 'peripheral' or "decommodified" groups who are defined in their social situation by the labour market and whose time budget is more flexible; examples include middle class house wives, high school and university students, retired people, and unemployed or marginally employed youths.

Much of what is known about the social-structural composition of the new social movement as the bearers of the paradigm of "new politics" suggests that it is rooted in major segments of the new middle class. One major characteristics of this 'class' is that it is, according to Anthony Giddens, 'class aware' but not 'class conscious'. In most cases, however, new social movements do not consists exclusively of "middle class radicals" but are composed, in addition, of elements from other groups and strata with which they tend to

⁹ Claus Offe "New social movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics", *Social Research*, Vol.52, No.4 (Winter1985), pp.. 831-34

form a more or less stable alliance. Most important among these other groups are (a) peripheral or 'decommodified' groups, and (b) elements from the old middle class.¹⁰

Disjunction from politics

The NSMs have developed two responses on their path. One, they have chosen to disassociate themselves from 'mainstream' politics, especially political parties. Second, the arena of contestation for the movements is being shifted from state to micro-levels of civil society.

In the initial stages of post-independence politics the movements had excessively relied on the state and its welfarist potentials. The situation seems to have changed as far as the recent ideological perspectives adopted by the movements are concerned. State and related institutions are held irresponsible and therefore illegitimate. Therefore the movements try to bypass the state in their political practice. The overall celebration of local communities and ideas like establishing village self-government under the leadership of these communities point towards this trend. The state is negated at the theoretical and ideological level and is bypassed at the practico-political level by the movements. On the other hand there is an excessive reliance on what is called 'the civil society'.

NSMs and Civil Society

The central message of the New Social Movements is 'civil society against the state'. In the perspective of the NSMs, the state is seen as oppressive and unable to solve the problems of exploitation, poverty and uneven development. The social movements arising in the civil society hence come to the forefront as the vanguards of democracy.¹¹

The NSMs are located in the civil society. They are concerned with defending civil society against the encroachments from inner colonization by the society's technocratic structure. According to Cohen the NSMs have all raised the theme of self-defence of 'society' against the state.¹² They aim at protecting and enlarging the autonomy of civil society. Most NSMs anchor their ideological conceptions to the assumption that civil society is getting diminished and the "social" of the civil society is eroded by the controlling ability of the state. The expansion of the state coincides with the expansion of the market. State and market are seen as two institutions making inroads into almost all aspects of the citizen's

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 832.

¹¹ Op. Cit., (Vibha Arora), p. 84.

¹² Jean Cohen, "Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movement", *Social Research*, Vol.52 No.4, (Winter 1985), p. 664.

life. Consequently, the NSMs raise the issue of the “self- defence” of the community and society against the increasing expansion of the state.¹³

The role of NSMs in relation to civil society can be identified at two levels. At one, they are *defensive*, seeking to protect civil society from the tentacles of the centralising state: at another, they are *assertive*, seeking to change civil society from within and in the process putting forward a conception of the “good life” some what different from that articulated by any of the established political parties. Considered individually, these movements are small and scattered, taken collectively they are an increasingly visible part of the contemporary political scene.¹⁴ The agenda of these movements are a gradual extension of the democratic space in which ordinary people can deliberate over, make decision about, and take actions on matters, which intimately concern them.

NSMs in the West and India

In the 1960s and 1970s European and American societies witnessed the emergence of these new social movements around issues which were basically humanist, cultural and non-materialistic in nature. The goals and values of these movements were essentially universalistic.¹⁵ Their actions were directed at the defence of the essence of the human and the protection of those conditions, which help promote better life conditions. The NSMs are predominantly plural. Their polymorphs expressions range from anti-racism, anti-nuclearism, disarmament, feminism, environmentalism, regionalism etc to issues of personal freedom and peace.

The seventies also saw a number of grassroot, micro-movements in India, such as, Dalit movements, movements for Civil Liberties and Democratic rights, Women's movements and various movements of religious and ethnic minorities. The nature of these movements is different from that of the earlier movements. These new movements are not seen as responses of classes to economic crisis or breakdown as perceived by the old or classical theories of social movements. They involve the participation of different classes and the mobilisation of ascriptive categories.¹⁶

¹³ Rajendra Singh , *Social Movements: Old and New; A Post-Modernist Critique*, Sage Publication, New Delhi, pp. 98-105

¹⁴ Ramchandra Guha “ The problem” *Seminar* (special issue) No-355, March -1989,p.12.

¹⁵ Op. Cit., (Rejendra Singh), p. 96.

¹⁶ Abhash C. Panda and Arun K. Sharma. "Reconstructing the Theory of Social Movements", in Sebasti L. Raj and Arundhuti Ray Choudhury (ed.), *Contemporary Social Movements in India: Achievements and Hurdles*. Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, p. 12.

In the western tradition, the novelty of christening of NSMs is seen in their disillusionment with the statist politics of socialist left and neo-liberal right, and their explicit rejection of the state as a tool that can be utilised to create social justice and ensure democratic accountability. Indeed, NSMs most distinctive characteristic is their wariness of any centralised and hierarchical form of governance. In contrast to the workers movements, NSMs display novel forms of democratic organisation, which are rooted in the defence of a pluralistic and autonomous civil society. NSMs therefore, do not seek to control the state.

Often this transformation in the nature of movement is linked with the transforming representation of society.¹⁷ A movement from the industrial to post-industrial, modern to post-modern society has led to the change in the nature and form of social movements i.e. from old to new social movements. While the old movements corresponded to the "representations" of capitalism and industrialism, of the expansion and domination of western civilisation over non-western societies, the NSMs suggest the exhaustion of that modernist representation. It in fact rejects the very idea of growth and development, the ideological wheels on which capitalism, materialism and modernity run.¹⁸

The emergence of NSMs in India, the forms and styles of their mobilisation, the type of claims they stake, and the issues they have come to respond to, including the justification of their "newness" in the contemporary setting of the Indian society relates to the emerging "representation" of Indian society that has come to be characterised by the emergence of an aggressive and restless consciousness of people about their "rights", their "claims", and their share in the resources of the nation on the one hand, and on the other, by the growing awareness of their ability to collectively contest, compete and even to enter into conflict, and confrontation, against the state or against another adversary.¹⁹ The changes in Indian society, permitted people to organise, form collectivities and action groups, and produce movements in the defence of the Civil Society against the state.

In the west, the new social movements have concentrated on "quality of life" issues where as in the third world access to economic resources is very much a central concern. Here it is question of sheer survival, not of enhancing the quality of life. Thus, here "equity and redistribution" that becomes the central issue.

¹⁷ Op. Cit., (Rajendra Singh), p. 43.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 99.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 192.

Reasons for the emergence of NSMs

In considering the new social movements it is important to pay attention to the circumstances in which they arise. There are two broad explanations for the emergence of the NSMs. One that focuses on post-materialist values and the other that focuses on the experiences of a post-industrial world.

One of the most significant and pervasive accounts of origins of the new social movements has emphasised a 'value-shift' in society explained in terms of post-materialist thesis. Environmental Movements, for example, are seen as possessing post-materialist values that directly contest, in a paradigmatic battle, the dominant materialist values of modern society. A shift from materialist to post-materialist value priorities has brought new political issues to the center of the stage and provided much of the impetus for new political movements.

An alternative account of the origins of the NSMs is based on the thesis of post-industrialism. Carl Boggs says from the post-industrialist perspective "to the degree that the radicalism of New Social Movements tends to flow from the deep crisis of industrial society".²⁰ He again says the post-industrial setting generates a unique social and political climate that promotes the formation of New Social Movements.

Late 60s and early 70s which witnessed an ongoing crisis in the post-world war ideologies and institutions, such as development, the nation state and democracy and on the other, an inability or failure of existing counter systemic movements and institutions to address themselves to the issues raised by these crisis, became the background for the emergence of the NSMs.

These movements have not arisen in a vacuum. In the third world, modernisation on the Western model has probably failed to realise its expectation. In the West, the rising crime rates, the plights of the elderly, corruption of the political system and especially the escalating arms race have all questioned the idea of modernisation process. Nor there is much comfort in the world of 'actual existing socialism'. The achievements of the post-revolutionary societies in meeting the basic needs of education, health, housing and employment have been possible at a terrible human cost. Thus, the new social movements are part of what is now a much wider process of disillusionment with the two dominant

²⁰ Timothy Doyle and Doug Mc Eachern, *Environment and Politics*, Routledge, London and New York, p. 60.

western models of progress- industrialisation on the capitalistic and communist patterns respectively.

The state and its apparatuses have failed to deliver their promises, thus resulting in a strong disenchantment with the system. The policy of development followed by the state resulted in development for the few and impoverishment for the many. The statist developments have led to the annihilation of tribes, cultures, and people through displacement. NSMs therefore, emerged to provide the conceptual critiques of development and modernisation.

Kothari looks at the changing nature of the state and its role in civil society, especially as it impinges on the masses and the peoples, to explain the emergence of the NSMs.²¹ In the post-colonial world, there has been a presumption in favour of the state as a mediator in ameliorating the harshness of traditional social structures for the purpose of ensuring justice and equality, a protector of vulnerable peoples and liberator of oppressed and colonized populations, and an engine of growth and development that would usher in a new civil order based on progress and prosperity and confer rights to life and liberty, equality and dignity, on the people at large. There was a further presumption of relative autonomy of the state from entrenched interests and classes.²²

New Social Movement Theories

The inadequacies of the classical approaches to the study of social movements became obvious in sixties and seventies when movements did not necessarily emerge from groups or collectives who conform to the image of being anomic, fragmented and underprivileged. These Movements also stood for new goals, values and alternative social structures. The theoretical response in the United States came in the form of the "resource-mobilisation" paradigm and in Western Europe the "identity -oriented" paradigm,²³ to explain the origin and outcome of these movements and the new phenomena.

The resource mobilisation paradigm

Resource mobilisation theorists began their thesis by rejecting the emphasis on the role of "feelings" and "grievances", the use of psychologising categories and the focus on

²¹ Rajni Kothari, "Masses, classes and the State" in Ghanshyam Shah (ed.) *Social Movements and the State*. Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp. 68-90

²² Ibid. p.73

²³ Op. Cit., (Jean Cohen), p. 663.

breakdown characteristic of the collective behaviour approach.²⁴Theorists belonging to this school question the conventional assumption that generally the actors of collective mobilisations are men undergoing the experience of alienation and social strain. The basic assumption of this theory is that the NSMs require a sophisticated form of communication and organisation and are a rationally organised system of mobilisation.²⁵ The actors in NSMs are treated as rational beings capable of reasoning and calculation of success and failure. Thus, the rational actor (individual and group) replaces the crowd as the central referent for the analysis of social movements. Utilitarianism permeates the writings of most of the proponent of resource mobilisation theory of NSMs. Charles Tilly has made an important contribution to the Resource Mobilisation Theory. Assumptions of this theory are:

- Social movements must be understood in terms of conflicts of interest.
- The formation of movements depends instead on changes in resources, organisation and opportunities for collective actions.
- Success of the movement is proven by the recognition of the group as a political actor or if the material benefits increases.
- Mobilisation involves large-scale special purpose, bureaucratic, formal organisation. Thus, organisation and rationality are the two basic premises of the Resource Mobilisation Analysis.

The Resource Mobilisation Approach, by emphasising the need of internal resource to mobilise groups, failed to explain the mobilisation of the groups who are poor in terms of resources.

Identity-Oriented Paradigm

As opposed to the above theory formulated and practised by the American scholars, the identity-oriented theory is predominantly of European origin. Compared to the focus on and significance attached to rationalism and materialism by the above theory, the identity-oriented theory is generally non-materialistic and expressive in nature. The theory rejects the attempt of the resource mobilisation theory to impose a neo-utilitarian and voluntaristic rational model to explain social movements. According to this theory contemporary collective actor consciously struggle over the power to socially construct new identities. It

²⁴ Ibid., p.674.

²⁵ Op. Cit., (Rejendra Singh), p. 106.

thus, becomes important to look into the processes by which the actors create the identities.²⁶ There is a general agreement that identity oriented movements and collective actions are expressions of the human quest for identity, autonomy and recognition. According to Habermass, this theory puts importance on the processes that promote autonomy and self-determination of movement rather than striving for influence and power maximisation.²⁷

Thus, the identity-oriented theorists argue that theories stressing the primacy of structural contradictions, economic classes and crises in determining collective identity are inappropriate in examining the contemporary collective action. They also maintain that one cannot apply the rational-action models to those collective actors whose conflictual interaction is not limited just to political exchanges, negotiations or strategic calculation between adversaries. The two important theorists in this area have been Pizzorno and Touraine.

Among other new approaches that have an impact on the Indian debate, the theories of “civil society versus the state” needs special attention. The theory appears to be important in many analyses; they take off from the evident fact that many of the new movements have their major thrust against the state rather than private property- based capitalism or the market. The theory stresses the efforts of groups and sections in highly state- dominated societies to fight for space for democratic control and autonomy.

The Characteristics of the New Social Movements

In order to characterise some of the chief features of NSMs, scholars on the field have generally tried to locate the “newness” of NSMs either in the changing interface between civil society and the state, or in the changing make up and representation of contemporary society itself. Some of the ideal – typical characteristics of the NSMs are:

- The NSMs are non- class and non- materialistic in focus. They radically alter the Marxist paradigm of explaining conflicts and contradictions in terms of class and class conflicts. The left interpellated to exclude the claims and contestations of the groups steaming from issues relating to gender, ecology, race, ethnicity etc, from the system of Marxist materialist explanation of movement and change in society. Marxism saw all forms of struggle as class struggles and all forms of human

²⁶ Op. Cit, (Jean Cohen), p. 690.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 705.

groupings as class groupings. Many contemporary struggles such as anti-racism, disarmament, the feminist movement and environmentalism, are not class struggle, nor do they reflect a movement of classes. Their groupings are beyond class.

- The NSMs include struggles as diverse as urban, ecological, anti authoritarian, anti – institutionalist, feminist, anti-racist, ethnic and regional. The sites of the struggle go beyond the traditional workplace of industries and factories, and fields and farms.
- The NSMs are Trans-national movements. These movements articulate, project and struggle for human issues and for issues relating to the very conditions of human existence. A number of their goals and targets are, therefore, located at the trans–societal global human site. Their conception of conflict and tension are international. For example NSMs seek answers to questions relating to peace, disarmament nuclear pollution, nuclear war relating to the defence of the planet (the earth), the ecology, environment and human rights.
- NSMs generally evolve a grassroots politics, grassroots actions, often-initiate micro movements of small groups, targeting localised issues with a limited institutional base.
- The structure of the NSMs unlike the classical movement is defined by the plurality of pursuits and purpose, goals and orientation and by the heterogeneity of their social bases.²⁸
- The NSMs arose a single issue or “one point programme” and have been increasingly expanding, overlapping, engaging in mutual dialogue and moving towards more encompassing ideologies and campaigns. For example- the environmental movement starting from locally based opposition to individual development projects moved to a critique of the development path of the state as such and a call for an “alternative” or “peoples” development.
- Another important characteristic of the NSMs is that they mobilise sections/groups that are oppressed/exploited in ‘new’ or different ways by the processes of modern capitalism, bring forward new issues and they carry ideologies that represent a theoretical as well as practical challenges to traditional theories of capitalism and exploitation.
- The movements are anti-systemic in character.

²⁸ Op. Cit., (Rajendra Singh), pp. 98-105.

- The NSMs are making a bid for direct political participation.²⁹
- They are pre-eminently social and cultural in character and only secondarily political.
- They are located within the civil society. NSMs bypass the state. The aim is to defend civil society against the encroachments from inner colonisation by the society's technocratic structure.
- NSMs are concerned with cultural innovations, the creation of new life styles and a challenge to entrenched values. These NSMs are characterised by a common societal critic that aims at social change through the transformation of values, personal identities and symbols. They do so by the creation of alternative life styles.³⁰
- NSMs do not bear a clear relation to the structural roles of the participants. There is a tendency in NSMs to transcend class structure. More important are the different social strata provided by youth, gender, sexual orientation and professions.
- Ideologically, NSMs are profoundly different from the Marxist perception of ideology as a unifying and totalising element for collective action. NSMs exhibit a Multitude of ideas and values.
- NSMs often involve the emergence of new dimensions of identity. The grievances are based on a set of beliefs, symbols, values and meaning, rather than on the economic grievances that characterised the working- class movements.
- Many contemporary movements are “acted out” in individual actions rather than through or among mobilised groups. The movements become the focus for the individual definition of himself or herself and action within the movements is a complex mix of the collective and individual confirmations of identity.
- NSMs often involve personal and intimate aspects of human life e.g. what we eat, wear and enjoy.
- There is disdain on behalf of NSMs for conventional politics. Consequently NSMs maintain elements of autonomy from traditional mass parties.

²⁹ Gail Omvedt “Peasants, Dalits and Women: Democracy and India’s New Social Movements” in Manoranjan Mahanty et al. *Peoples Right: Social Movements and the state in the Third world*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp. 223-240.

³⁰ Alon Scott, *Ideology and the New Social movements* London, Union, Hymen, 1990.

- NSMs seem to be segmented, diffused and decentralised. There is a tendency toward considerable local autonomy of local sections.³¹

Difference between Old and New

Touraine has differentiated the old social movements from the NSM based on the discursive character of the NSM. Unlike the old/past social movements which opposed domination through meta-social principles, NSMs are proposed to challenge domination by a direct call to personal and collective action based on solidarity carrying on conflicts and breaking the limits of the system in which the action occurs. In his opinion, new social movements are the works that society performs on itself, and conflict is ultimately about the control of historicity, the cultural model that governs social practices and a struggle over normative models of society.³²

The pattern of social and political conflict that one finds expressed in the NSM's is the opposite of the 'old' social movements. Firstly, the conflict is not staged by one class but by a social alliance that consists of elements coming from different classes and "non-classes". Secondly, it is not a conflict between the principal economic agents of the model of production but an alliance that includes virtually every element but these principle classes. Thirdly, the demands are not-class-specific but rather strongly universalistic or to the contrary, highly particularistic, and thus in any case either more or less inclusive or "categorical" than class issues.³³

Another important difference between "new" and "old" social movements is that while two of the three elements of the social base (new middle class, and peripheral groups) supporting the NSMs are rising in numbers rather than declining and the forces supporting the old social movements are unlikely to survive the impact of the economic and cultural modernisation they desperately tried to resist.³⁴

³¹ Larana, E. Johnston, H. and Gusfield, J.R (eds), *New Social movements : From ideology to Identity* , Temple University Press, Philadelphia, 1992, p. 9, Cited in *Environment and politics* , by Timothy Doyle and Doug Mc Eachern , Routledge , London and New York, 1998, p. 61

³² Alain Touraine, "An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements", *Social Research*, Vol. 52, No. 4, 1985, pp. 749-788.

³³ Op. Cit., (Larana, E. Johnston, H. and Gusfield, J.R (eds.)), p.835

³⁴ Ibid. pp. 837-38

Table 1: Difference Between Old and New Movements

| | OLD MOVEMENTS | NEW MOVEMENTS |
|-----------------|--|---|
| ACTORS | Socio-economic groups acting as groups (in the groups interest) and involved in distributive conflicts | Socio-economic groups acting not as such, but on behalf of ascriptive collectivities. |
| ISSUES | Economic growth and distribution: Military and Social Security, social control. | Preservation of peace, environment, human rights etc. |
| VALUES | Freedom and Security of private consumption and Material progress. | Personal autonomy and identity as opposed to centralized control. |
| MODES OF ACTION | (a) Internal: formal organisations, large scale representative associations, (b) External: pluralist or corporatist interest intermediation: political party competition. | (a) Internal: informality, spontaneity, and low degree of horizontal and vertical differentiation. (b) External: protest politics. |

Source: Claus Offe “New social movements: challenging the boundaries of institutional politics”, *Social Research*, vol-52, no-4, winter, 1985, p. 832.

New Social Movements: The Conceptual Debate

The debate on the concept of NSMs has begun in the last two decades. The debate can be captured by analysing the two themes as given below.

What is ‘new’ about the New Social Movements:

The New Social movements are ‘new’ in that they themselves, through the ideologies they generate, define their exploitation and oppression, the system that generates these and the way to end this exploitation and oppression, in “new” terms – relate to traditional Marxism but having clear differences with it. They cannot in other words, be seen as simply ‘popular movements’ of sections willing to follow along under the vanguardship of the working class and its parties or accept working class ideology, they consciously reject this kind of relationship and question the ideology as they have experienced it.³⁵

They are “New” because they are movements of groups that were either ignored as exploited by traditional Marxism (Women, dalits and shudras) or who are exploited in ways related to the new processes of contemporary capitalism (peasants forced to produce for capital through market exploitation managed by the state, peasants and forest dwellers

³⁵ See Gail Omvedt, *Reinventing Revolution: New Social Movements and the socialist traditions in India*. Sharpe, New York. 1993.

victimized by environmental degradation) but left unconceptualised by a preoccupation with “private property” and wage labour”.

What makes the new social movements “new” is not simply because they represent social groups/sections oppressed and exploited in new ways by the processes of world capitalist system, but because they are verging towards a new or alternative path of development.³⁶ They are challenging the statist indicators of growth and asserting liveability, sustainability and equality as new parameters of developments. This new discourse of development has important implications for the development paradigm in the knowledge claims of the state, for the new social movements express a sustained critique of the ideology of development.³⁷ They use multiple strategies to counteract state power by applying their own indicators to assess the desirability of development. Actors of new social movements espouse the ethics of ‘survival-sustenance-coexistence and open-endedness’ instead of the irreversible process of ‘domination-expansion- growth-efficiency’, as embedded in developmentalist ideology.³⁸ These movements are not traditional pressure groups lobbying for their share of the rewards awarded by the development process. They are seeking to redefine the entire matrix of development.

TH-12611
The contemporary social movements are defined as “new” because they involve struggles around the areas opened up by the post-industrial society. Alain Touraine in his book, *The post- industrial Society*, makes a distinction between pre-capitalist or pre-industrial, capitalist or industrial, post-capitalist or post- industrialist societies. While the first one was characterised by an emphasis on the value of exchange and the second one on production, the last is defined by its emphasis on information and communication. The post industrial society produces a condition for people to rise up in defence of human rights more than for the question of social justice.³⁹

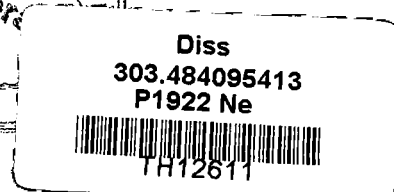
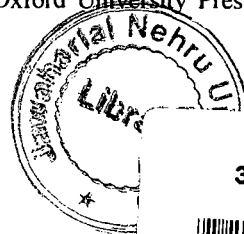
The new social movements, as against the old class-based social movements, deal less with labour and economic problems. This is so because the domination, which is challenged controls not only “means of production” but also the production of symbolic

³⁶ Gail Omvedt, “Peasants, Dalit and Women: Democracy and Indias New Social Movements” in Manoranjan Mohanty et. al. (ed) *Peoples Right: Social Movements and the state in the Third World*, Sage Publication, New Delhi, 1998, p. 238

³⁷ Pramod Parajuli, “Power and Knowledge in Development Discourse: New Social Movements and the State in India” in Niraja Gopal Jayal (ed.), *Democracy in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, p.258.

³⁸ Ibid. p. 272.

³⁹ Op. Cit., (Rejendra Singh), p. 57.



goods that is of information and images of culture itself. Thus, Touraine argues that the NSMs deal with cultural and ethical problems. This is because the post-industrial social issue marks a shift from the economic agenda to a moral and an ethical agenda.⁴⁰

The ideological paradigm and value orientations of the NSMs are “New”. Unlike the old movements of the past, these “New” issue-oriented, NSMs did not involve themselves in the ideological discourse on the questions of “anti-capitalism”, “class revolution” and “class-struggle”. Indeed, the new movements are not interested in the idea of revolution and in the revolutionary overthrow of the system of governance of the state.⁴¹

The actors of the new social movements abandoned the old left as well as its modes of organisation. Instead of forming unions or political parties, they focus on grassroots politics and create horizontal, directly democratic associations that are loosely federated on national levels. They target the social domain of “civil society” rather than the economy or state, raising issues concerned with the democratisation of the structures of everyday life.⁴² According to Jean Cohen the actors in the old social movements came to understand themselves as revolutionaries fighting for a total break with the institutions and culture of “bourgeois” civil society. In short the old movement became dominated by a revolutionary Marxist ideology. As against this, identity in the NSMs is consciously distinguished from the two dimensions of the old movements: its revolutionary and totalising character. The chief characteristic of the NSMs is seen in their self-limiting nature.⁴³ According to Cohen the NSMs are self-limiting in four senses.

- Generally, the actors in NSMs do not struggle for the return of the utopian undifferentiated communities of the past.
- The actors struggle for autonomy, plurality and difference without rejecting the formal egalitarian principles of democracy, parliament, political participation and public representation of its juridical structures.
- The actors make a conscious effort to learn from past experiences, to relativise their values through reasoning, except in the case of fundamentalist expressions of NSMs.
- The actors accept the formal existence of the state and of market economy.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p.43.

⁴¹ Ibid., p.96

⁴² Op. Cit., (Jean Cohen), p. .667

⁴³ Op. Cit., (Rejendra Singh), p. 102.

The NSMs are new because they have emerged during the past twenty years in fields which were untouched by the old social movements e.g., sex differences, health, relation to nature, human survival. The NSMs are shifting more and more from the “political” form, which was common to the traditional class based social movements, to a cultural ground. There has been a shift in focus from external to “internal nature”. The NSMs reveal new contradictions and they involve social groups more directly affected.⁴⁴

The actors in these conflicts are no longer social classes that are stable groups defined by a specific social condition and culture (as the working class was during capitalistic industrialization).⁴⁵ The actors in conflicts are increasingly temporary. They don't fight merely for material goals, but for symbolic and cultural stakes. The old social movements formed only a formal organization but the NSMs included not only formal organization but also the network of “informal” relationships of individuals and groups. Thus the NSMs are different from traditional political organisations. Moreover, they are increasingly autonomous from political systems.⁴⁶

NSMs emerge only on specific issues, as for instance the big mobilisation for peace, protection of environment and against nuclear policy etc. According to Melucci the NSMs are a network of small groups submerged in everyday life. Such networks have the following characteristics.⁴⁷ (a) They allow multiple membership, (b) militancy is only part-time and short-term, (c) personal involvement.

The issues of the NSMs are new. The core items on the agenda of the old social movements in the period from the immediate post-war years until the early seventies were issues of economic growth, distribution and security. Specialised comprehensive and highly institutionalised interest organisations and political parties were the dominant collective actors. The dominant *issues* of new social movements are body and sexual identity, environment, survival of humankind etc, all having common root in certain values. These issues are not in themselves “new” but are because of the emphasis on values like autonomy and identity (with their organisational correlates such as decentralisation, self-government, and self-help).⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Alberto Melucci, “The symbolic challenge of contemporary movements”, *Social Research*. Vol.52, No. 4, Winter-1985. pp.789-801.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 796.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p.799

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p.800

⁴⁸ *Op. Cit.*, (Claus Offe), p. 829.

There is something new in the *mode of action* of the new social movements. The mode of action involves two aspects: the internal mode of action and external mode of action. In their internal mode of action, new social movements do not rely in contrast to the old social movements, on the organisational principle of differentiation, whether in the horizontal (insider Vs outsiders) or in the vertical dimension (leaders Vs rank and file member). In the external mode of action, we find demonstration tactics and other forms of action making use of the physical presence of (large numbers of) people.⁴⁹ Protest tactics and protest demands indicate that the mobilised groups of actors conceive of themselves as an ad-hoc and often single-issue veto alliance rather than an organisationally or even ideologically integrated group.

The most striking aspect about the actors involved in NSMs is that they do not rely for their self-identification on either the established political codes (left/right, liberal/conservation etc) nor on the partly corresponding socio-economic codes (such as working class/middle class, poor/wealthy, rural/urban population etc). The universe of political conflict is rather coded in categories taken from the movements issues, such as gender, locality, ecology etc. According to Claus Offe, the insistence upon the irrelevance of socio-economic codes (such as class) and political codes (ideologies) that one finds on the level of self-identification of new social movements is part of their “newness” and distinguishes them from the “old” social movements.⁵⁰ The actors of the NSMs, according to Rajendra Singh are generally drawn from the non-segmental, broadly generalised social-base cutting across the social categories of gender, education, occupation or class. Actors work in NSMs not because of their class interest, instead they struggle for the interests of humankind. While the structure of NSMs generally cuts across notional boundaries, the actors of the movement cut across the confines of the social categories of case, class, race, religion and political territories.⁵¹

The forms through which social movements express themselves have entered a new phase. For a century or more we had become accustomed to particular forms of organisation in the developed capitalist societies that was articulated around two main themes. The first, the theme of class struggle, the second, the theme of political ideology. Amin points out the organisational forms generated by the earlier movements (e.g. working class) around the

⁴⁹ Ibid., pp.829-30

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.831

⁵¹ Op. Cit., (Rejendra Singh), p. 104.

themes of class struggle and political ideology, with the objective of capture of state power, seemed to have “exhausted their historical effectiveness.”⁵² In these conditions, the expressions of unsatisfied social needs organises itself in other ways. These new forms have appeared as feminist movements, ecological movements etc. The issues raised by these, if not truly new, have at least hitherto not really been spelled out.⁵³

The issues raised by these movements rest on one of the important premises i.e. the unequal development of capitalism. This unequal development immanent in capitalist expansion, Amin argues, has placed on the agenda of history *another type of revolution*, that of the peoples (i.e. not specific class) of the periphery. This revolution is anti-capitalist in the sense that it is against capitalist development but is not socialist.⁵⁴

The mobilisation process that these movements have adopted makes them new. Frank and Fuentes argue that these movements mobilise hundreds of millions of people in all parts of the world-mostly outside the established political and social institutions that people find inadequate to serve their needs.⁵⁵ They respond to social needs, which have been more recently generated by world development.

They are regarded as “new” because they appear to throw up new conceptions of power and politics. While the older movements and institutional forms, such as the left parties, view power as emanating from a small range of institutions and aim for the capture of state power, these movements have confronted various other modes of exercise of power (for example, within the family, the community) broadening and redefining the scope of the political. The capture of state power is not the sole objective, and at times may not be an objective at all.⁵⁶ In the views of Frank and Fuentes – “Not seeking let alone wielding-state power is a *sine qua non* of a social movement, and state power would negate the very essence and purpose of most of these movements”. These movements are again characterised as movements around identity and symbolic/cultural sphere of action, as opposed to the strategic paradigm in the resource mobilisation theory.⁵⁷

⁵² Samir Amin “Social Movements at the periphery” in Poona Wignaraja (ed) *New Social Movements in the South: Empowering the people*. Vistar Publications, New Delhi pp.76-100.

⁵³ Ibid., p.77

⁵⁴ Ibid. p.83

⁵⁵ Op. Cit., (A.G.Frank and Marta Fuentes), pp. 32-55

⁵⁶ Anjali Monterio, and Lakshmi Lingam, “Towards a Common Voice?: An Introduction to Movements and Campaigns in India”, *The Indian Journal of Social Work*. (TISS) Vol.50, Issue-1, Jan-1998. p.9.

⁵⁷ Ibid.- p.10

The NSMs emerged because of the failure of the welfare state and what is new is that the masses are on the rise but the institutional or conventional channels and modes of mobilisation and struggle (political parties and trade unions) through which they ought to have found expression and which were to provide a spring board of radical action are found to be wanting, co-opted and corrupted. Rajni Kothari says it is in this state of vacuum the real counter trends are to be found not in the party system and trade union. In their place there is emerging a new arena of counter action.⁵⁸

This challenge is an effort to redefine the scope and the range of politics. It is an effort to open up new spaces in both the arena of the state and in spheres of civil society. And it is based on new spurts in consciousness. This engagement in actual struggles as well as search for new alternatives has resulted in the emergence of a whole new class of people known as activists drawn from the middle class. There has been a convergence of a conscious and rest-less people and a conscientious and equally rest-less class of volunteer politicians (to be distinguished from professional party politicians) from which the new grassroots movements or micro struggles are taking shape. It is from such a convergence of grassroots politics and new grassroots thinking that new definitions of the scope and range of politics are surfacing and around this redefinition the new Social movements are emerging. The NSMs thus intervene in new areas, not traditionally within the ambit of movements – environment, health, women, peace, shelter and so on.⁵⁹ These issues according to Kothari makes the NSMs “new” as against the old social movements.

The ‘newness’ of the NSMs can be identified by highlighting the differences between the NSMs and old movements at different levels. According to Ramchandra Guha, these differences can be seen at two levels.⁶⁰ At the level of the *economy*, they have brought to the fore conflicts over productive resources that were hitherto neglected or peripheral to the concerns of political organisations. If the scene of the ‘traditional’ class struggle was the field and the factory, the ecology movement represents a new kind of class struggle that, over natural resources like forests and water. Likewise, the women’s movement has insistently questioned the downgrading of certain forms of work on sexual grounds, both in the workplace and with in the household, and the barriers to the entry of women in many professions. Yet the economic demands of the NSMs are not restricted to a more equitable

⁵⁸ Op. Cit., (Rajni Kothari), p. 83.

⁵⁹ Ibid ,p.84.

⁶⁰ Op. Cit., (Ramchandra Guha), pp. 12-13.

distribution of resources between competing groups in spheres of production largely ignored by earlier movements.⁶¹ On a *political* plane, the new social movements are distinctive insofar as they operate almost wholly outside the traditional party system. Indeed much of the membership and force of contemporary social movements (world-wide) is the reflection of people's disappointment and frustration with and their search for alternatives to the political process, political parties, the state, and the capture of state power.⁶²

The last three decades of this century have seen the steady emergence of new types of social movements – of women, tribals, environmental movements of displaced people, the various kinds of autonomy movements. Thus the new social movements emerged to fight for specific issues. In that sense these movements what Manoranjan Mohanty says have exposed the multi-dimensionality of domination and oppression in society, thereby suggesting struggle for liberation at a multi-dimensional level.

What is what is “new” is not the social movement themselves: struggles against multifarious forms of oppression have existed from time immemorial. What is new is the *framework* which locates these movements as part of a process of revolutionary social transformation.⁶³ In the older frameworks capture of state power is the essential element. While in the non-Marxist framework, oppression and liberation are defined solely in class terms and other types of oppression of women, ethnic and religious minorities, etc is downplayed. In the new model, on the other hand, all struggles seeking to abolish oppressive, authoritarian relationships, whether they are based on class, gender, caste, religion, ethnicity or anything else, are seen as part of a process of revolutionary social transformation.

Can the NSMs be treated as an alternative?

There has been a great deal of debate on NSMs as to whether these movements can be seen as the major force for bringing about social transformation and there by as an alternative to the old movements.

One basic question that arises “Can all these movements which are described as micro struggles, produce a macro challenge and bring about transformations? Kothari answers by saying that this cannot be achieved through the union activity, peasant

⁶¹ Ibid.-p.12.

⁶² Ibid.-p.13

⁶³ Rohini Hensman, Social Movements: What's “new”?, (Review Article), *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXIX, No. 21, May-21, 1994, p.1272.

organisation, and capture of state power through electoral mobilisation. But that does not mean that the non-party political processes are in any way hostile to the party political process. On the contrary it is partly to revitalise the party political process and partly to correct its inadequacies. It is not in any way opposed to party political process. To achieve the end, the NSMs have a role to play along side the classical movements. In short a coalition of social movements (both new and old) and a mass struggle according to Kothari is what the need of the hour. One without the other cannot bring about the necessary transformations.⁶⁴

The NSMs have been analysed in terms of the phenomena of exclusiveness.⁶⁵ That is new movements are more autonomous as against the old movements which lack autonomy. But Mohanty is critical of this phenomenon of exclusiveness and autonomy. According to him a women's movement rarely links up with an autonomy movement, autonomy movement with the environment movement and the latter with an agrarian struggle, because of this phenomenon of exclusiveness and autonomy. This results in the attitude "this movement is ours and that is yours."⁶⁶

Thus these movements remain isolated from one another. In this process, the movements become more and more vulnerable to repression and manipulation by the state.⁶⁷ According to Mohanty the political imperatives of the *creative society*⁶⁸, which aims at comprehensive democratic transformation that secures ecologically sustainable development which is culturally compatible, morally satisfying, socially just and politically participative, demand that social movements view one another as autonomous and interconnected at the same time.

⁶⁴ Kothari .op.cit.,, p.88

⁶⁵ 'Exclusiveness' is a term used in case of NSMs to point out the fact that these movements have emerged to represent particular issues, actors and different areas of life. For more see, Manoranjan Mahanty "Social Movements in creative society: of autonomy and Interconnections in M.Mohanty et al (ed) *Peoples Right: Social Movements and the state in third world*, Sage Publications, New Delhi , p.70

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 70.

⁶⁷ Ibid. p.72

⁶⁸ The concept of *creative society* refers to a phase of development of a society in which a large number of potential contradictions become articulate and active. This is most evident when oppressed social groups get politically mobilised and demand their rights. The upsurge of the peasants and tribals, the movements for regional autonomy and self-determination, the environmental movements and the women's movements in the developing countries are marks of the emergence of *creative society* in contemporary times. For more see, Manoranjan Mohanty, "Social Movements in creative society: of autonomy and Interconnections in M.Mohanty et al (ed) *Peoples Right: Social Movements and the state in third world*, Sage Publications, New Delhi , p. 65.

Therefore, he would use the term “people’s movement” instead of new social movements. This is because of two things. First, it is politically a more potent concept than social movements. The latter by itself does not carry the legacy of the anti-colonial struggle which is the core of the former concept because it was the peoples united struggle against colonialism which triggered a new imagination of post-colonial transformations. Social movements are on specific issues on the other hand, people’s movement excites people’s imaginations to strive for greater freedom and equality. Second, this concept is not meant to replace class movements of workers and peasants. It includes class movements within its scope and at the same time covers the many movements for people’s right.⁶⁹

Though these movements can be characterised as new, the position of Frank and Fuentes, that the movements mobilise hundred of millions of people throughout the world⁷⁰ has been criticised. Ramachandra Guha says this is emphatically not the case in India. Compared to the class-based struggles the trade union movements, peasant movements of Sharad Joshi / Mahendra Tikit variety, and Naxalite-led movements of land less labourers and tribals- the popular support enjoyed by the NSMs is negligible. He argues the latter score, perhaps, in their incisive analysis of those aspects of poverty and oppression – ecological degradation, subordination of women and so on – that are given short shift by the class-based movements⁷¹

Some observers have optimistically suggested that the NSMs are on the verge of *replacing* the classical movements as the major force for the social change in the modern world. But Guha argues that given their limited social base, perhaps a more appropriate role would be one *complementary* to the more powerful class based movements.

The moral vision of the NSMs may be compelling, but they are by no means a substitute for the existing organisation of peasants and workers. The old social movements are as important today as at any time in the past. Thus, the NSMs must play more modest role than that assigned to them by the theorists of an *alternative* one. Guha says this is not to say that they must fully subordinate themselves to the imperative of the class based movements or submerge their identity by joining United fronts floated by political parties.

⁶⁹ Manoranjan Mahanty, “Introduction” in Manoranjan Mohanty et. al. *People’s Right: Social movements and the state in the Third world*, Sage pub. New Delhi, pp.17-18

⁷⁰ A.G.Frank and Fuentes “Nine theses on Social Movements in Ghanshyam Shah (ed) *Social Movements and the State*. Sage, New Delhi.

⁷¹ Op. Cit., (Ramchandra Guha), p. 15.

They will probably be most effective if they retain their identity, engage in a dialogue with 'party' political formation and yet remain outside their control.

After analysing the debate one can say that on the first theme that is 'whether these movements are new' there seems to be consensus across the board. The scholars like, Gail Omvedt, Claus Offe, Jean Cohen believe that these movements are new and they have given their own arguments to strengthen the above theme. But, on the second theme that is 'whether the NSMs can be seen as an alternative to the old' there has not been any unanimous view. Scholars like Rajni Kothari, Manoranjan Mohanty and Ramchandra Guha, though believe that these movements are "new", would say that these movements cannot be treated as an alternative rather they suggest a complimentary role to the NSMs. They call for an understanding and accommodation on both the sides. For if centralised parties must overcome their traditional suspicion of independent groups and fresh ideas, the NSMs on their part have to resist attempts to assign them the role of history's chosen agent, the alleged 'vanguard' of social change in the late 20th century.

In conclusion, it can be said that the NSMs are distinct from traditional anti-systemic movements in a number of ways. First, the focus of these movements is not to capture State power through elections or a violent revolution but rather to transform the nature of politics itself. While the 'old' movements in one way or another see the achievement of state power as essential to the process of social transformation they seek to bring about; even where they see the existing state as the target of attack, their goal is still the creation of their own state. The 'new' movements, on the contrary, have no such goal, even though they might seek to put pressure on the existing state to accede to their demands or prefer one form of state over another, the oppressed groups which give rise to these movements would not see the actual control of state power as contributing to their goal of achieving greater control over their own lives and destinies. Second, NSMs in India and elsewhere dispel the myth of a vanguard. Third, in these movements antagonisms are expressed not only through class but also through multiple 'sites of power' such as gender, ethnicity, caste and regional identity.

The 'newness' is in direct contrast to the old class based politics of the labour movement. NSMs are new responses to new grievances. The emergence of new societal cleavages and conflicts around issues of identity, values and solidarity can no longer be encapsulated within the overarching political economic conflicts in the production process. In fact, not only are NSMs different from the old, they are endowed with the necessary agency to fuel macro-level societal transformation replacing class as historical actors. As

makers of their times of post/high/late advanced modernity NSMs symbolise shifting objectives from those centered predominantly on economic interests to those based on cultural identities and orientations.

CHAPTER – II
DEVELOPMENT, RESOURCE USE AND PEOPLES
MOVEMENT: THE CASE OF ENVIRONMENTAL
MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

Mobilization by marginalized groups to protect their livelihood resources against commercial use is not new in India. During the colonial regime, there were tribal and peasants uprisings against state intervention in customary practices of the people. The replacement of customary management of common property resources by state management led to conflicts of interests, which manifested in people asserting their claim, right and control over their subsistence resources. After independence, the then current development ideal prompted the state to pursue economic growth through industrialization. Commodity production became the core of the Indian economy, and industry, mining and giant irrigation projects took shape in quick succession to change the economic and social landscape. The development path of the Indian democratic state was ideally designed to benefit the disadvantaged and promote equity and social justice. Ironically, India's democratic development agenda was subverted by dominant forces that appropriated the benefits of development to the disadvantage of the marginalized, who had suffered social and economic vulnerability in the past and who the development projects were designed to benefit. Not only did the developmental projects not benefit them, they added new dimensions to their already disadvantaged position. As technocratic economic growth took off and huge irrigation and hydel projects and heavy industries took shape, thousands of people were displaced from their original habitat. Without any comprehensive resettlement and rehabilitation policy, displacement became the inevitable fallout of development. As the natural resources were put to commercial use, a large number of people directly dependent on nature for their subsistence, lost their access to and control over these resources. It is no surprise, then, that they have resisted the policies formulated to bring them benefit through the environmental and people's movements. While resistance to the colonial state was prompted by an understanding that it was alien and oppressive, post-colonial assertions are against the Indian state, whose development logic is legitimized in the name of the people.¹

Contemporary assertions by the marginalized to gain control over their resources reveal, on the one hand, the tenuous relationship between the neglected citizenry and the state and, on the other, the potential of these people to redefine and refashion this relationship. As Melucci puts it: 'The public spaces which are beginning to develop in complex societies are

¹ There is a growing body of literature available on people's resistance to environmental consequences and loss of subsistence natural resources in different region of India – see Anil Agarwal and others (1987); Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain (1989); Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha (1992), (1995); Manoranjan Mohanty (1998); Gail Omvedt (1993) Niraja Gopal Jayal (2001) and Jayant Lele and Fahimul Quadir (2002)

points of connection between political institutions and collective demands, between the function of government and the representatives of conflict'. Conflicts over natural resources are not new, but contemporary movements have added a new dimension to the struggle by articulating the issues in terms of survival of the majority, as well as by focusing on the related issues of dominance, unequal distribution of developmental benefits, sustainable development and people's involvement in decision-making.²

Environmental consciousness and its social expression through various protests, form part of what has come to be known as 'new social movements.'³ One of the significant factors that distinguishes the newly emerging environmental groups and their activities from the older movements relates to the growth of development orientated action groups, popularly known as non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Most environmental movements in the country are now spearheaded by these groups and thus constitute the 'actors' of these movements. The nature of these groups is varied and disparate with numerous ideological shades. Yet they share one common platform, the non-party political platform. Politically conscious of their movements, these groups operate outside the sphere of party politics. However, of all the 'new' social movement, which emerged in the 1960s and 70's, it is these environmental movements which have had most enduring influence on politics.⁴

The Swedish sociologist Andrew Jamason has written on the New Social Movements that they are primarily the work of "young people impatient with the political methods of their elders", they represented, in effect, a 'revolt of the young'. In this sense the environmental movements are also driven by the energy and idealism of men and women in their twenties and thirties, thereby qualifying to be called as new social movements.⁵

The environmental movements are both 'new' and different in terms of their participants, methods of intervention, issues raised by them, their impacts in terms of redressal, policy shifts and consciousness and the discourse they provide which make them

² The idea is not to discuss whether these contemporary movements can be called as new social movement or not. But it can be argued that since these movements are different from the earlier class-based movements that mobilized people along party lines, they reflect a distinct approach towards people's issues and herald the emergence of a new phase of collective action.

³ Janki Andharia and Chandan Sengupta, "The Environmental Movement: Global Issues and the Indian Reality", *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, TISS, vol. 59, issue, 1, January 1998, p. 439.

⁴ Christopher Rootes, "Environmental Movements: From the Local to the Global" in self (ed.), *Environmental Movements: Local, National and Global*, Frank Cass, London, 1999, pp. 1-11.

⁵ Ramachandra Guha, *Environmentalism: A Global History*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2000, p. 80.

significant social mobilizations in the present times.⁶ While the agitations are carried out primarily by those directly affected by the shifts in the environment which include the rural peasant, the forest tribals, their women folk, the fisher folk, it also includes an allied hearing space where voluntary organizations, the media, professionals, civil and human rights groups and even sympathetic policymakers and bureaucrats who have created a “public-space” that supports the movements have a functional role even though removed from the locate sites of the movement. What is new about them is the articulation of their demands in the framework of the conflict over resources.⁷

Environmental movements in India attain significance not only as new social movements which focus on ecology but also as the active battlefield where a lot of motivated people, backed by supportive allies from different walks of life are rejecting the dominant official paradigm of development. Their cause is genuine and crucial for the future of not just those who are active in the struggle but of those as well who live in the protected walls of fancy homes and find themselves far removed from the marginalized, tribals, peasants and fisher-folk. It is the expansive horizon of the movements, which make them interesting subjects for analysis and understanding. The environmental movements reflect the agony of the third world countries, which have to fight the domination of the West which take the shape of unsuitable policies at home.

Environmental Protests and Civil Society

Environmental protests in India now pose a challenge to the dominant ideology of the meaning and patterns of development. While doing so, they are not being guided by any particular philosophy. These movements represent a wide spectrum of groups and activities that cut across specific regions and issues. They mobilize large masses of people, organize popular resistance that transcends political and social barriers, and create new socio-political actors. The movements represent a wide range of social groups that, up to now, have had very limited access to formal or even informal political processes in India.

The beginning of the 1990s witnessed the emergence of many NGOs that have been working with environmental issues. Community organizations have emerged through local initiatives that, in some areas, extend social traditions of protecting local rights and

⁶ See Harsh Sethi, “Survival and Democracy: Ecological Struggles in India”, in Poona Wignarja (ed.), *New Social Movements in the South: Empowering the People*, Vistar, New Delhi, 1993, pp. 122-147.

⁷ See Darryl D'Monte, “Green at the Grassroots” (Special issue on New Social Movements), *Seminar* 355, March 1989, pp. 16-21.

environment.⁸ NGO's, on the other hand, are local or external intervenors that create and support such community groups in their efforts. At present, more than 950 Indian NGOs are exclusively devoted to environmental issues.⁹ There has also been a resurgence of social action groups that are now mobilizing the weaker sections of society to fight in order to protect their environment. The newly formed National Alliance of People's Movements (NAPMs) has brought together most of these organizations. Their common rallying slogan is *Vinash Nahin, Vikas Chahiye* – (Development not destruction).¹⁰ With the new slogan, they have formed a popular network that defies regional boundaries and unifies the people from various streams. This effort is representative of the recent trends of non-party political activism in India. Today environmental organizations are fighting the battle at the social level rather than on political ground. They have contributed to the new developments that are attracting India's conventionally apolitical populace into expressing and fighting for their basic rights to participate in the decision-making process of the country in order to protect their interests.¹¹

The 'civil society' function of environmental organizations includes both a "supply side" approach, concentrating on the delivery of development projects, and a "demand side" approach, helping people to articulate their concerns and participate in the development process. This participatory process restrains the power of the state and also helps to bring that power under social control. Like its many counterparts in India's civil society, environmental organizations are working as a unifying force even as they scrutinize the government for potential abuses and violations of the law.

The positive feature of the environmental movements from a "civil society" functions point of view is that they make visible the hidden externalities of development based on a particular economic ideology and reveal its inherent injustice and non-sustainability. The recognition of these inadequacies and the imperatives arising from the right to survival creates

⁸ Ashok Swain "Democratic Consolidation? Environmental Movements in India", *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXXVII, no. 9, September 1997, p. 829.

⁹ N. Patrick Peritore, "Environmental Attitudes of Indian Elites: Challenging Western Post-Modernist Models", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 33, No. 8, August 1993, p. 807.

¹⁰ Rajni Bakshi, "Development, Not Destruction: Alternative Politics in the Making", *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol.31, no.5, February 3, 1996, pp. 255-57.

¹¹ Op. cit., (Ashok Swain), p. 830.

another ground and another direction for development, which ensures justice with sustainability, equity with ecological stability.¹²

Environmental Movements in the North and South

There is a great deal of consensus regarding the view that the environmental collective actions emerging in the third world is qualitatively different from the causes and concerns expressed in the First World movements. The third world or Southern Environmental Movements have been labeled as '*environmentalism of the poor*' to distinguish them from the First World or Northern Environmental Movements. In the North, the growth of environmental movements has been related to the emergence of Post-Materialist or Post-industrial Society.¹³ The core members in such mobilization belong mostly to the middle class living in material conditions that facilitate their relative neglect of material, economic and redistribute demands. As against this environmental movement in the Third World has been viewed as essentially actions by the marginalized poor to protect their environmental means of livelihood and sustenance. Environmental resources such as land, water and forests constitute the material basis of the production and reproduction of the economic poor. Actions in defence of such resources amid growing encroachment and degradation by the richer and better off sections of the society are what distinguish Third World environmentalism from that in the First World.¹⁴

The differences in the movements across North and South have been highlighted by a number of scholars. According to Radcliff,¹⁵

The two principal components of environmental movements in the South are of marginal importance to most movements in the developed countries. They are that those who constitute the movement are engaged in a livelihood struggle and secondly that they recognise that this livelihood struggle can be successful only if the environment is managed in a sustainable way.

Unlike the North, the conflicts are not so much over how the environment should be used but over who should use and benefit from it.¹⁶ In the Southern environmental movements

¹² Vandana Shiva, *Ecology and the Politics of Survival: Conflicts over Natural Resources in India.*, Sage Publication, New Delhi, p. 15.

¹³ Ramchandra Guha and Juan Martinez-Alier, *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North and South*, Earthscan, New York, 1997, p. 16.

¹⁴ Ranjit Dwivedi, "Environmental Movements in the Global South: Issues of Livelihood and Beyond", *International Sociology*, Sage, March 2001, vol. 16(1), pp. 11-29.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁶ See Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, *Ecology and Equity: The Uses and Abuses of Nature in Contemporary India*. Routledge, London and New York, 1995.

the epithet 'environmental' is relevant 'in so far as they express objectives in terms of ecological requirements for life'. Thus one can argue that it is not as much 'life-styles' as 'life chances' that constitute the battleground of environmental politics of the South.¹⁷

Environmental movements in India, therefore, are not necessarily for the 'green' or 'clean' earth or for saving mankind's heritage and endangered species as in the west, but for the very survival of the local poor.¹⁸ Thus despite the rise in the number of movements and conflicts over environmental issues, concern for 'environment' has remained peripheral for most of the contemporary movements. Rather all of these movements have focused on the "issues of livelihood".

The rise and growth of environmental movements in the South is because of the predatory exploitation of natural resources that feeds the process of development in post-colonial societies, the non-local production relations governing natural resource use and transformation and the inequality in resources distribution. For Vandana Shiva the environmental movements for the most part are between those who have been benefited from economic development and those who bear its costs. Shiva locates the Indian environmental movements as a response to the resource and energy-intensive 'development project' of the country's economic elite.¹⁹

The environmental movements of 'South' in general and India in particular possess the following features as against their Northern counterparts.²⁰ First they aim to mobilize local people in defence of the local environment against outside interests usually the state or big business. Second, the environmental action groups engaged in these movements are usually rural based. Third, women often form the core of their membership. Fourth, they work with foreign allies, such as Green peace International, although this does not ensure success. Finally, these environmental groups often do not win their struggles; failures outweigh successes.

Two Standpoints on Environmental Movements in India

Two standpoints have been identified keeping in view the differences in environmental movements in the west and India. The first one is the conventional or

¹⁷ Op. Cit., (Ranjit Dwevedi), p.16.

¹⁸ V. Ratna Reddy, "Environmental Movements in India: Some Reflections", *Journal of Indian School of Political Economy*, vol. x, October-December 1998, pp. 685-695.

¹⁹ Op. Cit., (Vandana Shiva), p. 19.

²⁰ Jeff Haynes, "Power, Politics and Environmental Movements in the Third World" in Christopher Rootes (ed.), *Environmental Movements: Local, National and Global*, Frank Cass, London, 1999, p. 223.

mainstream standpoint on Development and Environment. The second one is the livelihood standpoint on Development and Environment.²¹

The conventional standpoint equates development with increase in production of goods and services at the national level. The central objective of development in this standpoint is macro-economic growth. From this standpoint, nature remains a source of raw material and energy mainly for industries and a sink for dumping industrial and urban waste. After decades of struggle by environmentalists and people from communities affected by development projects and especially after acceptance of the 'environmental' cause by the mainstream institutions in the West, the protagonists of conventional standpoint in India started accepting that there exists something called 'environment' out there. The understanding of 'environmental' or 'ecological' issues from the conventional Development Standpoint has remained, because of the Western Origin of the Standpoint, primarily Western and largely in terms of 'economic externalities'.

As against the conventional standpoint on Development and Environment, the fundamental objective of livelihood standpoint on development is 'guarantee of dignified, secured livelihoods to all'. This standpoint emphasizes that development should be environmentally enriching, socially just, and politically empowering. Livelihood standpoint is not anti-growth *per se*, neither is it anti-prosperity. What it does is to link growth, equity and nature together.

India: The Developmental State

Development was an integral and even non-negotiable part of the modernizing agenda of the Indian state at independence, which was called as a 'developmental state'.²² It was comprehensively defined to encompass not only an industrial economy, but also simultaneously a programme of social transformation and political democratization. Underlying this aspiration was a belief that progress, as represented by the historical trajectory of development in the West, could at once be telescoped and replicated. At its core lay an unreflective faithfulness to the development dogma, interpreting it purely in terms of qualifiable measures of economic growth. In the course of the last two decades, the opposition

²¹ Subodh Wagle, "Environmental Movements in India: A Critique and A Note", *Journal of Indian School of Political Economy*, vol. XI, no. 1, January-March 1999, p. 111-12.

²² For more on the term 'Developmental State' see Nirja Gopal Jayal, *Democracy and the State: Welfare, Secularism and Development in Contemporary India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999, p. 151.

to this process has unambiguously placed the development debate on the public agenda, and become a potent symbol of its interrogation and critique.

Development is not universally benign. Development for some means underdevelopment and dispossession of the many. Development interventions aimed at commercialization of natural resources involve a major shift in the manner in which rights to resources are perceived and exercised. It transforms commons into commodities, and deprives the politically weak communities of access to resources, and robs resources from nature, to generate growth on the market for more privileged groups in society. This transformation in Third World countries like India is often state-mediated. The ecology movements are based on the need to protect nature and the need to strengthen people's collective rights to common resources. The emergence of social movements around ecological issues related to forests and water systems indicates that it is the marginal communities for whom the protection of nature is essential for survival.

These movements are making visible many invisible externalities and pressing for their internationalization in the economic evaluation of the elite-oriented development process. In the context of a limited resource base and unlimited development aspirations, these movements have initiated a new political struggle for safeguarding the interest and survival of the poor, the marginalized including women, tribals and peasants.

Only the market driven economies are in conflict with people's survival and nature's regeneration. Nature and people are, however, never taken into account in development plans which emerge from the North. The ecology movements which resist the destruction caused by state managed market development are challenging the concepts of politics and economies as defined within the narrow confines of the market. They reveal that there is a notion of democracy, which is wider and deeper than market democracy. This is the ecological concept of democracy of all life based on the recognition of the right to life of non-human nature and all segments of human society, including those large numbers which do not, and cannot, produce and consume within the market, and who are treated as dispensable in the logic of the market. They also show that there is a wider concept of economy, which is based on the maintenance of life and livelihood, not merely on the accumulation of profits. In the era of rising 'green capitalism' where justice has become obsolete and has been separated from issues of sustainability, peoples ecology movements highlight the way in which issues of

ecology and equity, sustainability and justice are intimately linked to one another. They provide an alternative perception of ecology as the politics of survival.²³

Classifying the Environmental Movement in India

The environmental movement in India has essentially emerged as a response to a wide spectrum of struggles and conflicts over the use of natural resources and social justice issues or human rights. At one end of the spectrum, the movement is around a specific issue, such as deforestation or construction of a dam. At the other end, the focus is on an alternative development paradigm. The variations in the nature of these movements, their diverse methodologies and different ideological orientations render the task of constructing an adequate typology of these movements difficult.

One of the earliest attempts to understand the nature of the environmental movement in India has been to analyze them in terms of their material, political and ideological contexts.²⁴ According to this approach, the material basis of the environmental movements lies in the conflicts over natural resources. The political context of the movement relates to the involvement of action groups in the collective mobilization of people affected by environmental degradation. The ideological expressions of the movement are analyzed by describing different ideological strands of Indian environmentalism.

There are some other attempts that try to understand the nature and type of the environmental movement in India on the basis of the classification of struggles over the use and control of natural resources. In this approach, the environmental movement in India is contextualised by three types of struggles over natural resources. The first type of struggle is related to the entitlement of different social groups to environmental resources. Second, environmental action is directed towards seeking a change in the official policy related to the pattern of environmental resource use and, the third type of struggle raises ecological issues of development, particularly the dimension of human-nature relationship and presents a critique of dominant development paradigm. All these struggles are clustered around various natural resources that include land, water, forest and air.²⁵

The typology of the environmental movement, based on natural resource-based struggles, leaves out a number of activity-groups of the environmental movement in India. For

²³ Op. Cit., (Vandana Shiva), p. 17.

²⁴ Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha "Ecological Conflict and Environmental Movements in India", *Development and Change*, vol. 25, no. 1, 1994, pp. 101-136.

²⁵ Op. Cit., (Harsh Sethi), p. 132.

example, there are a host of individual campaigns and advocacy groups engaged in lobbying for policy change, conducting research and training on environmental issues which are very much a part of the environmental movement.²⁶

Nature and Types of Environmental Movements in India²⁷

The forest and land-based struggles have resulted from the large-scale commercial use of forest materials and clearing of forests by the state and the unequal access to land resources. Observing that the forest-based movements had their greatest spread, involvement and impact on Indian Environmentalism, Sethi points out that these struggles also led to a paradigmatic shift in the discourse on the commodification of natural resources.²⁸ The Chipko movement in the Himalayas and the Appico movement in the Western Ghats are the classic examples of the forest-based movement. The agitation against the replacement of Sal trees by teak species in the Jharkhand-Bastar belt is another example of forest-based movement.

The land-based struggles consist largely of localised agitation against land degradation due to the indiscriminate use of organic chemicals, mining and constructions (in urban areas). The Mannu Rakshana Koota (save the Soil) movement in Karnataka is a specific case of land based movement launched against the waste-land Development policy that empowers the state to convert common village land into wasteland for social forestry purposes – particularly for eucalyptus plantations. In Gujarat during the early 80's similar protest groups existed, which extensively debated the state social forestry programme.

The movement against the over exploitation of marine resources generally refers to the traditional fisher folks movement against trawling in shallow waters, resulting in the decimation of young fish and breeding and also depletion of marine resources on which the fisher folk depend on for their livelihood.

The agitation against industrial pollution has also been sporadic and localized. The anti-industrial pollution movement is largely concentrated in urban areas. Examples of such

²⁶ Op. Cit., (Janki Andharia and Chandan Sengupta), p. 427.

²⁷ Table-2 shows eight broad types of Environmental Movements by issues and examples. For more details See, Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, "Ecological Conflict and Environmental Movement in India" *Development and Change*, vol. 25, no.1, pp.101-136, 1994. Harsha Sethi, "Survival and Democracy: Ecological Struggle in India", in P. Wingaraja (ed.), *New Social Movement in the South: Empowering the people*, New Delhi: Visthar Publication, Janaki Andharia and Chandan Sengupta, "The Environmental Movement: Global issues and the Indian Reality", *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, TISC, vol. 59, issues, 1, January 1998, pp. 422-449.

²⁸ Op Cit., (Harsh Sethi,), p. 129.

movements include the Vidushak Karkhana group in Shahdol in Madhya Pradesh and innumerable agitation against industrial pollution.

Table 2: Categories of the Environmental Movement by Issues and Example

| Sr. No. | Categories | Issues | Some Example |
|---------|--|--|--|
| 1. | Forests and Land-based | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Right of access to forest resources. • Non-commercial use of natural resources. • Prevention of land degradation. • Social justice / human rights. | Chipko, Appico, Tribal Movements all over the country. (for example Jharkhand, Bastar Belt). |
| 2. | Marine resources and fisheries, aquaculture | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ban on trawling, preventing commercialization of shrimp and prawn culture. • Protection of marine resources. • Implementation of coastal zone regulations. | National Fishermen's Forum working for traditional fisherfolk in Kerala: Chilika Bachao Andolan, Orissa. |
| 3. | Industrial pollution | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stricter pollution control measures, compensation. • Prevention of reckless expansion of industries without considering design, locational factors and livelihood issues of local population. | Zahirili Gas Morcha in Bhopal; Ganga Mukti Andolan in Bihar; Movement against Harihar Polyfibre factory in Karnataka: Movement against pollution of Sone river by the Vidushak Karkhana Group in Shahdol district, MP; Movement against poisoning of Cheliyar river in Kerala by Kerala Shastra Sahitya Parishad (KSSP). |
| 4. | Development Project a. Dams and Irrigation projects | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protection of tropical forests. • Ecological balance. • Destructive development. • Rehabilitation and resettlement of the displaced. | Silent Valley Movement by KSSP; Narmada Bachao Andolan: Movements against the Tehri Bandh Virodhi Samiti; The Koshi Gandhak Bodhghat and Bedthi, Bhopalpatnam and Ichampali in the West; The Tungbhadra, Malaprabha and Ghatpragha Schemes in the South; Koyna Project affected Committee. |
| | b. Power Projects | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ecological balance. • Rehabilitation and resettlement, high costs. | Jan Andolan in Dabhol against Enron; Koel-Karo Jan Sanghatana in Bihar; |
| | c. Mining | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Depletion of natural resources. | Anti-mine project in Doon |

| | | | |
|----|---|--|--|
| | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land degradation, • Ecological imbalance. | valley, Anti-Bauxite mine movement (Balco project) in Orissa. |
| | d. Industrial plants / Railway projects / Airport projects | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Realignment, • Rehabilitation and resettlement of the displaced. • Ecological balance. | Protests and demands of Konkan Railway Realignment Action Committee. Citizen's groups against Dupont Nylon 6.6, Goa. Amravati Bachao Abhiyan against a large chemical complex. |
| | e. Military bases | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ecological balance. • Rehabilitation and • Resettlement, and safety. | Anti-missile test range in Baliapal and at Netrahat, Bihar. |
| 5. | Wild-life sanctuaries National parks. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Displacement, Rehabilitation and Resettlement, loss of livelihood. | Ekjoot in Bhimachankar region of Maharashtra. Sharmaik Mukti Andolan in Sanjay Gandhi National Park, Bombay. |
| 6. | Tourism | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Displacement, cultural changes, social ills. | Himachal Bachao Andolan, Bailancho Saad, Goa. |
| 7. | Advocacy groups / individual campaigns, citizen's Action Groups | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy inputs, Stricter measures for protected areas. • Clear policy on national park and wild-life sanctuaries, lobbying, research, training and documentation on wild life, conservation education, community-based environmental management. Publications on environmental problems. • Intellectual support to grassroots, movements on environmental issues. | Society for Clean Andolan, Baillachao Saad, Goa. Society for Clean Cities. Bombay Natural History Society (BNHS). Centre for Science and Environment (CSE), Delhi. Research, training and documentation organizations, such as Bombay Environmental Action Group, Save Bombay Committee, Save Pune Citizen's Committee, etc. |
| 8. | Appropriate technology / organic farming | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International debates. • Sustainable development, eco-friendly models of development. • Low cost, environmental-friendly housing and technology. | Ralegaon Sidhi (Anna Hazare's village). SOPECOMM. Laurie Baker's Housing experiments. People's Science Institute, Dehradun. |

Source: Janki Andharia and Chandan Sengupta, "The Environmental Movement: Global Issues and the Indian Reality". *The Indian Journal of Social Work*. TISS, vol. no. 59, Issue 1, January 1998, pp. 429-431.

Environmental activism around development projects is yet another example of a broad-based environmental movement with larger coverage and impact. The specific development projects against which sustained movements have been launched by the environmentalists include dams, power projects, industrial plants, railway projects and mining. The dam-related agitation of local groups covers the entire geographical area of the country. The silent valley movement in Kerala has been the harbinger in the environmental uprisings against the large dams in the country. Movements against the multi-crore Narmada valley project covering central and Western parts of India and against the Tehri dam in the North are the well-known and relatively recent example of anti-dam movements. The movements against the dams and power projects are mostly localized agitation. The agitations, however, would also qualify for a movement as most of these issues are taken up by well-organized groups.

Regarding mining and quarrying, the long battle between the mine owners and the local people over limestone extractions in Doon Valley was fought in the Supreme Court of India. The Bharatiya Aluminum Company (BALCO) Resistance committee and Gandhamardhan Protection Youth Council (GPYC) in Orissa are fighting against the BALCO's bauxite mine project.

On the issue of military expansion and its consequences on the environment, the movement against missile Test Range in Balipal and the base at Netrahat area are known movements. The Konkan Railway Realignment Action Committee and its protest organization agitating against the justification related to realignments of the Konkan Railway Project also generated considerable debates.

In the area of aquaculture, the Chilika Bachao Andolan in Orissa and other groups in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu are fighting against the growing commercialization of shrimp and prawn cultivation. The movement demands the restoration of the traditional methods of shrimp and prawn culture.

The movement on wild life issues has not yet gathered any significant momentum in the Indian Context. Ekjoot, an organization in Bhimashankar region in Maharashtra, has taken up the issue of displacement due to declaration of certain areas as national parks or as world life sanctuaries. Similarly, the issue of tourism and its environmental consequences is also a relatively new issue of the environmental movement in the country. The Himachal Bachao Andolan is an example of recent environmental movement related to tourism in India.

The Advocacy and Appropriate Technology Categories play a dual role in Indian environmentalism. At one level, they provide intellectual, theoretical and demonstrative stimuli to environmental movement through their contributions to the discourse on development and ecology and by demonstrating small eco-friendly models of development in specific areas. At another level, they actively participate in lobbying and judicial litigation on issues of concern.

The typological profile of the various parts of the environmental movement in India discussed above indicate that these movements are largely localized and issue-specific and restricted to relatively small areas. The range of issues raised and acted upon in the environmental movements in India varies from cost-benefit analysis of environmental impact to a discourse on alternative development based on distributive justice and human rights. The different ideological orientations, methodologies and a wide variety of actors involved in the environmental movement indicate the amorphous nature of the movement.

The Three Components of Indian Environmental Movements

Gadgil and Guha divide the Indian society into three sections, the *ecosystem people*, primarily dependent on a natural resource survival base; the *omnivores*, with privileged access to resources and *ecological refugees*, who have been rendered destitute through deprivation of traditional access to natural resources. They regard the Indian Environmental movements as a response by these three components to various concerns relating to environmental degradation.²⁹

In its biomass society, the bulk of the poor, and not the well off, scratch the earth and depend on rain for growing their own food, gather wood or dung for cooking purpose. They build their own huts with bamboo or sticks and draw their sustenance from nature; such people depend on natural environment of their own habitat to meet their material needs. Raymond Desmann calls them *ecosystem people*. About four-fifth of India's rural-people, that is, over half of the total populations are ecosystem people. Under the pressures of modernization, technological use and material growth the natural world is receding. This shrinks the capacities of local systems to sustain and support these people. For example, industries, dams, and mining have physically displaced millions of forest dwellers, tribals and peasants in India during the last 55 years. So also because of scarcity of water and depletion of natural resources and recurrent droughts people have to leave their habitat like forests.

²⁹ Op. Cit., (Madhav Gadgil and Ramchandra Guha), 1995, p. 150.

These people are called *ecological refugees* or *eco-refugees*. As many as one-third of the Indian population is considered as eco-refugees. They live today such a life as displaced, unable to freely pick up from nature.

The remaining one-sixth of the population of India is a real beneficiary of economic-development, which takes place at the cost of nature. Godgil and Guha call them *omnivores* as they devour every thing produced all over the earth. They exercise tremendous power to influence state policy. They exercise high degree of control over their own lives. It is the ecosystem people and eco-refugees who are in the forefront of the environmental movements, and they enter a sort of social conflict directly or indirectly, against the omnivores or the government and the industries who are the protagonists of the dominant model of development.

The Major Strands

Viewed in this light, India has a wide diversity of environmental movements – involving members of one or more of the three categories of Omnivores, ecosystem people and ecological refugees. In this multiplicity of movements, one may discern several major strands. However, the dominant strands in the Indian environmental movements are those that focus on the *questions of equity*. These have largely arisen out of conflict between omnivores, who have gained disproportionately from economic development, and ecosystem people whose livelihoods have been seriously undermined through a combination of resource fluxes biased against them and a growing degradation of the environment. Such movements, most often, tend to involve a small group of socially conscious omnivores working with larger number of ecosystem people or ecological refugees. These movements can be called as the “environmentalism of the poor”³⁰ to distinguish them from the environmentalism born out of *affluence* – that is one which has a visible presence in the advanced capitalist societies of the West.³¹

³⁰ For more details on the term “Environmentalism of the Poor” see Ramchandra Guha and J. Martinez-Alier, *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North and South*, Earth scan, London, pp. 3-21.

³¹ Madav Gadgil and Ramchandra Guha, “Towards a Perspective on Environmental Movements in India”, *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, TISS, vol. 59, Issue 1, January 1998, p. 455.

Two Kinds of Environmental Concern: The Debate

The state represents the quest for equity and the market as a force promotes growth at the cost of equity. The environmental debate by raising issues of sustainability, points to the problems of both the role of the market and the kind of state apparatus that has existed in the country.³²

By the time India became independent, the Gandhian notions of an alternative kind of development had moved to the background. Their significance has, of late, come to be of wider interest but in the main a programme of state-assisted industrialization was carried through. It is the social and ecological impact of such growth that lies at the roots of much of the grassroots protest in contemporary India.³³

The growth of environmental consciousness has largely to do with the failure of development to address such issues. The popular movements often involve those who have been losers in the development process. Their initiatives sit uneasily side by side with the other; narrower, but highly influential notions of conservation that now have a mostly urban, middle class constituency. As against this the former kind of environmentalism started from a different set of concerns and among a different social group. At the popular level, the denial of access and control to the rural poor over large tracts of forestland has been a form of appropriation. It has served the purposes of accumulation and industrial growth but often been ecologically destructive. The issue of environment emerged within the context of production and livelihood, a source rather different from the concerns of the middle class or landed gentry. It is such concerns that inform "environmentalism from below".³⁴

The movement 'from below' and 'from above' have different visions about nature and there is also variations in the social composition of the two. While the tribals and dalits who have been the major actors in the former the later has been dominated by urban, middle class, upper caste. But this is not a universal pattern.³⁵

However there are two key unifying issues. There is accord on the failure of the existing model in both its statist and market-oriented incarnations. Second, there is a search for an alternative system that would redress both social and ecological concerns. Ecology and

³² Mahesh Rangarajan, *Beyond State and Market: The Indian Environmental Debate*, Centre for Contemporary Studies, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Teen Murti House, New Delhi, p.3.

³³ Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha, *This Fissured Land: An ecological history of India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1992, p. 12.

³⁴ Op Cit. (Mahesh Rangarajan), pp. 6-17.

³⁵ Ibid. pp. 17-18.

equity are seen as inseparable, though there are differences on the precise, mix of strategies to achieve such a goal.³⁶

Ideologies of the Environmental Movements in India

While there is widespread agreement within the environmental movement as regards the failure of the present development model suggested by both the state and the market, there is little consensus on plausible alternatives. It is however, possible to identify three distinct ideological perspectives within the movement.³⁷ These are the Crusading Gandhians, Appropriate Technology and Ecological Marxists.

Crusading Gandhians while rejecting the modern way of life, uphold the traditional village communities as protector of environmental and social harmony. The Appropriate Technology is influenced by strives to combine agriculture and industry, large and small units of production and modern and traditional technology. And the Ecological Marxists have arrived at environmentalism after their protracted engagement with Marxism.

Peritore in his study finds three types of environmental opinion among Indians: Greens, Eco-developers and Managers. Greens by rejecting the western developmental model, favour the empowerment of the people: Eco-developers advocate changing India's developmental model to small-scale, environmentally friendly, intensive development; and for the Manager, national management of economic growth is desirable if it incorporates environmental concerns.³⁸ Broadly speaking, the concern is deeply humanitarian and places man at the centre of the development process.³⁹ This ideological plurality in Indian Environmentalism has helped to widen the sphere of the protests movement and sharpen the terms of the debate.

Thus, the contemporary period is characterized by the emergence of environmental movements or peoples' movement, which are attempting to redesign the pattern of development and the extent of natural resource utilization to ensure social equality and ecological sustainability.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 19.

³⁷ See Ramchandra Guha, "Ideological Trends in Indian Environmentalism", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 23: 49 (December 3, 1988), pp. 2578-81, Madhav Gadgil and Ramchandra Guha "Ecological Conflicts and the Environmental Movements in India" *Development and Change*. Institute of Social Studies, Blackwell Publishers, vol. 25, 1994, pp. 101-136.

³⁸ Op. Cit., (N. Patrick Peritore), pp. 804-18.

³⁹ Op. Cit., (Darryl D'Monte), p. 20.

CHAPTER –III

ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN ORISSA –I

THE CASE OF BALIAPAL AND CHILIKA MOVEMENT

Orissa is one of the poorest and most backward states of India. At the start of the 10th plan, 66 per cent of its population was below poverty line; only 10 per cent of its cultivable land are irrigated.¹ The present Orissa is a creation of an administrative mechanism by which the coastal districts were integrated with interior districts like Sambalpur to form a single province in 1936. Later, some other Oriya speaking princely states were added to this province. This state can historically, economically and socially be divided into two broad regions- the coastal regions and the inland districts. The former is fertile, agriculturally rich and has a high proportion of upper-caste population of Brahmins, Karans and the peasant caste of Khandayats. The inland districts on the other hand are hilly and forested with a high proportion of tribal and scheduled caste population of more than 42 percent. Agriculture in Orissa is characterized by large land-holdings, low productivity, little to no technological change, and intense fragmentation of land among the peasantry. Successive state governments have shown little imagination for changing the nature of the situation and have practiced a standard development policy, that of establishing large multipurpose capital intensive projects which attempt to harness the state's rich natural resources. A programme like this has given employment to those it has displaced by making them part of the construction industry. Later most of those who were displaced become migrants having been forced to leave the state to seek employment elsewhere. The state policy has been to set up these development projects in the inland districts where poverty level is relatively high. These modern 'temples'- such as dams (Hirakud and Rengali among others), mine based industries like the one in Rourkela, companies like NALCO and BALCO, and defence projects such as HAL in Koraput, the Air Force base in Charbatia and the Naval Academy at Chilika- unfortunately did not lead to spin offs of industrial development as expected by those who formulated this policy. Rather these policies, projects have led to massive displacements, uprooting people from the land, disrupting settled agriculture- based pattern of life, and the consequent destruction of environment. With little or no implementation of rehabilitation programmes, people have been pushed to survival levels and families and individuals have been forced to migrate.

ENVIRONMENTAL ('PEOPLES') MOVEMENTS IN ORISSA

It is against this exploitative and development oriented state that there developed powerful peoples movement in the last two decades. The Chilika Bachao Andolon, the

¹ Government of India, *India 2005: A Reference Annual* published by the Director, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Patiala House, New Delhi, p. 847.

Baliapal movement in Balasore District and the movement in Gandhamardan Hill in Sambalpur district are nevertheless success stories. Among the recent one's, the people's movement against the Gopalpur steel plant and the people's agitation in Kashipur block of Rayagada district are prominent.

CONTEXT OF THE BALIAPAL MOVEMENT

The struggle against the establishment of the National Test Range (NTR), India's first missile testing project, in the Baliapal and Bhograï blocks of Orissa's Balasore district, popularly known as Baliapal movement, has been a significant development in Indian polity in general and the politics of Orissa in particular. This has been termed as an 'environmental movement' since it concerns the appropriation of land previously used by the people by the missile testing range.²

In its search for a site for the NTR the Defence Ministry found this area, richly endowed by nature for agricultural prosperity, as best suited for pitching the project.³ With the announcement of the decision, the people of the area declared they would die fighting the defence establishments "invasion".

The area of the sight extends over 102 square kilometers in two blocks, a major part of it being in Baliapal.⁴ The original proposal envisaged acquisition of 99 villages in Baliapal and 31 in Bhograï area, displacing 11, 609 families with a population of 70.102, but the unofficial figure was one lakh.⁵ In May 1986 the government decided to acquire only 68 sq. kms for the range with an adjacent safety zone of 34 sq. kms spread over 55 villages. Now officially it was supposed to displace around 50,000 people though the unofficial figure was 70,000.⁶ It is here that an agitation was launched which questioned the government's right to establish and place a project in an agricultural belt that may turn out to be the most prosperous area in Orissa.⁷

The movement began in December 1985 with the formation of the Uttara Balasore Khepanastra Ghati Protirodh Samiti (KGPS), which did not allow the government to evict

² Darryl D Monte, "Green at the Grassroots", *Seminar* 355, March 1989, p.18.

³ The original project covered a huge area. But forced by the fierce but peaceful resistance of the local population, it pruned the project to almost 60 percent of the original size. K. Ravi, "Resistance ignored, order to acquire land" *The Statesman*, 22 Jan 1988.

⁴ Sujata Patel 'Baliapal Agitation: Socio-economic Background', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 30, March 25, 1989, p.604.

⁵ 'Baliapal Range', *Patriot*, 27 April 1988.

⁶ *Indian Express*, 31 January 1988.

⁷ N. Ramdas "A Range of Protest", *Frontline*, July 25-Aug 5, 1988, p.81.

people from the site of the National Testing Range (NTR). For some time people of nearly 100 villages in Orissa's Baliapal- Bhograi area, under the leadership of the KGPS, fought a running battle with the government. They refused to give their homes and farms, which the defence ministry wanted for setting up the rupees 1600⁸ crore National Testing Range.⁹ The government was urged to shift the missile-testing site by the people, or to pierce through a human wall if it did not shift the site.¹⁰

Mobilization cutting across all sections

It was an agitation that has been able to mobilize all inhabitants of the area, cutting across the lines of class, caste, gender and tribal affiliation, on the issue of displacement and environment, making it a mass agitation. Thus what distinguishes this agitation from others of a similar nature is the mass involvement of all the people in this area irrespective of vertical and horizontal hierarchies. The sustained nature of the agitation against the NTR is to a large extent due to the mass involvement of the people, including the poorer sections. This participation of all sections can in part be explained by the commercialization of agriculture which has yielded benefits for the rich as well as the poor classes.¹¹

Localization of the struggle

The fact that this agitation remained restricted to the Baliapal block and did not spread to the Bhograi block where thirteen villages were to be acquired in the revised scheme (as against the forty- five in Baliapal), indicates the localization of this struggle.¹² Further evidence of its specificity lies in the failure of the attempts to mobilize the Chandipur peasants and tenants against the use of the interim test ranges facilities for testing missiles. Features specific to the locale of Baliapal have facilitated the growth of the movement.¹³

Background of the Movement

The localization of the struggle in Baliapal is a result of the consolidation of certain economic, political and social processes in one conjuncture. These are the topographical and historical developments that have restricted the growth of both large landholdings and

⁸ The original proposal envisaged an outlay of 3000 crores which was slashed to 1600 crores to soften the peoples resistance. K. Ravi 'Resistance ignored, order to acquire land' *The Statesman*, 22 January 1988.

⁹ 'Baliapal Range', *Patriot*, 27 April 1988.

¹⁰ *Telegraph*, 3 April 1988.

¹¹ Sujata Patel "Baliapal Agitation: Socio-economic Background", *Economic and Political Weekly*, March 25, 1989, p.604.

¹² Sujata Patel, "Baliapal Agitation: leadership crisis", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXV, No. 23, June 9, 1990, pp.1238-39.

¹³ *Ibid*, pp.1238-39.

absentee landlordism, excellent natural resources including fresh water supply throughout the year, the spread of cash crop economy and the growth of the market for rice, groundnut, coconut, cashew nut and paan (betel-vine). The specific nature of paan cultivation which made it possible to cultivate it on homestead land, and the significant role played by paan traders who by distributing knowledge of paan cultivation to the lower castes, who were also non-cultivator castes, were instrumental in expanding its production over large tracts of this land such that by 1985 Baliapal paan had a monopoly in the market of Banarasi patta.

The consolidation of these features was made possible by the increased demand for paan leading to a growth in volume of trade in Baliapal. With the integration of the local market into national and then the international one, these processes were more integrated.

Two phases in class dynamics formed the background to the consolidation of these processes. The first took place in the early fifties when the landed peasants, the upper castes like Khandayats, Goala and Raju introduced cash crop economy in this region, the immediate consequence of which was increasing land pressure with the conversion of common property resources into area for cultivation (thereby displacing the herders, the Goala caste), usurpation of land that did not have clear land titles and the sale of land by small peasants. This process of consolidation of upper peasantry and the displacement of the small cultivators and other castes depending on common property resources received a setback in the late sixties onwards with the growth of cultivation and production of paan. The first stage in this development occurred when the outsider paan traders were eliminated and substituted by the Baliapal traders, thereby establishing direct links between the national and local market increasing the demand for paan in Baliapal. The upper caste peasantry diverted its efforts to the production of paan. In the seventies, when the demand for paan exceeded its local supply efforts were made by (upper caste) paan traders to induce the non-cultivating lower castes to commence paan cultivation.

By the eighties, Baliapal was a region of intense economic activity and high productivity where five cash crops were grown. All available land was cultivated including homestead land for the production of cash crops. Earnings were extremely high; a conservative assessment suggests that the annual flow of income from paan ranged from around 22 crores to 59 crores for the Baliapal block.¹⁴ The market had introduced possibility of mobility for the lower sections of the society and deflected the earlier process of class tensions to produce a

¹⁴ *Economic Times*, January 23, 1988.

collective interest in the continuation and expansion of cash crop economy, especially paan production. It is in this situation that the government announced its plan to take over the land for establishing a military project. Immediately, the paan traders organized the Uttara Balasore Khepanastra Ghati Pratirodh Samiti (KGPS) to struggle against the project and reverse this decision.¹⁵ Thus the period of growth and the subsequent attempt by the state to hamper the process by taking over the land forms the background of the growth of the Baliapal movement.

The History of the Movement

The history of the Baliapal movement can be divided into three phases.¹⁶ When the Oriya newspapers announced the government's decision to acquire land to establish NTR, the big paan traders initiated discussions to confront this move. Together with the big peasantry and supports of the congress party, they set up the KGPS in December 1984. The first phase of the movement was inaugurated with the formation of KGPS.

Phase of Creativity

The second phase of the movement began with the reconstitution of KGPS, which was dominated by the small to medium sized paan traders, led by Godhagar Giri, a socialist. He was later joined by Gananath Patra, a member of the UCCRI (ML). Gadhagar Giri believed in Gandhian tactics of non-violence whose emotional affinity with the locals fuelled mass mobilization of the people. Patra's coming provided the organizational structure to the agitation, which was till then run by upper caste male KGPS leaders. Four fronts were organized – the students' front, the youth front, the women's front and the fisher people front, and demonstrations were organized to the block, district and state headquarters. This phase of the movement was characterized by both creativity and a series of confrontation. Creativity of the movement involved mobilization attempts through songs and poems. The involvement and participation of the people reached its peak with every family making up songs about its own involvement in the agitation.¹⁷

¹⁵ Sujata Patel "Community, identity and Politics: The Baliapal Movement" in Surinder S. Jodka (ed), *Community and Identities: Contemporary Discourses on Culture and Politics in India*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2001, pp.141-159.

¹⁶ Sujata Patel, "Agni Cyclone and Baliapal Agitation", *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 24, 1989, pp. 1381-82.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 1382.

Confrontation and negation of the State

A series of confrontations with the representatives of the state at the local level insured.¹⁸ The collector, who had come to negotiate was gheraoed and not released for more than 24 hours, dharanas were taken out to the block-headquarters and a sit-in was organized in the district town.¹⁹ It was followed by formation of a “Marana Sena” or suicide squad consisting of children upto the age of 15 in every village with a ‘commander’. Gouri Patra, commander of the suicide squad of Pratappur village, said, he had under him more than 200 children and it was his responsibility to see that each boy was trained to meet an emergency situation. The children were taught that the ‘sea is ours and we shall sacrifice our lives but not hand over mother earth to the government.’²⁰

Barricades were established to restrict the entry of any official. In fact the ‘threatened area’ was made into “a fortress”.²¹ The KGPS took the decision to block the entry of revenue officials into the area by mobilizing women and children to make a human barricade. Thus no revenue official was able to gain access to the area for a period of three years even when accompanied by para-military forces. Lastly in an operation termed “Operation Baliapal” a strong-police and para-military force with 8,000 personnels attempted re-entry. To the area designed for acquisition. They found a bamboo gate constructed at its boundary impeding their movement. At the gate and on the road lay hundreds of women and children in peaceful protest offering Satyagraha.²² This confrontation lasted for 24 hours before the state government was able to ensure withdrawal of the force, but covert attempts at entry continued. The government retaliated by suspending all developmental work such as the maintenance and extension of the infrastructure like roads, transport and electricity systems and also suspended the implementation of the poverty alleviation schemes. For sometime, even the supplies of kerosene and Sugar were stopped. Even though the law and order machinery in the form of a police post remained people boycotted it, effectively negating any presence of the state in the area.²³

¹⁸ Op. Cit., (Sujata Patel), 2001, p. 150.

¹⁹ Ravinder Kumar “Social Movements in a Broader Historical Perspective”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, 20-23 February 1993, p. 332.

²⁰ N. Ramadas. A Range of Protects, *Frontline*, 23 July to 5 August 1998, p. 85.

²¹ K. Ravi ‘A Fortress of the People’, *The Statesman*, 23 January 1988.

²² Photographs published on the next day in local and regional dailies capture this dramatic moment, May 1986.

²³ Sujata Patel, “Baliapal Agitation: Socio-Economic Background”, *Economic and Political Weekly*, March 25, 1989, p. 604.

For the next few years the KGPS functioned as a defacto government, taking all the decisions and managing the barricaded area. To manage this region a committee of 12 members was set up. This committee was to be guided by an assembly of 229 members consisting of representatives of all villages. The first decision of this committee was to construct a further set of bamboo barriers on the other road linking the region to the outside world. People were always prepared night and day to perform non-violent Satyagraha. Baliapal closed itself out and its people established a *defacto* control over their land. The movements committee became the 'government' and the enforcing law and order agency. Various committee members became involved in solving disputes in their various panchayats, in the process reviving an old institution called *vichar* through which local disputes, specially those relating to land and property, were being solved.²⁴ The constitution of *vichar* and its proceedings marked the third phase of the movement that provided the context for the binding of various interests into a community, even as it created conditions for the decline of registered police cases and thus restricted the entry of the law and order machinery into the area.

Bheeta mati; Environmental Dimension of the Movement

In the case of Baliapal movement the identity was constructed through the ideology of Bheeta Maati that brought out the environmental dimension of the struggle.²⁵ 'Bheeta Maati' is a word that can be loosely denoted to mean 'home', 'earth', 'soil', and the emotions rooted in these words.²⁶ This ideology converted a cultural sentiment for land into a political demand for the absolute right to its continued use through religio-mythological tools. Stories from the Puranas and heroic tales of Shiva Parvati, Durga and Kali were intertwined with political action to confront the state. The fight was thus for Sonar Maati, the golden land and for the protection of Ma, the mother, who was the symbol of prakriti, nature; a fight conducted by the entire community against the state which wanted to destroy all three: Sonar maati, ma and Prakriti.²⁷

²⁴ Sujata Patel, "Agni, Cyclone and the Baliapal Agitation", *Economic and Political Weekly*, June 24, 1989, p. 1382.

²⁵ Sujata Patel, "Baliapal Agitation: Leadership Crisis", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 9 June 1990.

²⁶ *The Samaj*, (Oriya Daily), 25 May 1986, p. 5.

²⁷ *The Dharitree* (Oriya Daily) 12 May 1986, p. 3.

This ideology of bheeta maati, which formed the basis for the construction of identity of the actors of the movement, was highlighted in a performance of a jatra and the songs and poems sung by women as they work and protect the gate during the years of struggle.

The time: dusk, the location: the panchayat building in a village in Baliapal. The occasion: a jatra performance. The performance started with the traditional blouring of conches. A small space has been cleared for the Musicians who start the programme. Small lanterns give light. The drums start. The surrounding noise decreases and a full-throated voice starts ringing and through the song tells the following story.

This is the story of Shiva and Parvati, says the Sutradhara, the narrator. When the story starts, Parvati after a disagreement with Shiva is sulking and Shiva is trying to placate her. Why are you annoyed, asks Shiva? Parvati replies by singing a song: (actors enter playing the roles of Parvati and Shiva).

I am extremely upset because my people on earth – the Baliapalis are facing displacement. O Shiva, how could you allow the Rajiv Gandhi government to take over this land? This land which you have blessed by making it the most fertile land of the region, this land whose people you blessed by giving the technology of rice making, this land from whose people the rest of the world learnt how to make rice, this land which gives its people the best that earth, and its soil can give, this land which is blessed with mother and sons who want to protect their bheeta maati... O Shiva how can you allow the region that you have blessed to be misused?

The jatra continues. Enter actor playing the role of the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, who when he sees Shiva quakes with fear. Rajiv tries to convince Shiva but in the face of Shiva's wrath he withdraws defeated. Later, Rajiv announces the withdrawal of the project and the people of Baliapal start to cheer. This scene marks the end of the jatra.²⁸

It was the songs and the poems rendered by women and children which gave a sense of identity to their actions and their perception that the fate of Baliapal rested on their shoulders. Most of these songs and poems weaved personal biographical details together with the terms made popular by the movement: missiles, military options, nuclear club, Shiva, Parvati, the puranas, the peculiarities of rice production, cultivation of paan, the productivity of the region, the nature of its environment and bheeta maati. Bheeta maati had a particular place in these songs because by this they were trying to protect the "field".

²⁸ A visual representation of part of this jatra is available in the film *Voices from Baliapal*, Vector Production, directed by Vasudha Joshi.

The Uniqueness of the Movement

The movement was unique in many ways. Those are

- it was able to mobilize all people of the area and thereby exemplifying a mass character;
- inspite of having obtained support from all political parties it maintained its independence from political parties;
- it imagined its 'community', located it within a territory and suggested that it had a history going back to the puranas, wherein these people were recognized as a 'community'. Thus it constructed a historical narrative of self-identification. It drew its creative intellectual resources from an analysis of its heritage and suggested that in so doing it retrieved indigenous knowledge to manage and maintain this movement;
- this movement used militant non-violence to confront the military and after its initial success took over civil control of the area,
- it used received networks and traditional symbols for mobilization of the people.

What is distinctive of this movement is the fact that it was not only able to change the decision of the political managers but also lobby the defence establishment. Its notion of 'community' politics made possible the states recognition and response to civil society institutions thereby legitimizing a local democratic process'.²⁹ As a result, it was able to affirm the agency of the people making them active citizens. The Baliapal region, earlier divided into discrete communities defined by class, caste, gender and tribal identities, between insiders and outsiders, affiliated by regional perceptions separated between peasants and fisher people and political affiliation, that of congress supporters and Janata Dal supporters, closed ranks to form a community. This movement did not construct a primordial identity. Rather, it built a language of solidarity between discrete castes and tribal groups. It constructed an identity of itself as a 'people' and saw itself as a community. This community defined its identity and represented itself through the symbol of Bheeta maati, the struggle to define the people's right over their home and earth, their land and its environment.

²⁹ Op cit., (Sujata Patel), 2001, p. 153.

THE CHILIKA BACHAO ANDOLAN

The Chilika Bachao Andolan (Save the Chilika Movement) was a movement by the people, mostly fisherman, who in the early 1990s successfully resisted the Integrated Shrimp Farm Project (ISFP). The project a joint venture of the Tata Iron and Steel Company (TISCO) and the Government of Orissa – for intensive prawn cultivation and export, posed a direct threat to the livelihood of fishing communities living around the lake. The fishermen were supported in their struggle by non-fishermen (mostly farmers, but with some of them also engaged in fishing), students, intellectuals and human rights activists. The lake, an otherwise quite and scenic spot, was stirred by many voices of resistance opposing the Tata business house, the government and the development idiom that gives priority to the commercial use of local resources over their use for subsistence. The movement was episodic and uneven, with different streams of thought and action among which it was not always possible to achieve synchronizations. Yet, all these separate formations together gave the resistance the form of a movement. Thus, the Chilika struggle was a struggle of the poor against ‘development’ – a form of development which threatened to leave them destitute and exile from the land which supported them and coexisted with them for centuries.³⁰

Lake Chilika: Its Geography, Social History and Environmental Importance

Lake Chilika, situated in the eastern coastal part of Orissa is surrounded by Brahmagiri, Kanasa and Krishnaprasad blocks of Puri district, Tangi and Chilika blocks of Khurda district and Kholico and Ganjam blocks of Ganjam. It is the largest brackish Water Lake of Asia. Its natural ecosystem is unique. Due to its distinctive features this lake has been designated under the Ramsar convention as a “wet land of international importance”.³¹ With a length of 72 kms and width of 25 km, covering approximately 1,000 sq. kms, it is the home of migrating birds of 158 kinds of species and commercially important species of the tiger prawn. Chilika is also a home as well as an earning source of 192 villages, dependent on fishing and particularly prawn fishing as their major source of livelihood. More than 50,000 fishermen and over two lakhs total population depend upon the Chilika for their living and livelihood.

³⁰ Pravin Sheth, *Environmentalism: Politics, Ecology and Development*, Rawat Publication, Jaipur and New Delhi, 1997, pp. 250-252.

³¹ At present, there are 27 identified wetlands covering 15 States, for details see Op. Cit., (Government of India), 2005, p. 256; B.B. Das, *Chilika: The Natures Treasure, will it be allowed to Die?*, Bhubanewsar, Orissa Krushaknahasangha, 1996

Fishing has been the traditional occupation in the Chilika region for centuries. Fisherman, have their right to fishing in the Chilika as early as the Afghan rule. The right was protected even by the British who aided the fishermen by setting up fisherman's cooperatives. Thus, Chilika has a rare and inspiring history of fish producers, cooperatives and village level democracy from early times. In post independence India the situation continued till recently.

A heterogeneous population comprising both fishermen and non-fishermen belonging to different castes inhabit a large number of villages around the lake. Fishing and agriculture are the two primary sources of livelihood. The fisherman belong to the lower castes and most of them are either landless or possess tiny landholdings. They are therefore entirely dependent on fishing. The non-fishermen belong to higher castes and are engaged in agriculture. However, a large number of them have also taken to fishing to supplement their income because land productivity is low due to salinity, erratic monsoon and lack of irrigation facilities.

The scenic beauty of Chilika has drawn the attention of poets – both romantic and revolutionary and film producers. Socio-economic conditions of fisherman living in and around Chilika – the manipulation of traders to sabotage the working of cooperatives of fishermen have been depicted in 'Chilika Tire' and scarcity of drinking water in the area in the film 'Swapna Sagara'. Radhanath Roy, a renowned Oriya poet, has described Chilika as a storehouse of beauty in his poem, 'Chilika'. A similar description has also been made by Gopabandhu Das, a well known Oriya social worker and nationalist leader in his poem 'Rail Upare Chilika Darsana'. Godabarish Mishra, in his poem, 'Kalijai' has described the real picture of the then rural Orissa, the social and cultural links between the people living inside Chilika and those living around Chilika. The revolutionary poet Rabi Singh, in his poem, 'Ittashaka too Pachare Bhare', remind us the glorious past of a Oriya fighter, Krutbasha Patsani, who established a kingdom for three days at Banapur near the west bank of Chilika.³²

Ecologically, Chilika is a stupendous collector of water and sunlight. The solar energy is converted by the process of photosynthesis by grass and phytoplankton into food for brackish water fish and grass for cattle, in turn providing food and livelihood to the thousands of traditional dependents of Chilika. This is a well-balanced, sustainable, self-regenerating system needing no outside high cost and non-renewable inputs, no 'imported' dollars or fossil

³² Kishore C. Samal and Shibalal Meher 'Fishing Communities on Chilika Lake: Comparative Socio-Economic Study', *Economic and Political Weekly*, August 2, 2003, p. 3319.

fuel or US-European technology. It is a system developed by years of experience of living in the region by the poor people of Chilika.³³

But the lake is facing the recent environmental perils of rapid siltation, decreasing salinity of lake water and gradual lowering of depth of water, etc. Human activities in and around the lake have posed serious environmental dangers to the lake. There are industries around the western part of the lake. A caustic alkali unit discharges its effluents directly into the lake causing problems of mercury accumulation in the lake ecosystem. Fertilizers used in the agricultural fields nearby also find their way to the lake during the rainy seasons. Apart from the industrial and agricultural effluents, the catchment area of Chilika has suffered badly from deforestation. This has led to soil erosion and silting of the lake. The problem is aggravated by the ongoing expansion of prawn culture bandhs (embankment) in the lake.³⁴

The process of development undertaken by the state of Orissa, motivated by the keen desire to earn dollars ignored the environmental dangers to the lake. Intensive prawn aquaculture not only threatened the existence of the lake but also adversely affected the large number of poor fishing people traditionally sustained by the lake. The Tata project exemplified the problem inherent in intensive prawn aquaculture, the model of production that proliferated in the 90's causing serious damage to the lake. According to R.N. Das, a Senior Scientist in the State Environment Department, "people realized that indiscriminate prawn farming and siltation had greatly reduced the life of the lake."³⁵

Contextualizing the resistance

Before independence Chilika was owned by several owners including the government, Zamindars, Jagirdars and others. The Zamindars used to lease out fisheries exclusively to the local fisher folk. Even when Orissa was under the rule of the Marathas in the second half of the 18th century the local chieftains who controlled the lake leased out the fishery resources to the local fisher men living on the periphery of the lake. However, at the time of independence of the country, these local fisher-folk were mostly indebted to the moneylenders having borrowed for fulfilling their social commitments and for purchasing equipment like country boats and nets. With the development of means of communications, Calcutta provided the

³³ Pravin Seth, *Environmentalism: Politics, Ecology and Development*, Rawat Publication, Jaipur and New Delhi, p. 251.

³⁴ M.V.D. Bogaeart, 'Introduction', *Saving Chilika Lake: Saving the People of Chilika*, Bhubaneswar, Xavier Institute of Management, 1992.

³⁵ Uday Sankar, "Chilika: A Lake in Limbo", *Down to Earth*, vol. I, no. 7, 1992, pp. 25-27.

biggest market for fishery resources from the lake. So a class of middlemen grew who functioned both as traders for the fisher-people's catch as well as moneylenders for their day-to-day needs. Gradually these traders became exploiters and the fisher folk community virtually became their bonded labour.³⁶ During the 1950s, when the popular government was established an attempt was made to free the fisher folk from acute exploitation and abject bondage from these middlemen through a scheme known as Chilika Reorganization Scheme in 1959 that aimed at bringing the fishing community under the cooperative banner. The scheme was mainly intended to eliminate traders, intermediaries and moneylenders from the scene and ensure the payment of fair prices to the fisher-folk in order to improve their socio-economic status. The fisher-folk were organized under more than 50 prime cooperative societies and all these primary cooperative societies were integrated to a central or apex society. The apex body used to take all the fishery sources of Chilika on lease from the government and sub-lease them to the primary societies. The apex society gave loans to fisher-folk to purchase equipment and would purchase their entire catch for marketing. Thus the exploitation of the middlemen ended and the condition of the fisher-folk began to improve. However, this was short lived. After a decade or so, the condition of the apex society deteriorated due to lack of support from cooperative banks and bureaucratic control of the government. Gradually middlemen and traders again appeared on the scene. There was constant pressure on the government by the non-fisher folk of the locality that they be allowed to take a share of the fishery resources of the lake on the ground that they were also local inhabitants of Chilika.³⁷

The year 1977-78, saw the development of prawns as an important export commodity. The name Chilika became synonymous all over with prawns and money. The whole area became a virtual gold mine. And, with this transformation, the commercial invaders started appearing. First, the traders and middlemen, then the politicians with their musclemen, some big business families of Orissa through local middlemen and mafia, and finally, the big industrial houses, with the blessings of the state government, which was now very keen to usher in 'development' to the region.³⁸ By the early 80s, outsiders controlled a significant

³⁶ Sarmistha Patnaik "Development, Globalization and the Rise of a Grassroots Environmental Movement: The Case of Chilika Bachao Andolan (CBA) in Eastern India", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, vol. XLIX, no. 1, January-March 2003, pp. 55-65.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

³⁸ *Op. Cit.*, (Pravin Sheth), p. 251.

portion of Chilika's fisheries. Sometimes they made some fishery cooperatives their agents by depositing lease money with government on their behalf and advancing loans to their leaders. In this process, the fisher folk were gradually squeezed out of the resources with the money and muscle power of outsiders. The money and muscle power employed by the outsiders had led them to be called the 'mafia' locally.³⁹

Since the 1980s, the lake has been witnessing increased subletting of leased out fisheries by the central and primary societies and illegal encroachment by non-fishermen and outsiders.⁴⁰ Large scale culturing of prawns resulted in widespread conversion of traditional fisheries into prawn culture ponds or gheries (barricade space). Culture fishery requires heavy capital investment but ensures big profit. It thus serves as a lucrative moneymaking source for primary societies that sublet the fishery sources to other interested parties.

In 1984, the Ministry of Agriculture sanctioned a project for the establishment of a shrimp farm over an area of 300 ha at Panaspara at a total cost of Rs. 17 crore. The site was then made over to Orissa maritime and Chilika Area Development Corporation Limited (OMCAD) by the government for implementation of the above project.⁴¹ The project could not be executed by OMCAD due to managerial problems. The project was revived subsequently as a joint venture of Tata and OMCAD in the form of Chilika Aquatic Farm Limited (CAFL). In 1986 the Orissa government under J.B. Patnaik, through the OMCAD entered into a deal with the Tata business house to lease 600 ha of land to Aquatic Farms limited for 15 years. In 1987, the state government conducted a survey of the fish resources in Chilika without any participation of the fishing communities. A simultaneous move to undermine the fisher folks cooperative society was also made. In 1990, the election of the board of directors of Balugaon Central Fishermen Marketing Cooperative Society (BCFMC) was postponed. Later on, this central society was dissolved and amalgamated with the Orissa State Fishermen Cooperative Federation Limited (OSFCFL); diluting the exclusive right the traditional fisher people had over the fisher resources of Chilika Lake. In the year 1991, the Government of Orissa signed an agreement with the Tatas for a semi-intensive prawn culture project called the Integrated Shrimp Farm Project (ISFP) and allowed the Tatas an advance

³⁹ Op. Cit., (Sarmistha Patnaik), p. 58.

⁴⁰ See the Report of the Fact Finding Committee on Chilika Fisheries, submitted to the High Court of Orissa, Cuttack on 16 August 1993, for an extensive account of the government policies relating to fishing in Chilika, the ambiguities inherent in these policies and the consequent illegal subletting of the fishery sources and illegal encroachment of the Lake of outsiders.

⁴¹ *Business Standard*, 9 April 1988.

possession of 400 hectares of land in Chilika.⁴² The project consisted of shrimp farm, a hatchery, a shrimp feed mill and a processing plant. The total area covered by this shrimp farm was 400 hector initially. A further 200 hector were later leased out. The total project cost was estimated at Rs. 20 crore. The project was promoted on the ground that it would bring about the economic development of the region.

The farm posed a potential danger to the livelihood of the fishermen in area since their fishing fields would be squeezed. The Rs. 20 crore joint venture shrimp project of Tata and Government of Orissa also had the potential to inflict serious damages to the Chilika eco-system. The process which enables the Tatas to cultivate prawns in isolation kills the whole of Chilika lake. The technique entails the construction of an embankment with a width of 40 and height of 30 feet that would obstruct the natural movement of fish. The traditional fisher folk believed that the movement of the fish would be obstructed by the embankment built by the Tatas. It was also feared that the embankment would stop the drainage of water coming into Chilika from different rivers. The different fisher folk villages surrounding the area would be inundated for longer periods. A survey report of the then chief irrigation engineer Banabara Das noted that 35,000 acre of cultivable land in more than 80 panchayats of Kanas, Brahmagiri, Krishnaprasad blocks, etc will be inundated due to the back water effect of flood waters that get obstructed by the ring dam of this project. The large-scale inundation would lead to the massive displacement of people, particularly local fisher-folk from the affected region. The aquatic farms and embankments would also obstruct the local fisher people's access to Chilika.⁴³ The Tata-Orissa government venture made local fisher people apprehensive about the ecological life of the lake and the future of their own livelihood from it.

In addition, the fisher-folk in small villages were also affected adversely by the fact that several fields on which they were able to catch fish for certain months in the year would now be denied to them after the construction of the embankment. The precarious nature of local livelihood became even more threatened by the recent move to lease fishing rights to persons or agencies other than those who have traditionally held rights as it was felt that higher revenue could be earned by the government in this way. In the wake of these

⁴² Ranjita Mohanty, "Save the Chilika Movement: Interrogating the State and the Market", in Rajesh Tandon and Ranjita Mohanty (ed.), *Does Civil Society Matter? Governance in Contemporary India*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2003, p. 182.

⁴³ Op. Cit., (Sharmista Patnaik), p. 62.

developments; a powerful peoples movement emerged in Chilika to protect local fisher-folk from commercial exploitation by big businessmen and to restore the peoples right to manage the lake.

Civil Society Assertion

Though the fishing communities had been resisting the commercial use of, and the consequent loss of control over their resources, mass mobilization could not take place in Chilika till the ISFP took shape and threats it posed became more visible, imminent and gigantic. The people of the villages adjacent to the ISFP were aware of the project, but there was little awareness about the threats it would pose to their livelihood. In fact, the people anticipated getting a good bargain for the fish that they caught, as well as employment in the project. Thus, initially, only a few educated people in these villages were skeptical about the project. Later, Meet the Students (MTS), an informal group of students from Utkal University, Bhubaneswar, who were actively involved in effecting social change, took the initiative to visit the villages and discuss the issue with the villagers. The MTS played an important role in raising people's awareness and organizing them against the Tata project during the initial years.⁴⁴

The MTS group comprised young people pursuing ideas of social change, with the aim of making people conscious of injustices perpetrated on them by both society and the state. Later, a provincial level students forum called Krantadarshi Yuva Sangha (KYS) was formed to mobilize youth against the Tata project. Its core comprised students who were earlier members of MTS, and who, when they passed out of the university, joined the KYS. Thereafter it was decided that MTS would function at the university level and KYS would work as a forum to mobilise youth against the project and the policy of the State.

The student activists, who worked relentlessly to raise awareness about the threats posed by the project, tried hard to persuade the local people to assume leadership of the movement which at the local level at least, was seen as a manifestation of peoples initiative and strength. The point was to make people aware of their situation so that they could articulate the issue and claim leadership of the movement themselves.

A meeting of intellectuals was convened at Bhubaneswar, at the students' initiative. Out of this meeting grew the Chilika Suraksha Parishad (CSP) which was assigned the task of mobilizing public opinion regarding ISFP in the cities of Orissa. It was a forum that invited

⁴⁴ Op. Cit., (Ranjita Mahanty), p.184.

the think tanks of Oriya Society to debate and discuss the issue and provide moral support to the causes that MTS was trying to promote. Gradually the students realized that local organizations could serve as an effective vanguard in the resistance against the project. Their grounding in local issues and the trust local people placed on them would help local organizations to carry forward the resistance more effectively. Steps were thus taken to involve the Chilika Matsyajibi Mahasangha (CMM), a mass organization of 122 revenue villages in Chilika that works to protect the interests of fishermen.⁴⁵

The united struggle of the MTS and CMM led to the formation of a people's movement, on 15 January 1992 at Gopinathpur village. So the fisher folk organized themselves for a movement under the banner of the "Chilika Bachao Andolan" (CBA) against the pattern of development which threatens peace, development, ecology and livelihood of the poor of Chilika, to protect it from commercial exploitation by big business operating under political umbrella, and to restore to the people their right to manage Chilika.⁴⁶ In protest against the Chilika Aquatic Farm, the CBA launched several actions such as dharana (non-violent strike), rally, padayatra (travel by foot), symbolic breaking of the farm embankments, gherao of the state Legislative Assembly.⁴⁷

The CBA organized movement to protect the lake ecology as well as the large population of poor fisher folk. The Andolan which amplified the local struggle into a larger movement focused its attention against the nature of development fighting against the injustice of the states appropriation of natural resources from the lake through industrial houses like Tatas. The popular movement attracted international attention due to several issues such as environmental degradation through intensive prawn aqua culture, deprivation of main support base for the livelihood of the poor local fishing communities, pollution of the lake environment by industrialization etc. The CBA held the state as an illegitimate and repressive authority. It put pressure on the state through constructive, conscious strategies using the law courts, through the mass media and by mobilizing the support of other intellectual elites.

CBA was supported by many other civil society organizations, such as the Ganatantrik Adhikar Suraksha Sangathan (GASS), an organization based in Bhubaneswar that works to

⁴⁵ Ibid, p.185.

⁴⁶ Op. Cit., (Pravin Sheth), p. 252.

⁴⁷ Op cit., (Sarmistha Patnaik), p. 60.

protect the democratic rights of people and the Orissa Krushak Mahasanga (OKM), which works for the cause of farmers.

OKM gave a new dimension to the movement from 1992 by raising the question of the ecological health of the lake along with the impairment of livelihoods. By this all the villages around the lake were involved because they felt that if the Tatas were allowed to enter, other big business houses would follow suit for earning foreign exchange and large profits and the lake would die an early death in this process. The OKM at this juncture, under the leadership of Banka Bihari Das, its president, who was also the main activist of the CBA, gave the movement a great impetus by taking the matter to the Supreme Court.⁴⁸

All these civil society initiatives and formations gave the local people's protest the form of a powerful peoples movement that raised economic, social, legal and environmental issues⁴⁹ related to the project. Some of the prominent issues that the movement drew attention to were:

- The land allotted to the ISFP was traditionally used by the neighbouring 26 villages for harvesting prawn; the shallow water collected during the monsoon was ideal for their natural breeding.
- The threats of flood and water logging due to the construction of the embankment on the Bhubania canal, which forms the outlet of the lake to the sea.
- The embankment would obstruct the movement of the fish and prawn from the brackish water to the sea during breeding season. This, in turn would hamper the natural regeneration of prawns.
- Long-term availability of fish within the lake would be adversely affected due to the pollution caused by protein feed chemicals and pesticides.
- The project had moved ahead without the Mandatory Environment Impact Assessment (EIA).
- The land given on lease to the ISFP was classified as reserved wetland and community pasture land. Leasing out the lake was therefore illegal, as it was not listed under property that could be leased.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p.63.

⁴⁹ Op. Cit., (Ranjita Mohanty), p. 186.

The movement linked these issues with a central question on development and resource use: 'The Tata project is not the central point of attack of this people's movement. The prime focus of opposition is the policy of the government towards Chilika and its people, and the Tata project is only an instance of this policy'.

In the initial phase, since three or four villages were directly affected by the project, the movement was localized. The mobilization against ISFP was confined to a few villages adjacent to the project. On 20 September 1991, the date on which the three-year lease to the central cooperative society expired, thousands of fishermen gathered in Bhubaneswar and protested in front of the Vidhan Sabha.⁵⁰ Demonstrations, meeting, Dharanas and rallies at the project site and in the state capital summarise the movement activities during this phase. Since the movement at this phase was localized, the administration was able to suppress it.

In its second phase, the movement became more broad-based since it evoked the support of all fisher folk of Chilika as well as a large mass of people of the locality and outside. The bureaucracy and the police now used brutal measures to suppress the movement. Nevertheless, the protest continued and the broader environmental issues pertaining to the project began to be addressed by the movement along with livelihood issues. The threats to the lake's fragile ecosystem and to the livelihood of fishermen were used to pressurise the government. In advocating the environmental aspects of the issue, emphasis was laid on India's commitment to the international community to preserve the lake. At the same time the government was interrogated on the legality of the project by invoking the *Land Settlement Act*, according to which Chilika is a 'reserved wetland' and therefore can't be leased to any individual or company. The Ministry of Environment and Forests issued an order banning further work on the project until an EIA study had been conducted. The Tatas assigned this task to the Water and Power Consultancy Services (WAPCO), which gave the project a clean chit, describing it as environment friendly with no possible adverse impact on the environment of the lake. The report was opposed and criticized by both the movement and the Union Ministry of Environment and Forests. The ministry much to the dissatisfaction of the Government of Orissa maintained that, the project could proceed only after a proper EIA was done. While the Government of Orissa and the Union Ministry were engaged in this tussle and while the movement was vociferously opposing the project, the Orissa High Court's judgment on the fishing rights of the fishermen in Chilika halted both intensive and semi-

⁵⁰ *Samaj*, (Oriya daily), September 21, 1991.

intensive prawn cultivation in the lake. After more than two years of struggle, the Tatas had to withdraw. This recognized the validity of people's protest against the project and reaffirmed the strength of people's collective resistance.

The struggle of CBA exhibited the might of the fishermen and in its ideology it asserted the inseparability of ecological sustainability and social justice. It is an example of growing consciousness about the legitimacy of poor people's rights and the power of collective action.

Thus the CBA, which started as a grassroots movement, became in subsequent years, an organized mass movement. It tarnished the false model of 'development' imposed upon the weaker masses by the state. It also tarnished the false image of the state regarding the protection of nature. Rather it passed the message that the environment is best protected by the grassroots people. Although these people live sustainably on the ecology, still they are the best protectors of nature's treasure. So the goal of CBA was to protect both nature and people.

CHAPTER – IV
ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN ORISSA- II
THE CASE OF KASHIPUR AND GANDHAMARDAN
MOVEMENT

THE KASHIPUR MOVEMENT

The Kashipur block of Orissa is one of the poorest regions in the country and has often caught the media attention, if for nothing else than reports of the unusual scale of deaths due to malnutrition, and diseases. Needless to say this underdevelopment has been a cause for much fund inflows into the region through various departments, programmes and projects. Unfortunately, only a very small percentage of this has actually gone into development and the impact of much of this is quite invisible. The Government of Orissa thought of a better alternative by inviting private sector investment in the region for Bauxite mining and processing.¹ In the process, the lands of the tribals are being acquired in the name of 'national interest' and 'public purpose', for a 100% exports oriented alumina plant and for bauxite mining.

The scheme has its advantages, the hills of Kashipur have very rich deposits of Bauxite² and the land and labour value in the region is cheap, water is plentifully available from numerous perennial streams, and infrastructure for transportation and communication has been built up. A railway line providing the link between the mining area and Vishkapatnam, the closest seaport has been constructed and all weather roads providing communication to all the areas being prospected are coming up.

It is against this decision of the Government that a powerful people's movement has started in the Kashipur region that questions the right of the state to deprive the tribals of the area of their right over hills, forest and land, which are the only source of their livelihood. The tribals of Kashipur are still struggling to protect their sustainable land and natural resources against the onslaught of multinational companies and the state. The champions of their cause are the very people, living in the localities, non-else.³

¹ Centre for Science and Environment, "Development or Destruction: The Travails of Marginalized Minority Groups", undated paper, New Delhi.

² While the total bauxite deposit of the world is 2320 crore tones, India has 292.2 crore tones. Out of that Orissa has 267 crore tons of deposit. It has been estimated that the Bapilimahi Hill contains 1957.3 lakh tons, Kodingmali hill contains 914 lakh tons, Sasubahumali hill contains 810 lakh tons, Sijimali Hill contains 860 lakh ton which are all located in Kashipur Block only. Therefore many companies from India and abroad have started rushing to these areas in order to invade these rich deposit. The state government does not want to miss any opportunity to sign MOUs with such companies. "Bauxite mine" *Manisara Bartabaha Swabhimani* (Oriya Fortnightly), vol. 6, Issue 21, 16 August 2004.

³ Prafulla Samantara, *People's Struggle for Right to Livelihood*, Gopalpur Coast Environment Protection Forum (Orissa), Lok Shakti Abhiyan (New Delhi), 2000.

The movement has started with two important questions: how does such industrial activity benefit the people of the area, who are primarily a tribal community? What could be the impact of the proposed investment and mining on the natural resource base, which is the prime source of sustenance for the most tribal groups in this state?

The Region

To see the movement in a proper perspective, an insight into the region is essential.

Kashipur is a block in the Rayagada district of Orissa. From Rayagada towards Koraput after a distance of 32 kms one will arrive at Rupakana square. From here if one moves towards right again about 32 kms, one arrives at Kucheipadar village. This is the place proposed for the establishment of the Alumina plant of Utkal Alumina International Ltd (UAIL). The people of this entire area are up against this proposed Alumina plant as it is going to uproot them for God. There is another village nearby known as Sunger, which is about 20 kms from Kashipur Block headquarters. This is the second village where the L&T Company decided to establish Alumina Plant against which the people have been struggling to protect their life and livelihood. There is another village called Kansariguda, which is about 10 kms away from Tikri where the Aditya Birla Company has decided to set-up another Alumina Plant for which a strong public resistance has already set in.

Kashipur is a densely forest area, rich with different flora and fauna, inhabited by majority of tribals which constitute 70% of the total population. Next comes the dalit community who comprises another 15%. Mainly Kondh, Jhodia and Peng community of tribes reside in this area.⁴ Their identifiable sources of income are agriculture, occasional wage labour and collection of forest produce.⁵ It needs to be noted that in this area both dalits and tribal people do 'dangar'⁶ cultivation. Their mode of cultivation does not allow any scope for surplus production. Even if one wants, it will reduce him/her to a machine. If one argues for surplus production, they say, "If we work for 24 hours, when will we eat, dance and make merry?" This simple approach to life leaves no room for greed, hoarding and profiteering. But

⁴ Deba Ranjan Sarangi, "Kashipur's Account" undated paper presented by the author on behalf of *Prakritika Sampad Suraksha Parisad* (PSSP), Kuchipadar, Kashipur, Rayagada, Orissa.

⁵ Forest is almost exhausted due to corporate interest and jungle mafia, J.K. Paper Mill at Rayagada is the single most cause of depletion of forest in this area.

⁶ Dangar, literally, means hilly areas for slash and burn cultivation. Each village has a traditionally demarcated area of danger for the use of people of that particular village only. This land is also distributed among villagers traditionally. If the possessor of a particular piece of danger does not use it for consecutive year's either he/she can give it to other villagers or the village community will decide about its redistribution.

this culture of non-hoarding/ non-surplus production fails to meet the problems at the time of natural calamities. Against this background many argue to increase their income source so that their purchasing power will go up. The solution was sought in the introduction of cash crops like coffee and cashew. But this is nothing short of a pretext. Because from the cultivation of these cash crops the traders who have come from outside will reap rich harvests so also a handful of local elite. Even today, they are the people who control the trade of forest produce. It will also create a new process by which tribals will be alienated from the land and the market will more and more determine their life. As they know their life and their needs they reject it. In such a situation, the role of an impersonal institution like market in their life is bound to be limited. The world outside has little meaning for them. They hardly need the state, government or market to run their life. But the relative isolation is breaking. Market and state are forcefully entering into their life.

Natural Resources, Local Communities and the State

Kashipur was a land of dense forest and perennial springs. In its lap human communities were living. They created land by the sweat of their brow and used jungle to meet their basic needs. In the course of time, their lands and forests became the property of the state. In other words, nature turned into property. State became its owner. Orissa government created a series of laws in subsequent years to exercise control over nature particularly forest. As a result, people were debarred from their birthright to use forest for their survival.⁷ Any violator of this rule was meted out heavy punishment. Once state becomes the owner of the nature it arrogated the role of the protector of the jungle. It also becomes solely responsible for its proper use and also for the present and future of the people who depended on it. Barring a few places, dangars are completely naked, no trees, no animals. The Government, squaring on the responsibility, is accusing people for deforestation. But all have been sacrificed at the alter of national development, national interest. J.K. Paper Mill at Rayagada is a monstrous monument of this process. The loss of forest resources has become the biggest bone for local communities dependent on it. After destroying the forest resources based life patterns of the people, the state takes up various schemes to show its concern for the people. It tries to establish its welfarist character by introducing various welfare schemes. The state has made itself indispensable both through its coercive power and welfare measures.

⁷ Op. Cit., (Deba Ranjan Sarangi), p. 3.

During 1985-86, Kashipur faced a terrible drought. Starvation deaths were reported that forced the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to visit the area. This ushered in a new era in the history of Kashipur. Development plans were chalked out. International fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD) came to develop agriculture in the area. In the name of agricultural development, it introduced coffee plantation and sericulture. Earlier in their 'dangars' where they used to grow traditional agricultural items now they were taught to grow coffee and mulberry for the benefit of traders and capitalists. IFAD also suggested development of road and communication to bring the people to the national mainstream. So roads, from Tikri to Kashipur, Railway line from Rayagada to Koraput were constructed. When in 1993 companies after companies made a queue to this area, the people of Kashipur realized the real motive behind this development.

Contextualizing the Movement

It was in the 1993 that for the first time the people from Kashipur Block came to know about the UAIL, a multinational company consisting of INDAL (Indian Aluminium Company Limited), Tata and Hydro Aluminium of Norway which have decided to establish an Alumina plant in Kashipur.⁸ Alcon, a Canadian company is involved in bauxite mining. Aluisse, a Swiss Company is supposed to provide technical know how. The Alumina refinery complex has been proposed to be set up at Debaguda, a village near Kucheipadar. The initial estimated investment is Rs. 2400 crores. The Bauxite for their refinery would be mined from the Baphilimali Hill, about 14 kms away, and transported via conveyer belt to the refinery. This plant initially targeted to be of one million metric tone capacity, would subsequently be expanded to 3 million metric tone capacity.⁹ In the year 1995, the people came to know about the second proposed alumina plant in the area. Larsen and Toubro, in collaboration with the ALCOA of America, planning an initial investment of Rs. 1500 crores, proposes to have its refinery in Kalyansingpur in Rayagada District. The Bauxite would be extracted from Kutrunmali plateau in the bordering Kalahandi District. Various other plateaus like Silgimali etc. tops in its vicinity are also being prospected. Due to protest from the local people in the beginning of 1996 the company did not take any initiative to start the project. But towards the end of 1996 the company again set up a camp near Sunger village to

⁸ Recently Hindalco has purchased the share of INDAL and Tata is reported to have withdrawn from the venture.

⁹ Op. Cit., (Centre for Science and Environment), p. 2

resume its activity.¹⁰ In 1998 people came to know about the third alumina project proposed to be established by Aditya Birla Aluminium Company at Kansariguda village in Bankem Panchayat near Kashipur area. For this plant the Bauxite from the nearby Kodingmali hill has been proposed to be exploited. In the recent years the Sasubahu Mali, another bauxite mine in the area had been sold out to Balco to increase its selling price.¹¹ Sterlite Company of India has purchased 51% share of that public sector company.

The proposed projects for mining and processing of Bauxite are 100% export oriented. They are planned along the border areas of Rayagada and Kalahandi Districts, areas, which are characterized by a high percentage of tribal population and a fragile ecosystem, rendered more vulnerable by extensive deforestation. Here, the tribal people or the other residents for that matter are not permitted private possession rights over major portions of the land as it has high gradients, on the grounds of ecological instability and environmental protection.

This project (UAIL) if takes on, will affect more than 25000 indigenous people.¹² The resistance is therefore on the grounds of displacement, encroachment upon their life patterns. In the beginning it was informed by the companies that only 148 families of three villages namely Remibeda, Kendukhunti and Demarkorela are going to be displaced because of the establishment of the plant. But this only a tip of the iceberg propagated by the companies. In fact, when the villages were identified to distribute the compensation money then only the people came to realize the hidden agenda of the company. It has been estimated by survey conducted by a voluntary organization of Andhra Pradesh known as IDEA which is working in collaboration with NORAD of Norway that as many as 43 villages are going to be directly and indirectly affected by the plant through displacement.¹³ At the same time a Delhi based organization TARU has submitted a report suggesting that about 87 villages are likely to be displaced.¹⁴

Hence, it is a great betrayal of the trust of the people because the project, which is ostentatiously, a project for the welfare of the tribals turned out in reality a carefully calculated conspiracy to deprive the tribals in order to promote the interests of the company. Ultimately the tribal people will be deprived of the fruits of development done in this area

¹⁰ *Samaj* (Oriya Daily), 1st December 1996.

¹¹ *Sambad* (Oriya daily) May 2001.

¹² Op. Cit., (Deba Ranjan Sarangi), p. 8.

¹³ Prafulla Samatara, *People's Struggle for Right to livelihood*, Gapalpur Coast Environmental Protection Forum (Orissa) and Lok Shakti Abhiyan (New Delhi), 2000, p.38.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.44.

because they are to be displaced. Reports suggest that 90% of local tribals are going to be affected by this project.¹⁵ Projects like these seem to be selling the resources and the lives of the people to corporate interests, and in the process making refugees of its own people.¹⁶

As per the official claim, the scheme demands over 2000 hectares, necessitating the loss of three villages, and land in which 12 villages have legal claim. Numerous other villages will lose their access to common resources, such as a pasture and water, which will bring a significant blow to the subsistence economy of the region. People estimate that the livelihoods and agriculture in and around 100 villages in the area would be irreparably damaged.¹⁷ If the proposed alumina plant begins, thousands of tribals will lose their home, livelihood and cultural life forever. The agricultural and forest produces of the area will disappear forever and the ecology will be destroyed.

The process of extraction of alumina from bauxite is an extremely hazardous process. After the extraction of 1 ton of alumina, the rest 6.95 materials are treated as wasteful effluents, which are dumped at the site. The most hazardous material of these wasteful products is 'redmud'. To extract 1 ton of alumina it creates 1.2 tons red mud which is thrown into a specially constructed pit and as a result of this red mud it creates pollution in the near by water resources and agricultural field.¹⁸

The ore extraction process for Bauxite would produce huge amounts of dust. The subsequent operations of transportations, grinding, granulimetric sorting would raise even bigger amounts of dust. The water run off from the ore pile would carry toxic substances that is likely to mix in the surface runoff from these areas, and also infiltrate the ground water reservoirs with acidic solutions.

The Baphilimali Hill which is the concentration of Bauxite mines from which the Utkal Alumina has proposed to exploit the ore is situated as the boundary wall of the large multi-purpose irrigation Dam known as Indravati project. The catchment area of this Indravati River are the hills of Kashipur from which have generated the water sources of Indravati. At a cost of more than 1000 crores this project has been constructed to irrigate the perpetually drought affected areas. Once mining starts in Baphilimali hills, it will not only drain out the water resources but also will produce silting which will dry up the dam as a result the whole

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 47.

¹⁶ Op. Cit., (Centre for Science and Environment), p. 8.

¹⁷ *Dharitree* (Oriya daily), 10 October 2003.

¹⁸ Op cit, (Prafulla Samantra), p. 40.

Indravati Project will die an unnatural death.¹⁹ The contamination from L&T project is similarly likely to feed into Nagavalli river. The effluents of the plant will pollute the water resources of this river which is the lifeline of Rayagada district. Recently Bagiri Jhola minor irrigation project was constructed for the ostentatious purpose of irrigation of the agricultural land. Now this irrigation project is going to be handed over to the Utkal Alumina project depriving the local people of their right to water for irrigation.²⁰ Not only that the mining of Baphilimali, Sasubahumali or Kuturmali hills will turn more than 100 villages into desert and about 32 rivers will dry up and will be polluted. The temperature is also likely to rise. So the proposed alumina projects will destroy the *Prakrutika Sampad* (natural resources) of the area.²¹

This may go under the garb of developments, but the destruction of people's livelihoods, the degradation of the environment causing the breakdown of fragile ecosystems, should make one pause to ponder, whether this development is not more violent than many a war. In spite of this the Orissa Government pretends as if there is no problem for the tribals of the area and behaves almost like a business company. These indigenous people have now been enlisted as a business commodity by the Government of Orissa. There is strong disenchantment against the government. Among the tribal woman Mrs. Lachhamma Majhee says, "We have been living for generation and generations under the lap of nature. If we are evicted from this place by the company, we will turnout to be beggars on the street, we will not leave our homeland come what may." An illiterate tribal women Mrs. Alai Majhee who is in the forefront of the struggle says: "you government, you collector, you Tahasildar have not given us this forest, land, rivers and the treasure under the earth. We have got these as the gift of the nature and have been enjoying for thousands years together since our fore fathers and it will continue also for future generations. Who are you to snatch away these from us? We will not allow and fight to save our motherland till death."²²

¹⁹ "Pollution of Environment...", *Manisara Bartabaha Swabhimaan* (Oriya Fortnightly) vol. 6, issue 21, 16 August 2004, p. 8.

²⁰ Op. Cit., (Prafulla Samantara), p. 45.

²¹ "Maikanch Commission Report..." *Manisara Bartabaha Swabhimann* (Oriya Fortnightly), vol. 6, issue 22, 1 September 2004, p. 5.

²² Op. Cit., (Prafulla Samantara), p. 47.

The Movement: Demand for Right to Information:

It is a matter of great surprise that when one company after another are rushing to this area proposing to invest thousands of crores, no official information has been made available to the local people. Since the entire project work is carried out in a veil of secrecy, the suspicion about the project is also increasing day-by-day. This has upset the normally easygoing tribal people of the region, and they have taken to resistance and expressions of protests in various forms. One such form is the demand that they be informed fully of the projects planned and their consequences for them. In an attempt to consolidate their efforts to protect their land and their resources from the state and these companies, the people in and around the villages of Sunger panchayat have organized to form the *Anchalika Surakha Parishad*. The demand of the people through this organisation is primarily for information.²³

Fight Against the State: The Prakrutik Sampad Surakshya Parishad (PSSP)

In the year 1993, when the employees of Utkal Alumina International came to Doreguda village of Kuchipadar panchayat to undertake survey work, the local people began to look upon them with suspicion and enquired from them about their purpose of work and the people came to know that an Alumina plant had been proposed to be established in their area. When the people came to know of the proposed alumina project, on 11 November 1993, a group of 18 local representatives of the area met the then chief minister of Orissa Sri Biju Patnaik. After discussion with the local representatives the chief minister gave them the assurance that the site of the proposed project would be changed. Since the assembly elections were in the offing the chief minister might have given such populist assurance without any sincere intention. After the assembly elections in 1995 a new government took over. The same company again resumed its activity and continued the survey work. At this moment the people of Kucheipadar and the nearby villages organized among themselves and decided to protest against the state and its proposed project and company. In December 1994 these organized people brought four employees of the company along with their machinery to Kucheipadar village and kept them under their custody. Then of course the police came and rescued these employees. After many days a case was registered for this incident in the local police station against 12 persons of the village.

On 17th February 1995 more than five thousand tribals and Harijans from the nearby 50 villages of Kashipur and Thumulrampur block peacefully rallied from Sagabari (The

²³ Op. Cit., (Centre for Science and Environment), p.4.

Sizimali mining village site) to the L&T company at Sunger in protest against the setting up of the plant. The next day the Tahsildar of Kashipur visited Sagabari but was prevented by the villagers from visiting Sijimali since the vehicle that he rode belonged to the L&T Company. In an attempt to consolidate their efforts to protect their land and resources, people from all the affected villages organized themselves to form the *Anchalika Suraksha Parishad*²⁴ and submitted a charter of demand to the Tahsildar, affirming their right to information and made it clear that they would continue to obstruct the road till their demands were fulfilled. The sub collector of Rayagada visited Sagabari and asked the people to let the gate open for the vehicles of the company. The villagers repeated their demands before him but it did not yield any result.

On 16th March 1995 Mr. R.N. Jena, Collector, Rayagada visited Sagabari with a prior intimation. More than 2000 people, mostly women handed over to him a note of appeal containing 19 points with regard to the proposed mining operation. Instead of commenting anything on the demands the collector declared that the factory would be established by any means since a decision to that effect has already been taken. Such a statement from the collector infuriated the public and they started giving the slogan:

“Government must kill us first and then set up the factory”.²⁵

Despite the protest of the people the UAIPL Company authorities installed some hand-pumps at the proposed plant site to fulfill the company requirements. The villagers destroyed the drilling machine and the hand-pumps and prevented the company officials from doing their work. On 20th April 1995 people from 20 nearby villages organized a meeting and vowed to oppose the decision of setting up the plant in their locality.²⁶

On 14 February 1996 a huge public rally was organized by the public at Kucheipadar. On this day was born *Prakrutika Sampad Surakshya Parisad* (Council for the protection of natural resources),²⁷ a public organization constituted to carryout all agitational programmes in order to protect the interest of the local area and the people. This rally was addressed by

²⁴ Centre for Science and Environment, “Chronicle of Peoples Struggle to protect their homeland and Environment from the Clutches of L&T Company bent upon undertaking mining work at Sijimali of Sasabari village of Kashipur and Kutrumali of Theramulrampur block” undated paper, New Delhi, pp.1-4.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 2.

²⁶ Centre for Science and Environment, “Chronicle of People’s struggle at Kucheipadar and its neighbouring villages to protect their homeland and environment from the clutches of UAIPL – A joint venture of INDAL, HYDRO and TATA” undated paper, New Delhi.

²⁷ Op. Cit., (Prafulla Samantara), p. 35.

Medha Patkar, the great leader of Narmada Bachao Andolan, Sri Manmohan Choudhry, the great Sarvodaya leader, Sri Kisan Patnaik, the great socialist leader and many other leaders of people's movements. This rally was very significant in spreading the message of the local agitation to the outside world.

On 9th September 1996 about 10,000 people took out a rally from Kucheipadar to Tikri and gheraoed the company office at Tikri. In the meantime, people from the affected villages set up barricades in different village and started resisting the movement of the employees and vehicles of the company. On 5th July 1997, the company started the construction of a rehabilitation colony near Damakora village. On 10th July, the agitationists demolished some of the half constructed houses as a mark of organized protest. Again on 20 November 1997, on the Occasion of the birth anniversary of Saheed Laxman Nayak, a tribal hero, a huge public rally was organized at Tikri. More than five thousand people attended this rally where they had taken a vow "we will rather die than leave our homeland."²⁸

Agencies involved in the movement

Different forces which played important roles in the movement include:²⁹

Local people: The majority of the population belongs to tribal communities like Kondh, Paraja, Jhodia, Penga. Next comes the dalits (locally called 'Dom'). Besides them, there are Gaud, Paikas and Sunddhis (the other castes). Participation of tribals in the movement is much more than any other community. As most of the dalits do not possess land and they also do not do dangar cultivation their stake in the movement which is aimed at protecting land is definitely less. But there are some villages where dalits have land, the participation in the movement is significant. On the other hand landless tribals participate in the movement, as they are involved in the dangar cultivation.

Women: Mining operations have a serious impact on the lives and livelihood of women. It is highly gender discriminatory and abusive of their minds and bodies.³⁰ Thus the participation of women in the struggle has been remarkable. This is again due to their own social status in the society. Their mobility is more here as compared to non-tribal women. Secondly, they are more attracted to dangar than the men. They want to protect it.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 36.

²⁹ Debaranjan Sarangi, "India, Orissa, Tribals war Against Industrialisation / Corporatisation" paper presented – 31st March 2001, also available at <http://www.ainfos.ca>

³⁰ "Women near mines suffer untold misery", *The Hindu*, April 26, 2003.

Political Parties: Unlike other struggle in Orissa, no political party has so far directly participated in the movement. In Kashipur the entire mainstream Political Parties Congress, BJP, BJD are hell bent on starting the project. Thus the people have bypassed these political parties and remained apolitical.

Role of NGOs in the movement: In the beginning *Agragammee* (NGO) has disseminated information relating to the project and its possible impact on the life, livelihood and environment of the area. Gradually, many more NGOs showed interest in it. In 1997, February-March with the involvement of some NGOs a public interest litigation was filed in the High Court of Orissa. The court gave its verdict in favour of the company. When people discuss the judgment they clearly state “The government, which has given permission for the project, its court cannot give verdict in our favour. Government, court, police, company belong to the same boat.”³¹

Response of the State

From the beginning the democratic state has maintained a stony silence on the exact nature of the project – how many villages will be displaced or affected, how many people will lose their land, what will be the nature of compensation. On the other hand, it has been continuously harassing people on one pretext or the other. People have been beaten up, fired upon, jailed, lathi charged, implicated in false cases. Sometimes local administration and police have tried to weaken the movement by setting one community against the other. As a fallout, when violence erupts, it becomes easier for police to fulfill its nefarious designs.³²

On 5th January 1998 a significant incident took place at Kucheipadar. The agitationists had set-up a barricade near the village as mark of protest against the company. Since then no vehicle of the company passed through this road. But on this day the sub-collector of Rayagada, Tahasildar of Kashipur, DSP of Rayagada, OIC of Tikri came to this place with a platoon of police force and demolished the barricade and lathi charged the protestors. In this incident 46 persons along with 12 women sustained injuries. On 29th March 1998 on the occasion of the martyr day of Saheed Laxman Nayak, a tribal freedom fighter, a huge public rally was organized at Kashipur with necessary intimation to the police. But this rally was foiled by anti-social elements hired by the company who assaulted the people in the presence of police and forced them to shift the place of the meeting.

³¹ *The Indian Express*, (Bhubaneswar), April 5, 1997.

³² Op. Cit., (Debarajan Sarangi), p. 7.

Muchukund Dubey report confirms the repression of the tribals of region. Adding a new lead in the chapter of repression, on 16th December 2000 in Maikanch, police in an unprovoked firing killed three tribals while 30 others suffered major and minor bullet injuries.³³ Going one step further the state appointed P.K. Mishra commission on Maikanch firing, which in its report held that “Maikanch firing is justified” and “Mining project should not be stopped for the sake of environment.”³⁴

“But the firing episode on 16th December 2000 instead of demoralizing the agitating tribals, has further added to their determination to fight against the state and its decision to impose the Alumina project over the people of Kashipur. Four days after the killing, they organized a successful Rasta Roko (road block) programme at Raphkona chack as per their earlier decision. They have taken a pledge to fight unto the last till the MOUs signed by the Orissa government with the companies for mining and setting up of the plant are cancelled. They have further stated that their struggle so far has been peaceful and will continue to be peaceful despite provocation.”³⁵

THE GANDHAMARADAN MOVEMENT

The ecology movement in the Gandhamardan Hills in Orissa against the ecological havoc of bauxite mining is an important event in the history of environmental movements in Orissa. This movement drew its inspiration from the Chipko movement. The mining project of the Bharat Aluminum Company (BALCO) in the Gandhamardan Hills was being opposed (BALCO Hatao Andolan) by local youth organizations and tribal people whose life and survival was directly under threat. The peaceful demonstration claimed that the “project could only continue over their dead bodies”. The champions of their cause were the very tribal people, living in the localities, none else.

About the project

Gandhamardan bauxite project was being developed by Balco as a captive mine capable of fulfilling the long term bauxite needs of its one lakh tones per year Korba Aluminum complex. Balco’s Korba Aluminum complex at Bilaspur district, Madhya Pradesh was getting its bauxite supplies from its captive mines at Phulka Pahar and Amarkantak in Madhya Pradesh. Due to the limitation of reserves in these captive mines, requirement of

³³ *Samaj* (Oriya Daily) 17th December 2000.

³⁴ *Dharitree* (Oriya Daily) 10th October 2003.

³⁵ Taken from *Orissa watch report*, which was meant for private circulation on 14th January, 2001.

bauxite was estimated to be met from these two sources only upto 1985. The development of Gandhamardan bauxite deposit located at the junction of Sambalpur and Bolangir districts of Orissa was supposed to ensure a regular supply of bauxite at the rate of six lakh tones per year to Korba Plant beyond 1985 for almost the entire life of the aluminum plant.³⁶ BALCO officials found Gandhamardan as the most suitable, since its ore quality and occurrence were better than Amarkanthak. They said that overburden was also much less in Gandhamardan and pointed out that the ore theme was much thicker, continuous and available within three meters. Mining of only 3 hectares per year on this reserve would feed nearly five lakh tones of bauxite every year to the Korba plant.

The bauxite deposit at Gandhamardan is the second largest deposit in the country with total ore reserves of about 213 million tones.³⁷ BALCO was granted mining lease by Orissa government in 1982 over an area of 9.6 sq. kilometer which had an ore reserve of about 60 million tones of bauxite.³⁸ The project envisaged an investment of Rs. 31.2 crores including infrastructure. It was scheduled to be completed within a span of 33 months beginning from 1st August 1982. The Rs 750 crore integrated Korba Aluminum Complex of the public sector Bharat Aluminum Company could survive only if the proposed Gandhamardan bauxite project in Orissa would have come up within two years.³⁹

Context of the movement

The Gandhamardan reserve forest, with an area of around 300 sq. km, situated on the borders of Sambalpur, Bolangir and Kalahandi district of Orissa, is a rich eco-system. Known as *Gandhagiri* in Mythology and believed to be the *Gandhamardan* of the Ramayana, this hill is proved by historians to be the famous *Parimalagiri* of Buddhist literature, the plateau on which there was the international center of learning, *Parimalagiri Mahavihar* cited in Hiuen T'Sang's reference as 'polo-molokili'.⁴⁰

There are two ancient temples on the northern and southern foothills of the plateau, Narsinghanath and Harisankar, in Sambalpur and Bolangir districts, respectively. They are situated near two perennial streams, the water of which is believed to be sacred. People from

³⁶ "A Birds eye view of Gandhamardan Bauxite project" pamphlet distributed by Balco on the day of foundation stone laying ceremony of the project, May 1983.

³⁷ "Controversy over mining project" *Indian Express*, 8 December 1987.

³⁸ "Gandhamardan stir turns to religion", *Indian Express*, 5 January 1988.

³⁹ "BALCO unit faces Crisis", *News Time*, 27 December 1987.

⁴⁰ A.B. Mishra "Mining a hill and undermining a society: The Case of Gandhamardan" in Anil Agarwall, Darryl D' Monte and Ujwala Somarth (ed.). *The Fight for Survival: People's Action for Environment*, Centre for Science and Environment, New Delhi, 1987, pp.124-144.

Chattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh come to throw the bones of their dead elders into the Nrusinghanath stream, called the *papaharan tirtha* (water that washes away sins). The local people believe that this is their Ganga.

The richness of the Gandhamardan ecosystem is remarkable. Its water resources, with over 800 small perennial springs and many more rain-fed ones, supply water through 63 small streams to 17 large streams joining two rivers, the Ong and Suktel, tributaries of the Mahanadi (Maa-nadi or mother river of the state).⁴¹

Three streams, on their way downhill, form four waterfalls, 30 feet to 40 feet high. A partial vegetation survey of the slopes conducted by the Botanical Survey of India, more than two decades ago, recorded a diversity of 2700 species of medicinal, quasi-medicinal and economically important plants and herbs.⁴² On the banks of the streams, ferns and lichens grow profusely. Forest department sources claim that a rich variety of fauna exists, including mammals like the tiger, leopard, sloth bears, palm civet, jungle cat, wild bear, sambar, barking deer, fox, jackal, wild dogs red and black faced moneys etc. All over these hills is a semiarid type of vegetation, mostly deciduous. There are also semi-evergreen growths. The forest has no human habitation, due to the absence of habitable valleys, but is surrounded by the villages and towns of Jharbandh, Paikmal, Padmapur and Gaislet blocks of Sambalpur in the northeast, Naupara block of Kalahandi in the west and Khaprakhol and Patnagarh blocks of Bolangir district in the south. Most of the people in the villages of these blocks are farmers and agricultural labourers, depending indirectly and directly on the forest. More than 200 villages, with a population of around one lakh are directly dependent on the forest. About 30 percent people of the area are completely landless, depending on daily wages and forest produce for their living. They neither migrate to urban areas in large number nor work as bonded labourers. This is mainly because the forests supply them with subsistence needs and seasonal employment. Food is the most important link between people's subsistence and forests. About 30 to 40 varieties of edible roots and rhizomes are collected from the hill slopes. Not only the poor, but the rich too eat forest-based foods. The best example of these is the soft parts of the bamboo, called *kardi* and *hendua*. Primary health centers exist in all blocks and some panchayats, but the people only go there when ailments are unmanageable in the village. Minor ailments are mostly treated by the village *vaidyas* or practitioners of

⁴¹ Ibid, p.126.

⁴² "Gandhamardan stir turns to religion", *Indian Express*, 5 January 1988.

indigenous medicine found in the forest. Collection of minor forest produce is an important aspect of the economy of the landless and small and marginal farmers. Big landowners also sell these products from their trees.

Commercial exploitation of natural systems can easily alienate people from this nature, consequently depleting the renewable resources of the area. The commercial exploitation of Gandhamardan dates back to pre-independence years by local business communities and Birla's Orient Paper Mill with the approval of forest department. But no conspicuous deterioration was noted. The first major indication of danger to this ecosystem came in 1971 with a government gazette notification that about 2 million tones of easily exploitable quality bauxite alumina was stored in the hill. Mica was also found there. In mid 1976, the Public Sector Bharat Aluminum Company (BALCO) applied to the Orissa government for a mining lease over 3584 hector. In 1981 the Orissa government notified that 36 sq. km of the Gandhamardan reserve forest was reserved for exploitation of bauxite in the public sector and a day later, a lease was hurriedly sanctioned to BALCO. In May 1983 the foundation stone for the mine was laid by the Chief Minister. A demonstration took place and his vehicle was stoned. Thus, though the project was started in 1983, after an investment of a few crores of rupees, work came to a halt following agitation by the local tribals due to ecological disturbance.⁴³

Environmental Impact of the Project and Civil Society Assertion

Gandhamardan bauxite project was located in a reserve forest which was extremely rich in biological diversity, both flora and fauna as well as medicinal and herbal plants of great economic value. So the project was going to have adverse impact on the biological diversity of the hill. These hills are the origin of more than 150 springs which fall into 22 major streams and four water falls. The local population in these hills as well as downstream is dependent for their water supply on these streams and have no alternative source when the streams get dried or polluted – the two possibilities that accompany mining operations. The changed hydrological cycle would have adversely affected the irrigated cultivation. It would also have an impact on the vegetation and microclimate in the area. The total population in the area is about 50,000 who are predominantly tribal and their main source of sustenance is the forest produce. So a large proportion of the tribal population would have been adversely affected because of the forest destruction which is the base of their sustenance. The

⁴³ "Concern at delay in projects completion", *Hindustan Times*, 22 December 1987.

Gandhamardan hill range is a well known pilgrimage center with sacred streams flowing. One of the streams, Kapildhara, is considered as sacred as the *Gangas* by the local people. Drying up of the streams and springs, held sacred by the local people, would have been a major catastrophe. Two famous temples- Narsinghnath and Harisankar built around the 11th century are important pilgrimage centers where annual melas are held. The Garuda Pillar of the Narsinghnath temple collapsed in August 1985 and the roof of the temple storehouse had developed cracks. Local people, therefore, apprehended that their sacred temples would get destroyed after the operations are taken up in the full earnest. Even though the mining operations were limited to an area of 107 hector only and an additional forest area of 55 hector had been acquired for allied operations and works, the environmental degradation would have taken place over a much larger area.⁴⁴

Since mining operation is an anti-forest operation and since forest is the core of tribal culture; it was therefore an anti-people operation. Loss of evergreen high mountainous range would have caused late rain or no rain and soil erosion ruining the harvest and bringing famine, which might mean dispersal of entire tribal community to live scattered on the mercy of their fortune. This would have meant making tribal poors poorer. Bingshals and Kondhs of this area lamented that there would be no wind and no rain, because their numerous gods and spirits especially clan ditties and ancestral spirits in their peaceful sacred abode had been offended by the blasting of BALCO.⁴⁵

Thus when BALCO was preparing to mine bauxite from this densely forested Gandhamardan hills, which was intricately tied up with the survival of the tribals, instead of hugging a tree, these agitated tribals here hug the earth by lying down to obstruct the advance of jeeps and trucks of the public sector undertaking. 'Pethi mara petey nain mera'⁴⁶ (hit at our back but not in the belly) shouted the tribals, predominantly women and children, at seeing the vehicles of BALCO, which they called 'monsters'. They did not want these monsters to destroy the hills, which are their source of food, fodder, water and firewood. Apart from erecting permanent barricades, tribals refused to join BALCO's labour force.

⁴⁴ Government of India, "Environmental Aspects of Gandhamardan Bauxite Project" views of Department Of Environment, dated 11 June 1986.

⁴⁵ A. Mishra, *Rape of a Rich Ecosystem: A case of western Orissa*, undated paper, Centre for Science and Environment, New Delhi, p.1-5.

⁴⁶ Hrushikesh Panda "Threat to Ecosystem: Case of Gandhamardan Hills", *Mainstream*, May 17, 1986, p.9-10.

The heterogeneous leadership of the agitation resented the project for its potential damage to forest reserve and claimed that it would affect 50,000 people, uproot a large number of rare medicinal herbs, dry up perennial streams, endanger the fauna, damage the ancient Narsinghnath temple, 600 meters below the hill and leave a large number of people landless.⁴⁷

People of the area expressed their concern over this issue by expressing their displeasure by filing a public interest case in the Orissa High Court. In the meantime the idol of Lord Narsinghnath was stolen from the temple and people suspected BALCO's involvement. In June 1985, a group of National Service Scheme (NSS) volunteers camped at Narsinghnath, went to the villages and lived with some families to understand their reactions more intimately. Some Sanghrasha Bahini volunteers managed to stay in the villages after the camp and by August 1986, the *Gandhamardan Surakshya Yuva Parishad* (Youth Action Group for Gandhamardan Protection, GSYF) was formed with the active participation of local youth.⁴⁸

The GSYF discussed issues like deforestation, microclimate variation, silting of streams, dust pollution, the entry of frightened wild animals into villages because of blasting, in village meetings and workshops. The "BALCO HATAO" movement gathered momentum through rallies, slogans and signature campaigns, which resulted in direct action like relay hunger pickets on the BALCO road to prevent vehicles going to the mining sites, and boycotts by labourers from working for BALCO at the cost of arrests and litigation.

According to GSYF activists, as a result of BALCO's initial mining activities, nearly 66,000 valuable trees were uprooted, ruining the economic base of thousands of villagers. They pointed out that Gandhamardan was the only source of survival for one-lakh tribals inhabiting in the area. The Parishad then turned to religious symbols to give a new thrust to the agitation against the project which threatened to deprive lakh of tribals of their source of livelihood and strain their unblemished environment.⁴⁹

The anti-BALCO movement, spearheaded by the *Gandhamardan Suraksha Yuva Parishad*, kept compelled BALCO officials from visiting the Gandhamardan mining zone, the

⁴⁷ "Balco's never-ending battles", *The Times of India*, 27 January 1988.

⁴⁸ A.B. Mishra "Mining a hill and undermining a society: The Case of Gandhamardan" in Anil Agarwal et al (ed.), *The Fight for Survival: People's Action for Environment*, Centre for Science and Environment, New Delhi, 1987, p.130.

⁴⁹ "Gandhamardan stir turns to religion", *Indian Express*, 5 January 1988.

road to which was “sealed” by the agitators sitting in dharna by rotation. They demanded scraping of the mining project on the grounds of protection of the environment and of temples and safeguarding of the economic interests of the population, which is traditionally dependent on the flora and fauna and water resources of the Gandhamardan hills.⁵⁰

During the road blocking, the local police and administration supported the company. They arrested and filed cases in the local courts against many people. As many as 1300, of which more than half were women, were harassed in this manner. Women were more involved in the movement than men. Initially, there was not much response from women. But when Sunderlal Bahuguna, the environmentalist, visited the area in Feb. 1986, and spent about five days there, he regularly addressed women. A rumour circulated that a saint from the Himalaya has come to see the devastations. He also met university staff and press reporters, which gave the movement strong encouragement.

In early 1986, a group of intellectuals from Orissa, living in Delhi, organized the *Gandhamardan Protection Committee* (GPC) and collected signatures to make an appeal to the Prime Minister. Some action groups like the People’s Union for Democratic Rights (PUDR) and the Institute for the Study of Society and Culture (ISSC) visited the area and wrote their reports against the project.⁵¹ Many environmentalists urged BALCO to examine the need for relocation of the proposed bauxite crusher plant at the site of the mine project on Gandhamardan hills so as to minimize dust and vibration on the hills.⁵²

BALCO’s Claim

BALCO officials at Amarkantak pooh poohed the claims of the environmentalists that mining activities will threaten rare medicinal herbs and wildlife in Gandhamardan. They dismissed fears of damage to the ancient Nursingnath Temple, 3.5 km from the mining site, saying that they had pledged Rs 4 lakh to conserve and renovate the temple.⁵³ Despite BALCO’s claims, however, initial operations brought down the ancient garuda stambha of the Narsinghanath temple, disturbed the habitat of wildlife, and led to silting of perennial streams. This made the people to agitate against the project.

Then the Prime Minister constituted a high-level experts committee under the chairmanship of Dr. D.D. Nagchaudhary to assess the impact of the development of the

⁵⁰ “Balco PR drive to counter tribal wrath”, *Telegraph*, 31 January 1988.

⁵¹ Op.cit (A.B. Mishra) p.131.

⁵² “Balco urged to shift crusher site”, *Economic Times*, 23 January 1988.

⁵³ “No verdict yet on Gandhamardan Project”, *Indian Express*, 25 January 1988.

Gandhamardan bauxite deposits on ecology and environment and the tribal population of the area.⁵⁴ The Nagchaudhary committee recommended that the bauxite mines in the Gandhamardan hills should be opened immediately and suggested a reformulated environmental management plan to be reviewed every year and modified whenever necessary. At the same time it proposed for the adoption of “humane concept” and “principles of equity” while going for development projects.⁵⁵ Thus the project came to a grinding halt after the company had incurred an expenditure of about Rs. 25 crores, following the agitation of the people led by GSYP. At that moment BALCO chairman P.S. Rao calling for speedy clearance of the project stated that since extraction of minerals had to be necessarily undertaken, it could be done by causing the least ecological disturbance to the area. He suggested that part of the revenue earned could be ploughed back to ensure environmental restoration. Mineral exploitation and protection of environment had to go hand in hand and there had to be a balance between preservation of ecology and exploitation of natural resources.⁵⁶ However, the people’s resistance was so strong that the project had to be stopped and that proved the movement was a success because of the participation of people cutting across different classes, caste and gender.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ “High Power Panel to Implement Gandhamardan Bauxite Project”, *Economic Times*, 26 December 1987.

⁵⁵ Extracts from the Report of the High Level Committee on Environmental and Ecological Aspects of the Gandhamardan Bauxite Project Orissa, Government of India, Department of Mines.

⁵⁶ ‘Single Window Clearance for Mining Projects Sought’, *Financial Express*, 29.01.88.

⁵⁷ I am indebted to Prof. A.B.Mishra (Sambalpur University, Orissa), who has been associated with the movement, for providing this information, (personal correspondence).

CONCLUSION

The twentieth century has been a century of democratic upsurge. The last three decades of this century have seen the steady emergence of new types of movements i.e., the Women's movement, Dalit and anti-Caste movements, the Farmers movement and the Environmental movements- which are referred to as "New Social Movements", in partial contrast to the "old class based social movements".

The emergence of these movements has provided unparalleled scope to extend the frontiers of Indian Democracy. These movements have emerged as a response to, among other things, the violations of civil rights, the subordinate position of women in society, the degradation of environment, the population displacements caused by development projects and the destruction of tribal culture. The NSMs have provided a trenchant critique of the conventional paradigm of development, interrogated patriarchal relations in the family and society, questioned subordination on the basis of inherited caste status, mounted protest against unjust displacement and deprivation, and articulated newer and more egalitarian visions of the social order.

These movements are also attracting India's apolitical populace into expressing and fighting for their basic rights to participate in the decision-making of the country in order to protect their interests. With the advent of these movements Indian Democracy may appear to be "ungovernable" or "disorder" or "noisy", but it certainly has not weakened. Rather democracy is growing through a process of consolidation by enticing greater popular participation.

Through these NSMs more and more people are resisting an "exploitative" state structure and a development model that excludes them. This democratic awakening seems to have led to the increasing self-assertion and political participation of these silent groups.

The new social movements are challenging statist indicators of growth and asserting livability, sustainability and equality as new parameters of development. This new discourse has important implications for the development paradigm and the knowledge claims of the state, for the new social movements express a sustained critique of the ideology of development. This is because the development discourse, according to these movements, subordinates women, *dalits*, tribals and minority population. In this context these new social movements use multiple strategies to counteract state power by applying their own indicators to assess the desirability of development.

The contemporary period is characterized by the emergence of ecology movements in all parts of world, which are attempting to redesign the pattern and extent of natural resource

utilization to ensure social equality and ecological sustainability. Ecology movements emerging from conflict over natural resources and the people's right to survival are spreading in regions like the Indian subcontinent where most natural resources are already being utilized to fulfill the basic survival needs of a large majority of people. In this way, ecology movements have questioned validity of the dominant concepts and indicators of economic development.

These ecology movements that have emerged as major social movements in many parts of India are making visible many invisible externalities and pressing for their internalization in the economic evaluation of the elite-oriented development process. In the context of limited resource base and unlimited development aspirations, ecology movements have initiated a new political struggle for safeguarding the interests and survival of the poor, the marginalized, including women, tribals and poor peasants.

In the light of this background, ecology movements have emerged as the people's response to this new threat to their survival and as a demand for the ecological conservation of vital life support systems. The most significant life-support systems in addition to clean air are the common property resources of water, forests and land on which the majority of the poor people of India depend for survival. It is the threat to these resources that has been the focus of ecology movements in the last few decades.

Contemporary assertions by the marginalized to gain control over their resources reveal, on the one hand, the tenuous relationship between the neglected citizenry and the state and, on the other, the potential of these people to redefine and refashion this relationship. As Melucci puts it: 'The public spaces which are beginning to develop in complex societies are points of connection between political institutions and collective demands, between the function of government and the representatives of conflict'. Conflicts over natural resources are not new, but contemporary movements have added a new dimension to the struggle by articulating the issues in terms of survival of the majority, as well as by focusing on the related issues of dominance, unequal distribution of developmental benefits, sustainable development and people's involvement in decision-making.

The insensitivity and inadequacy of governance agencies to protect the interests of marginalized groups provides the context for collective action. Civil actions in such situation relate to concern the state is expected to address and the effort is to reform the state and bring it back to perform the role for which it came into existence, or to use a popular expression, to

not let the state off the hook. In Chilika, the protest began when the state showed insensitivity to the people by putting their livelihood resources to commercial use. Moreover, shifting the responsibility for regulating the sphere from the state to the market further accentuated the dissatisfaction and apprehension among fishermen, who could not see the Tatas, governed by a profit motive as they were, giving priority to their needs.

The relationship between elements of civil society, state and democracy can be seen in two ways. First, civil society offers resistance to the state within a state given framework. In the case of these movements it was the shortcomings in the existing structure of rights and threat to the existing rights that created the grounds for civil society to raise its voice. The movements' discourse on rights defined which rights were important for whom and who should possess which rights as a matter of priority. It was pointed out that the role of the state was to not merely recognise and grant these rights but to protect them as well. In the case of Chilika it upheld the state's commitment to the international community to preserve the lake and referred to the constitution to validate the cause of environmental protection as the moral duty of all citizens. Second, civil society generally uses legally sanctioned means of protest such as dharnas, demonstrations, and meetings. When challenged even by these peaceful means, the state tried to suppress the voice of civil society. And the suppression was much more worse when violent means were used, such as the breaking down of the environment. In the case of Baliapal movement when the people tried to challenge the state through peaceful means were suppressed. And when they took to violent means the suppression became more by the state by sending troops, etc.

These movements have given people new identities and have inspired them to imagine the kind of society they would like to live in and the kind of polity they would like to be governed by. At the same time, they have provided them with new strategies to resist forces that hinder the realisation of these ideals. Movements like the above four mirror this new self-reflection among the people- who are they and what kind of life would they like to live? What should be their relationship with nature, with fellow human beings, with public institutions and with the state that governs them? As people collectively address these questions, they bring them into the public sphere, where they are debated, discussed and democratised. These movements have raised issues or notions of governance from below. In the case of Chilika Bacaho Andolan, the activists put three questions: (a) To whom does Chilika belong, the

people or the state? (b) If the big business houses enter into prawn culture, what will be the fate of the people whose only source of livelihood is fishing? And (c) In a situation where the commercial use of resources comes into conflict with the livelihood pursuits of the poor, what should the state's priority be? These questions contain the notion of governance coming from the people. The movement thus helped to redefine the priorities the state must keep in view when formulating and executing its development objectives. It also redefined the relationship between the state and the marginalized. It showed the capacity of the ordinary people to refashion their relationship with the state and with other section of the society. These notions of governance do not speak merely of the administrative efficiency of the state; they reveal flaws in decision-making and lopsided priorities of the state, and the demand that state correct its priorities based on the interests of the poor and the marginalized, thus ensuring governance truly coming from the people.

These movements suspected the various institutions of the state like police and court and thus developed local democratic institutions like *Vichar* in the case of Baliapal movement. Through this institution the people tried to solve local disputes. The constitution of *Vichar* and its proceedings, while facilitating an alternative to the state provided the context for the binding of various interests into a community thus providing a communitarian outlook to the movement.

These movements have highlighted the importance of debate, deliberations and discussions as vital to the strengthening of democracy. Thus many of them are fighting for the right to information, which is essential to be engaged in debate, deliberation and discussion. In the case of Kashipur movement, the project work was carried out in a veil of secrecy, which upset the tribal people who have taken to resistance and expressions of protests in various forms. One such form is the demand that they be informed fully of the projects planned and their consequences for them. In an attempt to consolidate their efforts to protect their land and resources from the state and companies, the people in and around the villages of Sunger panchayat have organised to form the Anchalika Surakshya Parishad. The demand of the people through this organisation is primarily for information.

An analysis of the above movements shows that civil society and the state share the same ideals of universal freedom and universal rights. Underlying the conflict between the two, therefore, is a unity of principles. When the state deviates from its ideals, shuns its

responsibilities towards its people or does not fulfil its promises, collective actions emerge to fill the space vacated by the withdrawal of the state. However, it is important to note here that even in such situations, civil society does not strive to replace the state; it aims at reforming the state so that it can live upto its ideals.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Books

- Acsebrad, Henri (ed.) (1992), *Environment and Democracy*, Botafago: IBASE.
- Agarwal, Anil and Sunita Narain (1989), *Towards Green Village*, Centre for Science and Environment, Delhi.
- , Darryl D' Monte and Ujwala Somarth (ed.) (1987), *The Fight for Survival: People's Action for Environment*, Centre for Science and Environment, New Delhi.
- Bogaert, M. V. D. (1992), *Saving Chilika Lake: Saving the People of Chilika*, Xavier Institute of Management, Bhubaneswar.
- Brinton, C., (1965), (new edition), *The Anatomy of Revolution*, New York, Norton.
- Chakraborty, Somen (1999), *A Critique of Social Movements in India*, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi.
- Chandhoke, Neera, (1995), *State and Civil Society: Exploration in Political Theory*, Sage Publications, New Delhi.
- Das B. B. (1996), *Chilika: The Nature's Treasure, will it be allowed to Die?*, Orissa Krushakmahasangha, Bhubaneswar.
- Dhanagare, D. N. (1983), *Peasant Movements in India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi.
- Dogra, B. (1992), *Chilika Lake Controversy: Dollars Versus Livelihood*, from the author, New Delhi.
- Doyle, Timothy and Doug McEachern (1998), *Environment and Politics*, Routledge, London and New York.
- Gadgil, Madhav and Ramachandra Guha (1992), *This Fissured land: An Ecological History of India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi.
- (1995), *Ecology and Equity: The Uses and Abuses of Nature in Contemporary India*, Penguin, New Delhi.
- Guha, Ramachandra (2000), *Environmentalism: A Global History*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.
- and Juan Martinez-Alier (1997), *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North and South*, Earthscan, New York.
- Gurr, Ted R. (1970), *Why Men Rebel?* Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Habermas, Jurgen (1976), *Legitimation Crisis*, Heinemann, London.
- (1985), *The Theory of Communicative Action*, vol. 1, Beacon Press, Boston.
- Heberle, Rudolf (1951), *Social Movements: An Introduction to Political Sociology*, Appleton-Century-Crofts Inc., New York.

- Jayal, Niraja Gopal (ed.) (2001), *Democracy in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.
- (1999), *Democracy and the State: Welfare, Secularism and Development in Contemporary India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.
- Karana, M. N. (ed.) (2002), *Social Movements in North-East India*. Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi.
- Kohli, Atul (ed.) (2001), *The Success of India's Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Kothari, Rajani (1988), *State against Democracy: In search of Human Governance*, Ajanta Publishers, New Delhi.
- Krishna, Sumi (1996), *Environmental Politics: People's Lives and Development Choices*, Sage Publications, New Delhi.
- Larana, Enrique, et. al., (ed.) (1995), *New Social Movements. From Ideology to Identity*, Outstanding Academic Book, Choice, Temple University press, Philadelphia.
- Lele, Jayant and Fahimul Quadir (2002), *Democracy and Civil Society in Asia: Democratic Transitions and Social Movements in Asia*. Vol.2, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills.
- Mc Laughlin Barry (ed.) (1969), *Studies in Social Movements: A Socio-psychological Perspective*. The Free Press, New York.
- Moarion, Irish Young (2000), *Inclusion and Democracy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Mohanty, Manoranjan , et. al, (1998), *People's Right : Social Movements and the State in the Third World* , Sage Publications, New Delhi.
- Omvedt, Gail (1993), *Reinventing Revolution: New Social Movements and the Socialist Traditions in India*, Sharpe, New York.
- Oommen, T. K. (1990), *Protest and Change: Studies in Social Movements*, Sage Publications, New Delhi.
- Peritore, N. Patrick (1989), *Theird World Environmentalism: Case Studies from the Global South*, University Press of Florida.
- Raj, Sebasti L. and Arundhati Roy Choudhury (eds.) (1998), *Contemporary Social Movements in India: Achievements and Hurdles*, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi.
- Rangarajan, Mahesh (1997), *Beyond State and Market: The Indian Environmental Debate*, Centre for Contemporary Studies, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Teen Murti House, New Delhi.
- (1999), *Fencing the Forest: Conservation and Ecological Change in India's Central Provinces, 1860-1914*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

- and V. Saberwal, (ed.) (2003), *Battles over Nature: Science and the Politics of Conservation*, Permanent Black, New Delhi.
- Rao, M. S. A. (1978), *Social Movements in India*, Vol-1, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi.
- Rootes, Christopher (ed.) (1999), *Environmental Movements: Local, National and Global*, Frank Cass, London.
- Samantara, Prafulla (2000), *People's Struggle for Right to Livelihood*, Gopalpur Coast Environment Protection Forum (Orissa), Lok Shakti Abhiyan (New Delhi).
- Sarkar, S. (1993), *The New Social Movements: The Greens* (Vol.1), Promila and Co. Publishing, New Delhi.
- Scott, Alon (1990), *Ideology and the New Social movements* London, Union, Hymen.
- Shah, Ghanshyam (1990), *Social Movements in India: A review of literature*, Sage Publications, New Delhi.
- (ed.) (2002), *Social Movements and the State*, Sage Publications, New Delhi.
- Sheth, Pravin (1997), *Environmentalism: Politics, Ecology and Development*, Rawat Publications, Jaipur.
- Shiva, Vandana (1991), *Ecology and the Politics of Survival: Conflicts over Natural Resources in India*, Sage Publication, New Delhi.
- Singh, Rajendra (2001), *Social Movements, Old and New: A Post Modernists Critique*, Sage Publications, New Delhi.
- Sinha, B.N(1999)., *Geography of Orissa*. National Book Trust, India.
- Tarnow, Sidney (1994), *Power in Movement: Social Movements, Collective Action and politics*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Vora, Rajendra and Suhas Palshikar (ed.)(2004), *Indian Democracy: Meanings and Practices*, Sage Publications, New Delhi.
- Wignaraja, Poona (1993), *New Social Movements in the South: Empowering the People*, Vistar Publication, New Delhi.
- Wilkinson, Paul (1971), *Social Movements*, Pall Mall, London.
- Wilson, John (1973), *Introduction to Social Movements*, Basic Books: New York.

Articles:

- Agarwal, Anil (1988), "Ecological Destruction and the Emerging Patterns of Poverty and People's Protests in India", *Social Action*, Vol.35, pp.55-80.
- (1996), "Rough ride ahead" in *Directors Report*, Centre for Science and Environment, Delhi, pp. 4-6.
- Ajaya G. and G. Vijay (2000), "Civil Society, State and Social Movement" (Review Article), *Economic and Political Weekly*, March 18, pp. 1035-36.
- Amin, Samir (1993), "Social Movements at the periphery" in Poona Wignaraja (ed.) *New Social Movements in the South: Empowering the people*. Vistar Publications, New Delhi, pp.76-100.
- Andharia, Janki and Chandan Sengupta (1998), "The Environmental Movement: Global Issues and the Indian Reality", *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, TISS, Vol. 59, Issue.1, January, pp. 422-449.
- Anieri, Paul D. and Others (1990), "New Social Movements in Historical Perspective", *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 22, No.4, July.
- Arato, Andrew (1981), "Civil Society Vs. State", *Telos*, no. 47 (Spring).
- Arora, Vibha (2001), "Politics of class (ness) in the Farmer's Movement in India: Validity of the New Social Movement Paradigm ", *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 50, No. 1, March, pp. 84-121.
- Baboo, Balgovind (1991), "State Policies and People's Response: Lessons from Hirakud Dam" *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 26, No. 41, October 12, pp. 2373-379.
- Bakshi, Rajni (1996), "Development, Not Destruction: Alternative Politics in the Making", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.31, No.5, February 3, pp. 255-57.
- Balco (1983), "A Birds eye view of Gandhamardan Bauxite project" pamphlet distributed by Balco on the day of foundation stone laying ceremony of the project, May 15.
- Baxi, U (1986), "Activism at Crossroads with Signposts", *Social Action*, Vol. 36, No. 5, pp. 378-79.
- Bhaskaran, S.T (1990), "The Rise of the Environmental Movement in India", *Media Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 2, pp.22-29.
- Blumer, Herbert (1969), "Social Movements" in Barry McLaughlin (ed.), *Studies in Social Movements: A Social psychological perspective*, Free Press, New York, pp.8-29.
- Bowman, J.S. (1976), 'The Environmental Movement: An Assessment of Ecological Politics', *Environmental Affairs*, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp.649-667.
- Brass, Tom (1991), "Moral Economists, Subalterns, New Social Movements, and the (Re)Emergence of a (Post)Modernised (Middle)Peasant", *Journal of Peasant Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2, January, pp. 173-205.

- Buechler, Steven M. (1995), "New Social Movement Theories", *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol.36, No.3, Summer, pp.441-464.
- .(1993), "Beyond Resource Mobilisation? Emerging Trends in Social Movement Theory", *The Sociological Quarterly*, Vol.34, No.2, May, pp.217-235.
- Centre for Science and Environment, "Chronicle of Peoples Struggle to protect their homeland and Environment from the Clutches of L&T Company bent upon undertaking mining work at Sijimali of Sasabari village of Kashipur and Kutrumali of Theramulrampur block" undated paper, New Delhi, pp.1-4.
- ,"Development or Destruction: The Travails of Marginalized Minority Groups", undated paper, New Delhi. .
- , "Chronicle of People's struggle at Kucheipadar and its neighbouring villages to protect their homeland and environment from the clutches of UAIPL – A joint venture of INDAL, HYDRO and TATA" undated paper, New Delhi
- Chandoke, Neera (1998), "The Assertion of Civil Society Against the State: The Case of the Post-Colonial World" in Manoranjan Mohanty et. al., *Peoples Rights: Social Movements and the State in the Third World*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp. 29-43.
- Cohen, Gary (1998), "Environmental Movements", *Social Policy*, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp.79-82.
- Cohen, Jean L. (1983), "Rethinking Social Movements", *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 28, pp. 97-113.
- .(1985), "Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements", *Social Research*, Vol. 52, N0. 4, Winter, pp. 663-716.
- D'Monte, Darryl (1989), "Green' at the Grassroots", (Special Issue on New Social Movements), *Seminar* 355, March, pp. 16-21.
- Dasgupta, Biplab (1978), "The Environment Debate: Some Issues and Trend," *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 13,Nos. 6&7, pp. 385-400.
- Deshpande, Rajeswari (2004), "Social Movemnts in Crisis? " in Rajendra Vora and Suhas Palshikar (ed.) *Indian Democracy: Meanings and Practices*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp. 379-407.
- Dhanagare, D.N. (1988), "Two approaches to Social Movements in India", *Social Change*, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp.51-61.
- and J. John (2002), "Cyclical Movement towards the 'Eternal' – 'Nine Thesis of Social Movement: A Critique" in Ghanshyam Shah (ed.), *Social Movements and The State*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp. 56-67.

- Dwivedi, Ranjit (2001), "Environmental Movements in the Global South: Issues of Livelihood and Beyond", *International Sociology*, March, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 11-29.
- Eder, C. (1995), "Does Social Class Matter in the Study of Social Movements?: A theory of Middle-class Radicalism", in L. Maheu (ed.), *Social Movements and Social Classes: The Future of Collective Action*, Sage Publications, London, pp.21-54.
- Eder, Klaus (1985), "The 'New Social Movements': Moral Crusades, Political Pressure Groups, or Social Movements? In *Social Research*, Vol. 52, No. 4, Winter, pp. 869-900.
- Frank, A.G and Marta Fuentes (2002), "Nine Theses on Social Movements" in Ghanshyam Shah (ed.) *Social Movements and the State*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp. 32-55.
- Frechet, Guy and Barbara Worhdl (1993) "The Ecological Movements in the light of Social Movements, Development", *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, Vol. 34, Nos.1-2, pp. 56-74.
- Gadgil, Madhav and Ramchandra Guha (1994), "Ecological Conflicts and the Environmental Movements in India", *Development and Change*, Vol. 25, No. 1, Institute of Social Studies, Blackwell Publishers, pp. 101-136.
- (1998), "Towards a Perspective on Environmental Movements in India", *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, TISS, Vol. 59, Issue.1, January, pp. 450-471.
- Gore, M. S. (1989), "The Concept of Social Movements", I.P. Desai Memorial Lecture, Centre for Social Studies, Surat Part-1, 9 Jan., Reproduced in Gore (1993), *The Social Context of an Ideology*, Sage Publications;New Delhi.
- (1987), "Social Movements and the Paradigm of Functional Analysis with Reference to the" *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXXV, No. 34, August 29, pp.1503-1510.
- Guha ,Ramachandra (1988), "Ideological Trends in Indian Environmentalism", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 23, No. 49 , December 3, pp. 2578-81.
- (1989), "The Problem", *Seminar* (Special issue on New Social Movement), No-355, March, pp. 12-15.
- (1982), "Ecological Crisis and Ecological Movements: A Bourgeois Deviation?" (Review Article), *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 17, No. 52, pp. 2093-95.
- Habermas, Jurgen (1981), 'New Social Movements', *Telos* , No. 19 (Fall).
- Haynes, Jeff (1999), "Power, Politics and Environmental Movements in the Third World" in Christopher Rootes (ed.), *Environmental Movements: Local, National and Global*, Frank Cass, London, pp. 223- 250.
- Hebert, Rudolf (1968), "Types and Functions of Social Movements" in *International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. 14, USA: Macmillan Co. and the Free Press.

- Hensman, Rohini (1994), "Social Movements: What's "New"?", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 21, May 21, pp.1270-1272.
- Jayal, Niraja Gopal, (1999), "The Developmental State" in her own book *Democracy and the State: Welfare, Secularism and Development in Contemporary India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp. 151-236.
- Katzenstein, Marry, Smitu Kothari and Uday Mehta (2001)"Social Movement politics in India: Institutions, interests and identities" in Atul Kohli (ed.), *The Success of India's democracy*, Cambridge University Press, New York, pp.
- Kothari, Rajni (1984), "The Non-Party Political Process", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 19, No. 5, pp. 216-224.
- (1986), "Need for a New National Movement", *Hindustan Times*, Sunday Magazine, December 14, p. 9.
- (2002), "Masses, classes and the State" in Ghanshyam Shah (ed.) *Social Movements and the State*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp.68-90.
- (1990), "The Rise of Peoples Movements", *Social Action*, Vol. 40, July-September, pp. 230-240.
- Kumar, Anand and et. al., (2004), "Global Quest for Participatory Democracy" Papers presented at International Seminar, February 20-22, CSSS/SSS/JNU, New Delhi.
- Kumar, Lalit, "Do we have a Theoretical Framework to Explain Social Movements? Third System, Third Sector, Third Way – No Way", undated and unpublished paper (Deputy adviser, Planning Commission, Yojna Bhavan.)
- Kumar, Ravinder (1993) "Social Movements in a Broader Historical Perspective", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXII, No. 10, February 20-23, pp. 332-335.
- Kurien, J. (1978), "Entry of big business into Fishing", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XL, No. 36, October 10, pp. 1213-1215.
- Lindberg, S. (1990), "Civil Society against the State? Farmers Agitation and New Social Movements in India", Papers presented to XII World Congress of Sociology, Madrid, July.
- Mehar, Shibalal (2003), "Environment and Natural Resources in Orissa" *Journal of Social and Economic Development*, Vol. 5, No. 1, January-June, 225-240.
- Melucci, Alberto (1980), "The New Social Movements: A Theoretical Approach", *Social Science Information*, Vol. 19, pp. 453-468.
- Melucci, Alberto (1984), "An End to Social Movements", Introductory Paper to Sessions on 'New' Movements and Change in Organizational Forms", *Social Science Information*, Vol. 23, pp. 819-835.

- (1985), 'The Symbolic Challenge of Contemporary Movements', *Social Research*, Vol. 52, No. 4, Winter, pp.789-816.
- Mishra, A (undated), *Rape of a Rich Ecosystem: A Case of Western Orissa*, undated paper, Centre for Science and Environment, New Delhi, pp.1-5
- Mishra, C. G. (1992), "Forest Problems in Orissa", *The Samaj*, July 5, 1992.
- Mishra, A. B. (1987), "Mining a Hill and Undermining a Society: The Case of Gandhamardan" in Anil Agarwall, Darryl D' Monte and Ujwala Somarth (ed.) *The Fight for Survival: People's Action for Environment*, Centre for Science and Environment, New Delhi, 1987, pp.124-144.
- Mohanty, Manoranjan(1998), "Social Movements in Creative Society: Of Autonomy and Interconnection" in Manoranjan Mohanty et. al., *People's Right : Social Movements and the State in the Third World*. Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp.63-81.
- Mohanty, Ranjita (2003), "Save the Chilika Movement: Interrogating the State and the Market", in Rajesh Tandon and Ranjita Mohanty (ed.), *Does Civil Society Matter? Governance in Contemporary India*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp. 167-197.
- Monterio, Anjali and Laxmi Lingam (1998), "Towards a Common Voice?: An introduction to movements and campaigns in India", *The Indian Journal of Social Work*, (TISS), Vol-59, Issue-1, January, pp. 3-34.
- Mukherjee, P. N (1977), "Social Movements and Social Change: Towards a Conceptual Classification and Theoretical Framework", *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp.38-58
- Offe, Claus (1985), "New Social Movements: Challenging the Boundaries of Institutional Politics", *Social Research*, Vol. 52, No. 4, Winter, pp. 815-868.
- Omvedt, Gail (1988), "New Movements", *Seminar*, Vol. 352, pp. 39-44.
- (1989), "India's Movements for Democracy: Peasants, "Greens", Women and People's Power", (Unpublished Manuscript).
- (1998), "Peasants, Dalits and Women: Democracy and India's New Social Movements" in Manoranjan Mahanty et. al. *Peoples Right: Social Movements and the State in the Third World*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp.223-240.
- (2004), "Struggle Against Dams or Struggle for Water? Environmental Movements and the State" in Rajendra Vora et. al., *Indian Democracy: Meanings and Practices*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp. 410-431.
- Oommen, T. K. (1982), "Theoretical Framework and Empirical Research: Their Interaction in the Analysis of two Social Movements", *Sociological Bulletin*, Vol. 36, No. 2, September, pp. 346-360.
- (1985), "Social Movements", *Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology 1969-1979*, Prepared by ICSSR, Vol. 2, Satvahan, New Delhi, pp. 125-136.

- Panda, Abhash C. and A.K. Sharma (1998), "Reconstructing the Theory of Social Movements" in Sebesti. L. Raj and Arundhati Roy Choudhury (ed.), *Contemporary Social Movements in India: Achievements and Hurdles*, Indian Social Institute, New Delhi, pp. 12-29.
- Panda, Hrushikesh (1986), "Threat to Ecosystem: Case of Gandhamardan Hills", *Mainstream*, May 17, pp.9-10.
- Parajuli, Pramod (2001) "Power and Knowledge in Development Discourse: New Social Movements and the State in India" in Niraja Gopal Jayal (ed.), *Democracy in India*, Oxford University Press, pp. 258-285.
- Patel Sujata (1990), "Baliapal Agitation: leadership crisis", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXXV, No. 23, June 9, pp.1238-41
- (1989b), "Baliapal Agitation: Socio-Economic Background", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXIV, No. 17, March 25, pp.604-605.
- (1989c), "Baliapal Crisis", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXIV, No. 25, March 25, p. 40.
- (2001), "Community, Identity and Politics: The Balliapal Movement" in Surinder S. Jodka (ed.), *Community and Identities: Contemporary Discourses on Culture and Politics in India*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp.140-159
- (1989a), "Agni, Cyclone and Baliapal Agitation", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXIV, No. 25, June 24, pp. 1381-82.
- Patkar M. (1992), 'The Strength of a People's Movement' interviewed by G. Sen and A.K. Roy in G. Sen (ed.), *Indigenous vision, People's of India, Attitudes to the Environment*, INSIDE, SANCTUARY. Vol. XII, No. 4, p. 29.
- Patnaik, Sarmistha (2003) "Development, Globalization and the Rise of a Grassroots Environmental Movement: The Case of Chilika Bachao Andolan (CBA) in Eastern India", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XLIX, No. 1, January-March, pp. 55-65.
- Peet, Ricahrd & Michael Watts (1996), "Liberation Ecology: Development, Sustainability and Environment in an Age of Market Triumphalism" in their (eds.) *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development, Social Movements*, Routledge, London, pp.
- Peritore, N. Patrick(1993), "Environmental Attitudes of Indian Elites: Challenging Western Post-Modernist Models", *Asian Survey*, Vol. 33, No. 8, August, pp. 804-818.
- Ramdas, N.(1998) "A Range of Protest", *Frontline*, July 25-Aug 5, p.81
- Ravi, K. (1988a). 'A Fortress of the People', *The Statesman*, 23 January.
- (1988b), "Resistance ignored, order to acquire land" *The Statesman*, 22 January.

- Reddy, V. Ratna (1998), "Environmental Movements in India: Some Reflections", *Journal of Indian School of Political Economy*, Vol. X, October-December, pp. 685-695.
- Rootes, Christopher (1999), "Environmental Movements: From the Local to the Global" in self (ed.), *Environmental Movements: Local, National and Global*, Frank Cass, London, 1999, pp. 1-11.
- Roy, D. (1996), "People's Politics: The Third Force", *Lokayan Bulletin*, Vol. 12, No. 6, pp.11-16.
- Roy, S. M., (1995), "Voluntary Action: Where do we go from Here?" *Lokayan Bulletin*, Vol. 12, No, 3, pp. 31-39.
- Samal, Kishor C. and Shibalal Meher (1999), "Socio-Economic Survey of Villages in and Around Chilika"(Mimeo), NCDS, Bhubaneswar.
- (2003), "Fishing Communities on Chilika Lake: Comparative Socio-Economic Study", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 31, August 2, pp. 3319-3325.
- Sankar, Uday (1992), "Chilika: A Lake in Limbo", *Down to Earth*, Vol. I, No. 7, pp. 25-27.
- Sarangi, Deba Ranjan (undated), "Kashipur's Account", Paper presented by the author on behalf of *Prakritika Sampad Suraksha Parisad (PSSP)*, Kuchipadar, Kashipur, Rayagada, Orissa.
- (2001), "India, Orissa, Tribals war Against Industrialisation / Corporatisation" Paper presented – 31st March, also available at <http://www.ainfos.ca>
- Sen, Raj Kumar (1992), "Environment Versus Development: The Indian Experiences of Narmada and Balipal" in Kartik C. Roy, Clement A Tisdell and Raj Kumar Sen (ed.), *Economic Development and Environment: A Case Study of India*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, pp. 113-133.
- Sethi, H. (1985), "The Immoral 'other' Debate between party and non-party Groups", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 20, No. 8, April 15, pp. 378-380.
- (1993), "Action Groups in the New Politics" in P. Wigharaja (ed.) *New Social Movement in South: Empowering the People*, Vistar Publication, New Delhi, pp. 230-235.
- (1993), "Survival and Democracy: Ecological Struggles in India" in Poona Wignaraja (ed.), *New Social Movements in the South: Empowering the People*, Vistar, New Delhi, pp.122-147.
- (1998), "Micro Struggles, NGOs and the State" in Monoranjan ,Mohanty and et. al., *Peoples Right: Social Movements and the State in the Third World*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp. 405-420.
- Shiva, Vandana, (1986), "Ecology Movements in India", *Alternatives*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 255-73.

- Singh, Dalip (1991), "Protest Movements in India", *The Indian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 52, No. 4, October-December, pp. 448-57.
- Singh, K. (1990), "Baliapal Test Range-People's Struggle for Survival", *Unnayan*, Baliapal.
- Singh, Kavaljit (1998), "New Challenges for People's Movement", *Mainstream*, Vol. 36, No. 51, December 12, pp. 15-19.
- Swain, Ashok (1997), "Democratic Consolidation? Environmental Movements in India", *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 9, September, pp. 818-832. .
- (2002), "Social Networks and Social Movements: Are Northern Tools useful to evaluate Southern Protests?" *Uppsala Peace Research Paper* no. 4, Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Sweden.
- (2000) "Social Capital and Popular Mobilisation: Studying Environmental Protests in an Indian State", *Asian Journal of Political Science*, Vol.8, No.1, June, pp.33-46.
- Tarrow, Sidney (1996), "Social Movements in Contentious Politics: A Review Article", *American Political Science Review*, Vol.90, No.4, December, pp. 567-588.
- Tilly, Charles (1985), " Models and Realities of Popular Collective Action", *Social Research*, Vol. 52, No. 4, Winter, pp.717-748..
- Touraine, Alain (1985), " An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements". In *Social Research*, Vol. 52, No. 4, Winter, pp.749-788.
- Wagle, Subodh (1999), "Environmental Movements in India: A Critique and A Note", *Journal of Indian School of Political Economy*, Vol. XI, No. 1, January-March, pp. 111-121.

News Papers

- Manisara Bartabaha Swabhiman* (Oriya Fortnightly), Vol. 6, Issue21, 16 August 2004.
- Manisara Bartabaha Swabhimann* (Oriya Fortnightly), Vol. 6, issue 22, 1 Sep 2004,p.5
- The Dharitri* (Oriya Daily) 12 May 1986, p. 3
- The Samaj*, (Oriya Daily), 25 May 1986, p. 5.
- Navbharat Times*, 30 November 1987.
- The Sentinel*, December 1987.
- Hindustan Times*, December 1987.
- Indian Express*, 8 December 1987.
- Hindustan Times*, 22 December 1987.
- Economic Times*, 26 December 1987.
- News Time*, 27 December 1987..
- Patriot*, 5 January 1988.
- Economic Times*, 23 January 1988.
- Indian Express*, 25 January 1988.
- The Times of India*, 27 January 1988.
- Financial Express*, 29 Jan 1988.
- Telegraph*, 31 January 1988.

- Indian Express*, 31 January 1988.
Indian Express, 31 January 1988.
Jansatta, April 1988.
Telegraph, 3 April 1988.
Business Standard, 9 April 1988.
Patriot, 27 April 1988.
Patriot, 27 April 1988.
Patriot, 27 April 1988
Sun Times, June 4, 1990.
Samaj (Oriya Daily), 1 December 1996.
Samaj (Oriya Daily) 17 December 2000.
Sambad (Oriya daily) May 2001.
The Hindu, 26 April, 2003.
Dharitri (Oriya Daily) 10th October 2003.
Dharitree (Oriya daily), 10 October 2003.
Manisara Bartabaha Swabhimaan (Oriya Fortnightly), Vol. 6, Issue 21, 16 Aug2004, p. 8.



Reports

- Centre for Science and Environment (1991), *The State Of India's Environment; Third Citizens Report*, New Delhi.
- (2003), *The State Of India's Environment; Fourth Citizens Report*, New Delhi.
- (2004), *The State Of India's Environment; Fifth Citizens Report*, New Delhi.
- Government of India (1986), "Environmental Aspects of Gandhamardan Bauxite Project" views of Department Of Environment, dated 11 June.
- (2004), *Economic Survey 2004*,
- (2005), *India 2005: A Reference Annual* Published by Director, Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi.
- Orissa watch report*, which was meant for private circulation on 14th January, 2001.
- People's Union for Civil Liberties (1986), *Gandhamardhan Mines: A Report on Environment and People*, New Delhi: PUDR.
- Peoples' Union for Democratic Rights (1988) 'Bheeta Maati ;Our Soil, Our Earth, Our Home' A Report on Baliapal Missile Base and Peoples' struggle. New Delhi; PUDR.
- Report of the Fact-Finding Committee on Chilika Fisheries, submitted to the High Court of Orissa, Cuttack on 16 August 1993.
- Report of the High Level Committee on Environmental and Ecological Aspects of the Gandhamardan Bauxite Project Orissa, Government of India, Department of Mines.
- The film *Voices from Baliapal*, Vector Production, directed by Vasudha Joshi.
 The Hindu Survey Of the Environment.(2004)