

**SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND COMMUNICATION:
A CASE STUDY OF SELECTED TRIBAL MOVEMENTS OF
JHARKHAND STATE IN INDIA**

A Thesis Submitted to

University of Hyderabad

In Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Communication

By

NISHA SINGH

14SNPC06



Department of Communication

Sarojini Naidu School of Arts and Communication

University of Hyderabad
Hyderabad, 500046, India

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DECLARATION

I, Nisha Singh, hereby declare that this doctoral thesis, titled **“Social Movements and Communication: A Case Study of Selected Tribal Movements of Jharkhand State in India,”** submitted by me to the Department of Communication, University of Hyderabad, India, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Communication, is a record of research done by me under the supervision of Dr. Madhavi Ravikumar. This is a bonafide research work and has not been submitted in part or in full for the award of any degree or diploma at this or any other University or Institution.

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Supervisor: Madhavi Ravikumar
Department of Communication
Sarojini Naidu School of Arts and Communication,
University of Hyderabad,
Hyderabad, Telangana, India



CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis titled **“Social Movements and Communication: A Case Study of Selected Tribal Movements of Jharkhand State in India,”** submitted by Nisha Singh, bearing registration number 14SNPC06, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Communication, to the Department of Communication, University of Hyderabad, India is a bonafide work carried out by her. This thesis is free from plagiarism and has not been submitted previously in part or in full to this or any other University or Institution for the award of any degree or diploma.

The student has the following publications:

1. Singh, N. (2018). Cultural and Social forms of Community Communication. In R. Sharma (ed.), *Media, the State and Marginalization: Tackling Challenges* (pp-210-217). Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
2. Singh, N. (2020). Analysis of the Koel-Karo Movement from the Movement Communication perspective. *Research Review Journal of Social Science*, 1(1), 8-13. This appears in Chapter 3 of the thesis.

Has made presentations in the following conferences:

1. “Protest Communication for Social Change” at Two Day International Conference on Development Communication in Digital Era: Towards Newer Scopes at the Department of Communication Management & Technology, GJUS&T, Hisar, Haryana, India, 16-17 March 2016. (International)
2. “Alternative Routes of Communication: Among Jharkhand Tribal Movement,” at 2nd National Media Conclave – 2018 at Bhubaneswar, Odisha, India, 21-23 November 2018. (National)

Further, the student has passed the following courses towards fulfilment of the coursework requirement for Ph.D.:

	Code	Course Name	Credits	Pass/Fail
1.	CC - 802	Advanced Research	4	Pass
2.	CC - 801	Advanced Theory	4	Pass
3.	CC - 803	Reading Specific Course (Tribal Development, Social Movements and Development Communication)	4	Pass

Supervisor

Head of Department

Dean of School

*Dedicated to
My Parents & Grandmother*

Abstract

This study looked at the movement communication practices of the tribal communities in Jharkhand, the ones who are among the disadvantaged and oppressed communities of India and have taken up movement as a self-protective approach to deal with the issues related to their livelihood and existence. The prevalence of movement incidences in these communities is traced back to colonial times, revealing a long history of resistance in these communities and, thus, the movement communication practices. The colonial tribal leaders of this region were able to mobilize people and successfully conduct a movement even when they lived in remote villages and had no means of connectivity. Over time, the tribal people of this region have evolved a culture of protest and an indigenous way of movement communication.

Thus, this study using the rich history of their movement aimed to explore the communication practices of the tribal movements to advance its understanding of movement communication. Doing so tried to comprehend how people in movement communicate, relate and mobilize to organize themselves into movement collectives. The study uses a comprehensive approach to look at the organizing, mobilization, framing and movement demonstration practices of the tribal movements entirely from a communication viewpoint. The study explores the movement communication practices of tribal communities through four case studies: Santhal Hul, Birsa Movement, Chandil Dam Movement and the movement against the Greater Ranchi Master Plan-2037. All the movements are of different time frames but are in the same geographical area, Jharkhand. The research methodology for conducting this study was qualitative and employed the multiple qualitative research methods — archival research and field study to explore the tribal movements of different time frame.

The interesting thing about these movements is that the core issues of unrest have remained the same all over the years. Tribal land has always been a sensitive issue in this state, forming the nuclei of almost all forms of protests and movements. The findings from the case studies showed that tribes in Jharkhand primarily use pre-existing group-based social networks for their movement formation and make less use of technology-based communication.

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List of Abbreviations

BJP	Bharatiya Janta Party
BPL	Below Poverty Line
CDM	Chandil Dam Movement
CNT	Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act, 1908
GRDA	Greater Ranchi Development Agency
GRMP-2037	Greater Ranchi Master Plan
CTR	Central Tribal Region
CYSV	Chhatra Yuva Sangharsh Vahini
HECL	Heavy Engineering Corporation Limited
HVPM	Hathiya Visthapit Parivar Manch
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil & Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social & Cultural Rights
ICIP	Indian Council of Indigenous People
ICT	Information & Communication Technology
IDPs	Internally Displaced People
ILO	International Labour Organization
JVM	Jharkhand Vikas Morcha
KKJS	Koel-Karo Jan Sanghathan
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
MoUs	Memoranda of Understandings
NCDC	National Coal Development Corporation
NER	North-Easter Region
NSMs	New Social Movements
PESA	Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas Act, 1996
PVTG	Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group
RFCTLARR	Right to Fair Compensation & Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation & Resettlement Act 2013
RRDA	Ranchi Regional Development Authority
R&R	Rehabilitation & Resettlement

RTI	Right to Information
SDS	Students for a Democratic Society
SMP	Subarnarekha Multipurpose Project
SPT	Santhal Parganas Tenancy Act, 1949
ST	Scheduled Tribe
TR	Total Revolution
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People
UNGA	United Nation General Assembly
VMV	Visthapit Mukti Vahini
WB	World Bank

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Chapter 1

Communication and Social Movements: An Introduction

Social movements have a crucial role in creating a space for ordinary people to critique the government's policies and intentions, particularly for the poor and marginalized sections. It has emerged as a significant instrument for them to raise collective voices against the perceived injustices and bring change in their lives. In a way, social movements have continued to play an essential role in engaging people in grassroots political issues and civic interaction. Historically, their presence has been marked in every state irrespective of political nature, whether monarchy, democracy, or feudalism. Likewise, in the scholarly realm as well, it has appeared across the discipline of social sciences where the social movement has been approached from the perspective of political science, anthropology, social psychology and history (Mosca, 2014; Klandermans & Roggeband, 2009; Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017). In the wake of the new social movements where scholars questioned both how and why aspects of the movement's formation, the new studies got more focused on the framing, networking and discursive aspects of the social movement phenomena. And disciplines like gender studies (Staggenborg, 2016; Banaszak, 2006; Ryan, 1992) and environmental studies (Albrecht, 1972; Gottlieb, 1993; Pulido, 1996; Brulle, 2000 & Guha, 2000) also begun to discuss movements. Besides these, social movement study also expanded to law, communication, and organization studies (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017).

Accordingly, it developed into a “distinctive subfield in most of the social sciences” (Roggeband & Klandermans, 2017, p.2). It also emerged as a multidisciplinary field receptive to varied research where the diverse research in this field has contributed to various social movement definitions. Given the broad interpretation of the concept, the prospects of exploring the field of social movements have been diverse. One such perspective is communication.

Many scholars observed communication as a necessary process in the social movement — the process through which social movement creates itself and accomplishes most of its considered objectives. In this aspect, Feek (2005) saw social movements inherently dependent on communication and stated, “in their very essence and being they are communication processes” (para 2). Whereas, McCluskey (2012) highlighted the close link of communication in social movement by stating, “communication is closely tied to the internal and external strategies of

social movements as a means to attract and mobilize adherents and to amplify movement goals to a broader audience” (para 1). Also, Koopmans (2004), in line with the idea proposed by Alberto Melucci of bringing communication at the center of social movement analysis, conceived “movement as carriers of messages” (p. 386). Similarly, Rodriguez, Ferron and Shamas (2014), in their work, emphasized the significance of communication in social movements and also stressed the variety of forms in which it gets used in the social movement where they stated:

Communication is required for social movements to gain momentum and galvanize collective political action, but this generally implies a multiplicity of forms of communication, from the performative communication of bodies in the street to the disembodied informational act of texting a meeting time and place.

(Rodriguez et al., 2014, p. 154)

Downing (2001) has also shared similar views writing, “communication and media, both within their ranks and without, play a huge role in movement trajectories” (p.26). He also pointed out the need for a more in-depth exploration of communication in social movements. As he noted, regardless of the apparent role of communication in movement, scholars have not examined it extensively. Thus, knowing the possibilities of exploring communication in the social movement, current research is a step in that direction. As the social movement literature indicates, there are enormous opportunities to research how social movements communicate to organize and mobilize people, frame problems to influence people, and set up networks to link up to turn people into movement participants.

The study takes an interdisciplinary approach to comprehend communication in a social movement. Through the multiple case studies, it attempted to bring out the communicative aspects of the tribal social movement, mainly in the context of the Jharkhand state of India. The tribe, known for uprisings in colonial times and activism in the present-day, formed a suitable community for investigation. Also, Jharkhand State, comprising 32 tribal communities, appeared a relevant region for the study. Jharkhand is constitutionally a tribal state with a mixed tribal and non-tribal population. The state is witness to continuous unrest since colonial time and has evolved a “culture of protest” (Devalle, 1992). Details on the community and the region of study are discussed in Chapter 3.

A comprehensive approach to study communication in social movement looked

predominantly at mobilization, framing, collective demonstration and communication strategies of the tribal movements through four case studies: Santhal *Hul*, Birsa Movement, Chandil Dam Movement, and movement against the Greater Ranchi Master Plan-2037 project. The study tracked and analyzed the various activities and practices of the tribal movements from the perspective of movement communication. Besides communication, the study also looked at the social, cultural and political contexts in which movements were staged and movement collectives were formed. By considering the broader picture of the tribal movements, the study sought to understand how social movement helps tribal communities tackle their issues concerning their livelihood and existence and how tribal movement communication shapes the ‘voice from below’ and generates ‘force of change.’ The study also attempted to trace the transition of tribal movement communication over a period of time.

Communication Approaches to Social Movements Studies

Social movement is about socially and politically active citizens. It is perceived as a process competent in opposing or bringing about changes that sometimes happen gradually and at other times abruptly. Historically, it has a crucial role in the sociopolitical and cultural reforms of society. In contemporary times too, it has been influential and actively practiced. Over the last few decades, with the advent of information and communication technology (ICT), there has been a substantial rise in social movement visibility worldwide.

Especially on social media, social movement actions are widely reported and shared on various platforms, thus strengthening the people’s belief. Some of the social movements related to human rights issues have succeeded in bringing changes at a universal level. Notably, the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) campaigns and the women’s movement have successfully altered the preexisting norms. Other movements like Occupy Movements and Arab Springs have also been equally exemplary, which caught the attention of a new set of scholars to work on social movements applying different approaches.

In the past, a majority of social movement studies focused on political and social issues and the socio-political change it brought about. With time, the scope to look at other aspects, particularly communication and media research, has broadened. The studies like ‘*Demonstration and Communication*’ (Halloran, Elliott & Murdock, 1970) based on the media reporting of the protests against the Vietnam War; ‘*The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of New Left*’ (Gitlin, 1980) based on the analysis of the media treatment of the

association called Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in America; and ‘*Radical Media*’ (Downing, 1984) based on the political organization of the alternative media are a few pioneering works that promoted the idea of studying communication and media in the context of the social movement. The researchers, not just those from the communication or media field but also other areas, started acknowledging communication as a central element of the social movement and called for analyzing movements from a communication perspective.

In this aspect, John Downing’s book ‘*Radical media: The political experience of alternative communication, 1984*’ and its revised version in 2001 ‘*Radical media: Rebellious communication and social movements*’ emerged as an opening for the new sets of scholars to pursue research in social movement and media. Downing (2001) viewed radical media as social movement media, saying that social movement and radical media stimulate and elevate each other’s growth. He called radical media a medium that “constitutes the most active form of the active audience and expresses oppositional strands, overt and covert, within popular cultures,” where he blurred the line between the media user and media producer (Downing, 2001, p.3). Through his various case studies, Downing (2001) established flyers, posters, protest songs, graffiti, banners, street play, dance, etc., as the radical methods of communicating the movement’s message and hence increased the scope of studying social movement for communication and media scholars. The radical aspect of media and communication also diversified the analysis scope as he talked about the radicalism of both the message and process of producing the message. Another scholar to make a similar call to study social movement from a communication perspective is Melucci (1989), who saw social movements as a product of an interaction between the various actors.

Consequently, numbers of scholars like Tilly (1995 & 2008), Koopmans (2004), Snow (2004), Rucht (2004 & 2013), Porta (2011), Porta & Diani (2006), Walgrave & Manssens (2000), Tilly (2006), Teune (2011), Cammaerts, Mattoni & McCurdy (2013), Mattoni (2013 & 2019), Philips (2012), Doerr, Mattoni & Teune (2013) and many others have looked for the communication and media element in social movements in their manner. So far, communication and media studies have broadly approached social movement from the following approaches: representational approach (Halloran et al., 1970; Gitlin, 1980; Rucht, 2004), relational approach (Gamson and Wolfsfeld, 1993), radical media approach (Downing, 1984; 2001 & 2008), framing approach (Porta & Diani, 2006; Snow & Benford, 1988; Snow, 2004; Benford & Snow, 2000)

and repertoires of action and performance approach (Tilly, 1995; 2006 & 2008). Today there are numerous studies on these approaches. The representational approach talked mainly about how social movements are portrayed or framed in the media and its consequences on the movements. The relational approach examined the asymmetrical and dynamic relationship between social movement and media. Whereas, a radical media approach focused on the movement's radical method of communication. The framing approach studied how social movement frames its issues and messages for mobilizing the participants. While, repertoires of action and performance primarily focused on demonstrative performances like rallies, sit-ins, strikes, etc., to explore how movements do co-present interactions from its bystander public or spectators. However, very few studies had been conducted that combine the majority of these approaches to form comprehensive research on social movement communication. Hence, this study examines the chosen case studies of the tribal social movements comprehensively from the communication standpoint by combining most of the aforementioned approaches. Also, as the current research is interdisciplinary, a proper understanding of social movement study is obtained before establishing the conceptual framework and the integrated approach to continue with the study.

Understanding Social Movement: A Brief Overview of Social Movement Study

The boundary of social movement study is widespread as it operates in multiple fields. The current study restricted its boundary by limiting the understanding first to the field's conceptual development and second by understanding social movement concepts only from a communication standpoint. The social movement study emerged in America within sociology as a subfield known as 'collective behavior.' Later on, it has emerged as a multidisciplinary field. As an interdisciplinary field, it has undergone various theoretical thinking (Edwards, 2014). The prominent among them emerged from American and European scholars' works, which further gave impetus to studying the diverse perspectives of social movements — collective behavior, resource mobilization, political process, new social movements, framing and culture, and contentious politics. Edwards (2014) called these perspectives 'dialectic' as they have emerged "through a conversation between opposing ideas" mainly in the course of "disagreement and debate" (p. 2). By citing Randall Collins's work, Edwards (2014) pinpointed the conceptual dualism that emerged in the field of social movement studies. He also considered the insights of the "conceptual 'dualisms'" and the discussions around the contention as an essential step to understanding social movements. As he writes:

social movement studies is a field littered with conceptual ‘dualism’ (binary oppositions).Where one approach stresses structure and political factors, *while* [emphasis added] another finds the culture and social construction. When one approach stresses strategies, another stresses identities, and so on and so forth. (Edwards, 2014, p.3)

Each perspective has its distinctive understanding, which extends beyond the preceding perspective (Edwards, 2014). So, to have a proper understanding of the social movement phenomena, the study has looked at the major development of the social movement studies in sequential order.

The early theorists like LeBon (1896) and Blumer (1969) significantly influenced early social movement studies. They saw movement collectives as a crowd, irrational and uncontrolled group. From this perspective, isolated and deprived individuals were identified as the main actors and their grievances as the leading cause of collective behavior. This perspective of collective behavior changed with the works of scholars like Goode (1992), Turner and Killian (1957) and Smelser (1962), who propounded the ‘convergence theory,’ ‘emergent norm theory’ and ‘value-added theory’ respectively. According to convergence theory, a group’s collective behavior is based on the convergence behavior of the individuals who jointly form a group. Hence, it is not the collective behavior that influences individuals’ behavior; rather, it is the individual’s behavior that influences the group’s collective behavior in general (Goode, 1992). On the other side, the emergent norm theory emphasized the importance of norms in forming collective behavior where it saw collective behavior no longer as an irrational act. Instead, it viewed collective behavior as a course of formation of a new set of norms when the conventional norms become irrelevant. In such a situation, people by collective behavior try to exercise a new set of relevant norms (Turner & Killian, 1957). The value-added theory talks about the prevalence of conditions required for the emergence of collective behavior. According to this theory, there are six conditions under which social movement is created: structural conduciveness (refers to the sustained structural problem in the society which leads to political repression or low standard of living), structural strain (refers to the strain caused due to the structural conduciveness based on injustice, inequality, exclusion, marginalization, etc. among a group or in the society), growth and spread of a generalized belief (identification of the problem and its cause along with the emergence of generalized belief among the people), precipitating factors (an occurrence which accelerates the course of movement formation), mobilization of members for action (emergence

of factors supporting mobilization process like leadership and organizing resources like human resources and money that lead people to take action) and social control (success of the movement depends on the attitude of state controlling agencies like police) (Smelser, 1962). Such theorists bring out the different perspectives of collective behavior, which help understand social movements from various standpoints like participants of collective action are like-minded (Goode 1992). The movement participants are not irrational; instead, they are rational (Turner & Killian, 1957), and several factors need to underplay the emergence of a social movement (Smelser, 1962).

On the other side, the collective behavior perspective gave rise to the classical approach to studying social movement. Durkheim, Weber, Marx, and Engels are the earliest classical theorists of the social movement. The understanding of collective action of Marx and Engel, who described it as the problem “rooted in the social structure,” has been criticized by Tarrow (2011) for ruling out the factors like resources, cultural dimensions and politics that are equally important for the emergence of collective actions (p.17). Oommen (2010, p. 3), by discussing Durkheim and his three types of collective action namely — “routine, anomic, and restorative,” postulated by him based on his work ‘*The Division of Labor Society (1893)*’ and ‘*Elementary Forms of Religious Life (1915)*,’ sought to highlight the direct correlation between the rise of social differences and rise of collective action. Whereas, on Weber’s conception on collective action, Oommen (2010) says that collective action is the outgrowth of commitments to certain systems of belief where two opposing forces of disruption, “the authority of rationality” and “power of charisma,” clashes to bring about a change in the society (p 4.). Morris and Herring (1984), pinpointing Weber’s prime focus on charismatic movements, charismatic leadership and the stressed society’s belief system, described that charismatic movements originate in the stressed society that fails to meet its people’s needs. These classical theorists saw the isolated and deprived individuals as the main actors in collective action and structural stress, their grievances and deprivation as the primary cause. Due to these views, social movements got perceived as irrational and negative responses. The second trend, resource mobilization theory, emerged in the social movement study to counter the irrationality of the social movement.

The resource mobilization theory was developed by American scholars in the 1970s and 1980s, mainly through the work of scholars like Jenkins & Perrow (1977), Shorter & Tilly (1974) and McCarthy & Zald (1973, 1977 & 1987). This theory appeared to challenge the

classical theories of the social movement, which show grievances as the main reasons for the rise of the collective action and showed movement as an outcome of its participants' irrational decision. Resource mobilization theorists like Jenkins and Perrow (Jenkins & Perrow, 1977; & Jenkins, 1983) believed that grievances alone could not form movement. According to them, individuals in society always have grievances, but not all grievances are turned into a movement. Explaining this situation, resource mobilization theory, besides collective behavior, emphasizes the organizational features of the movement more. The context in which the belief was that for the movement to emerge beyond 'grievances,' it also needs substantial resources. The resources can be both external and internal such as organizational strength like leadership, human resources like participants, leaders, and the presence of elites and allies and financial resources. As Shorter and Tilly from their study on strikes in France affirmed "the unimportance of 'states of mind'" (1974, p. 338), and stated the importance of organization in movement formation thus:

Individuals are not magically mobilized for participation in some group enterprise, regardless of how angry, sullen, hostile, or frustrated they may feel. Their aggression may be channeled to collective ends only through the coordinating, directing functions of an organization, be it formal or informal. The patterned, habitual interactions of a network of buddies may count as an organization. (Shorter & Tilly, 1974, p. 338)

For resource mobilization theorists, "grievances are secondary," and social movements are "extensions of institutionalized actions" (Jenkins, 1983, p. 529-530). Theorists like McCarthy and Zald (1973), from the perspective of professional movement organizations, affirm that the definition of strain or grievances is altered to meet the conditions that favor the rise of grievances. That is 'grievances' either structurally arise or are created by mobilization efforts during the movement formation as they state "definition of grievances will expand to meet the funds and support personnel available" (p. 23).

On the other hand, McCarthy and Zald (1977) define social movements as "a set of opinions and beliefs which represent preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society" (p.1217-1218). Further to turn preferences into action, "the mobilization perspective focuses upon the preexisting organization and integration of those segments of a population which share preferences" (McCarthy & Zald, 1977, p. 1218). But by pointing at the 'why' aspects of the social movement, Melucci (1989) criticized the resource mobilization approach for lacking an ability to explain why movement arises.

American theorists Eisinger (1973) and Lipsky (1970) developed ‘political opportunity theory,’ also known as ‘political process theory,’ which primarily refers to the country’s political situation that sets the possibilities and limits for social movements. And, then, to the person’s consciousness of the situations in the society that need to be changed, which means the participants must feel that the current political system lacks legitimacy and their participation in social movement could make meaningful change happen. Both the resource mobilization theory and political opportunity theory are connected as they see social movement in terms of the resources which facilitate its formation. In some way, political opportunity theory expands the resource mobilization approach by emphasizing the role of the political process in the formation of the movement. That is besides organizational factors it also draws attention to the external determinants of the social movement.

While in his study *‘From Mobilization to Revolution,’* Tilly (1977a) comprehensively conceptualized the ‘opportunity’ through a model consisting of “five big components: interests, organization, mobilization, opportunity and a collective action” (p.10). Diani (1992) notes in his study how Tilly saw ‘political processes’ as a way for the excluded interest “to get access to the established polity” (p. 5). Tilly (1979) further defined the social movement as:

a sustained series of interactions between national powerholders [*sic*] and persons successfully claiming to speak on behalf of a constituency lacking formal representation, in the course of which those persons make publicly visible demands for changes in the distribution or exercise of power, and back those demands with public demonstrations of support. (Tilly, 1979, p. 12)

Finally, Tilly (1979) recognizes social movements as a continuous interface between the ‘challengers and authorities’ with the capability of organizing and collective action “as an established way of doing political business, rather than as a set of deviant individuals” (p.26). The political process approach of studying movement explains the political conditions in which activists plan the movements. Activists consider the political context of the movement and never choose movements’ goals, tactics, and strategies in a vacuum (Meyer, 2004). While this approach has been valued for explaining reasons for the emergence of the movement in a particular place and time, it has been criticized for overemphasizing political movements and neglecting elements like culture and emotion.

Based on these criticisms, the social movement study during the 1970s and 1980s took

the cultural turn towards the end of the labor movement. Because of cultural and structural change in post-industrial societies, a new type of social movement started emerging, termed as New Social Movements (NSM). NSMs are the movements that started emerging in the advanced capitalist societies. When people shifted from their class and economic specific struggle to non-political terrain struggles and started questing social order and norms, they denied them as something natural and given. This NSM approach brought new dimensions to social movement studies where the scholars slightly distanced themselves from the economic centered analysis of Marxist tradition and included culture as a factor for determining the movement formation (Edwards, 2014). In doing so, they suggested a shift in the battleground of the social movement, “from the workplace to culture” (Edwards, 2014, p. 112). This shift was suggested in the context of the emerging movements like the feminist movement, autonomy movement, environmental movement, gay liberation, the peace movement, and the likes that were not rooted in the struggles of the working class alone but cut across all the classes. The NSM evolved around completely new sets of identity politics, aspirations, and grievances. And new sets of people mobilized to defend their identities and construct their new collective identity. This way, the NSM was considered ‘new’ mainly on two grounds, first because of the new sets of actors (environmentalists, women, peace lovers, and students) and second, on new sets of issues (related to cultural and private life). Based on the new developments, scholars like Jurgen Habermas, Alain Touraine, Alberto Melucci, David Snow, Robert Benford, Steven Worden, Burke Rochford, etc., brought forth the importance of studying the process of meaning construction, identity creation, the framing of the issues, networking and discourse analysis in social movement studies.

To understand the emergence of NSMs from the perspectives of different contributors, the works of scholars like Touraine (1971), Habermas (1981) and, Melucci (1985, 1989, 1994 & 1996) are subsequently discussed. Touraine (1971), in his study ‘*Post-Industrial Society*,’ noticed a shift in the agents of change where the intellectuals replaced the working class and the conflict site moved from the workplace to the cultural sphere. Through mass culture, cultural industries started imposing new cultural values and practices in people’s private lives. Thus, people started mobilizing against the dominance of the state and the market, the context in which Touraine called NSMs as the historical agent of change where both the site and actors of change were new. He saw movement completely from the perspective of the actor rather than structure,

unlike Marx. For him, social movements are embedded in social life and not in the political structure.

Like Touraine, Habermas talked about the new social movement in terms of cultural politics and values, where he saw movements implanted in new problems like “quality of life, equality, individual self-realization, participation, and human rights” (Habermas, 1981, p.33). He calls the post-industrial development the colonization of the ‘lifeworld by the system’ where he saw the increased dominance of the state, media and the market (system) because of the privatization and increased commercialization as the reason for the emergence of NSMs. For him, NSMs were mainly the outcome of the structural changes. In the context of which he saw the appearance of the ‘public sphere’ in everyday life as the new site of the movements, the place where people, through arguments and discussions, contested the new sets of cultural values not by forming organizations or unions but through the informal networks.

Melucci, an Italian scholar and an ex-student of Alain Touraine, called for an emphasis on both ‘how and why’ perspectives in studying social movements. He saw the social movement “as fragile and heterogeneous social constructions” rooted in “complex societies,” seeking for a new consciousness (Melucci, 1989, as cited in Keane & Mier, 1989, p. 3). And collective action as “the processes through which individuals communicate, negotiate and produce meaning and make decisions within a particular social field or environment” (Melucci, 1989, as cited in Keane & Mier, 1989, 4). He referred to complex societies as “high-density information networks” (Melucci, 1989, p.45) and saw the collective action of the social movement as neither unitary nor a linear entity, but as a system of multi-polar action arising from the total “purposes, resources and limits” (Melucci, 1996, p. 39). As he put it:

Collective action is a multi-polar system of action which combines different orientations, involves multiple actors, and encompasses a system of opportunities and constraints which shape the actors’ relationships. Actors produce collective action because they are able to define themselves and their relationship with the environment (other actors, available resources, present opportunities, and obstacles). The process of creating such definitions is, however, not linear: the events in which a number of individuals act collectively are the product of the interaction, negotiation, and opposition between different action orientations. The actors construct a ‘we’ (more or less stable and integrated according to the type of action) by rendering common, combining and then

painstakingly adjusting three different kinds of orientations: those relating to the *ends* of the action (to the meanings that the action has for the actor), to the *means* (that is, to the possibilities and limits of action), and finally to relationships with the *environment* (to the field in which the action takes place). (Melucci, 1996, p. 40)

In this overall framework of complex society and system of action, he regarded actors' action and their networks as a means of movement formation. It is the movement's actors and their activities through which the movement reveals issues and concerns to society. And thus, he saw movement actors as the "reliable terminals in complex networks of communications...capable of both receiving and transmitting information" (Melucci, 1989, p. 175 & 176). He also proposed certain additional aspects of the social movements like social movements are "a form of collectives that involve solidarity" (Melucci, 1989, p. 29), movements are not always visible in the political arena but are also submerged in the 'social networks' of daily life and besides operating in the political arena, movements also operate in the cultural sphere (Melucci, 1989, 1985, 1994 & 1996). Thereby, he brings attention to the temporary and dormant networks operating in social movements besides the organized network and suggests looking at the movements in terms of "movement network" and "movement areas" to capture the mobilization process of movement in a much better way (Melucci, 1985). Mobilization in Melucci's (1989 & 1994) understanding is not always carried out by the organizational setup but also through the submerged and dormant networks. Further, Melucci (1989 & 1994) recognized "movement as media." He said, "movements function for the rest of the society as a specific kind of medium, the chief function of which is to reveal what a system does not say to itself... Movements are media that speak through action....The action of movements can be seen as symbol and as communication" (Melucci, 1994, p. 126). These views of Melucci formed the key theoretical entry point for conducting this study where the social movement got conceived as an outcome of dynamic interaction between the actors.

Further, the study referred to the definition of Porta & Diani (2006) to comprehend the social movement from the viewpoint of communication. Porta & Diani (2006) defined social movement from four aspects: "(a) mostly informal networks of interaction, based on (b) shared beliefs and solidarity, mobilized around (c) contentious themes through (d) the frequent use of various forms of protest" (as cited in Porta, & Mattoni, 2015, p.1). This definition was preferred because communication is presumed a central element (Porta & Mattoni, 2015). The presence of

informal interaction has been widely acknowledged between and beyond the groups of social movements (Diani, 1992). These networks are loose, scattered and hence are connected and held together through communication mechanisms (Porta & Mattoni, 2015). The plurality of actors within the social movement is assumed to be connected across informal interaction networks. The connected networks morph into social movement when they start relating to each other by forming a collective identity. The different actors come together in social movements because they have something in common. Respective scholars have identified this aspect in different terms, like McCarthy and Zald as ‘a set of opinions and beliefs,’ Melucci as ‘solidarity,’ Touraine, Melucci, and Tilly as ‘identity’ (Diani, 1992). When different actors share their beliefs or opinions, they nurture solidarity and collective consciousness (Porta & Mattoni, 2015). The shared collective consciousness forms the collective identity among the actors and set of worldviews alternative to the prevailing dominant views (Porta & Mattoni, 2015). It further sets the ground for mobilization through various interactive mobilizing tactics. During mobilization, the movement actors interact selectively with the various possible participants, bystanders, prospective allies, and opponents to push their alternative worldviews (Porta & Mattoni, 2015). These are all done strategically through communication. In creating an alternative world view, communication plays an important role and defines social movement issues. Thus, communication has an important role in the framing process of the social movement. Through communication, all the actors work out the common frame for the issues around which the movement is formed (Porta & Mattoni, 2015; Diani, 1992). Lastly, the movement adopts various forms of demonstrations to voice their viewpoints. Usually, contentious performances have a communicative component that forms a passage for interaction between the movement participants and the movement’s potential participants and opponents; it also opens up a channel of communication with the wider public (Porta & Mattoni, 2015).

As evident from all these aspects, communication is central to the notion of a social movement; social movement in its composite form could be seen as an arena of discursive space—a space where diverse people from the margin come together by forming a collective to constitute their voice. In this context, social movements provide an opening for the alternative voice, which emerges from below, by providing visibility and audibility to unseen people and unheard voices (Chandhoke, 1995; Fraser, 1990; Couldry, 2010; Dutta, 2012). In doing so, social movements equip people with a tool and the opportunity to express themselves, negotiate and

communicate with the adversary group.

Further, in Couldry's (2010) understanding of the "condition of effective voice" (p. 113), the social movement could be seen as favoring the condition needed for effective voice. Social movement brings to the fore a condition in which people can sustain their practice of voice and validate its outcome. Moreover, social movement, when it is seen as a political voice using Couldry's viewpoint it can be equated "with the expression of opinion or, more broadly, the expression of a distinctive perspective on the world that needs to be acknowledged" (p. 1). Here, the notion of social movement as a voice and as an expression of plurality can be further advanced to civic debates to explore the idea of "public reasoning" (Sen, 2003) and can be related to Sen's (2003) notion of democracy, where he sees democracy from the broader perspective of public discussion and reasoning. This understanding helped explore social movement communication from the perspective of political debate and participation from below, which enhances democracy.

Conceptual Framework

From the insights obtained from the social movement studies and a definition discussed above, the study found that there are huge possibilities to explore the communication within social movements by considering— i) the networking aspect of the community involved in social movement, ii) discursive feature of the public sphere which gets produced during the social movement, iii) communicative dimensions of mobilization process used in the movement and iv) by looking at the communicative aspects of framing and movement demonstrations along with the media dimension of a social movement. Thus, the study was conducted within the conceptual framework drawn from the concepts like i) community, ii) public sphere, iii) mobilization, iv) communication and v) framing. Understanding and application of all these concepts in the current study are discussed below:

Social movement community: Social movement, generally defined as a collective action, gives a sense of an activity being performed, in which the presence of actors is a prerequisite. Also, it gives the sense of a group of actors who need to communicate, coordinate, and cooperate to perform collectively. The social movement collectives, thus, to an extent, can be seen as operating through networks. Such social movement networks were first conceptualized as the social movement community by American scholars while studying women's movement (Hassan & Staggenborg, 2015). Buechler (1990) was the first to use the

notion of community in his analysis of the feminist movement as he believed some aspects of social movements are better understood as communities than organizations. He saw the social movement community (informal and not fully organized) and social movement organization (organized and formal group) parallel to each other and defined the social movement community as “the informal networks of politicized participants who are active in promoting goals of a social movement outside the formal boundaries of movement organizations” (Buechler, 1990, p. 61).

Scholars like Stoecker (1995) and Staggenborg (1998) also recognized movement collectives as a community. Stoecker (1995) recognized the movement community in a localized movement as an “intersecting social network in which a collective of movement members are embedded which often include people who are not movement members” (p. 112). He said that the local community could turn to the movement community via the unification of individual and collective identities that occur through interaction between movement participants and the rest of the community members. On the other side, Staggenborg (1998) used the notion of community in the social movement “to consider movements as consisting of cultural groups and interactions as well as political movement organizations” (p. 181). He saw individuals in the movement community not bound by the territorial ties but by ties of a social network, culture, and participation. Looking at the social movement as a movement community, enables one to observe the interaction between the varied political and cultural elements that keep up the movement (Hassan & Staggenborg, 2015). These scholars also reflected on the nature of social movement community membership, which they depicted as fluid and shifting. They said members of the social movement keep withdrawing and taking part. Moreover, social movement members find affiliation on various grounds, which can be analyzed by exploring the various community notions.

Tracy (2009) suggests five ways of tracing the notion of community in a regular sense. First, in the geographic sense to the inhabitants of a particular place. Second, in a cultural sense to a discrete set of people sharing common beliefs and identity. Third, in terms of interest, as a group of people sharing common interest and activity. Fourth in the sense of politics, as a commitment to the group’s well-being in contrast with valuing individual rights; and fifth, concerning positive sentiments to the sense of community¹, based on care and connection among

¹ Sense of community is a feeling of connection to one’s place or community which enhances the sense of

the participants. The study utilized these various notions of the community suggested by Tracy (2009) to understand the movement community's formation and determine the grounds on which people get associated with the movement community.

Tribal movements as 'Subaltern counterpublics' Public Sphere: Jurgen Habermas formulated the "public sphere" as a concept towards the end of feudalism and the rise of the bourgeois society (middle-class like traders & professionals) in Europe. It emerged in the late 18th century "out of a specific phase of the bourgeois society and...enter[ed] into the order of the bourgeois constitutional state...as a result of a particular constellation of interests" (Habermas, Lennox & Lennox, 1974, p. 50). The public sphere does not apply to any physical space; instead, it refers to the discursive space generated during a conversation by discursive relationships. The concept relates to the communication starting from the level of interpersonal communication and extends to mediated communication (multi-media, mass media, and internet). Scholars of many disciplines have used the concept of the public sphere in their study. Likewise, it has also been used to study a social movement by many scholars like Downing (2001 & 1988), Porta (2013), Cohen & Arato (1992), Guidry (2003) and Koopmans (2004).

Habermas (1981) saw the new social movement as a way— to enter the public sphere invaded by the state and the market in advanced capitalist societies. In contrast, Porta (2013) saw social movement in itself as "a specific form of the public sphere" (p. 107). Arato and Cohen (1992) asserted that in contemporary time social movement constitutes the public sphere. Other scholars like Koopmans (2004), employing the mass media public sphere, tried to analyze how the public sphere mediates between the movement collectives and the political group. He traced mainly the mediated and indirect interaction instead of direct and physical interaction between the two. Guidry (2003), too, was able to draw a link between the public sphere and social movement while examining how social movement through its varied activities shapes and reshapes the composition of the public sphere. It allowed various actors like social forces, state authorities, and elite groups to affect and modify each other mutually (Guidry, 2003). Further, Haug (2010, p. 67) has suggested that "theories of the public sphere are perhaps best equipped to analyze the communicative spaces within social movements."

This study used the notion of 'subaltern counterpublics' formulated by Nancy Fraser (1990 & 1992) for understanding the formation of the counter-public sphere in the selected case

belongingness. Sarason (1988), "Psychological sense of community: Prospects for a community psychology"

studies. Fraser (1990 & 1992), in her study '*Rethinking the Public Sphere*,' had criticized Habermas's notion of the public sphere. From the feminist perspective, she countered Habermas for excluding women, lower strata, and migrants from the public sphere. Fraser (1990) also rejected Habermas's public sphere's inclusivity status and squarely blamed him for discriminating based on gender and ignoring the public sphere plurality. She identified the public spheres of the marginalized and excluded groups emerging alongside and in opposition to the dominant public sphere and termed it a subaltern counter-public sphere. As she writes:

members of subordinated social groups- *tribal people* [emphasis added], women, workers, peoples of color, and gays and lesbians-have repeatedly found it advantageous to constitute alternative publics. I propose to call these *subaltern counterpublics* in order to single that they are parallel discursive arenas where members of subordinated social groups invent and circulate counterdiscourses, which in turn permit them to formulate oppositional interpretations of their identities, interests, and needs. (Fraser, 1990, p. 67)

The study utilizes the subaltern counterpublics to comprehend how discursive spaces formed within the tribal movements had helped the marginalized tribes counter the dominant public. In short, the study traces how by circulating 'counterdiscourses' (Fraser, 1990), tribal people through social movement have countered the Acts related to forest and land pre-independence and development projects post-independence, which threatened their existence. The study looks at the formation of the public sphere at three levels -- "simple encounters amongst people in their daily life; organized assembly publics; and the professionalized mass media" following Gerhards and Neidhardt (1990) understanding of public sphere mentioned in Haug's (2010, p.71) work to depict discursive spaces fully. The study marked the presence of the public spheres within the case studies by discursive and communicative space.

Mobilization process in a social movement: Mobilization is one of the crucial aspects of social movement formation, and it takes place throughout the social movement. The theme of mobilization is generally approached in social movement studies from resource mobilization theory (Jenkins & Perrow, 1977; Tilly, 1977a; Tilly, 1978; Shorter & Tilly, 1974; Melucci, 1989; McCarthy & Zald, 1973; 1977 & 1987), in which attempts are made to comprehend how people are mobilized for the social movement. Tilly (1978) recognized mobilization as "the process by which a group goes from being a passive collection of individuals to active participation in public life" and placed mobilization among the five components of collective action analysis (p.

69). By mobilization in a social movement, he mainly meant studying ways by which a group manages to acquire resources and utilizes it for collective action (Tilly, 1977a & 1978). Klandermans (2013a) saw mobilization as a mechanism that brings both ‘demand and supply’ to the social movement. By demand, he meant “the potential in society for protest,” and by supply, he referred “to the opportunities staged by the organizers to protest” (Klandermans, 2013a, p. 1). He visualized social movement in the domain of economic studies and compared mobilization with marketing (2013a, p.12). He also stated that mobilization is concerned with matters such “as the effectiveness of persuasive communication, the mobilization channels, the influence of social networks, and the perceived costs and benefits of participation” (Klandermans, 2013b, p.1). Walgrave (2013) too defined mobilization in terms of demand and supply as he said, “mobilization is the process through which demand for collective action present in a certain community is met by a supply of collective action events staged by social movements” (p. 205).

Bert Klandermans divided mobilization into two processes: “action mobilization” and “consensus mobilization” (Klandermans, 1984; Klandermans, 2013b). He did this to separate the activating role and convincing role of the mobilization. He defined consensus mobilization as a “process through which social movement tries to obtain support for its viewpoints” (Klandermans, 1984, p. 586). By action mobilization, he meant “the process by which an organization in social movement calls up people to participate” (Klandermans, 1984, p. 586). For him, consensus mobilization is all about convincing people and included the attempts which embraced “grievance interpretation, causal attribution, possible measures to be taken, protests activities to be staged and so on” (Klandermans, 2013b, p.1). By action mobilization, he referred to the initiatives taken to activate people to make them participate in the movement as he believed not all mobilized people are ready to join in the movement. Thus, action mobilization pertains to the attempts to motivate people, where the sympathizer is encouraged to take action (Klandermans, 2013b). Melucci (1989) identified mobilization as a reaction to the changing situation where, by being allowed to be mobilized, the people try to factor in a new aspect in their life. Mobilized people seek to control the time, interpersonal relationships, and space that delineate their social life (Melucci, 1989). Movement through mobilization brings out the latent potential of the people to the fore. He also affirmed that mobilization could never happen in a vacuum, and only those who are connected and not in isolation can be mobilized (Melucci, 1989). Likewise, mobilization is expected to happen in a society where people are related, and in

all probability, likely to take root in the network through which people communicate with each other in daily life (Klandermans, 1984; 2013a & 2013b; Melucci, 1989; Tilly, 1977a & Walgrave, 2013).

From the perspectives of these scholars, mobilization in social movement can be comprehended in a simple term as ways of involving people in the social movement. And one of the primary methods of engaging people is by interacting with them. Thus communication becomes the necessary condition for the mobilization process. Hence this study attempted to explore mobilization from multiple communication aspects by carefully looking at the social networks, channels of mobilization, mobilization program, and mobilizing frame implied for mobilizing people. Besides this, the step of mobilization is also explored by incorporating the concept of ‘micro-mobilization’ and ‘meso-mobilization’ (Gerhards & Rucht, 1992; Boekkooi & Klandermans, 2013; McAdam, 1988; Haug, 2013 & 2010). These concepts address the mobilization steps in the social movement where initiators first mobilize other organizers, and later initiators, along with the mobilized organizers, try to mobilize the movement’s participants. When the initiator mobilizes organizers, it is called meso-mobilization, while when the organizers mobilize participants, it is called micro-mobilization (Gerhards & Rucht, 1992; McAdam, 1988; Boekkooi & Klandermans, 2013).

Collective performances, media, culture and religious-based interaction in a social movement: Communication is the central element of a social movement through which it gets its reorganization and form. Social movements accomplish their communication requirement through various means and in multiple ways. Thus to trace the entire communication of a social movement, one carefully needs to identify the communicative ways implied by the social movement. Because, like in everyday life, communication in social movement can also happen in the form of a mediated interaction or non-mediated interaction, verbal and nonverbal communication, and by symbolic or cultural means of expression. And it takes the form of action, speech, expression, culture, and symbols. But since as an organized collective effort, it is mostly articulated in the manner of various collective action performances and gathering acts, various movement demonstrations form the primary means of communication in a social movement. Charles Tilly termed such tactics and gathering activities as ‘repertoire of collective action’ in his early study (Tilly, 1977b, p. 8) and ‘repertoire of contention’ in the later one (Tilly, 1995; 2006 & 2008). In general, the term ‘repertoire’ was used to signify the deployment of

specific collective action by a particular social movement group in a particular situation.

Tilly was the first to use this term to describe the elementary nature of collective action and said particular time, place and group have their own repertoires of collective interaction, which are limited in number and scope and are well-defined (Tilly, 1977b; 1995 & 2008). He goes on to highlight the relative character of the repertoire since he believed that the formation of repertoires in any movement enormously depends upon the structure and feature of its environs (political, cultural, social and economic as well as historical and contemporary) in which it is formulated. Tilly (1977b; 2008 & 1995) further affirmed that the protesting group learns slowly about the standard repertoire in their particular protest settings by which the group learns when, where and how effectively they can act. In a way, he saw the repertoire as a learning activity, which is learned through interaction within the social movement. He defined the concept of repertoires of contention as:

a limited set of routines that are learnt, shared, and acted out through a relatively deliberate process of choice. Repertoires are learnt cultural creations, but they do not descend from abstract philosophy or take shape as a result of political propaganda; they emerge from struggle. People learn to break windows in protest, attack pilloried prisoners, tear down dishonored houses, stage public marches, petition, hold formal meetings and organize special-interest associations. At any particular point in history, however, they learn only a rather small number of alternative ways to act collectively. (Tilly, 1995, p. 42)

Tilly purposefully used the theatrical metaphor ‘repertoires’ to conceptualize his idea based on the collective action to draw the communicative and interactive aspects of performances (like rally, march, meeting, petition), which take place within the social movement. By using the metaphor, he “calls attention to the clustered, learned, yet the improvisational character of people’s interactions as they make and receive each other’s claims” (Tilly, 2008, p. 14). Overall, he saw repertoires of contention as a process of staking a claim, and by this, he also emphasized the presence of more than one way of making claims. Among the various available options, the claimant chooses which pieces to perform when, where and in what order.

Tilly (1977b & 1995) initially saw this concept only from the claim-making process’s perspective between the claimant and the conceder. But later, Tilly and Tarrow (2015 [2007]) explored the interactive aspect of movement repertoires and performances beyond the claim

making process and saw collective action performances and demonstration from the interaction perspective. Where they affirmed through demonstrations and performances, social movement interacts not only with the opponents and challengers but also with the bystander, media, onlookers, sympathizers, etc., to influence and mobilize them. Dutta (2011, p. 196), too, in his study, saw social movement performances as communication channels and avenues where participants, by narrating their alternative world view, “bring about the message of social change.” The study used this understanding to examine the communicative aspects of various collective action performances implied in the selected case studies from the perspective of organizing, mobilizing and claim-making, where it explored collective performances based on both political and religious activities like *padayatra*², rally, hunger strike, public meeting, sit-ins, pilgrimage, religious procession and gathering from the perspective of movement communication.

Also, as visibility in the public domain is essential at a wider level for the social movement to gain recognition and support, the movement, besides public demonstrations, uses various media to increase its visibility. In this respect, Downing (2008) had argued for the acknowledgment and analysis of media in movement beyond mainstream media. In doing so, he identified pamphlets, handbill, audiotape and dress as movement media in his study. In a way, social movement makes use of various media that needs to be studied. The messages articulated through these media have a significant role in the collective identity formation and mobilization process. For studying the use of media, both mainstream and beyond mainstream (alternative media) in the social movements selected as case studies, the study used Mattoni’s (2013) concept of “repertoires of communication” and “activist media practices.”

Mattoni (2013) developed her understanding of ‘repertoires of communication,’ based on the theory of repertoires of contention for studying the various “technological means and media outlets” (p. 47) deployed and used by an activist during movement. As she writes, “social movement groups engaged in a protest event, develop interactions with the media of their choice, from among the many available in a given space and time” (Mattoni, 2013, p. 46). In this way, a repertoire of communication gets developed from “which they [*activists*] can choose and then employ specific sets of *activist media practices*” (Mattoni, 2013 p. 46). By ‘activist media

² *Padayatra* is a journey on foot. Also referred as foot march, mostly undertaken with a pre-defined social or political motives of spreading awareness/message among the people.

practice,’ Mattoni (2013) emphasized the activist’s social practice of knowing the media object (like paper, computer, and phone) and the media subjects (like journalists, editors, and public relation officers) to understand the working of the media environment broadly. She identified two types of activist media practices: ‘media knowledge practices’ and ‘relational media practices.’ By media knowledge practices, she meant the practices by which knowledge about the media environment is acquired. And by relational media practices, she meant “practices oriented towards interaction with media technologies, media outlets and media professionals” (Mattoni, 2013, p. 49). Based on her understanding of activist media practices, she defined repertoires of communication as:

the entire set of relational media practices that social movement actors might conceive as possible on the basis of knowledge media practices, and then develop in the latent and visible stages of mobilization to reach social actors positioned both within and beyond the social movement milieu. (Mattoni, 2013, p. 50)

The study used this concept mainly to trace the use of technology-based mainstream and alternative media (newspapers, banners, pamphlets, booklets, cell phones, email, social media, etc.) communication. But as communication also happens beyond technology without using any device where an object, item, artifacts, or a person appear as the medium of communication, to trace such human and object-mediated communication in social movement, the study used Aristotle’s (1925 [350 B.C.E]) notion of rhetoric and Blumer’s (1986 [1969]) symbolic interaction.

The rhetorical approach was used to explore the tactics of verbal communication with a special focus on the public speech, discussion and talk used by the movement leaders/initiators in gatherings and during meetings for the purpose of mobilization and organization. The study looked into the construction (framing) and presentation of the verbal message in order to comprehend the purpose behind the message and its effect on the people. In doing so, the study learned how and why the particular frame and way of presenting the message was effective or ineffective.

Further to explore the tactics of non-verbal communication like communication mediated through an object (item or thing) and gesture, the study looked into Blumer’s (1986 [1969]) idea of “symbolic interaction,” which perceive ‘meanings’ as a “social product” derived from the interactions between the people and reshaped via “the process of interpretation” (p. 5). As per

him, “meaning is not intrinsic to the object but arises from how the person is initially prepared to act towards it” (Blumer, 1986 [1969], pp. 68-69). By the object, he meant anything and everything which can be referred to or pointed to — that can be social, physical, or an abstract object. The study used this concept to comprehend the symbolic communication implied in the case studies derived from the interaction based on cultural and religious practices.

Framing as communication: Social movements, along with the various collective activities and numerous media, also use various “frames” (Goffman, 1974) rooted in communicative interaction to construct meaning and structured messages like media. The framing concept primarily emerged from Goffman’s work in 1974. It was predominantly used in social movement studies in the 1980s and 1990s. During the cultural and constructivist turn in the study of the social movement, scholars like David Snow, Robert Benford, Steven Worden, and Burke Rochford (Snow & Benford, 1992; Snow & Benford, 1988; Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford, 1986) tried to understand the process by which social movement construct and converse meaning and messages. Snow and Benford (1988) have referred to framing in social movement as a “signifying work” (p. 198). As they believe movement “frame, or assign meaning to and interpret, relevant events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, garner bystander support, and to demobilize antagonists” (Snow & Benford, 1988, p. 198). Through framing, movement purposefully highlights certain aspects of the specific issue to capture people’s attention towards the issue as well to restrict its multiple interpretations among them. In this aspect, Snow (2004) has recapitulated the framing function in social movement into three categories: “focusing attention,” “articulation mechanism” and “transformative function” (p. 384). By ‘focusing attention,’ he said the social movement, by implying a frame, focuses only on the perceived relevant aspects of the issue, excluding the irrelevant issues like the ‘in-frame’ and ‘out of frame’ action of a camera. The frame of the ‘articulation mechanism’ helped social movement convey only one set of specific meanings by blurring other sets. Lastly, as the ‘transformative function,’ frames transform the associated meaning of the object of attention in some other way different from how it was understood earlier. Here, Entman’s (1993) definition of the frame helps to understand framing utility in social movement from a communication standpoint. He put:

To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text *or speech* [emphasis added] in such a way as to promote a particular

problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (Entman, 1993, p. 52)

Throughout the social movement, various frames are implied, attention to which can provide a good insight into the communicational and interactive aspects of the social movement phenomena. By analyzing the movements' frames, one can understand the cognitive work that movement intellectuals do while using cultural resources to attribute meanings to various social events and interactions. Therefore, this study used the framing process besides the other conceptual frames to capture the selected case studies' communicative dimension. For this, the study primarily employed the concept of the "master frame" (Snow and Benford 1988 & 1992), "core framing tasks" (Snow and Benford 1988), and "frame alignment processes" (Snow et al. 1986). Master frames are elastic and inclusive. They are broad frames like the feminist frame, human rights frame, environment frame, etc. Such frames link many movements to one another.

Similarly, frame alignment processes refer to the frames which are implied to link the goals or interests of one social movement to another. In general, four frame alignment processes have been identified: "frame bridging," "frame amplification," "frame extension," and "frame transformation" (Snow et al. 1986). Frame bridging involves the "linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem" (Snow et al. 1986, p. 467). In contrast, frame amplification refers to the clarification, crystallization, transformation and invigoration of a selected interpretive frame to be more prominent and foremost than other existing frames. Frame extension relates to the endeavor made to take in more issues and problems in the original frame. Lastly, frame transformation refers to the alteration of the prevailing views of the people by offering new perspectives on the concerning issues. In the same way, the concept of core framing tasks was formulated based on the three core functions of the frame like the diagnosis of the problem around which the movement is to be formed, called a "diagnostic frame" (Snow and Benford, 1988, p. 200); articulation of the planned solution to the diagnosed problem along with the identification of strategies and tactics to work on it, called a "prognostic frame" (Snow and Benford, 1988, p. 201); and mobilizing the people to take action to meet the solution to the diagnosed problem by the use of motivational words, called a "motivational frame" (Snow and Benford, 1988, p. 201-202).

Thus, by utilizing the concept of community in social movement, the study sought to

understand the formation of ‘movement community’ within the social movement, which is an outcome of interaction among the community members. By examining the public sphere inside the social movement, the study intended to know how marginalized people through movement counter the dominant discourse. While through mobilization, it was expected to explore the ways of communicating that draw people into the social movement. And by utilizing the communication and framing concept, the study intended to access the communicative means and act through which social movement is operated and executed.

Comprehensive Approach: To Study Communication in Social Movement

As already stated, this study is meant to explore communication within the social movement at length. The study adopted an inclusive approach to study communication within the social movement by integrating the multiple approaches of studying communication in social movements like representational, relational, radical media, framing and collective performance and demonstration approaches into one inclusive frame of a ‘social movement communication.’ When applied alone, these approaches restrain scholars in exploring the social movement’s entire communication and guide them towards the particular dimension of the social movement’s communication.

As of now, social movement studies have expanded to communication and media studies. Besides the media-centric approach, communication and media scholars equally need to break through the people-centric communication (speech, expression, action, behavior, and performance) approach and object-mediated communication (sign, symbol, object, and artifacts) approach while studying social movement communication. Social movements are enclosed by various communicative and interactive occasions and acts that are not very visible on the surface. But they are obscured within the layers of movement planning, formation, mobilization, and demonstration actions where communication doesn’t happen only in mediated or speech forms, but also in the way of elaborative symbolic or cultural appearance. These intricate communicative perspectives of a social movement are equally imperative in exploring the social movement as meaningful communication.

The current study describes the social movement communication as a comprehensive approach that includes: i) internal and external communication, ii) both staged and backstage, iii) mediated and non-mediated, iv) verbal and non-verbal, and v) both symbolic and behavioral communication conducted during the planning, organizing, mobilizing and demonstration of any

social movement. The study proceeded with this particular understanding, and thus, by using the ‘social movement communication,’ tried exploring various aspects of communication in social movements.

In doing so, it explored rumors, idioms, songs, dress, dance, pilgrimage, rituals, dreams, meetings, prophecy, myth, ideology, twig, flag, slogans, various demonstrations, wall writing, press releases, booklets, newspaper, meeting, pamphlets, drumming, etc. as the means of movement communication within the selected case studies. These are discussed in detail in the subsequent chapters under two broad categories— mobilizing strategy and communication strategy. Both the categories cover the communicational aspects of the movement; however, the separate categories are formed to capture the communication process of different phases of the movement in detail. It was done to better understand the latent phase (preparation and organizing) and the social movement’s visible (occurrence) phase of communication.

The study understands mobilization as an interactive process by which social movement calls attention to the issues, builds consensus among people, persuades them, and motivates them to participate by forming the movement collectives. It traces the mobilization activities of both the latent and visible phases of the movement as mobilization in a social movement is ongoing. While by communication, the study understands the necessary process of human interaction by using various communicative means like expression, action, symbols, and speech through which people try to link themselves with each other in everyday life. Further, by mobilization and communication strategies, the study referred to the interactive approach implied by the movement group to influence— mainstream media, movement’s potential participants and allies and to counter its opponents like those in power. In a way, the study has looked at the interactive strategic dimensions (framing, mobilization, movement’s media, speech, and acts) of the social movement. Here, for the meaning of ‘strategy,’ the study refers to meaning listed in the Oxford dictionary, which says the strategy is a plan that is intended to accomplish a particular goal or a purpose.

Thesis Overview

The idea of studying social movement as communication by using the integrated approach ‘social movement communication’ proposed above intends to comprehensively examine the tribal movements of the Jharkhand region from a communication perspective. A brief outline of the various chapters is presented below:

Chapter 2 describes the research objectives and research questions besides the methodology. The study's methodology was outlined using multiple qualitative research methods: archival research and field research to accomplish its objectives. These two methods helped in exploring the case studies of the diverse nature of different time frames. The multiple methods were employed at the study level and not at an individual case study. The chapter also gives all four case studies' profiles— two historical movements Santhal *Hul* and Birsa Movement and two contemporary movements— Chandil Dam Movement and movement against the Greater Ranchi Master Plan-2037 project. It also introduces the data collection techniques and describes the data collection schedule and the data analysis steps.

Chapter 3 presents the background to the study. It compiles the details on the tribal community and geographical region under review to provide the context to the study's premise— tribal social movement. Based on the analysis of the available literature on the tribal community, the chapter illustrates the tribal people's critical scenario in India. The chapter also briefly discusses the tribal movements and explores a few tribal social movements from the movement communication perspective to set the foreground for the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 4 traces the social movement communication from the perspective of leadership communication. This chapter mainly comprises the social movements of the colonial time organized against the local colonial administrators and officials— when there were no mechanical means of communication, and all forms of human communication (speech, expression and action) dominated the society. The chapter has its main focus on leadership communication, where it sees the emergence of leaders as an outcome of communication efforts applying the notion of 'discursive leadership'. It traces the tactics, means, and modes of communication carried out by the leaders during the movement's mobilization and conduction. The study obtained the data for this chapter from archival sources by doing archival research.

Chapter 5 covers the communication of social movements that are headed by an association of people. The chapter's primary focus is on a civil society's role in forming social movements where it traces civil society's mediating role between the community members and the government officers during mobilization and conduction of the movement. It brings out the movement communication practices of contemporary tribal movements of republic India where society has politically and technologically developed and besides human communication uses modern means of communication technology. The study obtained the data for this chapter by

conducting field research.

Chapter 6 draws the conclusion of the study by summarizing the main findings. Based on the insights of the tribal movement communication gained from the different case studies of tribal movements of different decades, the study draws the inference that the tribal community has never been voiceless. Also, it proposes social movement communication as an approach to studying many such marginalized communities, where social movement can emerge as a trend in studying the community's communication practices.

Chapter 2

Research Methodology

Introduction

The researcher has always been instinctively captivated by public demonstrations and mass gatherings such as *dharnas*, rallies, and protest marches ever since her school days. It may be because of two reasons. One, the researcher witnessed many public demonstrations of the Jharkhand Separatist Movement from a close quarter during her schooling, the age when one is inquisitive to know everything. The vast mass gathering most often followed by *lathi* charge and tear gas, used to astonish the researcher, making her wonder why the protestors undergo such sufferings. The school to which the researcher went, during its first few years, used to operate in a small building close to Birsa Chowk. One of the famous landmarks in Ranchi, Birsa Chowk, is where the black statue of tribal icon Birsa Munda is placed and forms one of the centers of a massive tribal protest site in Ranchi. As the researcher's school was very near to the protest sites, many a time when the silent protest unexpectedly used to get violent, leading to the use of tear gas, she too used to suffer from hunger and had watery tear gas eyes as she used to get stuck in the institution beyond the school hours.

Second, the day of massive protests and Jharkhand '*bandh*' used to be an additional holiday for her. The surprise holiday, particularly during exam days, used to cheer her. These mixed feelings of suffering and happiness remained in the researcher's memory as she grew up. Unaware of tribal politics, ideologies, and issues, the researcher wondered what is it that made these people endure pain and what they derived from it. It was the period when subconsciously, she developed an interest in the study of social movements, eventually leading to her pursuing her doctorate. The focus of her research was tribal protests and movement, something she opted for ignorant of the field level challenges.

The major challenge was to develop methodological guidance for conducting the study. As the study intended to research the mobilization and communication strategies of the tribal movements, which is the most challenging aspect of movements to discover besides gaining access to the community - much of the time was used in drafting a workable methodology. The researcher went about this task by seeking to derive confidence from the saying 'The only way to

learn how to do it is to do it,' relying partly on historical research and partly on case study research. As the study seeks to uncover the movement's communication and the communicational advancement of the tribal movements equally, the pilot study was instigated to confirm the case study's feasibility and gain familiarity with the field.

The Aim of the Study

The study aims to comprehensively bring out the overall communicative perspective of a social movement, especially of tribal movements where the study, as already mentioned in Chapter one, perceives social movement both as a process and means of communication. By locating movements within the context of the communication realm, the study tries to find out how communication plays an integral role in the movement, right from the times of the movement formation, growth, and expansion. It traces the communication strategies and mobilization strategies of a movement beside the communicative tools employed. The study also endeavors to understand how movement groups are formed and what drives people to participate in the movement. In doing so it analyzes the formation of the movement community and focuses on the surrounding societal circumstances against which movements emerged and sustained. At the same time, the study examines the discursive spaces created by the movement to document communication forms in these spaces.

Research Objectives & Questions

The objectives of the study will broadly be the following, and it will seek answers for a set of research questions:

1. To understand the social, cultural, and political contexts and imperatives of the tribal communities who are engaged in social movements.
 - a. What is the social and cultural background of tribal people who participate in social movements?
 - b. How is the movement community formed within the social movement?
2. To trace forms of communication, conventional as well as non-conventional, employed by the movement groups to connect with the community.
 - a. What communication strategies and modes are employed by the movement groups to draw community members into their cadres?
 - b. How is communication used as a tool to conduct and sustain the movement?

3. To explore the mobilization strategies used to mobilize community members to participate in the movement group.
 - a. How communication mobilizes movement participants and gains support for the movement's viewpoint?
 - b. How, through communication, mobilized participants are motivated to take action?
4. To study the framing of issues strategies adopted by the movements in initiating and sustaining the movement.
 - a. What are the different ways by which movements effectively frame and publicize their concerns and issues?
 - b. How an effective framing of ideas contributes to improved communication, thus contributing to the movement's causes itself?
5. To know the communicative perspectives of the social movement demonstration like rally, boycott, sit-in, strike, etc.
 - a. How movement demonstrations, typically rally, boycott, sit-in, *padayatra*, and hunger strike form the means of communication for social movement?
 - b. How, through them, the momentum of movement communication is maintained?
6. To explore tribal movement communication from the notion of 'voice from below and force of change' and its transition over a period of time.
 - a. How has tribal movement communication emerged as the notion of 'voice from below and force of change'?
 - b. How has tribal movement communication as the process evolved and got modified during technological advancement?

Research Approach

The methodological drift in social movement studies has favored methodological pluralism giving importance to both qualitative and quantitative methodologies (Porta, 2014a). The field's pluralist methodological characteristic has greeted scholars from various fields, making it fruitful in expanding the overall field of social movement studies. The absence of methodological dogmatism has allowed the researcher to use a full range of methods and to do experiments with methodologies. Klandermans & Staggenborg (2002) notes:

Students of social movements have conducted quantitative & qualitative studies, surveys

and in-depth interviews, archival studies and participant observation, single case-studies and complex comparative designs, mathematical simulations and protests event analyses, ecological studies of multi-organizational fields and life-history interviews, discourse analysis and studies of narratives...a full range of method has been fruitfully applied in the study... resulting in a flourishing field. (Klandermans & Staggenborg, 2002, p. xii)

The field has acquired this position of pluralism as explained by Porta (2014a) first to rise above the empirical challenges of “lack of reliable database” (p. 2) in movement studies, second because of healthy criticism of its openness in terms of new approaches, third because social movement studies have been “more problem-oriented, rather than method-oriented” (p. 3), and forth because of its interdisciplinary and cross-fertilization characteristic which has enriched the field in terms of theory and methodology.

This study implied the qualitative research approach of multiple case studies to meet its objective by availing the advantage of social movement studies’ pluralistic and pragmatic character. The study’s qualitative approach was also determined by firstly considering the nature of the study and secondly the discipline of the study under which research was conducted. As the study fell in communication studies and primarily aimed to study the social movement’s communication process in-depth following Patton (2002), the qualitative approach turned out to be ideal. A qualitative approach helps in studying the issues in detail where the motive is to gain new insights into the situation or settings, which helps in a better understanding of the world in a way it is (Patton, 2002).

Further, to conduct the study Case Study method was adopted. It was adopted as it helps in understanding the complexity of the social phenomena, particularly when the phenomena and context boundary is not clear by allowing the researcher to have a holistic and real-world perspective of the ‘case’ understudy (Yin, 2009). Subsequently, the study adopted the case study method to obtain a comprehensive answer to the various research questions posed by the study. Since the main objective of the study was to know ‘how’ communication occurs in movement, and most of the research objectives are framed around ‘how’ perspectives of the phenomenon like communication, mobilization, and movement group formation, the study implied the case study method. By following Yin’s words (2009), who says, “the form of the research questions can provide an important clue regarding the appropriate research method to be used” (pp. 10-11).

Use of multiple case studies: The study adopted the multiple-case approach. The

multiple-case approach was adopted not to generalize the phenomenon but to explore and explain the phenomenon. In other words, it was applied more for particularization than generalization. For this, four tribal movements were selected as the case studies— all from the same geographical area of the Jharkhand (Chhotanagpur) region. Among them, two are historical movements of colonial time, namely Santhal Hul (1855-1860) and the Birsa Movement, also known as Ulgulan (1877-1899). Although there are other historical movements too, the study opted for a couple for two reasons. First, both the movements are dominant and significant and had a crucial role in the enactment of the land acts of Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act, 1908 (CNT) and Santhal Parganas Tenancy Act, 1949 (SPT). These Acts provide the fertile ground for the protest even in contemporary time and are vividly still remembered and acknowledged in Jharkhand's tribal communities. Second, these are the only two movements on which the researcher found sufficient documents during the archival study. Enough materials on the rest of the movements were not available, limiting the researcher's choices to these two. These movements were organized by the tribal community of the Chotanagpur Plateau and Santhal Pargana of the Bengal Presidency, respectively. The foremost leaders of the movements were also a tribe, and the movement was formed around the land issues and was against the colonial government and its new taxation rules and economic exploitation. Besides them, two ongoing contemporary movements are also selected to understand the organizing, mobilization, and communication aspects in contemporary time. The first one is the Chandil Dam Movement (CDM) of the urban-rural area of Chandil located in Jharkhand's Seraikela Kharsawan district. This town is approximately 31 kilometers from the industrial town of Tatanagar. The second one is the movement against the 'Greater Ranchi Master Plan-2037' (GRMP-2037) being undertaken in an urban location of Ranchi. Both movements are in the tribal majority and have stepped up against development-induced displacement and livelihood loss (case studies are introduced in later sections). Though all these case studies were examined separately, their analysis was restricted by the binding theme of movement communication, organization, mobilization, movement media, movement formation, and movement community implied in the study. The case records of the case studies were analyzed in two-phase. In the first phase, records were analyzed individually and cross-case analysis was carried out between the records in the second phase.

Also, considering the rationale of the research purpose besides the multiple-case study,

multiple qualitative research inquiries like historical research and field study were applied as a single method fell short of fulfilling the research objectives. Here, multiple methods were used at the study level and not at the individual case study level. The multiple methods helped explore the case studies of two different time frames— two case studies of the colonial period and two case studies of contemporary time.

Use of multiple qualitative inquiries: The historical research method, along with the field study, was applied as a method of inquiry as the study intended to trace the movement communication of both past and recent movements and map communicational transition over a period of time. The historical research was applied to trace the movement communication of the past movements where the direct observation of the events being studied was not possible, and no relevant person was alive to report it. Hence, this aspect of the study heavily relied on archival documents whereas, towards exploring the contemporary movement's communication events, the field study was conducted. The contemporary movement study relied mainly on qualitative interviews, observations, movement documents and field notes.

Historical research: Broadly, historical research helps in constructing the past events systematically by critically examining the primary materials and evidence (Bosi & Reiter, 2014). It has been an interest of historians but has also been used in social movement studies to recover past movements. It is used as an additional research method and by no means has emerged as a significant method in social movement studies (Clemens & Hughes, 2002). Mainly it is because it is concerned with the explanation of specific events in time and space and not in the development of general theories.

The study used archival research and equally relied on the archival materials of both the past and contemporary movements. Here archival documents as described by Pearce-Moses (2005, p. 28) refer to “materials created or received by a person, family, or organization, public or private, in the conduct of their affairs that are preserved because of the enduring value contained in the information they contain or as evidence of the functions and responsibilities of their creator.” Since the archival study is based on the preexisting data/text, and the information contained is often questioned on credibility, the theoretical expansion of the phenomenon on its basis is usually not encouraged. As Clemens & Hughes (2002, p. 208) states, “when research relies on the documents produced by others for other purposes, it is particularly critical to be skeptical.” Therefore they suggest further inquiry for the circumstances in which the documents

were produced and also to look for similar documents produced in the same space and time. The study used archival research to construct only the past tribal movements' communicational events, and it does not intend to extend theories. For analyzing archival sources, document analysis was conducted.

Field study: Field study is research “based on personal interaction with research subjects in their own setting” (Wood, 2007; p. 124). It is one of the qualitative research approaches that help the researcher study and understand any specific conduct or everyday life of a community of people who are the subject of the analysis by engaging with them in person. In other words, data in field studies are derived from the phenomena under investigation in the natural environment. In her study, Wood (2006) pointed out that field research is beneficial and relevant in contexts where communities are oppressed and marginalized and where the research seeks to report communities' particularities. In this regard, field research appeared to be the right approach in investigating the social movement communication phenomena of tribal communities in contemporary times by communicating with movement participants in person and gathering data through interviews, observation, informal conversations and collecting the movement documents. Thus the study conducted field research to collect the data related to the contemporary case studies. But like other research approaches, field study also has its drawbacks. The first downside is that it takes time. As to conduct research, the researcher has to travel and stay for months to a place where the case study is situated. Also, he/she has to depend on the various circumstances existing in the field beyond the researcher's control for collecting data. In many ways, such conditions can delay, limit, or affect the research process. Second, it's not easy to gain access to the field. A great deal of patience is required on the researcher's part to get into the field where one needs to be involved in a continuous conversation with the community members (Wood, 2006; Malthaner, 2014). In another way, much time was spent by the researcher building a relationship with the community members who form the study subject.

With the help of her old teachers and few friends involved in documentary filmmaking based on social movements, the researcher arranged the contact numbers of a few of the activists involved in the contemporary case study's social movements. Likewise, the researcher obtained initial access to the field by establishing contact with the leaders during the pilot study. The two CDM activists based in Jamshedpur, Arvind Anjum and Manthan, were initially contacted by the researcher to access the Chandil Movement area. After this, access to the community was gained

with these activists' support, who introduced the researcher to the community-level activists. With the recommendations of community-level activists Shyamal Mardi and Narayan Gop, the researcher further got access to the movement participants' community.

Meanwhile, to maintain and strengthen the relationship with the activists, the researcher had to attend various programs where she was invited. She also had to participate in a few of their discussions when asked to reflect on the discussed issues. While at the community level, to have an informal relationship with the interviewees, sometimes she had to do lunch with them. On one occasion, she had to babysit while the interviewee was busy searching the old documents related to the movement.

Unlike the CDM, the researcher tried to access the Greater Ranchi Project's movement area initially through the community people. As the researcher is from Ranchi and is familiar with the area where this movement was being conducted, she decided to interact with the community involved in the movement directly without the activists' recommendation. But without recommendation, it turned out to be challenging to do interviews; however, she managed to interview a few community members. Also, the researcher has to spend much time in the field as it was cultivation season, and people were busy in agricultural work and had little time to speak to the researcher. Witnessing this limit, the researcher decided to get involved with the community activists Rahul Oraon and Krishna Oraon, whose names were suggested by the community members. Thus the interviews were conducted simultaneously with the community activists as well as community members. Like the CDM fieldwork, the researcher also participated in a few of their movement demonstrations and interviewed their leading activist Vasavi Kiro towards the end of the first phase of her fieldwork. Meanwhile, to better understand the features and issues of the tribal movements, the researcher also interacted with a few Ranchi based social workers who had been working for the tribal communities for a long time like Xavier Dias, Sunil Minz, Dayamani Barla, Vinod Kumar, Fr. Alex Ekka and Fr. Stan Swamy.

In this way, communities and associations—the collective entities involved in the social movement, formed the central unit of analysis as communication in a social movement is collective behavior. Besides them, the movement documents and newspaper coverage also formed the unit of analysis. The organizational level of data was collected from movements' associations, and individual-level information was collected from the participants of the movement.

The methods used in data collection: The study deployed three different methods for the data collection. The first method was qualitative interviews. Following Kvale (2007), who considers conversation as the best mode of constructing human knowledge, qualitative interviews were conducted to collect data from the field. Rubin & Rubin (2005) defines qualitative interviews as “conversations in which a researcher gently guides a conversational partner in an extended discussion” (p.4). But unlike conversations, interviews have a specific purpose of fetching particular information. However, the method has an inherent limitation as the interviewer for the information has to rely on the interviewee’s ability to recall precisely, knowledge of the issue, and, more importantly, willingness to share accurate information (Rubin & Rubin, 2005; Breakwell, 1990).

Notwithstanding such a limitation, qualitative interviews have been widely used in social science research as an enormous data collection tool. To overcome this limitation, King and Horrocks (2010) suggest having a careful understanding of the context of the interview conversation “to produce knowledge that acknowledges and understands situated perspective” (p. 20). They say the role of the interviewer is also essential in achieving the purpose of the interview (King & Horrocks, 2010). To collect accurate information, the interviewer should communicate his/her work perspectives before starting. Also, the interviewee should be carefully briefed about the research motives and usage, and his/her prior consent must be taken.

In the social movement aspect, interviews form one of the essential and helpful tools of data collection for someone looking to gain insights into the specific aspects of the social movement (Porta, 2014b). The semi-structured interview reveals various perspectives and dimensions of social movement when conducted with its participants. Blee, in his study (2013, p. 1), records “oral history, life histories, key informants and focus groups” as the most common forms of semi-structured interviews used in social movements. Where oral history generates historical information about the aspects of the past events mainly which are not recorded or represented in the official documents; life history with activists helps uncover the activist’s experiences of the movement; interview with key informant helps in knowing the particular aspects of the movement of researcher’s concern; and by conducting focus group the movement’s participants behavior in a group and their perspective on a topic being discussed related to movement can be captured.

Blee and Taylor (2002) encourage the use of a semi-interview method in the social

movement to get information on the aspects pertaining to the mobilization for the movement and perspectives by interviewing its diverse participants. Whereas, Thompson (1988) sees semi interview as a counter tool to overcome the biases of the movement's documents as interviewing allows the scholars to have access to the movement participants and to know about their version of the movement (cited in Blee & Taylor, 2002). In this aspect, Blee and Taylor (2002) too hold a similar perspective to the interview and say, "interviewing strategies makes it possible for respondents to generate, challenge, clarify, elaborate, or recontextualize understandings of social movements based on earlier interviews, documentary sources, or observational methods" (p. 94). Besides this, they also perceive interviews as more than a source of information as sometimes, from the responses derived from the varied movement participants, the themes and the categories of analysis can also be formed. Most importantly, the qualitative interview favors the open and flexible research design of the qualitative research, the one which has been conducted by the researcher.

The second method used for data collection was observation. Observation as a tool has been widely used by anthropologists since the 1920s and has emerged as an important method of inquiry in social science. It is the best technique for collecting descriptive information about the very details of the natural settings based on human sight and other senses. Corbin & Strauss (2015) says, "observation is a fruitful means of data gathering...it has a lot to offer qualitative researchers and should be considered as an alternative or additional form of data collection." (pp. 40-41). Also, observation enriches and brings clarity to the data collected from other sources like interviews and documents, as sometimes differences can be noted between what people say and do (Bailey, 2009). So it is used as a verifying technique.

Moreover, sometimes the interviewee can take a few things for granted and forget to mention it, so it is useful to combine observation with other methods. However, it has been criticized based on its objectivity and biases. As this method is based more on researchers' perception and judgment, it is always advised to use it as an additional or the alternative method but not as the primary tool. In social movement studies, to some extent, the observation method has been used for studying the forms of collective behavior (McPhail, 1991; Schweingruber & McPhail, 1999; and Lofland & Fink, 1982). McPhail (1972) used 'multiple observers' to pen down all the happening of elementary social behaviors of demonstrations. The data obtained in it was later used to form the taxonomy of elementary forms of collective acts (cited in McPhail,

1991). Balsiger & Lambelet (2014) suggest conducting participant observation to know about the movement's invisible and non-public aspects, like the movement group's decision-making process and strategy planning, which often happens off stage before and after the protest demonstration. Consequently, observation techniques can help to have additional insight into the movement participants' communicational behavior aspect, which cannot be gained through the other methods, be it an interview or document analysis.

Thus, an unstructured observation technique was used to collect the details about the movement participants' nonverbal and verbal communication behaviors and record the details of their surrounding situations and ambiance. The researcher also participated in a few movement meetings to get a closer view of their discursive space. Indeed, it was helpful for a researcher to understand the communicative aspects of a movement gathering like a meeting. By observing the movement participants' verbal and nonverbal conduct in the meeting, the researcher also had a close view of a group communication behavior. The researcher also took a tour of the various rehabilitation sites of the project along with the few partially submerged villages to record the details of their socio-economic status. Each detail of the neighborhood was recorded in the field notes that formed the primary data and helped to understand the life of a displaced community that is staging a movement.

The third method was Document analysis. Document analysis, also called the documentary method, as described by O'Leary (2004), refers to both the mode of data collection and data analysis. Here the 'text' is the data in its own right and can be in varied forms like census data, historical archives, newspaper articles, company minutes, and more. Atkinson & Coffey (2004), considering documents as 'social facts,' says, "documents are used and exchanged as part of social interaction...it is vital to give documentary data due weight and appropriate analytic attention" (p. 59). Thus recognizing documents as the form of interaction weightage was also given to the movement documents of the contemporary ones. Movements produce documents like books, journals, pamphlets, booklets, press releases, reports, activity diaries, meeting record books, etc., in its course. The analysis of which revealed a lot of information about the movement's issue, plan and demands. The frame implied in these texts also gave insight into the types of mobilization communication used in the movement. Besides this, the analysis of the press release copy and cuttings of the newspaper coverage helped understand the media tactics of the movements. Also, the field notes and interview transcripts

produced by the researcher during the field study were analyzed simultaneously and incorporated into each other to enhance the understanding of the communicational phenomenon of the social movement. In the context of the colonial movements for which archival research was conducted, it appeared as the major tool for data collection and analysis. The information extracted after reading and sorting the archival documents collected on colonial movements was analyzed in terms of the communication and mobilization strategy to bring out the communication aspects.

Introducing Case Studies

Santhal Hull (1855-56). The tribal people of Rajmahal Hills, located in the Santhal Pargana division of the present-day Jharkhand state in July 1855, organized them against the exploitation by the British administrators' new rule of Permanent Settlement Act and taxation rule. In 1855, their resentment took the form of a massive insurgency, the incidents of which are recorded as Santhal Hul or Santhal insurgency in the historical records/ books. Acting as a trigger for the insurgency was the constant exploitation of the tribal people. The Jagirdars/ Zamindars (landlords), who were mainly the non-tribe (*dikus*) after the establishment of the British administration and implementation of the new foreign rule, started exploiting the tribe people in the region. The increased economic exploitation in the form of enhanced tax, which forced the tribes in debt traps, was the leading cause of the uprising. Besides this, no relief from the colonial government and delay in justice from colonial courts also contributed to its cause. From the colonial documents, it is evident that the leaders of the movement, Siddhu and Kanhu, organized and mobilized around 10,000 people during this movement. A close reading of the historical and colonial documents helped in tracing the communicative and mobilizing strategies of the emergence of Santhal Hul.

Birsa Movement, 'Ulgulan' (The great tumult) 1897-1900. The Birsa Movement, generally known as 'Ulgulan,' was led by a tribal man named Birsa Munda. The movement was set in the area of Ranchi and northern parts of the Singhbhum district of the undivided Bihar of the Bengal Presidency. Like Santhal Hul, this, too, was the coming together of the tribals against the introduction of a feudal system and the exploitation of tribal by the zamindars. Due to the zamindari system, introduced by the colonial government, the tribals started losing their '*bhuinhari lands*' (land initially claimed by tribal) ownership and ended up as landless bonded laborers. It is against this exploitation and dehumanization, Birsa called his fellow people for this movement. Birsa, too, was able to mobilize people and provide leadership and guidance to what

went on to be a strong movement. Through his movement, he gave a tough challenge to the British administrations. Years and decades later, his movement continues to be cited as an agitation to assert tribal identity. He is the only leader from tribal groups to have his photograph in the Indian Parliament among freedom fighters.

During the formation of his movement, he used many mobilization and communication strategies that have not been assessed from a lens of movement communication. Besides this, he also gave a slogan “*Abua raj seter jana, maharani raj tundu jana*” (Let the kingdom of the queen be ended and our kingdom established), which was well received by the tribe of colonial times and is still referred in most of the contemporary movement of Jharkhand region. The slogan has emerged as an active tool of mobilization for the tribal leaders and activists. In this context, through the available archival documents and book, the study explores the movement’s communication and mobilizing strategy and tries to connect it with the phenomenon of movement communication.

Chandil Dam Movement (CDM) of Subarnarekha Multipurpose Project (SMP) Chandil, Jharkhand. The 1st contemporary case study of the CDM came in the backdrop of the national development strategies of the newly Independent India. The case study refers to the era, especially of the 1970s and 1980s when the Indian government pursuing the western modernization model took up many mega-projects to accelerate economic development. Among the so-called mega-projects, one was the dam projects, which were often sold on the idea of their multipurpose utility. People fascinated by the projected economic growth also supported it enthusiastically, and it became the dogma of the time.

However, parallel to this was a different interpretation of this sort of development by the inhabitants and environmentalists, giving rise to dam movements discourse. CDM is one of the outcomes of the same discourse. Chandil dam is one of the Subarnarekha Multipurpose Project (SMP) parts in which two dams were proposed, one Chandil dam at Galudih on the Subarnarekha River itself and second Icha dam near Chaibasa on Kharkai River, a tributary of Subarnarekha. The project was awarded on 21st March 1977 and was started in the year 1978. It was an interstate project of Bihar, Orissa, and West Bengal initiated by Bihar’s irrigation department in 1973.

The project aimed to reduce flood damage, supply water for agriculture, and to generate hydroelectricity for all three states. The project was financed by the World Bank and other

international monetary agencies. The people opposing giving their land started protesting the dam's construction right from the beginning in both the regions. Due to massive protests, the World Bank stopped funding, and the project was put on stay in 1991. After which, the project got a new lease from the Indian government, and it restarted. Along with the project, the movement also resumed. In the Chandil dam region, the movement was concerning the rehabilitation and compensation package, while in the Icha Dam area, the protest was against the dam's construction. Through the people's movement, the Icha area people have succeeded in stopping the construction of the proposed dam of Icha and people of the Chandil area have succeeded in formulating the rehabilitation & resettlement policy for the project. This case study only concentrates on the CDM and excludes the movement of the Icha dam.

Moreover, the initial leadership of both the movement came from the members of a civil society organization called *Chhatra Yuva Sangharsh Vahini* (CYSV) (details mentioned in chapter five), which was a student association (Manthan, n.d.). The CDM has a history of more than forty years, which is still ongoing. Thus, against this setting, the study traces the movement's long journey, particularly in the context of mobilizing and communicative perspective.

Movement against the Greater Ranchi Master Plan-2037 (GRMP-2037) Ranchi, Jharkhand. The second contemporary case study, GRMP-2037, like the first case study, is the continuing story of the movement against the oppressed and marginalized people's forced evictions. But of the more recent era when the prefix like 'multipurpose' & 'mega-projects' in labeling the development projects had been replaced by a more contemporary term like 'smart' projects. The contemporary development projects emphasizing more on concepts like strategic planning, citizen engagement, and advancement in information and communication technologies (ICTs), and adding a 'smartness' angle to the project try to persuade the contemporary people. The GRMP-2037 is one such conceptualization. That visualizes the infrastructural development of the existing city through the development of a sub-city.

Ranchi became the capital city of Jharkhand after its formation on 15th November 2000. After analyzing the city's new needs as the capital city, GRMP-2037 was announced by its first Chief Minister Babulal Marandi in 2000. However, the project remained in controversy for a long time because of the unavailability of the proper site. Finally, when the project progressed in 2015 with the proposed secretariat complex building's construction work, the people in the

project sites' vicinity started a movement against the project and demanded the compensation package. Through their community-level movements and the involvement of the local activists, people are resisting the work of the project. Therefore, through this case study of the urban setting, the study traces the movement communication within it by analyzing their communicative networks.

Into the Field: Data Collection

The field study began on 5th December 2016 and continued till 18th December 2017. The field study was conducted in different phases, and both the field study and archival study happened simultaneously. The short activity-log which summarizes the field study calendar is as follow:

Phase 1	Field Study	Case Study: Movement against the GRMP-2037 (place visited: Ani, Tiril, Jagranathpur, Labed & Kute)	From 5 th December 2016 to 3 rd January 2017
Phase 2	A) Field Study	Case Study: Movement against the GRMP-2037 (place visited: Ani, Tiril, Jagranathpur, Labed & Kute)	23 rd January 2017 to 17 th February 2017
	B) Archival Research (Both field study and archival research were simultaneously done.)	Historical Case Study (for both Birsa Movement & Santhal Hul) Dr. Ram Dayal Munda Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi. (Publication section & library); Archaeological Survey of India, Ranchi Division; Father Kamil Bulke Library, Satya Bharti Ranchi; Regional Archive Ranchi; Bindra Institute of Research Study & Action, Ranchi; & Central Library Ranchi University, R&R Section.	23 rd January 2017 to 17 th February 2017

Phase 3	Archival Research	Historical Case Study (for both Birsa Movement & Santhal Hul) National Archive, Delhi	From 27 th February 2017 to 10 th March 2017
Phase 4	Archival Research	Historical Case Study (for both Birsa Movement & Santhal Hul) Asiatic Society Kolkata & National Library Kolkata	1 st May to 8 th June 2017
Phase 5	Field Work	Case Study: Chandil Dam Movement (Chandil, Ichha, Chowka, Jamshedpur, Adityapur, Raghunathpur & few Rehabilitation sites like Chillgu, Chaibasa, Kukru & Gangudi)	1 st October 2017 to 14 th October 2017 & 2 nd November 2017 to 18 th December 2017

Table no. 1: Showing activity log of data collection

In the first phase, the researcher visited Ranchi to commence the first case study of the GRMP-2037 movement and visited the villages, where people were mobilized themselves, in and around the Jagannathpur region of the Ranchi district like Ani, Kute, Tiril and Labeled (the most affected areas of the project). During the visit, the researcher met with the community members and community leaders of these villages and tried to figure out the movement's real issue and communication strategy mainly through in-depth interviews, informal talks, and observation. During this phase and as part of the village visits, the researcher conducted 12 semi-structured interviews with the community members and leaders actively associated with the movement. Besides this, the researcher also participated in a few of their movement demonstrations and interviewed four protest participants on the protest site to understand how they got to know or were informed about the protest program. Altogether 16 semi-structured

interviews were conducted during the 1st phase. Besides, the researcher also followed one of the community leaders' Facebook page and tried to analyze what type of movement information is being shared on social media and how online platforms are used for movement visibility and mobilization.

In the second phase, the researcher continued with the case study GRMP-2037 movement fieldwork and conducted the archival work on the regional level for the two historical case studies. For archival work, the researcher visited the Regional Archive, Ranchi; Commissioner's office record room, Ranchi; Dr. Ram Dayal Munda Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi; Father Kamil Bulke Library, Ranchi; Central Library Ranchi University and Archeological Survey of India office of Ranchi circle to look for the related documents. However, as not sufficient materials were collected, the researcher decided to further extend the archival research to the third and fourth phases of the study.

During the third and fourth phases, the researcher conducted significant archival research, which helped her to gather sufficient archival and historical documents on historical case studies. In this phase, the researcher first visited the National Archives, New Delhi. The visit to the National archive was less productive as only seven related documents on Santhal *Hul* and Birsa Movement were found in the archive's record and publication section that too, only under the category of 'History of Freedom Movement.' Out of seven documents listed in the catalog, two were missing from the shelf, and one was in a language other than Hindi and English, which the researcher was unable to read. Hence the researcher was able to read only the four documents. Apart from this, in the library section of the archive, the researcher was able to access a few useful District Gazettes. Further, the four available documents from the record and publication section helped the researcher in creating a reference list of the colonial and pre-independence documents related to the tribal insurgency.

Further, in search of the documents listed in the reference list created by the researcher during the National Archive Delhi visit, the researcher visited the Asiatic Society Kolkata and National Library Kolkata in the fourth phase of research. There, she could access numerous colonial books and documents based on tribal issues and life published mostly in the 18th and early 19th centuries. The information collected from the various archival books written by writers like J. B. Bradley Birt, W. W. Hunter, O' Malley, K.K.Dutta, K. S. Singh, Ranajit Guha and S. P. Sinha helped a lot in validating the facts related to the selected historical movements.

The researcher faced several challenges in conducting the archival study. As archival records are not easily accessible and their photocopy or scan is not permitted, there were accompanying issues with regard to place constraints as such documents can be analyzed only in the reading room of the archives. Assessing the records was a bit problematic job and time-consuming as well. Furthermore, the researcher has to rely on handwritten notes entirely. For retrieving the documents, the researcher had to depend on the reluctant staff at the institution holding the archival materials. At many times, they made excuses such as the requested documents are not available or had been misplaced or too old documents and cannot be retrieved. And the researcher was kept waiting on multiple occasions for more than hours. Few of those documents were retrieved later on another day when tried with different staff. The notes collected from archival sources and colonial documents were advanced by careful reading and making notes. Pieces of evidence of communication were marked to pull out the communicative aspects from the selected historical movements. Besides this, the researcher also collected some folklore and documentary films based on tribal revolts and movements to obtain more information about tribal movements.

In the fifth phase, the researcher visited Chandil to begin the CDM case study. During this phase, qualitative interviews, movement documents produced within the movement's boundaries and observation formed the foremost method in primary data collection. Secondary sources included newspaper articles and research journals. The respondent's selection in both the contemporary case studies for the interview was derived from the study's purpose rather than the population's representativeness concerns. To find candidates for an interview, the researcher initially relied on the activists to know about the people who participated in the movement and were willing to give interviews. Once the initial sets of interviewees were identified, the study using the snowball sampling techniques reached the other interviewees. The snowball technique was used because movement participants are now dispersed, and they live in different rehabilitation sites in remote places. Most of them work as laborers who were difficult to find in villages during day time. So, at the end of each interview, the interviewee was asked to refer to another potential respondent as it was not easy to get respondents readily willing to talk bearing a day's wage loss.

Although the interview guideline was prepared to lead the discussion, the respondent was given maximum opportunity to speak up on a new topic during the interview for a researcher to

get a new insight into the movement's internal affairs, if any. The choice of interview place and timing was also left on the respondent to make them feel comfortable and relaxed. But at times, the researcher faced challenges in conducting the interview. Tribals are incredibly social people who take pleasure in being in a group of two or three and enjoy chit-chat, something that came in the way of the researcher conducting one to one interviews. The interview was often threatened to be overtaken by an informal discussion and got interrupted time and again. During the fifth phase, a total of 17 semi-structured interviews were recorded along with the eight informal talks with the members of the protest community. The informal talks were conducted mainly to verify the researcher's observations of the movement community.

Besides this, the researcher also had to struggle in receiving written consent from them as most of them were scared of paperwork and did not trust the researcher since she was perceived as an outsider. In contrast, all of those who spoke, rather effortlessly, agreed on verbal consent, and the researcher had to be satisfied with such verbal consent on the recorder. This act of theirs has its root in their past experiences and their tradition. Tribal follows oral tradition and literature, which is derived from their belief system and culture. Their erudite knowledge, historical account, and literary work all are in oral forms, and they firmly believe that is real. For their faith in their oral culture, they always rely on spoken words and always stand by their words. Though the researcher explained that written consent has its use only for academic purposes, they were unwilling to believe her. Also, asking them for a written consent repeatedly was like disrespect for them, something better left and to be addressed by looking at other available reliable options for consent such as verbal consent on record.

The researcher's emphasis on written consent also made them wary as, in the past, they have been cheated many times when their land was transferred without their knowledge to other's names. Their past experiences and respect for the oral tradition limited them to verbal consent. Now even though most of them are educated and have wisdom, they avoid getting into written formalities, perhaps learned from past experiences. The tribe lives in both past and present by carrying forward their past remembrances and experiences in the form of orature, and a few of the past learning is like a norm for them.

Apart from conducting interviews, the researcher also engaged in informal conversations with the community members whenever she got the opportunity. She tried to understand their behavior and persona on various aspects of their socio-economic and political life with the main

focus on the pattern of their family, sources of income, their social and political engagement, difficulties being faced in availing compensation and rehabilitation grant and utilization. The descriptive information on these has been jotted down in the form of thick field notes. Besides this, the researcher used the observation method to get a holistic view of respondents' social world and took an explanatory account of their surroundings and their behavior during and after the interview to have more enriched and clarified data. The researcher's subjective views and reflection were also fairly recorded in the notes without contributing to any bias whatsoever.

Coding & Analysis

In the form of interview transcripts, memos, documents, and field notes, qualitative research produces relatively free forms of data that are often heterogeneous and diverse (Hahn, 2008). Subsequently, before starting the analysis, the researcher intelligently needs to work on data; as Strauss (1987) says, “the focus of analysis is not merely on collecting or ordering “a mass of data, but on *organizing many ideas* which have emerged from the analysis of the data”” (p, 22-23). Hence, the coding technique, a process of abstract thinking, was implied as it helps manage the data and focus the ideas embedded in data. For this, Strauss & Corbin's (1998) coding techniques were implied to manage and to have a proper understanding of data where the data emerging from the interview transcripts, movement documents, secondary documents, and field notes were thoughtfully categorized, after which the data were analyzed from various aspects. The coding was performed in multiple steps like open, axial and selective coding using Microsoft Excel sheet and Microsoft Word. The study opted for the coding techniques of Strauss & Corbin (1998) only to condense the data, and it did not integrate the codes into the true ‘Grounded theory.’ The coding exercise continued for a few months.

In open coding, the researcher mainly went through an exercise of severe thinking and reviewing data. The researcher got the terms of the initial codes by doing the in-vivo coding. The interview transcript's text, movement documents, secondary documents, memos, archival documents' notes and field notes were analytically analyzed word-by-word and line-by-line in open coding. After which, the numerous in-vivo codes obtained were carefully looked to mark and separate the paragraphs, which illustrated the information regarding the community, movement background and movement communication separately. The paragraphs which had the traces of communication — be it a message, medium or channel, communication act or receiver or communicator were given more attention. The researcher read the marked paragraphs and

words, again and again, to comprehend the sense of communication appearing out of it based on which the researcher started marking them as newspaper coverage, demonstration, public speech, meetings, wall writings, leaflets, discussions, Facebook, phone, teach-in, etc. While, based on the sense of the meaning the paragraphs made from which the information about the community and movement background appeared were labeled as a community leader, activist, political parties, movement participants, displacement, livelihood issues, corruption, education, situational grouping, movement group, social work, culture and ritual, police repression, etc. Later on, these labels turned up as the categories and subcategories. The categories and subcategories were marked as per the concept emerging from the codes. The demonstration, cultural communication, symbolic communication, rituals, rumors, meeting, leadership communication, civic association, ideology, mobilization, organizing, media relation and communication are a few of the categories and subcategories which emerged. Parallely, to further refine the conceptual framework, which was framed at the beginning of the research proposal, the researcher had to read literature according to these emerging categories and subcategories that helped modify the conceptual framework. The first exercise of in-vivo coding was done using Microsoft Word. As mentioned above, the other open coding steps were done in Microsoft Excel, where the relevant in-vivo codes and their text were exported to the excel sheet for easy handling.

After identifying the initial level of concepts and categories, axial coding was performed to make a connection in a new way between the categories and subcategories. Further, to achieve precision in categories and subcategories, situational and contextual analyses of the concepts were conducted. In the axial coding, the researcher mainly tried to get the context of the phenomena, the conditions which gave rise to it and the consequences into which it resulted. According to Strauss & Corbin (1998), the axial coding provides precision and density to the analysis. In this stage, data becomes more apparent, and it becomes easy for the researchers to mark the instances of variations and contradictions in data. It was the stage in coding when the researcher started organizing the emerging ideas and writing analytical notes and memos, which later helped structure the chapters and formed a significant portion of the content of the first draft of the chapters. The axial coding was followed by selective coding.

During selective coding, which was the final stage of the coding, the aim was to identify one or two of the core categories related to all the other subcategories. For selective coding, the study's objectives were once again referred to, keeping in mind the emerging concepts using

which the core categories like leadership communication, civil society, mobilization, and communication were finalized. As the study did not follow the grounded theory approach, the study used this core coding in structuring chapters, mainly four and five, which are based on the case studies. These core categories formed the sections in the chapters. Chapter four covered the social movement communication from the leadership and cultural communication perspective. Chapter five from the public sphere and civil society's view emerged out of the social movement. In this way, the coding techniques, apart from condensing the data, also helped structure the chapters.

Chapter 3

Situating the Study: Historical & Geographical Context

Introduction

Every group of people at its community level has unique characteristics, life attitudes, and approaches to deal with problems. Accordingly, tribes of India have taken up social movement as a self-protective approach to deal with the issues related to their livelihood and existence. Devalle (1992), in her study based on Jharkhand, spotted resistance, which she saw as a “part of the life of all subaltern sectors” and as a common heritage of all the indigenous people (p. 210). She notes long histories of resistance among the indigenous people that they have taken up for surviving both physically and socially. She finds indigenous people’s struggle different from that of other subalterns because of their “dimension of historico-cultural (ethnic) identity,” which gives extra meaning to their resistance (Devalle, 1992, p. 210). Today tribal reliance on the movement is so strong that despite the brutality of the police on countless occasions, they remain motivated to take the movement to its logical conclusion. Despite seventy-three years of India’s independence, the situation of tribes is more or less the same as that during colonial India from the perspective of struggles.

Tribal issues and movements have been subject matters of research. The early studies by renowned researchers like Guha (1986) and Singh (1966 & 1983a) have helped tribal movements and their struggle to gain a separate identity of their own. Their work still serves as the foundation for most of the studies on tribals. Guha (1986) and Singh (1966 & 1983a) have comprehensively recorded the events and occurrence of the tribal movements like Santhal Hul and Birsa Movement. But their studies have not concentrated on the analysis of the movement from a communication perspective. Their account of the movement happenings and a record of the occasions, however, provide enough prospects for analysis from the communication perspective. The tribes began their revolt long ago, and it is amply evident that despite no communication facility whatsoever, they were strongly organized and mobilized.

Thus, it is interesting to study how they used to communicate among themselves and with other members in distant places about the movement. They were also successful in mobilizing

people to gain strength and volume to their movements. However, before getting into the communicational aspects of the tribal movements, it is imperative to understand the tribal community and its historical and geographical context in which the study is situated.

Hence to bring in the community and geographical area under study, this chapter is divided into several sections. The opening section deals with the conceptualization of the concept 'tribal' first in the Indian context and subsequently as perceived around the world. The next section is a critical review of the tribal situation in India. The penultimate section introduces the geographical context of the study 'Jharkhand,' where the case studies for this study were situated. In the last section, a few tribal movements from Jharkhand are discussed from their communication and strategic perspectives, thereby setting the context for the analysis of the selected case studies.

On the whole, this chapter goes through social, cultural and political circumstances of the tribal situation in India and tries to understand the context and imperatives of the tribal community, which is engaged in a social movement for a long time. In doing so, it covers the first objective of the study, and it seeks to provide answers to the question regarding the socio-cultural background of the tribal people who do social movements.

Tribes in India and Worldwide

Conceptualizing tribal in the Indian context: The word 'tribe' refers to the social category of aboriginal inhabitants of a particular place. Colonization has a significant role in producing social identities and categories based on caste, religion, and region in India. Similarly, the tribe as social identity is an outcome of a colonial social categorization process and a part of the colonial information-gathering exercise (Upadhyaya, 1996). The British administrators-cum-anthropologists were the first to use the term tribal in India and are responsible for creating the social category of the tribe within India (Singh, 1978). It is a colonial construction that primarily originated from the writing of those times and is yet to be correctly conceptualized (Devalle, 1992). It was primarily used to segregate the Indian population based on civilization by the colonial anthropologists. They used the term to denote the group that lived in isolation and was barbaric and primitive. This was part of the British strategy to "comprehend and govern a complex populace" (Upadhyaya, 1996, p.3). Hence it was a strategy to strengthen political hold in India.

When the British came across such primitive communities, who were also rich in natural resources, they got fascinated and somehow wanted to have control over them and their resources. Towards this, they appointed their administrative people as an anthropologist to study them and their institutions. Information gathered thus helped the British to understand these communities better and also ensure trouble-free administration in these areas. When the British administrators-cum-anthropologist, began writing their government-sponsored ethnographic reports they used the term tribe to denote the people of indigenous communities. Previously, the term tribe was famous in the writings of European travelers' accounts in the 15th and 16th centuries to describe the people of non-European countries of the South who were at the primal stage of human evolution (Misra, 2013). The legacy of this Eurocentric notion was inherited by the British appointed anthropologists in India. When they started writing their reports, they found the members of these communities in the same primitive stage of life. The latter kept themselves aloof from the mainstream society. However, not all anthropologists used the same term. They used different names and categories to describe them, even while not explaining the reason behind doing so. With the colonial writers using diverse nomenclature to describe them, what followed was confusion, something which remains even to date when it comes to the claim of the indigenous status.

The various nomenclatures denoted to them, especially in the Census of India reports, have never been uniform. When we go through the historical perspective of nomenclatures of tribal communities, the first expression which comes across is the 'Forest Tribes.' The phrase Forest Tribes was used in 1893 in the *Census of India, 1891: General Report* by J. A. Baines, the then Commissioner for Census of India. He described this expression as the people who follow "tribal form of religion" (Baines, 1893, p. 158). Then in 1903, 'Animists' was used by H. H. Risley and E. A. Gait in *Report on the Census of India, 1901*. Risley & Gait (1903) used Animists for the person who followed "Animism," which they referred to as "an exceedingly crude form of religion in which magic is the predominant element" (p. 356). E. A. Gait in 1913 used the term "Animistic Tribes" in the report of the *Census of India, 1911*. He used the category of Animistic tribes in the census to refer to "all the pre-Hindu religions of India" (Gait, 1913, p. 129). By this, he intended to describe those tribes who had "not yet made a practice of worshipping Hindu gods and have not remodeled their original tribal organization on the lines of Hindu caste" (Gait, 1913, p. 130). In 1924, J. T. Marten, in the report of the *Census of India*,

1921, replaced the category Animistic tribe with “Hill and Forest Tribes” and Animism with “Tribal Religion.” He made these changes because he believed Animism failed to “represent the essence of the census aspect of religion” (Marten, 1924, p.111), which according to him, was to make communal distinction instead of recording personal aspects of religion. The category ‘Hill and Forest Tribes’ was further replaced by ‘Primitive Tribes’ in 1933 by J. H. Hutton in the report of the *Census of India, 1931*. However, he did not define primitive tribes in his writings. And in the 1941 census, it was termed only as ‘Tribe’ by W.W.M. Yeatts, which in 1950 and onwards was finally replaced by the constitutional term ‘Scheduled Tribes.’ While the diverse nomenclatures were used only for administrative purposes, the differences in the census during the colonial period continue to date. Before colonization, no such distinction between tribe and non-tribe was drawn in Indian society.

In the post-independence era, three terms, *adivasi*, tribal, and Scheduled Tribe (ST), are widely used to describe the aboriginal people of India. The term *adivasi* was a neologism coined in the 1930s by the Jharkhand Movement leaders to signify a unified tribal identity in a single term (Ghosh, 2006). *Adivasi* is a Sanskrit term made by the fusion of two words ‘*adi*’ and ‘*vasi*.’ The word ‘*adi*’ means the earliest time, and ‘*vasi*’ means a resident. Therefore, *adivasi* factually means indigenous people who are supposed to be the first residents of India. In view of this, the World Bank and the Indian Council of Indigenous People (ICIP) in 1991 recognized the Scheduled Tribes of India as an Indigenous group (Singh, 2006). However, the Indian government has never officially recognized the status of indigenous to tribes; the tribes assign this status of ‘First Settlers’ to them, themselves (Fernandes, 2013). Thus, there is no legitimacy of using the indigenous term for tribes. In India, the official term for them is still Scheduled Tribes, which is a constitutional and administrative concept (Baiju, 2011).

Further, the term Scheduled Tribes does not represent the entire group of the existent indigenous people of India purely in the ethnic sense. It does not cover the overall communities of the indigenous people who all may be descendants of those who lived in the Indian subcontinent. As a fact, Scheduled Tribes as a term is area-specific, which was envisaged to cast the socio-economic advancement levels of a particular group of communities and is not an absolute ethnic status (Bhengra, Bijoy & Luithui, 1998).

Whereas Scheduled Tribes factually refers just to the list of communities listed in the Schedule V and VI of the Article 366 (25) in accordance with the Article 342 of the Indian

Constitution which prescribes only the procedure to be followed in identifying the Scheduled Tribes and contains no definition of the term Scheduled. Hence, the Scheduled Tribe in India is an administrative category and not purely an indigenous category. Another list of communities Scheduled Caste in our constitution listed in the same section of 'special provisions related to specific classes' differ from the Scheduled Tribe. These two administrative categories were included in the constitution to recognize and protect the marginalized groups. The constitution neither defines nor lays down any criteria for specifying Scheduled Tribes.

So there are no fixed criteria for the preparation of these administrative lists. The President of India under Section 342(1) has a right to issue public notification for preparing and making changes in the schedule list of V and VI of the Constitution. It is an ongoing process that differs from state to state and from time to time. For the first time, the broad criteria of identifying Scheduled Tribe were described only in 2001 by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs in its Annual Report of 2001-02 on the basis of the five criteria recommended by the Lokur Committee³ (1965).

The criteria are as follows:

- Indications of primitive traits;
- Distinctive culture;
- The shyness of contact with the community at large;
- Geographical isolation;
- And backwardness.

Based on these criteria, 705 ethnic groups scattered over 30 different states/UTs in India (Ministry of Tribal Affairs Government of India, 2013) have been notified as Scheduled Tribe. The concentration of tribals in India is in three regions: North-Eastern Region (NER), Central Tribal Region (CTR), and other states/UTs. The North-Eastern region is administered as per the provisions of Schedule VI and the Central Tribal Region and other States/UTs are administered as the provisions of Schedule V of the Indian Constitution.

In Schedule VI, there is a provision for the creation of autonomous 'District Councils' and 'Regional Councils,' which are primarily representative bodies and hence have the power to

³ The Lokur Committee was constituted under the chairmanship of B. N. Lokur in 1965 to revise the list of SC & ST. Government of India: Department of Social Security Report (1965), *'The report on the advisory committee on the revision of the lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes'*

exercise certain legislative and judicial functions. However, in Schedule V, there is no such provision. There is only a provision to constitute 'Tribal Advisory Councils' that can advise on the welfare and advancement of tribes but have no power to exercise any legislative or judicial functions. The same administrative differences were also maintained in the colonial period by the British.

Many disturbances occurred when the British percolated to tribal areas in plains and hilly areas. To counter them British adopted the policy of separate administration by notifying tribal areas as 'Scheduled Areas.' Among 'Scheduled Areas,' the plain region was easy to administer in comparison to the hilly regions of the north-eastern states. So, under the Government of India Act, 1935, they further categorized the 'Scheduled Areas' as 'Partially Excluded Areas' and 'Wholly Excluded Areas.' After independence, the 'Partially Excluded Areas' were brought under the Schedule V, and 'Wholly Excluded Areas' were kept under Schedule VI. The same approach of excluding tribal from standard administration continued.

On the whole, the tribals in both the schedule lists constitute the marginalized groups of the Indian population and one-fourth of the world's tribal population lives in India. 8.6% of India's population is tribe, which constitutes 11.3% of the rural population and 2.8% of the urban population (Ministry of Tribal Affairs Government of India, 2013). More than half of the Scheduled Tribe population is concentrated in central India and hilly regions covered with forest.

World-wide concept of the tribe: Tribes are known by different terms world-wide. There is no universal definition. It is interchangeably used with many words like native, aboriginal, and hunter-gatherers around the globe. However, in a broad sense, all these terms refer to the first settlers of the particular geographical area who are ethnically different in terms of their culture, language and ideology from the rest of the society's members in which they exist. In 1957 the International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention No. 107 took the initiative to distinguish colonized peoples from their colonizers by denoting them as an 'Indigenous People' (Khan & Rahman, 2012). The distinction was worked out to protect and integrate them into independent countries. However, there is no internationally accepted precise and philosophically coherent definition of indigenous people; one of the commonly cited definitions is of José R. Martinez Cobo. Cobo, while conducting a study titled '*Study of the Problems of Discrimination against Indigenous populations*' with the United Nations Economic and Social Council in 1986, came up with a working definition of Indigenous community.

Cobo's definition of Indigenous community as cited in Khan & Rahman's (2012) work is as follows:

Indigenous communities, peoples, and nationals are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions, and legal system.

(Cobo as cited in Khan & Rahman, 2012, pp.15-16).

Xaxa (1999), based on the definition of Cobo cited above, has summarized the norms of being called indigenous in three simple aspects:

First, the indigenous are those people who lived in the country to which they belong before colonization or conquest by people from outside the country or the geographical region. Secondly, they have become marginalized as an aftermath of *the* [emphasis added] conquest and colonization....Thirdly, such people govern their life more in terms of their own social, economic, and cultural institution than the laws applicable to the society or the country at large (Xaxa, 1999, p. 3590).

This definition is not entirely accepted by all the countries, and hence the indigenous term remains subjectively and objectively undefined. There are core politics around the notion of this definition because of which many countries deny accepting it in full.

The United Nations (UN) declared the right of 'Rights of Indigenous People' in Geneva on June 29, 2006, after which the concept and the application of the indigenous people have been denied by many countries of Asia. The opposition came from countries like China, Indonesia, Bangladesh, India and Myanmar, which hold a diverse opinion on the rights of the indigenous people (Kingsbury, 2008). In India lawfully, the term Scheduled Tribe is used instead of indigenous people (Biaju, 2011). However, the term indigenous people have been increasingly and extensively used in synonyms with Scheduled Tribe, tribal, *Adivasi*, and aboriginal beyond the disciplines by scholars and administrators in their writings and reports.

In 1957 when one of the specialized agencies of UN, The International Labour Organization (ILO), deliberated the term 'indigenous people' in its Covenant-107 to articulate

the need to integrate the indigenous and tribal people, India had no objection to the use of the word (Xaxa, 1999). When in 1989, ILO Convention No. 169 sought to provide legal protection of indigenous people, which is a precursor of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), a number of states fearing secession denied accepting the indigenous status. They reasoned that it qualifies the indigenous people to exercise their right to self-determination (Daes, 2008). The right to self-determination as per the covenants of the international laws on human rights like International Covenant on Economic, Social & Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and International Covenant on Civil & Political Rights (ICCPR) as well as in accordance to United Nation General Assembly (UNGA) 1970 charter is based on the expression of free choice of a person. It extends to the political, economic, social and cultural rights of a person in determining his/her destiny. According to Article 8 of the Helsinki, Final Act, 1975, the right to self-determination is given to the people under the Section 'Equal Right and Self-determination' which says:

The participating States will respect the equal rights of peoples and their right to self-determination, acting at all times in conformity with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and with the relevant norms of international law, including those relating to the territorial integrity of States.

(Conference on security and cooperation in Europe, Final Act, Helsinki August 1, 1975 ,n.d., para 45)

In April 1979, India accepted covenants of both laws (stated above), which were adopted by UNGA on December 16, 1966, but with the declaration, which limited the scope of rights to a specific context. Thus it becomes necessary to comprehend India's decelerating relating to it in order to understand its stand on the right of self-determination and indigenous status, which made a deceleration as such:

The Government of the Republic of India declares that the words 'the right of self-determination' appearing in those articles apply only to the peoples under foreign domination and that these words do not apply to sovereign independent States or to a section of a people or nation - which is the essence of national integrity.

(UN, 1986, p. 441)

Thus, from this position, the right to self-determination cannot be practiced in India as post-independence the country is free from foreign domination and is an independent state.

Accordingly, India refused to sign ILO Convention No. 169 and dismissed the term ‘indigenous people’ for its tribal population. Firstly, because that would have qualified the tribal population to practice the right to self-determination, and secondly, because of migrations in India, it is difficult to mark original inhabitants. The groups which may be indigenous concerning the country as a whole may not be indigenous in respect of their settlement in a given territory (Xaxa, 1999). So, in India, there is no acceptance of indigenous status and the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous People. However, India holds a concern on the issues related to the protection and integration of the tribal people under the Schedule V and VI of the Indian Constitution.

Despite this, there has been a continuous demand on the part of the tribals to grant them the status of indigenous people as it would give them the rights included in the Article 4 and Article 8 of UNDRIP. These are the rights which relate to the right to self-determination, autonomy or self-government and on matters about their land rights as most of the tribal movements are formed around the issues concerning these rights. Regardless of their constant demand, the Indian government has kept on rejecting their demands and refers to them only by the constitutional term ‘Scheduled Tribe’ whose Hindi translation in the constitution is ‘*anusuchit janjati*.’

This study distancing itself from the controversy and politics involved around the notion of indigenous status, which is yet to be legalized, preferred to use the term ‘tribe’ in its writing. However, the people of Jharkhand (area understudy) like to call themselves ‘*adivasi*.’ The term ‘tribe’ was preferred over the word ‘adivasi’ because of two reasons. First, not everyone is familiar with the term ‘*adivasi*’ which is a Sanskrit term as already mentioned. Second because, as pointed out previously, ‘*adivasi*’ means ‘aboriginals,’ which factually indicates to the first residents of India, which is not the constitutionally recognized status for them.

Tribal Situation in India: A Critical View

Beginning of development in India: Following the western countries after independence, India emphasized the rapid growth through various development projects like damming, roads, mining, power plants, heavy industries, and large infrastructure projects. It arguably accelerated India’s growth but, at the same time, contributed to the economic inequalities since the cost of these developments were often unequally borne by the section of the society which is most poor and marginalized (Haldar & Abraham, 2015). As these

development projects were initiated through a massive acquisition of land, millions of people got displaced from their homes and traditional forms of livelihood. The displacement rate was more in the under-explored resource-rich regions where people were often displaced by using expressions like ‘national interest,’ ‘public purpose’ and ‘greater good.’ Even leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru appealed to people to assist the government in making the projects successful by donating lands in the name of ‘national interest.’ Roy (1999) in her study quotes Jawaharlal Nehru speaking to the oustees of the Hirakud dam in 1948, where he said: “If you are to suffer, you should suffer in the interest of the country” (para 1).

Dungdung (2010), commenting on the Indian administrators’ attitude on the monopoly of the natural resources, remarked how the dilemma of the tribal community had remained the same as it was in the British era when it came to the extraction of natural resources. The policymakers had always perceived the resources available in the tribal belt as Mallavarapu (2008, p. 579) puts it as “the property of the nation” and had exploited it in the name of national interest by overlooking the tribal communities living in these areas since time immemorial. It happens because the constitution has kept the customary right of the tribal outside the law, and it does not recognize the resources found in their areas as their livelihood. And likewise, the government, in the name of the national interest and development projects, has continued to exploit their habitat. This exploitation has continued as Fernandes (2013) puts in his study because “more than 50% of the mineral deposits, including 80% of the coal and 45% of iron ore are, in their areas” (p. 386). Thus, the majority of development projects are located in the traditional habitat of the tribes, which have resulted in problems of land alienation and displacement, threatening the survival of tribes in those areas (Mallavarapu, 2008).

However, the dilemma is that after vacating the land in the name of the national interest, the benefits of the projects rarely reach the displaced people. Due to the lack of skills and knowledge necessary for the jobs, displaced people are often excluded from the new employment opportunities generated by the projects which often go in the hand of the skilled and knowledgeable people. Halder & Abraham (2015) in their study recognized this trend as the indirect effect of the displacement where the displaced had to suffer from the ‘double vulnerability,’ one being displaced from their land and second of being marginalized from the modern labor market due to the mismatch between the required skills and inherited skills. Moreover, the jobs created through such projects are often insufficient. Due to the power politics

involved in these development projects, the employment opportunity generated is often given to the people who have political approaches or to those who have the power to influence the job givers economically.

The impact of displacement is not the same on all the displaced people; it is uneven as certain groups suffer more than others because of the differences in socio-economic status and gender (Parasuraman, 1999). Besides this, the impacts of displacement have extended effects that continue for generations because of which one who is displaced and is not taken care of in terms of extensive rehabilitation and resettlement continues to remain poor. It usually happens because displacement has multiple effects, and directly or indirectly, it destabilizes the community support system (Parasuraman, 1999). Displacement not only relocates people but also socially disarticulates them. It results in landlessness, homelessness, and nearly everyone becomes jobless. Though attempts have been made to compensate for the loss, by way of cash compensation and rehabilitation work, the efforts were not made genuinely because of which the victims of the forced and involuntary displacements had to bear the major share of socio-economic consequences.

Before 1980, the projects were planned and taken up without the concern of the local people, and those displaced were supposed to look for self-rehabilitation. Non-consideration of R&R by development projects on the latter phase resulted in violations of many human rights, which forced the people in dismal situations to insist on the proper R&R policy. The active voice for the R&R for the first time echoed in the *Narmada Bachao Andolan* from where later onwards it was taken up and amplified by other similar movements of that time, forming a persuasive discourse around it. One of the first initiatives in this direction was made by the Ministry of Welfare in 1985 by forming a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. B. D. Sharma on the rehabilitation policy for the displaced tribal people.

However, it was only in 1993 the Ministry of Rural Development came up with the draft of a national policy on R&R for the displaced people. The draft was revised twice, in 1994 and 1998, before its finalization in 2003. Finally, almost after two decades, the national policy on rehabilitation was enacted on February 17, 2004. However, the Ministry of Tribal Affairs (n.d.), in its report, *Annual Report, 2006-07*, has criticized the policy for its many limitations as it had only provisions for the compensation of asset and not for the livelihoods. Moreover, the nature of compensation payable and period for the payment of compensation were not well defined due

to which, even after the completion of the projects, displaced people were not able to receive compensation. The cash compensation failed to do the resettlement sustainably as the compensation amount in most of the projects was paid after a long wait and in multiple installments. The disbursement of the compensation amount was delayed for several reasons. The foremost reason was the improper planning of releasing funds and making payments. The process of getting cash compensation was not easy for a poor and illiterate person. The unfamiliarity of the documentation and the payment process took them to the middlemen, who further exploited them by demanding a commission. Hence, rarely people got their full compensation amount. Thus, witnessing shortcomings and consequences, there has been a continuous appeal by sufferers to review the policy. Though the policy has been reviewed and revised multiple times, India has failed to accomplish satisfactory rehabilitation and resettlement work.

As per the report of the UN Working Group on Human Rights '*Human Rights in India status Report 2012*,' about one million people are being displaced every year in India since independence for development projects. India has the highest number of development displaced populations in the world. Almost 164 lakh people were displaced for the construction of dams between 1951 to 1990 without the concern of resettlement (Mohanty, 2005). Among those displaced, most are tribal people. Human Rights Watch, too in its *World Report-2006*, had stated this fact of high displacement rate among the Indian tribes. This type of development has led to an additional disparity among the tribal people who were already marginalized and poor. Displacement has affected tribal people economically, socially and culturally. They have lost their traditional livelihood and ancestral lands, which have also taken away their cultural rights over the burial land and the megalithic burial sites. Here it would be notable to mention the remark of one activist from Jharkhand on development-induced displacement recorded by Louis (2000) in his study *Marginalization of Tribe*. The remark was recorded by him during the protest against the Netarhat Field Firing Range project in Palamu district of Jharkhand where one activist in his speech raising a question said, "Why all the dams, factories, and firing ranges are built only in the tribal areas," and why the responsibility of developing the country solely lies on tribal and no-one else (Louis, 2000, p. 4089). Encounters with non-tribal have always been bitter and painful for the tribal. Non-tribals have always exploited them in the name of development. Their unhappy memories and experiences with the outside world are articulated in their folklore

and poetry (Singh, 1997). Across the country, various tribal movements and protests are the consequences of their exploitation in different forms.

An uneven gain of development: Kind of ‘development’ which has been worked out throughout the past, has not resulted in satisfying outcomes and has surfaced into an uneven development. Indian society has taken a form where only a few can avail of the comforts of development, and the remaining majority struggles for the basic dignified life (Vilanilam, 2009). The development initiative which was supposed to solve the problems has now turned into the source of new sets of problems like displacement, loss of livelihood, and disparity. The mega-development projects have resulted in the transfer of resources from the weaker section of society to more privileged ones (Mohanty, 2005). Such a revealing reality has compelled the intellectuals, economists, and policymakers to think about their understanding of development.

Vilanilam (2009) says development is a constant human factor, and it has no ends; it does not end in any country at any time. However, one has to think about its priority, and the kind of development one aspires and at what cost. In this aspect, India needs to work out its strategy of ‘development’ by taking into consideration her diversity and potential. The development initiatives so far taken in our country have uprooted the moral and the social web of indigenous people and converted them into the marginalized category (Mishra, 2002) since tribal for years have remained marginalized and invisible in the context of development and opportunities. As Guha (2010) says, “their relative and oftentimes absolute deprivation is more striking when compared with that of other disadvantaged groups such as Dalits and Muslims” (para. 5). Mahapatra (1991), in his study, finds that the group who pays the cost of development never gets the benefits of it (Mahapatra, cited in Mishra, 2002). Sharma (2012), in the aspect of development projects and schemes of tribes, says it is not that projects have failed; it is the authorities that have failed to ensure the project utility to all by doing favor only to a particular group of people. Besides this, Sharma (2012) also advised changing the process and practice of development wherein experts are encouraged to deconstruct the hegemony of the development process, which sees tribal as an object of development rather than the partners in development. In line with this, the same idea is put forward by Ambagudia (2011), who says that the tribal should be encouraged to enhance their ability to develop themselves by allowing their rights over their land and livelihood by seeing them as an equal partner in development.

Jharkhand: Site Description

Jharkhand, the 28th state of the nation, was created on November 15, 2000. It was carved out from the southern districts of its erstwhile state Bihar. Jharkhand's total geographical area is 79,714.00 sq.kms, which covers most of the Chotanagpur plateau, which is the continental part of the Deccan plateau. It is called Jharkhand as most of its territory is covered with forest. Out of the total geographical area, 29.61% of the area is forest area. The word Jharkhand is the fusion of two words '*jhar*' which stands for grove and '*khand*' which stand for the terrain.

It is a landlocked state and shares its boundary with Bihar, Odisha, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, and Chhattisgarh. Ranchi is the state capital, and Dumka is the sub-capital. Apart from this, it has 24 districts, which are further divided into the five divisions for proper administration -- Palamu, North Chotanagpur, South Chotanagpur, Kolhan, and Santhal Parganas.

Demography: As per the 2011 census, the population of Jharkhand is 3,29,88,134, out of which 86,45,042 is scheduled tribe constituting 26.21 % of the population of the state (Ministry of Tribal Affairs Government of India, 2014, p. 7). At present, there are 32 tribes in Jharkhand and accounts for 8.29% of the total ST population of the country (Ministry of Tribal Affairs Government of India, 2013). During the 1872 census, only 18 communities were annexed as tribes, which increased to 26 communities in the 1941 census and 30 communities in the 1951 census. The latter two communities were added in the Annexure on June 8, 2003, to form 32 tribal communities (Minz, 2010). After which there has been no further revision in the list.

According to the Ministry of Tribal Affairs' *Statistical Profile of Scheduled Tribes in India-2013* report in Jharkhand, Santhals accounts for 31.8% of the total tribal population, followed by Oraon (19%), Munda (14.2%), and Ho (10.7%) making up more than ten percent of the total tribal population. Other tribes such as Kharwar (2.87%), Lohra (2.50%), Bhumij (2.42%), and Kharia (2.26%) have a share of less than 3% each while Mahli (1.76%), Mal Pahariya (1.57%), Bedia (1.15%), and Chero (1.10%) have a share between 1% to 2% each. The tribes like Karmali, Gond, Generic tribes, Kisan, Chik Baraik, Kora, Sauria Paharia, Binjhia, Asur, Korwa, Paharia, and Birhor contributes less than 1% while the most marginalized tribes are Savar, Baiga, Bathudi, Birjia, Gorait, Banjara, and Khond with less than 0.01%.

In Jharkhand, nine out of the thirty tribes fall under the Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG). PVTG are the communities within the tribal communities characterized by a shallow development index. They are Asur, Birhor, Birajia, Korwa, Savar, Pahariya (Baiga), Mal

Pahariya, and Souriya Pahariya (Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, 2013, Table 1.25). All over India, there are 75 Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs), which means 12% of the PVTGs are in Jharkhand. Prehistorically Asur, Kharia, and Virhore communities were the primitive tribes of this region (Minz, 2010). Among them, the Asur community is considered as the most ancient living tribes of Jharkhand (Minz & Hansda, 2010). It now falls under the PVTG. The tribes in Jharkhand are underprivileged as 45.1 % of the urban and 54.2% of the rural tribes are below the poverty line (Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, 2013, Table 7.4).

Socio-economic circumstance: While both tribal and non-tribal people habituate Jharkhand, the state is predominantly known for the tribal people and tribal culture. Besides tribal, non-tribal constitutes Hindu, Muslim, Sikhs, and Christians. As per the census report 2011, Hindus are in the majority, followed by Muslims. Both the Hindu and Muslim populations are better off economically compared to the tribal population. Among the tribal people, converted tribal Christians are in a better situation. Tribal Christians are the ethnoreligious group in Jharkhand who follows Christianity along with the tribal culture and traditions. Christianity arrived in the Chotanagpur region in 1845 through Gossner Evangelical Lutheran missionaries with the motive of evangelical work, but mass conversion started in 1885 (Sahay, 1968). Missionary work, especially in the field of health and education, played a significant role in the socio-economic advancement of the tribal population in the region and has also contributed to their political awareness and social upliftment. Although missionaries have worked side by side along with the government for the development of the tribal population since colonial time, tribals are still backward compared to the non-tribal populace.

Tribals in Jharkhand derive their social and cultural values system from their tribal beliefs, which is based on the cooperation and humanizing aspect of communitarianism and equality. Equality among the tribe of Jharkhand can be observed both culturally and festively when '*karma*' and '*sarhul*' festivals are jointly celebrated in the community, followed by the collective dance. In the tribal community, there is no concept of individual dancing. They always dance by forming a group which further strengthens their community bonding. On the other side, their society is organized by the clan system and the indigenous federal system of government. The indigenous federal system of governance has been recognized by the law under the Panchayats Extension to Scheduled Areas (PESA) Act 1996. Besides this, they believe in a close

association with nature and lead an egalitarian life. Most of their cultural and religious practices are derived from nature, but because of the discourse of modern economy, polity, and development, their indigenous social and political structure has been undermined, and their social life is continuously under alteration.

Furthermore, constitutionally, Jharkhand is declared as a 'Scheduled Areas' under Schedule 5 of Article 244 (1) of the Constitution, and hence it has special administrative provisions of 'Tribal Sub-plan' for the socio-economic development of the tribal in the region. The overall socio-economic condition of the state is not good, and it is generally considered among the poor states. Political instability, less employment opportunity, low literacy rate, and politics of development has worsened the socio-economic condition of the people. These factors have emerged as significant machinery for the marginalization and poverty of the people. According to the 2016 report of the Rural Development Department of Jharkhand, 39.1% of the state's population is Below the Poverty line (BPL). Among the BPL families, most are from the tribal community, which covers 49% of the tribal population in the state.

On the other hand, Jharkhand being the wealthiest state in terms of mineral deposits has failed to have the desired economic growth. Despite various industrial hubs like Bokaro, Ranchi, Giridih, Dhanbad, and Jamshedpur, the unemployment rate of the state is 3.1 % (Government of Jharkhand, n.d.). Among the working force, 62.4 % are self-employed, and only 10.2 % of the people are regular employees (Government of Jharkhand, n.d.). In the face of inadequate employment opportunities, the youth migrates to the neighboring cities. According to one of the articles in the Times of India (2017), yearly, more than 5% of the working force from Jharkhand migrates for jobs and livelihood to neighboring cities. Jha (2016) considers the loss of natural assets to be the leading cause for the migration. Whatsoever be the reason for migration, the truth is that it has added to the problem like human trafficking. Human trafficking is a severe issue in Jharkhand. Many incidents have been reported when false promises of the job were made by the traffickers to mislead the poor and needy people of the state. Women among them are the principal victims. Women are trafficked for the purpose of prostitution, domestic servitude, forced marriage, and surrogacy. As per the National Crime Records Bureau Ministry of Home Affairs (n.d. p.513), out of 155 victims trafficked from Jharkhand in the year 2016, 130 were women. Taking into consideration the increase in women trafficking, Ahmad (2018) calls trafficking as a mockery to women empowerment. In recent years Jharkhand has emerged as the

primary site of human trafficking. In 2016 alone, 109 cases of human trafficking were officially recorded in Jharkhand (National Crime Records Bureau Ministry of Home Affairs, n.d.). Besides this, many cases go unrecorded. The United State of America in its report '*2019 Trafficking in Persons Report: India*' states how authorities in Jharkhand adjust the official statistics by registering the 'trafficking cases' as 'missing cases' to lessen the number of trafficking cases. These statistics confirm that the social and economic situation in Jharkhand is very disgraceful and distressful, mainly from the perspective of marginalized tribal people.

Political situation: Politically, Jharkhand is not a stable state. It is known for its political instability since its inception and has always been in the national news because of its political alliances, regional politics, and people's movement. Besides national political parties like Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) and Indian Congress Party, regional parties like Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) and Jharkhand Vikas Morcha (JVM) are significant players. Until now, the state has seen nine governments. Both Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM) and Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) have formed their government four times, and three times it has been under the President's rule. The fall of governments and corruption involved in governance is the reason for the backwardness of the state. In 2014, when BJP after its win in the fourth state assembly election in Jharkhand declared Raghubar Das as the first non-tribal chief minister, it was vehemently opposed by the tribal people. Jharkhand being dominantly a tribal-state, has chosen nine times tribal leaders as its chief minister. Among the six chief ministers so far, Raghubar Das is the only non-tribal chief minister who comes from Chhattisgarh. This move of BJP in political aspects is seen as the most significant move in Jharkhand politics. Kumar (2018), in the context of politics, sees this change as the opening to the 'detrribalization of governance' in Jharkhand. Though the transformation is yet to affect, from the political perspective, it is being considered as the defining moment for the mainstream and tribal politics of Jharkhand.

Tribal politics in Jharkhand forms its agenda mainly from the tribal issues related to land, and identity. Land for tribal is sacred; hence, tribal politics spins around it. The tribe does not see land as a commodity or property; they see it as the very base for their identity and existence (Rupavath, 2009). A similar connotation was represented in the 1961 report of the Dhebar Commission '*Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission 1960-61 Report*,' where it was recognized that "the tribal people are bound to their land by many and intimate ties. Their feeling for it is something more than mere possessiveness" (p. 121). The idea that the land is essential

and fundamental for tribal identity is widely endorsed in most of the literature based on tribal (Trivedi, 1993). The early advocating and continuous articulation of this idea until today at numerous platforms have established the stable ground for tribal politics on land and people's movement against land alienation and acquisition. Today in Jharkhand, most of the movement is based on territorial instinct.

The territorial instinct phenomenon is not new for them; they have inherited it since the beginning. The analysis of the notable tribal revolts, insurgencies, and movements that occurred in the past in this region like Kol Insurgency, Santhal Hul, Birsa Ulgulan, and Jharkhand Movement all support this actuality. In reality, the land is not a piece of terrain; it has a broad connotation. The land has much social, economic, religious, and political significance of which tribes are well aware. They see land including its vegetation, forestation and including all its inhabitants (all life forms), and they also socioculturally value them. That is why struggles in Jharkhand are generally perceived as the struggle for '*Jal, Jangal, and Jemin*' (water, forest, and land).

Jharkhand and its abundant natural resources: Jharkhand has been witness to one of the most protracted tribal struggles in eastern India. The history of the struggle is more than 200 years. The struggle of the tribal population of this region has been documented both in colonial and independent India. The struggle for autonomy has produced an influential leadership culture in this area. The leadership outcome of the Jharkhand Movement continued even after statehood was granted in 2000, but the new state Jharkhand, also failed to respond to the tribal interests. Despite the immense potential for development, the state has, for years now, remained weak and deprived. The higher natural resource endowments of Jharkhand stand in stark contrast with its inhabitants' poverty (Areeparampil, 1996). The objective behind the state formation has completely collapsed. Tribal remains a marginalized group in Jharkhand and a victim of social inequality and economic deprivation.

The joint struggle against exploitation and displacement still continues. Jharkhand has become a place of tribal rebellions, unrest, and movements. The main reason for the state's failure is a matter of study. However, some studies based on the relationship between natural resources and conflicts argue that the area with significant natural resources is likely to witness adverse economic, political and social unrest and insurgency (Bannon & Collier, 2003; Ross, 2003 & 2005). Some other studies suggest that it is more liable if the tribal people inhabit the

region because tribal communities have strong material and symbolic links to nature (Kennedy, 2014).

In Jharkhand, which is endowed with mineral resources and also boasts of a sizable tribal population, the utilization of natural resources has led to the destruction of the natural environment and often resulted in the displacement of the people living there. Thus, abundant natural resources are one of the reasons for the slow growth of the state and the unrest in tribal areas. Mohanty (2007), shares the same view that an area rich in natural resources will always be backward because it gets exploited as the colonies of capitalist and imperialist countries in the process of development. The central tribal belt rich in natural resources like Odisha, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh support this fact. However, among them, Jharkhand is most unprivileged and deprived.

The political and social condition of Jharkhand has also contributed to this situation. Rosser (2006), in his study based on a '*Literature Survey of the Political Economy of Resource Curse*,' concluded that the various adverse outcomes following abundant natural resources are by no means conclusive. Political and social variables also mediate the relationship between natural resource wealth and development outcomes are shaped by a series of chronological and other factors in each case. Thus, the unstable and fragile governance of the state, which has seen nine coalition governments in 20 years, has been a political disaster. It bestowed the political actors the opportunities to line their pockets with big corporate houses. BJP, after coming to power, took on the policies based on the neoliberal economic policy (Basu, 2012), for which even the few provisions of the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act has been nullified. The government had put forward a development vision by prioritizing industrialization through commercial exploitation of its rich mineral and forest reserves (Basu, 2012). Besides these, many studies have concluded that abundant presence of natural resources leads to negative development when political elites use them to pursue their various programmatic and political objectives (Rosser, 2006), which stands right in the case of Jharkhand also.

Political parties in power took little interest in issues of tribal development and in the objectives for which Jharkhand was formed. By 2008, the Jharkhand government and private companies had signed 74 Memoranda of Understanding (MoUs) with a total investment of Rs. 2, 95,857.75 crores (Chakravorti, 2013). As part of these projects, land on a huge scale was to be acquired from the community. The government kept no records on the estimated land required

for 74 MoUs and showed no details on the land acquired for such projects after 2008 (Chakravorti, 2013), even when the land acquisition has continued and people have continued to suffer from land loss. The government, in some way, has become the agents of increasing displacement and poverty. Protests, movements, insurgency, and Naxalism are the consequences of the state's misplaced priorities and displacement experienced by the local communities (Basu, 2012). Thus, historical as well as present social, political, and economic conditions all collectively have contributed to the pathetic circumstance and the complex nature of this state.

Tribal Movements

Frequent unrest was witnessed in the tribal areas since colonial times. The colonial writers recorded these unrests as a spontaneous outcome of frustrations of tribal people—the frustration accumulated because of various reasons. It stemmed from colonial rule and administration besides the mistreatment by the non-tribal groups who ruthlessly exploited them both socially and economically. Devalle (1992) summarizes the causes of tribal colonial unrest in following major ways: the influx of outsiders on tribal land, increased taxation and rent, forest rights violation, debts, socio-cultural disruption, and land dispossession. On the other hand, the issues of all the colonial tribal movements were “too fuzzy to be clearly conceptualized” (Xaxa, 2008, p. 51). Thus it is difficult to categorize the reasons precisely that led to the unrest. The movements were often described as revolt, millenarian, insurgency, and rebellion and, in general, were seen as an unlawful activity by the colonial administrators. In many colonial writings, the tribal movements have been played down, denied the status of an organized social movement and seen as an unconscious and sudden outbreak. This, in turn, is because of the fact that tribal people were considered to be primitive. Moreover, the preparation of most of the movements was not done openly and done in line with religious activities, which British officers and writers failed to observe and understand. This pattern has been discussed in detail in Chapter four.

Post-independence historians and anthropologists conducted many studies on tribal societies as well as on their struggles and even facilitated tribal movements to emerge as a recognized theme of research in tribal studies. However, the earlier approach of tribal movement study was mostly ethnographic that resulted in more descriptive data than analytical data on the subject (Xaxa, 2008). The descriptive approach to construct a typology of tribal movements has been the popular trend in tribal movement studies. Scholars like Mathur (1988), Mahapatra (1972), and Dubey (1982) came up with the different typologies to classify the tribal movement.

Likewise, Keshari & Munda (2003), in their study, categorize the pre-independence tribal unrest into four phases -- “period of resistance: 1769-93,” “period of open revolt: 1793-15,” “period of reformation: 1915-30” and “period of political consolidation: 1938-50” mainly concentrated around the tribal movements in the Chotanagpur region (pp. 217-218). They describe the period 1769-1793 as the passive resistance where tribes refused to accept the British administration like the administration of Mughals and Marathas in the past. However, when tribal chieftains surrendered to the British government, one after another, they agreed to pay tax. The era of open revolt began in 1793 and lasted till 1915. With the taxation system imposed by the Bengal Permanent Settlement Regulation Act 1793, there were a series of revolts led by the leaders from the prospective communities. The revolts of this period were perceived to be pan-tribal and regional as people rebelled against their respective chiefs who surrendered to the British administration and agreed to pay tax. The reformation and political consolidation period followed the open revolt phase which was the beginning of the tribal separatist movement in Chotanagpur region.

Mahapatra (1972) classified tribal movements into three categories: reactionary, conservative and revolutionary, while Dubey (1982) categorized them into four groups: religious and social reform movements, insurgent movement, the movement for a separate state, and cultural movement. However, Xaxa (2008) considers the issue based classification to be the most common. Based on issues, tribal movements can be classified into autonomy movements, land-based movements, cultural movements, and identity-based movements, which are discussed later in this chapter. However, before discussing these different categories of tribal movements, Bates and Shah’s (2017) crucial question related to this topic has to be addressed.

Bates and Shah (2017), in their study ‘*In Savage Attack*,’ see the problem in the way tribal movements have been identified and read so far. They raise concerns and ask critical questions regarding the overall concept of ‘tribal movement.’ In doing so, they put forth questions like what particularly constitutes the category of tribal movement and on what basis it is called tribal movement and how it is differentiated from the peasant resistance. Tribal do belong to the peasant categories too and in the past participated actively in movements arising out of peasant issues. Moreover, movements like the Santhal *Hul* and Birsa Movement, popularly regarded as the tribal movements, have been classified by scholars like K. S. Singh and Ranjit Guha under the category of peasant movements.

In their opinion, there is no such category that constitutes *adivasi* or tribal movements in particular. Instead, they believe that the notion of tribal or *adivasi* movement is politically created by the Left-wing supporters who had often used them as the “representational front for the social movements” (Bates & Shah, 2017, p. 1) that were organized against the neoliberal development projects and displacement issues. Many hold a similar view. One among them is Shah (2011), who, in her ethnographic study in Jharkhand, found that it is the rural tribal elites and city-based tribal activists and not largely the poor tribe who are more involved in the activism based on ‘*Jal, jungle, and Jamin*’ and speak on behalf of the whole community on the ground of ‘ecological nationalism.’⁴ The rest of the people become part of the social movement or any resistance because of their grievances and social injustice half-heartedly rather than ecological concerns used in the agenda of the movements. Moreover, in-process rural tribal people get further marginalized because of the ‘eco-incarceration.’⁵ She also talks about the Maoists who have a hidden connection with state officials, activists, and the rural elite. Maoists are usually seen as the representative of poor indigenous people and poor indigenous people often as their supporters. While in reality, they are the unacknowledged victims of both the state and the Maoists who often get crushed in the war between the state and the Maoists (Guha, 2010). The documentary ‘The Hunt’ by Toppo (2015) also supports this reality of tribal victimization by both the state and extremists. While reflecting on the relationship between the indigenous people and Maoists, Shah (2011) says that it is not the shared ideology because of which they support Maoists; rather, it is the matter of the protection for the indigenous people because of which they help Maoists as they offer them protection against their own violence.

Indeed, the movements are mostly organized and idealized by the educated tribal activists, and rural poor tribals to some extent are used as a ‘representational front’ in the movement, as said by Bates & Shah (2017). But, not all movements use tribals as the ‘representational front.’ There are also movements in which people willingly participate and

⁴Ecological nationalism is a concept constructed by G. Cederlof & K. Sivaramakrishna by combining together the concept of nationalism and ecology to better understand the social movements which emerge out of the concern of protecting the environment. It helps in understanding both the cosmopolitan and nativist versions of nature devotion at the same time. See Sivaramakrishnan & Cederlof (2005). In G. Cederlof & K. Sivaramakrishnan (eds.) ‘*Ecological Nationalisms: Nation, Livelihoods, and Identities in South Asia*’ (pp. 1-42). Also, see Shah (2011) (p.108)

⁵ Eco-incarceration is based on the idea of eco-savage where tribal people are seen locked up because of the overemphasis of their land and nature-based indigenous culture and tradition. See Shah (2011), especially chapter 5, for more details.

actively extend their support, making it a mass movement like the Koel-Karo Dam Movement and movement against the Netherhart Field Firing Range (discussed in a later section). They also contribute to the movement formation even though their contribution may be in the form of expression of solidarity. Devalle (1992), in her study on the ethnicity of the Jharkhand tribe, traces the existence and continuity of protest tradition and culture among them wherein from the tradition of protest she means “a continuous, not just occasional, stance of opposition to the established power” (p.111). By protest culture, she means the “existence of consciousness of opposition and resistance” (Devalle, 1992, p. 112). Hence here it would not be sensible to generalize Bates & Shah’s (2017) fact of the ‘representational front.’ As a phenomenon, for a protest to take the shape of culture and tradition, it requires the support and participation of the broader community. Culture being a social reality, is formed by the synthesis of everyday collective consciousness and behavior of the people, which is transferred to the next generation in the form of tradition.

What constitutes tribal movements is yet to be identified and defined. So far, an actual definition has not been worked out. Thus, tribal movements in this study are being conceived as the movements predominantly formed among the tribal community on issues of concern in the tribal dominant area. However, it does not mean zero participation of non-tribal in such a movement as tribes in India have never lived in absolute isolation. Based on this working definition, this study has identified a few movements based on tribal issues and organized mainly by the tribal community in the state of Jharkhand, which is a tribal dominant state to fulfill the stated objectives of the study.

Before analyzing the tribal movements from the perspective of their communication, different types of tribal movements based on issues are briefly illustrated. Based on broad issues as already mentioned, tribal movements can be primarily categorized into autonomy movements, land-based movement, cultural and identity-based movement. Autonomy movements are more political, which raises the demand for separate statehood. Such movements have been more prevalent in the tribal-dominated areas where the tribal culture was more prominent, and tribals were being marginalized. The states like Jharkhand and Telangana are the result of the tribal autonomy movements. Land-based movement refers to those organized by tribes around the issues of forest rights and land alienation. These types of movements have been prevalent since the colonial time when non-tribal and British started exercising control over the tribal land. At

present, such movements are mostly directed towards the land acquisition activities of the government for various development projects. Such movements are taken as the case study for discussing the ‘communication’ perspective of the contemporary movements, which are discussed in detail in chapter five. These movements are mainly against developmental projects and displacement issues. Anti-dam movement, anti-mining, and forest rights movements are a few examples. The protest against development projects is not new; it goes back to the 19th century, where people have opposed the Epidemic Commission of 1864, the Canal Commissions of 1885 and 1888, and The Forest Act of 1876 (Rao, 2013). In the post-independence era, the protest against the damming has been extensively mobilized through a series of anti-dam protests like Narmada Bacho Andolan, the Koel Karo anti-dam protest, the Tehri anti-dam protest, protest against the Damodar Valley Project, and Silent Valley project. The anti-dam protest in India started with issues of the Mulshi dam and with the early efforts of social reformers like Senapati Bapat, Vinayak Bhuskute, and Ram Manohar Lohia (Rao, 2013). Whereas cultural and identity-based movements are mainly revitalizing movements aimed to restore and strengthen their distinct cultural identity and status. These types of movements have been mostly organized when they felt that their culture or identity was at stake. *Sarna-Dharma* is an example of this kind of movement, which is based on Sarnaism, an indigenous religion in which the *Sal* (*Shorea robusta*) tree is worshiped at *Sarna Sthal*, by indigenous people.

Traces of communication in tribal movement: Now turning towards the central theme of the study, a few tribal movements of the same geographical area of the post-independence period are looked at to study the communication and demonstration tactics. This is to bring to the fore the ‘movement communication’ trend of the tribal movements. To begin with, an analysis of Koel-Karo, which was an anti-dam movement, is undertaken. This movement began around 1978 in an unusual way where the protest was not done openly but in a passive and non-cooperative manner. The Koel-Karo dam movement is one of the successful tribal movements of this region and acknowledged for its movement strategies. The movement was organized against the project started by the Bihar Government of the undivided Bihar and Jharkhand. Under this project, two dams were announced. One on the Koel River at Basia and another on Karo River at Lohajimi, but the project got stopped in 1978 because of the resistance shown by the people under the banner of *Koel-Karo Jan Sangathan* (KKJS).

The overall strategy of the Koel-Karo movement is claimed to be planned on the Gandhian framework of non-cooperation and non-violence. A close look at it reveals that the movement was more aligned on the principles of pragmatic non-violence, which is different from the Gandhian concept of principled non-violence. Martin & Varney (2003) identify principled non-violence as an act where “behaving morally is central to the approach” and “effectiveness of the nonviolent act is a secondary consideration” (p. 214), where the people waited for the opponent’s ‘heart to be melted’; whereas they describe pragmatic non-violence as an assumption that “nonviolent action is more effective than other means of action for oppression, in particular, more effective than the violence” (p. 215). People of Koel-Karo movement, as already mentioned, adopted a passive way of resistance through means of non-violence rather than a mode of active and vibrant protest because they wanted to keep women and children safe from the political violence and also wanted to secure the participation of the entire community since they believed the alienation of anyone would weaken the movement (Kiro, Kothari & Savyasaachi, 2012). In this view, non-violence strategies such as ‘non-cooperation’ applied in the movement appear to be more of a ‘pragmatic’ nature.

To drive the armed forces out, which were stationed near the project site in 1984, people adopted non-cooperation with them. People showed their resistance in passive ways by troubling them in their day-to-day life with the strategies of ‘social boycott,’ ‘rumors,’ ‘rude gestures,’ ‘causing embarrassment’ and ‘refusal of assistance.’ For making these strategies a success, especially women were asked for their participation (Minz & Dungdung, 2013). Accordingly, women in large numbers participated in blocking supplies of essentials like water, food, and firewood from reaching the army. Even the way to the woods where the personnel went to answer nature’s call was blocked by the women (Minz & Dungdung, 2013 & Kiro et al., 2012). Recalling such ‘causing embarrassment’ strategy of the movement, Father Stan Loudurswamy, popularly known as Stan Swamy, a well known social activist and political observer from Jharkhand and who had participated in the Koel-Karo movement, in his interview said:

The village women used to move around the forest early morning because of which these officers could not answer their nature call. The officers realized they could not survive here. In this, no violence was involved, villagers fought with them in a different way.

Likewise, many non-cooperative strategies were adapted in the Koel-Karo Movement, to which Kiro et al. (2012, p. 1) refer to as “creative non-violence resistance.” Like villagers started using

their local dialects strictly for communicating with each other. They also used to reply in local dialects intentionally when army people used to talk to them (Minj & Dungdung, 2013). It is where the 'rude gesture' was strategized as a non-cooperation act. Through such acts of non-cooperation, the peoples' rejection of the project was conveyed without making it apparent. By relating to the idea of non-violence scholars like Sharp (1973), Martin (1996), and Martin & Varney (2003) talk about the non-violence acts in terms of communication. The tactics of non-cooperation used in the Koel-Karo movement actually were the means of non-verbal communication used by the community members by participating collectively in the non-cooperative acts. By adopting this strategy, they indirectly were able to communicate about their unity and stance on the project. In a way, it can be seen as the "propaganda of deed" in which "drama of action communicates without word" (Martin & Varney, 2003, p. 215). The only difference is that in the Koel-Karo movement, the non-cooperative movement against the project officers and army people were not officially declared. Nonetheless, it was a strategy to drive out the army from the project area.

Besides these, the villagers used rumors to stop them from drinking water. Villagers used to pass rumors regarding the poisoning of the water, which restrained the army to use water freely (Minj & Dungdung, 2013 & Kiro et al., 2012). All these strategies transformed the protest into a routine activity by adopting resistance and non-cooperation in everyday behavior, which was, in some way, the routinization of the protest repertoires.

Further utilizing the authority of their traditional polity right of being a tribal village, they strategized an innovative form of a curfew called '*Janta* curfew' (Minj & Dungdung, 2013 & Kiro et al., 2012). The villagers declared '*Janta* curfew' against the outsiders to regulate the free movement of the outsiders into their village, which falls under the tribal scheduled area. According to this, the outsiders are supposed to take prior permission from the village head to enter the village. Using this right, the villagers resisted the free movement of army persons and project officers and also outsiders like workers and contractors. For this, bamboo barricades and check-post at the village's entrance were made, and villagers were asked to enforce the curfew.

When Stan Swamy was asked in his interview about the persons who planned this odd strategy, he said: "The villagers themselves decided. They used to decide and tell us we will do this to harass them. In this, lots of humor used to be involved." The use of rustic strategies instead of sophisticated ones shows that movement in the real sense was a people's movement in

which strategies were evolved by the local people utilizing their capacity under the guidance of the local community leaders. Referring to the traditional and collective leadership of the movement, Swamy said:

We based our struggle on collective and traditional leadership. We did not call the MLAs or MPs or educated persons like lawyers to lead the movement. We deliberately kept them away from the movement. Those who have traditionally led the society were given the reins to lead the movement.

Swamy further spoke on the strategies of the movement demonstration like rallies and described it as a means of major communication and hence, the mode of mobilization. He said the manner in which the rallies were conducted in the presence of the village head and *Parha Raja*,⁶ it communicated an egalitarian culture of cooperation and communitarianism. He revealed:

We made a point that we will come for the meeting on foot. Everyone used to come on foot that itself brings solidarity when a whole village walks together for the meeting. Otherwise, it would have differentiated people if we would have used vehicles. It is important to communicate that we are equal, and we have to fight for our problems in an egalitarian way. We insisted on this. When everyone reached the village, together we used to take a round of the village. It used to be a silent procession, especially after the incident of 2001 (police repression causing the death of eight protestors). We do not raise slogans but used to march in silence. That silence itself was a message that we are together and fighting for our cause.

Many such evidence of behavioral communication were also shared by Swamy in which the participants' behavior in the movement's events like meetings, discussions, and dancing intended to convey a message, where the cultural behavior of the people was strategically used as an alternative to the verbal message:

In meetings, all people used to sit together. There was no stage. Only a desk was there where the speaker used to come from among the gathering and speak before going back to his place in the audience. So the message that went out was that it is an *adivasi*

⁶ Parha Raja is the king of the Parhra Village (king village) and the head of the Parha Council under the jurisdiction of which 20-30 villages are functional. It is a hereditary position and a part of the tribal customary law of self-governance.

struggle; it is our struggle, and we have a history of being equal in society. So it felt important to maintain that equality even in the struggle.

Swamy also referred to dance as a distinctive element of a tribal gathering. A community dance mostly brings down the curtains on the gathering. This practice was carried forward in the movements. He says, “*adivasi* dance is different from other dance forms as everyone dances.” By stressing on this, he sought to communicate a sense of community and the equalitarian nature of the tribal society where everyone dances on the same floor, joining hands with each other despite class and status differences. In the context of movement, such acts are merely not a physical action. One has to see the layers within them where it appears more like a set of non-verbal messages that send out the message of equality. When people are equal, they feel more connected with each other. Such a message of equality does bring solidarity to the movement and hence provide strength. Further, these protests speak volumes about the movement’s indigenous nature and ideology.

Besides these, there are two ‘days of remembrance’ observed in the Koel-Karo Movement, which in terms of the movement communication can be analyzed as a strategy of preserving the past as well as means of communicating the same. One of the two days marks the police firing of February 2, 2001, on unarmed protestors’ gathering at Tapkara village of Ranchi district in which eight people were killed, and many were seriously injured (Minj & Dungdung, 2013 & Kiro et al., 2012). The incident of the killing of protestors by police was followed by the ‘demonstrative funeral’ on the next day, which communicated the movement’s anger and fearlessness. Regional documentary filmmakers Toppo and Meghnath (2003) have captured the scene of ‘demonstrative funeral,’ and the audio of movement leaders’ public speeches on occasion in their documentary titled ‘Development flows from the Barrel of the Gun.’ Sri Prakash, another regional documentary filmmaker, has also filmed the movement’s journey and its various demonstrations in his film ‘Another Revolt.’ The film begins with a tribal protest song based on the Birsa Movement in regional language. The translation of which in English goes like this:

Who dances on the Dumbri hills beating the ‘Madar’ drums? Down who plays the flutes staring at the hills? On the Dumbri hills, the ‘Munda’ tribal hero “Birsa,” dances, playing the ‘Nagaada’ drums and downhill the White rulers sounding the bugle, aiming at the top. (Prakash, 2001)

These movement documentaries narrate the movement incidents to their viewers. They communicate the spirit and happenings of the movement audio-visually by preserving the movement's past and by extending the movement's communication range.

In honor of the martyrs, February 2 is observed as the *Saheed Diwas*, and the site of the firing is marked as the martyrdom site. It has been named as *Tapkara Shaheed Sthal*, where homage is offered to the martyrs on the *Saheed Diwas*. Another remembrance day is February 3, called as *Vijay Diwas* (Victory Day), celebrating the success of the movement. Both these are annual events, and from a communicative perspective, convey two different messages. The *Saheed Diwas* communicates the movement's most horrifying incident along with the heroic deed of the movement participants, whereas *Vijay Diwas* communicates the significance and triumph of the movement. Both events have intense emotions attached to them, which is psychologically very expressive and motivational.

It is not that these mentioned activities or strategies are confined only to the Koel-Karo movement. Approximately all the tribal movements are led by the collective and traditional leadership, and mass rallies and meetings form an essential component of the movement. In the same way, most of the movements observe the 'day of remembrance.' Even the Koel-Karo idea of '*Janta curfew*' has now emerged as one of the movement repertoires of a tribal community. This way of showing resistance has been recorded in other movements as well, including in the movement against the proposed Kathikund Thermal Plant in Dumka, and the movement against the Bhushan Steel Power Plant in Potka where the protestors imposed the '*Janta curfew*' on the government officers as well as on companies to hinder the project work (Minj & Dungdung, 2013).

Another means of resistance witnessed in the Koel-Karo movement was the practice of collective farming on the dirt road, which connected Lohajimi to Torpa and Tapkara, places in Khunti district of Jharkhand. This strategy was to hinder the transportation for the army as they used to arrange food and water from these places (Minj & Dungdung, 2013). It was one of the strategies of their '*Kaam Rooko Abhiyan*' (stop work campaign). Such farming activity symbolically underlines the agrarian characteristics of the protesting people and tactically communicates their ownership claim over the land and their stance concerning such developmental projects. Further, for framing the movement demands, social, religious, and

cultural aspects of the indigenous community like ‘*Sarna-sasandiri*’⁷ (ancestors’ abode) were used (Minj & Dungdung, 2013). From the indigenous religious viewpoint, these abodes can neither be shifted nor can be compensated. By using such a frame for making demands, the protestors brought down the prospects of government negotiation on rehabilitation topics. Besides this strategy, protestors also came up with a strategy of openly challenging the government to complete the rehabilitation work in at least two villages before restarting the project work, which the government failed to do. This placed the protestors in a stronger position of winning the situation.

A similar use of indigenous acquaintance and background was used as part of the movement communication strategy against the Netarhat Field Firing Range project in the year 1993 in Latehar district of Jharkhand. An area of 1471 square kilometers under section 9(1) of the Manoeuvres Field Firing and Artillery Practices Act, 1938, was notified for the field firing range. Protesting against the land acquisition of 245 villages, the people of this area started mobilizing and formed an organization called *Kendriya Jan Sangharsh Samiti* (Central Mass Struggle Committee). Like Koel-Karo, in this movement too, traditional and collective leadership was opted, and various teams were formed for the task of *Jan Jaagaran* (public awareness). The team of *Jan Jaagaran* used to undertake a tour of various villages for collectively mobilizing the people for the mass struggle by interacting with them personally (Minj & Dungdung, 2013).

Many dynamic strategies to keep the people’s awareness intact, like ‘symbolic sign,’ ‘symbolic sound,’ and ‘symbolic light’ (Sharp, 1973) were planned both at the family and village levels. On the family level, every Saturday evening, people of each village were asked to hang a bunch of green leaves as a sign of the movement on the main door of their house. While on the village level every evening, *Nagara* (traditional musical instrument, similar to tabla) was played in a specific *taal* (musical rhythm) to express a specific expression. Further, on every Sunday evening, protestors used to conduct *Mashal julus* (torch procession) along with specific *taal* (musical rhythm) of *Nagara* in each project affected village. *Nagara* was also played in a different *taal* (musical rhythm) to collect people in one place during the movement

⁷ Sarna is a sacred groove of Sal trees where tribal deities reside whereas Sasandiri is the burial ground of the tribal community. It is more like a family graveyard where members of the same family are buried on the same land. It is also known by different names in different tribal communities like Hargarhi and Harshali. Sasandiri is marked by megaliths.

demonstration. Monthly meetings were held at each level to discuss and strategize the movement plan. To mobilize people and inform them about the movement's message and events, wall writings, pamphlets, and posters were also extensively used.

As it was a people's movement, for meeting the expenses, money was collected from everyone in the village. This shows the financial support provided by the people to the movement. As the project has not been withdrawn, the protestors every year on the 22nd and 23rd of March gather at Mahuadanr in Latehar to do *satyagraha* against the project (Minj & Dungdung, 2013). These days are observed as the *Virodh Diwas*. As this movement is more than 25 years old, to keep it alive and to keep resonating its issues of concern, the participants come together on this day to register the continuity of their resistance publically. They do it by organizing activities like sit-ins, rallies, and public speeches. *Virodh Diwas* draws the attention of the government as well as informs the public about the concerns flagged by this 25-year-old movement. In brief, it is an awareness-raising strategy of the movement.

At another social movement, a unique way of celebrations was witnessed in 1996 soon after the enactment of The Provisions of the 'Panchayat Extension to the Scheduled Areas Act,' 1996 (PESA). In the tribal villages of Jharkhand, mainly around the Gumla region, tribals were seen erecting a stone slab with the provision PESA inscribed on it, at the entrance of their villages. It was a mode of expression cherishing the formation of the PESA after a Gram Sabha Movement, which vested the Gram Sabha with enhanced powers related to the village's socio-economic affairs. The act of erecting the stone resembled the cultural doings of the megalithic practices, which were mainly popular among the Munda, Santhal, and Ho tribes of the state. Generally, megalithic is done in remembrance of departed ancestors. However, it too has a symbolic significance as the presence of megalithic stone on land signifies the ownership of the tribal. So this act of erecting a stone slab with the inscription of PESA on it to some extent is similar to the act of wall writing in the social movement communicating two things. First, the presence of the stone slab signified the existence of tribal-owned land, and second, the inscription of PESA provisions on the slab signified the presence of tribal-rule in those villages. In a documentary based on the Gram Sabha movement *Hamare Gaon Me Hamara Raj* by Toppo (2000), when Chunku Munda, one of the villagers, was asked about the reason for doing so, he said:

Out of happiness, we did this. Even if the rule in Delhi changes, our rule will not change as it is written on the rock. This law, which is based on our traditional law according to which our community runs, will remain till our community exists.

Mora Munda, another villager, echoed similar sentiments:

We have won this struggle. To remember this, according to our culture, we have inscribed our rights on the rock, which we have been given by the constitution so that our future generation can see and know what their ancestors did. It will help the future generation know that their ancestors fought for these rights with the government and won them.

(Toppo, 2000)

The motive behind this, from the words of Chunku Munda, and Mora Munda, is to inform the future generation about the PESA Act formation. However, the recent movement of *Pathalgadi*, which happened in 2018 and 2019 in Jharkhand, Odisha and Chhattisgarh resembling the activities of erecting stone during the celebration of PESA, has been viewed differently in the present politics. As per the young leaders of the *Pathalgadi* movement, the act of erecting stone slab with PESA written on it meant to demarcate their land and as a reminder to the government that the land acquisition act does not apply in their areas (Tewary, 2018). Whereas, as per the India Today magazine report, these stones with an inscription of provisions of PESA on them, along with orders inscribed, prohibit outsiders into the villages and serve the function of a signboard (Dutta, 2018). Sundar (2018) sees these stone slabs with PESA provisions inscribed on them just as a ‘Constitutional messianism’ in the shadow of which the tribal anticipate their land to be protected. In other words, the act of erecting the inscribed stone slabs within this movement can be seen as the movement communication which communicated symbolically as well as with text.

In these movements, various symbolic, as well as culture-based communication, has been observed, which gave pieces of evidence of the distinctive strategies and tactics used in tribal movements. Thus, in the context of this background, it was interesting to explore the forms of movement communication further in the tribal movements. The study picked the tribal community mainly because tribes are most marginalized and had been engaged in community-based activism since the colonial era. Also, Jharkhand was selected as the geographical area of the study, keeping in mind the extended history of the tribal movements in this area. Moreover,

Jharkhand being the fourth most miserable state and comprising 32 tribal communities who often lack facilities like education and modern communication technological advancement at the grassroots level, formed a suitable area for the study.

Chapter 4

Social Movement Communication among Colonial Tribe: Role of Leaders in Shaping Movement

Introduction

In India, in the late 18th century, when the province of Bengal (present-day Bihar, Orissa, Jharkhand, and West Bengal) came under British Empire, the problem began with their interference in socio-political affairs. The new taxation rules and the acts like the Permanent Settlement Act 1793 and the Indian Forest Act of 1856 & 1882 enacted by the British Empire caused socio-political turbulence in the lives of the indigenous habitants. The consequences of these alterations surfaced in various land issues that later took the shape of revolts. An account of many colonial rebellions by different communities has been recorded through the 19th century. Among them, Santhal *Hul* and Birsa Movement emerged as the prominent revolts amongst the Santhal and Munda tribes of the Jharkhand, respectively. The prominent leaders led both these movements and aimed for the liberation from the foreign rule and the exploiters.

In this Chapter, these movements are taken for case studies and analyzed from a communication and mobilization perspective, where the leader's communication skills came to the fore. In doing so, the researcher accessed the archival data and secondary resources pertaining to these movements afresh within the proposed framework of this study to spot and understand the process of communication and mobilization of these movements.

This Chapter is divided into six sections. The first section is about leader and leadership communication in which the role of leader and cultural knowledge from the perspective of communication is stressed. The second and third sections contribute to the two case studies: Santhal *Hul* and Birsa Movement, respectively. Both these sections have been further divided into five sub-sections, where the first subsection introduces the case studies giving the background of the movements in brief. The second subsection is about the leaders and their communication strategies. The third subsection deals with communication during the initial phase of the movement preparation. The fourth subsection on the mobilization strategy dwells on the communication in the latent phase of the movement, which was primarily implied to mobilize people. In contrast, the fifth subsection is about the communication strategy during the visible phase of the movement where people actively participated. The fourth section analyses

the leadership communication and significance of a leader's cultural knowledge in designing movement communication. The fifth section compares the two case studies. And the last section concludes the Chapter where it highlights the importance of a leader's communication, cultural and sociopolitical characteristics of the society in shaping movement communication.

Likewise, this Chapter followed the formation of 'movement community' in the social movements which occurred during colonial times. Besides this, it also explored the modes of non-conventional communication that movement leaders employed to communicate with rural and primitive populations. Alongside this, it also pointed out the movement preparation strategies (mobilizing tactics) implied by the leaders to mobilize and motivate people to join and support the movement. While following the communication and mobilization strategies, it also analyzed the strategy from the framing perspectives, where it attempted to understand how the issue around which movement was shaped got successfully framed and publicized among the participants and led to better communication. By doing so, it covered the objectives one, two, three and four of the study. This way, the analysis responds to the question about the movement community formation and communication, mobilization and framing strategies that helped in shaping and continuing the movement.

Leaders, Communication and Social Movements

It's a conceding reality that leader and leadership communication remain the understudied aspect of social movements even though social movement studies have flourished in recent years. In domains like management studies, leader and leadership communication has been treated as an important aspect when it comes to group formation, coordination, and cooperation. Since the social movement is also about the collective formation, coordination, and cooperation, the leader and leadership communication within the social movement qualifies as much for the scholars' attention to social movement communication studies. An assessment of the leaders and leadership can contribute to the knowledge of communication within a social movement. Scholars like Morris & Staggenborg (2004), Smelser (1962), Weber (1968), and Gusfield (1966) have pointed out to the mobilizing and interactive role of the leaders in a social movement providing a cue for further studies on this aspect. Smelser (1962), accepting the role of leaders in mobilization, in his "Value-Added Theory" of collective action, also argued their role in generating necessary conditions required to form the social movement. Yet in contemporary time, Morris & Staggenborg (2004) have talked about the leaders' functional role.

As they put in, “leaders are critical to social movements: they inspire commitment, mobilize resources, create and recognize opportunities, devise strategies, frame demands, and influence outcomes” (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004, p. 171).

Further, they say to proceed with the leadership approach of studying social movement; one needs to “examine the actions of leaders within the structural context” (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004, p. 171). Morris and Staggenborg (2004) define social movement leaders as “strategic decision-makers” (p.171). Thus, in particular, this Chapter has tried to capture the communicative action and behavior of the leaders in their respective structural context. In doing so, it foregrounded the leaders’ communicative role in diffusing the movement’s initial framing idea— ‘divine intervention.’ This frame created a scenario where the leader’s involvement was perceived as divine interference by the people rather than the leader’s initiative or effort. Building on this perception, the leaders laid the ground for the later stage framing, mobilizing, and communication strategies, thus giving a religious and reformist outlook to the movement.

By focusing on the organizing, framing, and mobilizing activities of the leaders, this Chapter aimed to explore the centrality of the leaders’ communication in movements led by the primitive tribal leaders in the colonial period. For doing this, it mainly read the leaders’ interactional symbolic act, behavior, and deed from the perspective of communication. It was done by exploring the leader’s verbal and non-verbal communication skills used in the movement. Here, the study by communication skills mainly referred to the leaders’ ability to effectively perform the communicational acts. The effectiveness of communication was decided on the basis of the accomplishment of mobilizing and organizing goals of the movement, the intent behind the communication approach. Besides the skills mentioned above, the study also focuses on leaders’ cultural and religious knowledge of the community that they utilized in their communication skills.

To comprehend leadership from the perspective of communication, the study applied the lens of “discursive leadership” (Fairhurst, 2009 & Omilion-Hodges, 2017), which views leadership as “socially constructed through communication” taking place among the actors— “leaders and followers” (Omilion-Hodges, 2017, pp 2-3). The discursive leadership approach was used to explore the role of communication in the formation of leadership and movement by closely looking at how leadership was enacted through social interaction with the people (prospective movement participants). It was further used to mobilize and organize people by

utilizing verbal and non-verbal communication based on their religious and cultural practices. For analyzing the significance of culture in communication (social movement communication), the study referred to the three ideal-typical mechanisms of culture: ‘culture as tool kits,’ ‘culture as scripts’ and ‘culture as instincts and taken for granted routines’ as proposed by Zhao (2010). These mechanisms were used to define the culture’s role in producing social movement mobilization and communication strategies.

Case Study: Santhal Hul (1855-1856)

This case study analyzed a colonial revolt called Santhal *Hul*. The revolt by the tribal community called Santhal in the year 1855-1856 happened in the different districts of Bengal Presidency, which are now part of Jharkhand. This revolt is usually called ‘*hul*,’ which means a revolution in *Santhali* (the language of the Santhal tribe). From the colonial writings and records, it is evident that the movement was able to mobilize more than 10,000 people by circulating *sal* (a kind of a tree common in northern India) twigs and slips of papers, forming them as the movement’s signal. Several similar cultural and tradition-based strategies traced in the movement’s formation grasped this case study’s focus. Such strategies are explored in detail to help understand the movement communication phenomena of this particular movement.

The movement occurred in the mid 19th century in the surrounding areas of estate *Damin-i-Koh*. It was a new estate formed in the Rajmahal Hills’ foothills in the year 1832-1833 by the British government’s efforts as the outcome of the Permanent Settlement Act-1793. The Santhals were the first to immigrate to this area and clear the hills’ forest base to make it their habitat (Datta, 1940). There, Santhals were encouraged for permanent agriculture practices instead of shifting agriculture by the British government. It was done to increase tax collection. With time, by the invasion of surplus traders and *mahajans* (moneylenders), corruption increased in *Damin-i-Koh* and Santhals started losing their land and fell into debt traps, pushing them towards a miserable state.

Mr. Potent, the superintendent who held the responsibility of managing general civil affairs and the economy (to collect the revenue) of *Damin-i-Koh*, failed to identify the simmering discontent among the people (Culshaw & Archer, 1945). Potent enraged the people by overlooking their complaints against the *mahajans* (moneylenders) and *zamindars* (landlords) who used to charge high interest on the money they lent. He also increased the annual rent in 1851, adding to their grievances (Culshaw & Archer, 1945). Over time all these developments

led them to revolution and raising arms.

However, other factors were identified by the colonial writers after the suppression of the movement. E. G. Man, a colonial writer, considered the system of hereditary bondage for debt and incapability of the colonial judiciary to stop such practice, besides corruption at the policing level, as reasons behind the economic and emotional strain among the Santhals, which made them rise against the exploiters. (as cited in Roy, 1960; Culshaw & Archer, 1945). Apart from these causes, Roy (1960) cited Santhal womenfolk's humiliation by British officers as the immediate trigger of the movement. He did so, by drawing from the letters of A.C. Bidwell, who worked as the Commissioner for the suppression of the movement and from the article of W. S. Sherwill which was published in 1856 in the *Calcutta Review* to point to the immodest attitude of British officers towards Santhal womenfolk who worked as railway construction workers. Thus there were many instances of economic oppression and social humiliation, which resulted in the movement.

Strategies for creating leadership: This movement was led by four brothers Sidhu, Kanhu, Chand, and Bhairab of Bhagnadihi village. Like their fellow community members, they were also the victims of *mahajans* and *landlords* who finally rose against the oppressor, forming a movement based on the idea of 'divine intervention.' Of the four brothers, only Sidhu and Kanhu got recognized as the chief leaders because they are the one before whom their supreme God *Thakur*⁸ appeared and was assigned the divine task of liberating the community from oppression. They were supposed to achieve liberation by establishing Santhal territory for which the two brothers called their community members to form a movement and uproot the British rule. This way, the whole idea of doing movement got presented in the frame of a divine task, which was strategically and intentionally worked out on the religious faith line. As among the average masses, religion forms the great stimulating force, which also worked in Santhal *Hul* (Datta, 1940).

This very idea of the divine mission also formed the substantial ground for the leadership formation. Sidhu and Kanhu used divine strategy to establish themselves as the undisputed leaders, where community members followed them devotedly and collectively fought for themselves. Also, as the entire idea of the movement got conceived in the form of God's

⁸ 'Thakur' according to the traditional belief system of Santhals is the supreme God who has created life on the earth. He exists as the form of "supernatural spirit of God" and is omnipresent and omniscient. Murmu (1996), "Understanding the concept of God in Santhal in Traditional Myths."

command, the movement no longer remained merely a movement but got blended with spirituality. A situation emerged out of it in favor of the movement. People followed the leaders' command as a formal religious procedure. As it often said, the religious conviction has a distinctive superiority of making people irrational and taking away their sense of questioning. Hence, when the movement idea got revealed to the community by using a frame like 'God's command,' it got received without being confused as it was God's command for the community people. Also, this very idea of God's command sustained the movement. The idea got carried forward without being altered till the end of the movement. As at the time of their judicial trial, too, people invoked the command of their God aspect. Even the leader Sidhu in front of the magistrate stuck to a similar statement— "‘I rebelled...‘because Thakur made an appearance & told me to rebel’" (Chakrabarty, 1998).

Chakrabarty (1998), who has recorded Sidhu's statement in his study, resisting this supernatural explanation, advises reinterpreting this narrative. He suggests considering the traditional nature of the society which prevailed at that time, where supernatural beliefs played a significant role in the rebellion for reinterpreting. In the context of movement framing, this idea of 'God's command' in the current study was reinterpreted by the researcher as the motivational frame tactic drawn from people's social life to appeal to them. Strategically, this tactic concealed within it multiple intentions. First, it facilitated the easy mobilization of the participants in the movement; second, it insulated the prime accused by making it a celestial act. As an impact of which, people denied actions as their own and represented it as an act of God, contributing to the movement's odd facts. The researcher observed that the movement was outlined deliberately in the gesture of God's command to motivate and mobilize people by religiously manipulating them. This plotting facilitated the movement's emergence as expected. It also helped leaders in escaping questions on movement's grounding and intention.

Also, from the analysis of the documents, the researcher found that the leaders appeared as the divinely designated leaders due to the divine frame. Sidhu and Kanhu never directly proclaimed themselves as the leaders of the movement. They attributed their leadership to the choice of God. During communicating the divine mission, they presented themselves only as representatives of God. They narrated to the people that God appeared to them and instructed them to tell their men about the mission on God's behalf. By accepting the movement's leadership, Sidhu and Kanhu projected that they followed God's instruction rather than acquiring

leadership. This tactic assured them the right of leadership. Here, as observed by the study, the movement got presented rhetorically as the divine mission. The use of the 'divine' expression showed how the message was presented to the people effectively by using the idea that appealed to them.

Preparation of the movement: Preceding the emergence of the movement in July 1855, many activities took place in the Santhal communities in the same area. Behind these activities were rumors of people observing and performing several religious acts recorded as odd and strange activities by the colonial anthropologists and writers. However, while assessing the accounts of such rumors, the current study found that rumors were actually used to prepare for the movement. An analysis revealed that the rumors were strategically planned to help rally support for the movement and to build solidarity among the people. The researcher perceived the use of rumors coupled with superstitions as the movement's mobilization frame, which helped in easily and quickly propagating the movement idea. Thus, the movement used rumors as the carrier of mobilization messages and laid the ground for the movement. An account of a few rumors collected from *Man in India* journal's special issue on rebellion number published in 1945 is analyzed here in terms of mobilization strategy. In this issue, the article 'The Santhal Rebellion' was published based on the narration of Chotral Dasmanjhi and Kolean Harmaon, the participants in the rebellion of 1855 by W.J. Culshaw and W.G. Archer. This article gave information about the rumor-based activities among the women and the other community members on the community and village levels. The current study had interpreted those activities in terms of movement preparation strategies.

The first rumor relates to the placation of *Bonga* (Supreme deity). *Bonga* refers to the theological dimensions of the Santhal community of Chotanagpur plateau, where *Bonga* means spirits. Santhals believe in both the visible and non-visible world's coexistence, where the visible world consists of living beings and the non-visible of spirits. They have a belief that *Bonga* is their protector, who protects them from all evil. Hence, they treat the members of the non-visible world as their God. Thus before initiating anything, they take approval from *Bonga* by performing certain rituals. In this movement, a similar ceremony was initiated by a rumor, as the article revealed. Dry rice with oil and vermilion on a leaf plate got circulated in every village. As the current study comprehended, this ritual was for two reasons: first, to claim divine support and divinely legitimize the movement and second as a strategy to religiously mobilize and encourage

the Santhals to contribute to the movement.

When analyzed by the researcher, the second rumor described in the article appeared as the solidarity building strategy. As the movement is conceived on the foundation of collective action, it requires a group's participation for which unity is essential. Accordingly, within the prospective movement community, solidarity was sought to be established on indigenous and religious activities. For these, as the study observed, two types of rumors were circulated: community inter-dining and arousal of *Lag-Lagin* snakes. During the inter-dining rumors, women with equal numbers of children were seen eating together in two groups. Besides this, they also exchanged flowers and clothes to swear eternal friendship. During the *Lag-Lagin* snakes at night, people were seen moving from one village to another in groups. In this, the rumor was that a snake called *Lag-Lagin* was swallowing men. Towards getting rid of this evil, a man from each house in five villages was asked to fast and go around another five villages at night along with two unmarried men. The two unmarried men were made to wear the sacred thread and carry a small basket with two wooden plows made up of *neem* and *sal* wood marked with vermilion. After taking a round of five villages, they assembled in the fifth village outside the Manjhi's (village head) house. And after performing some rituals with *arwa*⁹ rice, *bael* (Aegle Marmelos) leaves and vermilion sacred thread along with two wooden plows were handed over to two unmarried men of the fifth village. After this, the fifth village people used to repeat the same process with the next four villages. In this way, the ritual got carried in a series of patterns in the five villages. When the researcher analyzed this whole incident from the point of movement formation, it appeared as a rallying act to mobilize people around the rumor in a set of five villages at a time. Furthermore, the people themselves spread the message of the rumor from village to village.

In another set of rumors described, people were seen cleaning their surroundings, which appeared to the researcher as an act of marking boundaries. As per the narrative of Chotral Dasmanjhi (participant of Santhal *Hul*), Santhal villagers were asked to clean the streets in their villages. The people were told that someone would visit the villages and something bad would happen if villages were not clean. Besides this, they were also instructed to place a stand at the

⁹ Arwa rice is a kind of rice which is perceived sacred by many communities in India and is used while performing religious rituals and is offered as devotional offerings to God mainly in the regions where rice is the main agricultural cultivation.

end of the street and to hang up a wooden cowbell, worn-out winnowing fan, and an old broom from it. Similarly, Kolean Harma, another participant of *Hul*, narrated a related rumor concerning the village's cleaning. The people of Santhal villages were asked to hang a bullock skin and a flute at the end of the village street. These rumors and related acts seemed like a sign to help in identifying Santhal villages. The framing of the rumors was done in a way wherein people automatically get notified of the upcoming rebel by rumors. People unconsciously acted in the rebel message's response by hanging the said items at the said location. The phrases like 'something wrong would happen' and 'someone would come' in some way prepared the people by alerting them about the unrevealed rebel plan. In this way, before the movement, people were kept on alert through the message embedded in rumors.

From the analysis of the above-discussed incidents, it is evident how rumors got used as a tool to propagate messages. Here, the message took the form of chain-messaging, especially the episode of *Lag-Lagin* snakes just like the practices of "chain letter" (VanArsdale, 2002; Stollznaw, 2014 & D'Costa, 2014) in which the recipient of the message is requested to forward the stated message to a particular number of people. VanArsdale (2002) states the replication of the content of such messages to be the prime motive of such messaging. In the movement context, it was observed by the researcher as the process of enhancing networking and channel of messaging, particularly in the latent phase of the movement. Stollznaw (2014) calls this pattern of messaging "unsolicited communication" in which "rewards *like good fortune* [emphasis added] are promised for complying with the request, while punishment *in the form of bad luck* [emphasis added] is threatened for those who dare to "break the chain" (p. 61). The pattern of chain-messaging appeared in this movement too, but in the form of a verbal message (being a primitive society) where for appealing to people many objects/items of religious importance like rice, *sal* twig, oil and *sindoor* were used in the form of symbolic communication. Here *sal* twig, rice, oil, and *sindoor* emerged as the signifiers of mobilization, which indicate the symbolic communication perspective of the movement communication, which can be understood from Blumer's (1986 [1969]) symbolic interaction. However, it is not possible to decode the exact perceived meanings of these objects as Blumer (1986 [1969]) said, "objects vary in their meanings" (p. 69) and the meaning of the object "arises from how the person is initially prepared to act towards it" (pp. 68-69). While from Snow and Benford's (1988) perspective of the 'core function' of the frames, the messages embedded in these rumors, which took the form of chain

and symbolic messaging to an extent, can be seen as accomplishing all the three core functions of— ‘diagnostic frame,’ ‘prognostic frame’ and ‘motivational frame.’ From the perspective of the ‘diagnosis frame,’ these frames appear to be weak as they did not indicate any identified problem. But it made the receivers somehow believe in an unknown crisis that was yet to happen. It succeeded in making people act as per the instructions communicated about the ‘prognostic frame’ (frame used to articulate the solution to the problem). The recipients of the message performing the said rituals, cleaning their surroundings, and hanging the said articles exhibited their acceptance of both the diagnostic and prognostic frames’ message. As far as the motivational frame’s perspective is concerned, these messages clearly showed how people were motivated by implying the strategy of fear. From the analysis, it was comprehended that even if the diagnostic frame is not apt, depending on the nature of the society and culture, it can perform its obvious purpose and make the subsequent frames like prognostic and motivational frames succeed.

Mobilizing strategies: At the mobilizing phase too, the movement incorporated religious and superstitious beliefs to mobilize people. The political agenda of the movement religiously framed, applied the frame of the ‘divine intervention’ to mobilize the people in favor of the movement. Two such mobilization frames identified by the researcher in the movement are divine apparition and *Thakur’s paravaana*. The two brothers Sidhu and Kanhu claimed that the Santhal God *Thakur* appeared before them on seven successive days and commanded them to lead their countrymen. They said God appeared to them each day in different forms: In the form of a cloud, as a flame of fire, like a shadow in full sunlight, in the form of *sal* sapling on unfertile land, and finally as a white man wearing a native dress who delivered a book and slips of paper to the two brothers. The narration of the divine apparition, when analyzed for the current study, appeared as a strategy of attracting people’s attention initially towards Sidhu and Kanhu, who went on to become the leaders of the movement. In contrast, substances like the book, slips of paper and *sal* twig used to describe God’s apparition were later used as the resource to mobilize people.

Also, as the current study observed, the movement’s idea was presented as the divine message in the form of *paravaana* (permit) received from God. Here, *paravaana* was strategically presented to the people as written permission for the movement. The *Thakur’s paravaana* was read aloud on the appointed day, 30th June 1855, in the large gathering. The

paravaana did not contain the whole message of the *Thakur*. However, it had a declaration that *Thakur* had himself assigned the divine task to the two brothers, the details of which had to be communicated by the two brothers. Sidhu and Kanhu then narrated God's command to the people where they said that God had said that Mahajans (moneylenders) and Sahibs (officers) had committed sins because of which *Thakur* had taken over the territory and people are supposed to pay *Thakur's* rate of revenue now (Culshaw & Archer, 1945). And if the Britishers did not obey *Thakur's* order, the fight will happen, and if the *sahibs* and white soldiers fight with *Thakur*, Mother Ganges herself will come to assist *Thakur* and fire will rain from Heaven (Roy, 1960). When analyzed from the perspective of mobilization, this whole incident illustrates how *paravaana* got used in propagating the message related to the movement far and wide. It also portrayed how Santhals were inspired to pay heed to Sidhu and Kanhu's talk when *paravaana* got vocalized with Sidhu and Kanhu's utterances. It shows how *paravaana* became more of spoken communication than the written message, as claimed initially. The close reading of this design revealed that the claim of writing received from God was just a strategy to obtain an authoritative tone to Sidhu and Kanhu's saying. Thus, the researcher comprehended the use of *paravaana* as the style of message presentation— with which people were well familiar. By mentioning *paravaana* and citing God's command, the speaker succeeded in delivering the political message on religious ground. From the standpoint of Tilly's (1977b; 1995 & 2008) 'repertoires of contention' this whole act of reading out the *paravaana* followed by the verbal declaration related to the new rate of taxation was comprehended here as an act of claim-making and giving memorandum to the conceder, where the message of the movement certainly got delivered. And it also favored the movement formation by ultimately mobilizing the people.

Besides the use of frames to which the current study had interpreted as a divine apparition and *Thakur's paravaana*, the book and the slip of papers divinely delivered to the two brothers, as already mentioned, got used as mobilization tools in the movement. There are two stories related to the slip of papers. As per the account of O' Malley (1910a), Sidhu and Kanhu received the slip of papers in a set of five, four pieces in each set by the men who descended from heaven, whereas according to Hunter (1868) & Sherwill (1856) divinity while delivering the book to Sidhu and Kanhu showered the slip of papers from the heaven. In the form of revelation for Santhals, the heaven-sent book, as per Sherwill (1856), had a written message in local dialect while, as per Guha (1986), the pages of the book were utterly blank. Whatever it

may be, the book and the slip of papers were enough to mobilize people for the movement. It happened because Sidhu and Kanhu presented it as the credential of their claim to the people (Sherwill, 1856 & Hunter, 1868).

As comprehended by the researcher, the slip circulated before the movement, which stirred the people's interest in the divine stuff to the next level, emerged as the movement's mobilization tool. The slip of paper traveled from village to village secretly as a silent note. As Hunter (1868), in his account, writes, "Each village received a scrap without a word of explanation, but with an impression as it would avoid the wrath of the national god, to forward it without a moment's pause to the nearest hamlet" (p. 163). This description of Hunter shows the intensity of the influence of the frame 'divine interference' on the people, the fear of which made them act in the movement's favor and support by contributing to the mobilization process by re-circulating the paper. Guha (1986), in his analysis, deduced the use of slip of papers and books as an "emblem of authority and an instrument of mobilization" (p.265). He saw the book and slips as the graphic expression used for transmission of insurgency. According to the current study, such a mobilization strategy succeeded because it got tuned with the insurgents' irrational mindset. Here, passing on the paper for people was like performing a ritual that they did to keep their God happy and stay insulated from all difficulties. So they did it without fail. Moreover, strategically, the paper with no message maintained the movement's secretiveness. According to Culshaw and Archer's account (1945), just before the movement started, a holy place emerged in the house of Sidhu and Kanhu, where God was said to have appeared in the form of a cartwheel and people were called to worship God. The current study saw this act of getting people to pilgrimage at the house of Sidhu and Kanhu as a strategy of gathering people. Taking advantage of which Sidhu and Kanhu started mobilizing people against the British. During the pilgrimage, people were notified to gather on the appointed day when God's command was to be announced. In this way, the pilgrimage brought people to the active arena of the movement, where pilgrimage as the course of religious activity tactically engaged people with the movement's political intention.

The study also noticed the mention of *sal* twig's use in the movement in a few archival documents, which the researcher had interpreted as the mobilizing tool. The document's account described the circulation of *sal* twig with *tel* and *sindur* (oil and vermilion) applied to it among the Santhal villages. Here, it is said the twig's importance was intensified by applying *tel* and

sindur to add to its semantic meaning (Guha, 1986). As because of *tel* and *sindur*, the twigs symbolic message of summoning formed part of the people's religious priorities, which persuaded people to perform in its favor. Before the insurgency, the *sal* twigs got used in notifying people for communal hunting (Guha, 1986). The insurgents modified its meaning by using stuff like *tel* and *sindur*, which already had a religious link. They strategically did this to establish the sacred aura since they wanted to mobilize people on religious grounds. Sidhu's statement during his trial further explains this— 'when the Thcoor came'... 'I sent a sal branch to the Sonthals to collect them together'" (Guha, 1986, p.237). Sidhu's statement explains how he deliberately used the existing traditional way of summoning people for his motive with a little improvisation.

An analysis of these observed facts, which the current study perceived as the mobilization strategies, revealed the implication of the symbolic interaction and effective rhetoric, just like the strategies of leadership formation. By using verbal communication through the gesture of 'God's command, an object like a book, slip of papers, and twigs were notified as sacred and later on strategically got implied for symbolic communication where the presumed sacred objects mobilized the people. After this, by creating a religious gathering in the form of a pilgrimage, people were made to participate in the movement. Here the idea of calling people for pilgrimage appeared to the researcher as the 'action mobilization' when analyzed from the mobilization perspective of Klandermans (1984) as, through the means of pilgrimage, people came to the active arena of the movement to worship their God and acted per the movement tactics.

Communication strategies: Besides the mobilization strategies implied to draw the people into the movement, the study also looked into the movement's communication practice to know how people communicated. The researcher marked the evidence of both verbal and non-verbal communication in the archival documents. The analysis showed that the insurgent used more verbal and symbolic communication mostly derived from their culture. However, written communication in letters and ultimatum forms also got used but was limited. Overall, the communicational approach of the movement, as observed by the researcher, was rustic and mostly employed the existing traditional means — like drums and horns, the most popular known rustic means of communication of colonial times. Usually, the sound of the drum and horns served the purpose of wireless communication, which invoked the people's gathering during festivals and hunting. Besides, it was also used during crises to alert people. So when

people began movements, they used drums and horns for invoking assemblies through aural signs. Drums and horns came to be known as the instrument of rebellion by the Britishers. It happened due to the extensive use during movement. On the other side, the Britishers failed to decode the aural signals of the drum. But they recognized the imperative and impact of the drumming on insurgents. Realizing its use, they banned the use of the drum during the suppression of movement (Guha, 1986). The following details of a rebel incident by one of the commanding officers who was involved in suppression of the movement recorded in Hunter's (1868) writing undoubtedly helped understand the impact of the drumming on the insurgent:

It was not war', the commanding officer went on to say; 'they did not understand yielding. As long as their national drums beat, the whole party would stand and allow themselves to be shot down...when their drums ceased, they would move off for about a quarter of a mile; then their drums began again, and they calmly stood still till we came up and poured a few volleys into them. (Hunter, 1868, p. 171)

It is evident from the quote that the insurgents used the drum to gather people and keep their spirits high during the rebellion. This incident replicated the scene of their customary annual hunting in which they hunt in a group and celebrate the event with drumming. Thus, it showed how they utilized a customary act and the drumming performances used during the religious activities in their movement conduction.

Similarly, insurgents also used the *sal* twigs as missives for communicating, as found in the movement report compiled by Sinha (1991). While using them as a communicative means, they used the twigs with specific leaves, which carried a symbolic message. Each leaf on the twig signified a day (Sinha, 1991). For instance, if the twig with two leaves got delivered, it meant insurgents would come after two days after the twig arrived. In this way, insurgents used the *sal* twig to inform about their visit in advance. They also circulated *sal* twigs among them as a summons to a communal assembly. As Hunter (1868: 164) writes, "Emissaries, bearing the national Sal branch were dispatched to every mountain valley; and the people, obedient to the signal, gathered together in vast masses." Even the proclamation of the movement was made by circulating the *sal* twigs. As after killing one of the policemen, Kanhu cried loudly, "The Hool has begun! Send round the Sal branch! There is no Daroga, no Hakim, no Sirkar! the RAJ of the HOR is come!" (Culshaw & Archer, 1945, p. 227).

Likewise, in the later stages of the movement, the twigs got extensively used for

communication besides mobilization. It emerged as an essential means of frequent communication among the insurgents' group (Guha, 1986). There is mention of *sal* twig in many letters exchanged among the British officers, thus validating its use during the movement. Though the arrival of *sal* twig kept the officers vigilant, they still failed to stop the movement's eruption as they did not understand its cultural meaning.

Besides these symbolic communication incidents, the study also came across a few descriptions that mentioned the use of written communication in the form of ultimatums, letters and notices. According to Sherwill (1856), on an appointed day 30th June 1855, Sidhu, following God's command of the dispensed rate of tax, directed his fellowmen to write an ultimatum regarding the same to the various government officers like Collectors and Magistrates of Bhagalpur and Beerbhoom (Birbhum) and Commissioner. *Darogahs* (police officers) and zamindars were also given a written ultimatum and asked to reply within fifteen days (Sherwill, 1856). In an ultimatum to higher English officers, in-charge of the division of the province, a special warning was also given, stating that if they fail to redress their wrongs, they will redress them (Hunter, 1868). The evidence of letters exchanged between the government officers and the insurgent was found in Roy's (1960) account on movement. The British officers collected a total of forty-eight letters written in local dialects by the various insurgents to Sidhu and Kanhu during their lookout. The evidence of the possession of these forty-eight letters got in the letter dated 11th August 1855 written by Oct. Toogood, Esqr, Magistrate of Murshidabad to W. Grey, Esqr, Secretary to the Government of Bengal in which Oct. Toogood, Esqr wrote:

I have the honor to send for the perusal of the Hon'ble Lieutenant Governor 48 letters & ca. which I found in Sedu and Kanu's tin box at Bhugandhee. I have been endeavoring to get them translated but have not been able to succeed. (as cited in Roy, 1960, p. 188)

In addition to letters, the British officers issued written notices during the movement's suppression to convince the insurgent to surrender. Notices were issued both in Hindi and Bengali. The order regarding the issuing of notice was given by W. Grey, the Secretary to the Government of Bengal Fort William, to A. C. Bidwell Esqr., who was the special Commissioner assigned for the task of special operation of suppressing the movement by writing a letter to him, dated 6th August 1855 (Letter no. 1808 as cited in Sinha, 1991). The evidence of letters, ultimatums, and notices confirmed the use of written communication on the part of both insurgents and government during the movement besides verbal communication.

This way, community members devotedly and collectively fought for themselves but failed to accomplish their divine mission of establishing *Thakur's* kingdom assigned to them directly by their *Thakur*. The movement did not thrive for a long time and got suppressed by the British army. Sidhu and Kanhu got death sentences and along with them, the spark of the movement also died. Sidhu and Kanhu are regarded as icons for heroic leadership in present Jharkhand and inspiration for the contemporary movements.

Case Study: Birsa Movement (Ulgulan) 1894-1900

This case study demonstrated the communication and mobilization perspective of one of the most acknowledged movements of the Munda community, the Birsa Movement of the late 19th century. Even though this movement, to some extent, was community-centric and limited in its geographical spread, it got witnessed in an area of about 400 square miles in Singhbhum district (O'Malley, 1910 b). It was one of the well-planned movements of the Chotanagpur tribes pre-independence, which also marked the end of the armed colonial tribal revolt. Today, in Jharkhand, this movement is generally known as *Ulgulan*, which means 'great tumult.' In present days *Ulgulan* for the tribes of central India is not merely a word but an ideology in itself. It encapsulates the broad ideology of Birsa of 'golden age' and territory free from *dikes*. *Diku*, a colonial expression, is assigned to all non-tribal people who exploit tribes. In the tribal political arena, this is the most preferred ideology that has been reinvented repeatedly and has incessantly provided a new subjectivity to the tribal struggle. This ideology is predominantly about the land and detribalization issues that remain the core of Jharkhand's contemporary tribal movements. During British Raj, the call for Ulgulan was made by its leader Birsa Munda to reclaim their land rights and retrieve their lost respect. For this, one particular day 'the day of *Ulgulan*' was fixed for the outbreak of the violent revolt, which was the eve of Christmas, 24th December 1899 (Singh, 1983; Guha, 1986; O'Malley, 1910b & Roy, 1912). However, the movement did not sustain for long and ended with the death of Birsa, who died in police custody during his trial in 1900 (Singh, 1983 & Roy, 1912). Many scholars confine themselves to Birsa *Ulgulan* only to 1899 to 1900, but this case study intended to explore the overall mobilization and communication perspective of this movement right from its formation; it covered the period from 1894 to 1900.

In the past, this movement had been read by different scholars from various perspectives like political and millenarianism (Singh, 1983), religious (Deren, 1985), millenarianism (Fuchs,

1965; 1992) and peasant or subaltern perspectives (Guha, 1986). And there has been a diverse view regarding the nature of this movement. K. S Singh, an anthropologist and a civil servant who has studied the tribe in-depth, has described this movement as a religious cum political movement. In contrast, a historian like Ranjit Guha has analyzed it from the perspective of distressed but conscious peasant communities and gave an ‘anti-colonial’ narrative to this movement. He saw it as the beginning of the struggle towards freedom from British oppression. However, contemporary scholars like Chandra (2016) observed this movement merely as a liberating movement of the tribe, which was not only against the British oppression but against all of those who had oppressed them (merchants, landlords, British officers and missionaries). The current case study, without much focus on nature, and by incorporating all the collected data on this movement, tried to understand and explore the communicative and mobilizing strategies of the movement.

Like the other tribal uprisings, this movement also unfolds against the colonial elite’s exploitation and deprivation of the indigenous community. As mentioned earlier in the previous case study, the problem started emerging in the Chotanagpur region, with the new system of taxation and the feudal system that failed to comprehend the traditional and customary land system of the indigenous people. Gradual colonization started affecting the Munda’s communal *khunkati* land system and agrarian order and led to the transformation in their economic and political system, which left the tribe perplexed. Same as Santhals, the influx and ascendancy of outsiders adversely affected Munda’s existence in their very own territory. It degraded their social status, pushed them into indebtedness and led to *beth-begari* (forced labor) among them. This shift also coincided with the detribalization process by Catholicism. The Christian missionaries like German Lutheran and Belgian Jesuit missionaries, who were also in play, were always at work in popularizing their religious ideology. With their influence, many tribes converted to Christianity as succor to escape their indebtedness. All these developments fetched them a state of vulnerability. The anxiety accumulated due to the economic distress and cultural disintegration among the tribal community started emerging in 1799 by way of uprisings. Since then, there have been numerous uprisings like Chero Uprising, Munda revolt in Tamar, Kol Uprising, Bhumiji Uprising, Santhal Hul, and Sardar Larai. Bishu Manki organized the first uprising among the Munda in 1799 (Dhan, 2017). The ripples of which were seen even in the *Sardar Larai* 1858 (agitation) and the Birsa Movement.

Scholars like Singh (1983) see *Sardar Larai* as the precursor of the Birsa Movement as Birsa, after completing his upper primary education from missionary school, gave up Christianity and became politically active under the influence of *Sardar* agitation. He started participating with *Sardar* in their movement and fought actively against denial of their traditional rights of the forest for his community since 1890. During 1890 he also came under Vaishnav's influence, where he closely experienced Hindu dharma (Singh, 1983; Derne, 1985 & Guha 1986). His experience with various religious beliefs helped him cultivate a good sense of religion. Later on, he organized his movement— agrarian in origin, religious in outlook, and political in content. Birsa's movement represents a unique characteristic because of which it is always debated on its nature. By converging the features of the religious and political movements, the Birsa Movement sought to benefit from both in more than one way.

Strategies for creating leadership: Exploitation and subjugation, which Birsa and his community members faced, transformed Birsa into a multivalent leader. Because of which it isn't easy to analyze his leadership from a single lens approach. From the perception of a religious movement, he was a '*Bhagwan*' or prophet (God) for his followers, who was guiding them through the process of revitalization towards a new religion (Derne, 1985). From a political perspective, he was re-territorializing activists fighting to get back their lost territory. Whereas from the 'millenarianism' perspective, he was a messiah and savior for people who had come to liberate them from the prolonged suppression. He creatively used different frames for his movement formation and to acquire leadership. By virtue of his profound religious understanding and scientific intellect, he planned a comprehensive and historically informed movement. By incorporating religion in his framework, he deployed planned motivational and organizational strategies inclined with his people's psychology and belief system to attract them to the movement. He took calculated steps and the right time both in the preparation and formation of his movement.

For acquiring leadership, Birsa used various strategies. In one instance, he used religious elements to construct his image as 'messiah.' Birsa, who was active in the *Sardar* agitation, had known that to get back their territory and lost status, they may need a new movement. Through his own social experiences and observations, he learned that people were desperately looking for a solution to their agrarian problems. And being primitive and predominantly religious in their disposition, people can be quickly mobilized by using their religiosity. Thus, by applying the

messiah's Biblical theological concept, he framed his image of a messiah, and through 'syncretism' (Fuchs, 1992 & Derne, 1985), he inscribed his new religion. For this, he borrowed the 'millenarian' concept from Christianity, the character of '*Singbonga*' (supreme God of Munda) from indigenous belief and philosophy of '*avatar*' (rebirth) from *Vishanava/Vaishnava* Hindu. From all this borrowing, he framed his imagery of ascription of divinity upon him.

Further, to proclaim his godly status, he creatively used the phenomena of 'dream' as a means to communicate and as a style to present his movement's objectives to the people. With the help of the dream and claiming to be the voice of God, he told people that king *Singbonga* himself came to his dream to sanction him the divine mission to get back their lost kingdom (Singh, 1983 & Roy, 1912). Here Birsa's narration of his dream was interpreted by the researcher as a form of storytelling strategically implied to influence people. Since *Singbonga* among Munda is considered the supreme God, it quickly resonated with people's religious emotions. Moreover, as the current study observed, Birsa, while narrating the dream subtly, brought in the aspect of injustice done to them by referring to the 'lost kingdom.' Birsa also persuasively called for action by describing his act as a divine mission. Through the strategy of divinely inspired speech, he tried to channelize people's grievances towards the movement's formation.

Birsa, while forming the movement, enlarged and reinforced his image of 'messiah' by presenting his deeds of curing ill people as miraculous. Birsa, by using his scientific knowledge availed in a missionary school and with his awareness of health and hygiene, started curing sick people in the miracle name. This certainly helped him facilitate movement recruitment as, during the epidemic breakout in Katui (village), Birsa cured people through ceremonial procession by reciting *mantras* (Singh, 1983). From the movement perspective, his act of treating people in the name of miracle is a pointer to his intent to spread and testify his healer image, as the current study comprehended. It also threw light on his familiarity with society and its beliefs. He knew that when his deeds get presented as a miracle, it will spread mouth-to-mouth in no time and get him the desired popularity required to form the ground for his leadership.

Further, Birsa used the market as a place to popularize his healer image. He asked his friend Bir Singh (who was with him in *Sardar* agitation) to circulate the news of his healing power in Birbanki bazaar (Singh, 1983). The bazaar was used deliberately for this purpose to ensure the reach of his message to a broader audience. Bazaar had a significant role in the social

sphere besides economic aspects in the colonial tribal society (Ghosh, 2006). In colonial times it served as a 'community center' for all sorts of social interactions where news were circulated and announcements were made (Sachchidanand, 1968). The concept of weekly or periodic markets/bazaar is very old in tribal society. Every village was served by such a bazaar, called '*hat*' in the native language. These bazaars served as a place for the villagers to meet and provided a platform for intertribal and intercultural meets (Sachchidanand, 1968). The information/message circulated in these bazaars used to percolate into the remotest village. Even the colonial government used weekly markets for this reason for making public announcements. The Police Superintendent widely circulated the declared reward for Birsa's arrest in the weekly market, following which Birsa got arrested on 3rd February 1900 (Singh, 1983). This concept of the weekly market still exists in the tribal areas where a person from the surrounding area comes for information on all kinds of social-economic affairs.

Besides the image of the savior, Birsa also took an outlook of a religious prophet. As he claimed to be God's incarnation, he made some changes in his clothing and routine life for people to figure out divinity traits in his personality. He started wearing *dhoti* dyed in turmeric, a sacred thread, and a pair of wooden sandals (Singh, 1983). Besides this, he started eating only once in eight days and took a bath thrice a day (Singh, 1983). To give a golden color to his body, he applied turmeric all over his body (Singh, 1983). All these fascinating stories of his outward show started attracting people towards him. And considering all visitors as disciples, he gradually began preaching to them his new religion. From the movement stance, it appeared like organizing and mobilizing steps to the researcher. It enabled Birsa to gather a crowd and preach to create a new identity in people. Drawing ideas from Christianity, he also asked his followers to come for a prayer meeting twice a week, Thursday and Sunday (Singh, 1983). The sessions were an opportunity to interact with people regularly. For this, *Sardar* volunteers were also parallelly at work. As a missionary worker, J. B. Hoffmann wrote, "I distinctly remember how the known *Sardars* were urging the common people to go on pilgrimage to 'Birsa Bhagwan'" (cited in Tete, 1984, p. 35; Luker, 1998, p. 34 & Guha, 1986, p. 267). It shows how they formed the fertile ground for easy mobilization around the axis of religiosity.

The analysis of the above-stated acts of leadership formation clearly showed Birsa's competence to become a leader. These incidents illustrated how much he was aware of the significance of disseminating information about the miracles he performed, choosing the market

place to interact with people and ascribing divinity as the strategy. These incidents also unfolded various communicational tactics— the wide use of verbal (mouth to mouth) and symbolic communication, especially when Birsa took an outlook of a religious person and changed his lifestyle and conduct; communication by cultural and behavioral means were observed. Here, *dhoti*, sacred thread, wooden sandals, and turmeric appeared as props used to enhance symbolic communication and support what was being circulated verbally by his followers to prepare the movement's ground.

Preparation of the movement: A close analysis of Singh's (1983) account of Birsa's various 'meetings' during the preparatory phase from 1896 to 1899 shows that the movement was comprehensively planned. They were tactically giving out religious solutions to political problems related to the *parha* and *khuntkatti* system. Birsa organized subjugated people around religion and brought them on the path of rebellion. The movement was very strategic in its discourse, and it had a pre-decided action plan to execute, which is an indicator of the good sense of management on the part of the movement leader. For carrying out the mobilization and organizing activities, they had constituted a team of participants who were categorized into different groups by Birsa. Accordingly, they got assigned distinct roles and responsibilities. Throughout all these planning and organization, Birsa was backed by Sardars' support, who were deliberately helping him meet their objective of insurgence (Singh, 1983). Both Birsa and *Sardar*, with their continuous and combined efforts, succeeded in emerging this movement.

Over time, the movement got a system that ensured structured participant networking. The participants for strategic convenience got categorized into three different groups: *pracharaks* (advertisers), *puranaks* (old members), and *nanaks* (new members) (Singh, 1983 & Luker, 1998). *Pracharaks* were the religious gurus who went around propagating Birsa's new religion and conducted Birsaite¹⁰ prayer meetings twice a week. Prayer meetings were held deep in the forest only in the presence of Birsa or any of his confidants. *Puranaks* were the old members, primarily the Sardars, who were politically active and openly in support of the rebellion. The new recruits were called *Nanaks*, who were not allowed to attain any important *panchayats*. *Panchayats* are the traditional way of conducting meetings in rural India. Here, *Sardars'* role in the movement was understood as an organizer by the current study from the standpoint of the

¹⁰ The followers of Birsa's religion are called Birsaite.

‘meso-mobilization’ concept proposed by Gerhards & Rucht (1992). As the task of mobilizing at the micro-level was dependent on *Sardars*, with time, *Sardars* emerged as the major channel of communication between Birsa and the prospective movement participants. The role of *Sardars* involvement is a pointer to the fact that not only does a person join the movement out of interest for the cause but also help to mobilize people. The following segment gets into more details of mobilizing strategies.

Mobilizing strategies: Birsa’s divine image primarily helped him mobilize people, which he subsequently exploited to form his movement. Also, most of the mobilizing strategies of Birsa were centered around a series of traditional and religious activities that prevented the British from decoding its political intention. Despite the increasing crowd at his pilgrimage were viewed with suspicion and apprehension by district administration and missionaries. Besides arranging pilgrimages, Birsa also visited villages to mobilize people secretly. He used a fresh strategy at each stage to further his socio-political movement. Some of the mobilizing strategies observed by the researcher are here.

Birsa, presenting himself as a heavenly messenger and implying the concept of ‘apocalyptic prophecy’ (Fuchs, 1992 & Derne, 1985), borrowed from Christianity and Indigenous faith framed holy messages to make people join his movement. People mostly joined him because of his warning about catastrophe. The warning was the high point of his apocalyptic prophecy, which even went to the extent of giving a specific date of fire raining from heaven to destroy all evils on the earth except his followers. He said the followers would be there with him on the hilltop dressed in dhoti wearing a sacred thread, after which life will flourish in the ‘golden age’ of Munda’s rule (Roy, 1912; Singh, 1983; Fuchs, 1992; Derne, 1985 & Guha, 1986). Here, Birsa made the use of the mythical resources of various faiths to craft the solution to their problems in the form of ‘divine intervention.’ People started to gather at his pilgrimage initially because of their own old beliefs and later on account of their socio-economic discontentment. This way, Birsa’s apocalyptic prophecy, as the current study comprehended, marked the beginning of religious mobilization. The researcher also understood the use of catastrophic warnings and apocalyptic prophecy from the side of the message’s presentation. These appeared as the construct of the movement message, where both ideas were derived using cultural and religious knowledge.

During the preparation phase, Birsa’s pilgrimage to various ancestral sites captured by

the dikus reflected the religious aspects of the mobilization strategy. Pilgrimage has a deeper meaning and is not a simple journey. It is a journey of rituals driven by a specific belief system. As grasped by the current study utilizing this (pilgrimage) spiritual theme, Birsa was slowly transforming his believers into movement participants. This process of mobilization, as per Guha (1986), was carried out over two years. The purpose of which, as stated by Singh (1983), was:

To collect the old ancestral possessions, the *tulsi* leaves from Chutia, the sacred soil and water from the site of the old kingdom at Naw Rattan, the sandal paste from Jagarnathpur temple, and to pay homage to the ancestors of the race at these places. (pp. 82-83)

Here, Birsa's pilgrimage, in which he gathered locals and relics and paid homage to his ancestors, was recognized by the researcher as something similar to today's journey to the shrines. Philosophically, it is a crossing of one's faith to transform him/her internally. The return from which marks the beginning of a new journey full of blessings for the chosen destination. By paying homage and obtaining divine power through relics, Birsa recreated the realm of religious pilgrimage, thus making it a source of motivation and encouragement for his movement. Further, as the current study realized, there could be two reasons for such a mobilization strategy. First, Birsa possibly wanted his people to feel that they were undertaking a religious mission as the movement's whole planning was conceived around the religion. Secondly, Birsa though educated, was no exception; he too belonged to the same primitive and religious community.

From another point of view, this pilgrimage in itself was the people's way of expressing their opposition to their tradition's infringement. A sense of political expression can be evident when they entered the premises restricted to them. Through the pilgrimage exercise, Birsa perhaps was trying to instill a sense of courage and dose of rebellion in the people. He told his followers they would be recuperating their ancestral source of 'magical power' through this pilgrimage, which would bring them victory against their enemies and win them back their lost estate (Luker, 1998). It was technically a means of rallying support to his cause (Luker, 1998) by correlating the ethnicity with the intended insurgent activities and a process of psychologically preparing (Singh, 1983) his disciples for the upcoming open rebellion.

Besides pilgrimage, folk songs and dance were also widely used during the formation of the Birsa Movement. It helped evoke the theme of solidarity and revolt (Guha, 1986). In meetings, the songs on historical heroes and past revolts were rendered to encourage each other and overcome their fear (Singh, 1983). The same culture of singing and dancing is seen in

modern movements too. Dance and songs in tribal communities accompany almost every gathering and celebration. They never forget to acknowledge and remember the achievements of their ancestors through songs. In a way, their folk songs, based on their past experiences and events, have a memorizing and mobilizing element. They did not need any exclusive revolutionary songs, unlike today's movements.

Similarly, Birsa borrowed the revolutionary essence from their folk songs, which are not immensely artistic or rhyming but are just the sheer account of their past happenings and experiences, which emerged as a mobilization tool. The dancing and singing act of Birsa showed that apart from the several meetings and talks, they also had recreational activities. Tribal folk dance has a unique feature of group dance where people dance together by holding each other's hands, which gives them a sense of oneness. Thus, it can be said that singing and dancing were also part of Birsa's strategy to unite his people by utilizing the uniting features of his indigenous culture.

Birsa, in his narration of 'holy message,' also instructed people to wear white *dhoti* with sacred thread and turban. This was adhered to by his followers both during the religious events and the preparatory phase of the movement. Even during the revolt, they followed the dress code prescribed by him. Guha (1986) called this dress code of Mundas as 'revolutionary dresses.' This particular dress practice of the revolutionaries, when analyzed by the researcher from the perspectives of movement and semiotics, communicated many things. First, the dress has a symbolic value. It conveys a message about why the person is wearing it and the doctrine to which they confirm. Thus, by following a particular dress code, Birsa tried to grab the people's attention towards his new religion. Secondly, he tried to ascribe a revolutionary identity to his followers and gave them a collective identity through the dress code. Third, he asked people to wear new clothes in line with their cultural custom of wearing new clothes during festivals and on auspicious days. In doing so, he brought more visibility to his movement as a holy mission. The current study observed these as a means of rallying support and making people believe that they are part of a divine mission.

This way, Birsa, resorting to religious themes, undertaking spiritual activities, and delivering divine speeches, established a belief among his disciples that they worked for a religious cause. His influence on the followers was so strong that they blindly followed his order when he asked them to kill and murder their enemy during an open revolt. Birsa insisted that

only an open revolt could help achieve the objectives of the mission. It was the feeling of sanctity achieved through continuous counseling among people, which made them act in each stage of the rebellion. As the current study realized, people equated Birsa's command to God's command, where Birsa exploited the people's faith to gather a troop of devoted participants. For whom supporting Birsa was a religious obligation, and to obey his directions was their sacred duty. Here, Birsa was not only God's messenger but the personification of God's message. This legendary image of Birsa was accomplished by the efforts of *Sardars*, who continuously invoked the people to visit Birsa by exaggerating his deeds by using their interpersonal communicational network.

Besides these, nocturnal meetings also emerged as the primary strategy of mobilization and communication, which provided movement organizers with an opening to interact with the prospective movement participants and build their cadre. Meetings got conducted in the form of the prayer meetings, something on the lines of church missionaries, of which Birsa was well aware. For the meetings, a proper schedule was drawn up with an aim to conduct meetings all over the Munda region (Singh, 1983). As mentioned already, the responsibility of conducting meetings was assigned to *pracharaks* and was held only by Birsa or by his confidants. This proved that only those who were aware of the movement's real mission were involved in such meetings to organize people for the cause.

Further, as per Singh's (1983) account, Birsa in meetings used to encourage people to defy the government by stopping agricultural activities and not pay taxes. It proved how Birsa strategically deployed the tactic of divine speech indirectly to make people disobey the government. The conduct of people where they stopped doing agriculture and paying taxes, as asked by Birsa when analyzed as a mode of expressing protest, can be considered as Tilly's (1977b, 1995 & 2008) 'repertoire of contention,' one similar to today's non-cooperation and boycotts. Here is the description of one of the meetings of Birsa by Singh (1983), which goes like this:

Chalkad was associated with the prophet, Dombari, with the freedom-fighter. The choice of Dombari was both strategic and probably sentimental. It lay in the heart of the Hasada country, the seat of the pure Mundas and Mundari...Dombari was surrounded on all sides by hills, and it opened into the valley of Domba or Saiko...It had an ideal meeting ground and a source of water supply close by. The place and its surroundings had been associated

with Birsa's childhood and above all, with the Kol insurrection...A representative gathering of Mundas from all parts of their land attended the meeting at Dombari in February 1898 in the house of Jagari Munda at the foot of the hill...He asked his disciples to find whether the people wanted to apply the religious methods or the violent ones to win back their kingdom. (pp: 86-87)

It demonstrates that the venues of the meetings got rationally chosen with distinct reasons behind it. Most of their secret meetings were conducted in the areas which were well known to them and challenging for the British to access. Such venues kept their secretive mission out of the enemy's radar. The places also had some sentiment attached to them, thus likely to draw more committed responses from the group members. Like Dombari hill had a link with the Kol insurrection, it shows how competent they were in strategizing the ground of their movement by identifying and playing on people's emotions. Another description of the meeting by one of the witnesses during the trials explains the meeting as:

Birsa sat facing the east, and the rest of the people sat around him. About midnight, everyone had assembled, and shortly afterward, the moon rose. When everyone was assembled, Birsa asked what troubles we suffered from...Birsa then told us to make bows and arrows and *baluas*, as we were greatly oppressed. (Roy, 1912, p.337)

Further details of how the meetings got conducted are also available. The presence of representatives from all the areas was akin to democratic representation, and the discussion among them was something similar to their traditional *panchayat*. Besides, this meeting also appeared to convey revolutionary ideas where people religiously motivated by Birsa were asked to attend weekly meetings regularly. They were mentally prepared for the armed rebellion and were asked to make bow and arrows and other arms for the final revolt. In the meetings, rebel messages were conveyed both in the verbal and non-verbal means, verbal through discussions and consultations, while non-verbal was in the form of symbolic communication.

Singh (1983) describes events where Birsa can be assumed as using the strategy of the stage show to orient his follower towards open revolt. This he did by carrying out symbolically the whole act of rebellion in the form of rituals. On one occasion, he compared the British with Ravana, the king of Lanka, who is considered a demon in Hindu mythology. He also compared the British Queen with *Mandodari*, who is *Ravana's* wife. He made their effigy made of plantain tree and leaf-plates and after setting it on fire, he demonstrated the end of colonization. While on

another occasion at an *akhra* (indigenous dancing floor), he symbolically placed white flags in the East to represent himself and the West's red flag to represent *dikus*. He said, "there was going to be a fight with the *dikus* and the ground would be as red as their flag with their blood" (Singh, 1983: 90). After this, the plantain effigy was put on fire along with a red and white flag on which followers were asked to shoot arrows bringing to an end the British Raj and *dikus*' exploitation (Singh, 1983).

From this, the researcher comprehended how Birsa trained his men through the symbolic representation of white and red flags, where he prepared his men emotionally and psychologically for the upcoming bloodshed. It seemed he wanted them to visualize in advance the forthcoming battle scene. In a way, through these acts, he appeared to be eventually trying to liberate his people's latent heroic energy. Further, from the perspective of movement preparation, it can be assumed that Birsa was preparing his people thoroughly for every possible incident so that on the sight of blood, they would not panic and back out from the revolt.

The stage demonstration strategy also showed how Birsa innovatively used symbolic communication to mobilize his people and successfully set the prior expectation of the movement. It was actually the power of imagination and symbols used through which Birsa succeeded in making his people visualize the return of 'golden age,' the theme that stroked the movement's beginning. Here it is also important to analyze the communication strategies used in the movement.

Communication strategies: Birsa worked on his communication strategy cleverly by implying the archaic tactics of myths, idioms, slogans, and prophecy to keep his followers intact and mobilized more people for the movement. Besides these, his oratory skills and religious knowledge also helped him diffuse his movement and secretly propagate his underground mission of re-establishing the Munda Raj. His whole movement was based on figurative speech, which was circulated by word of mouth further. Through his communication strategy, Birsa not only propagated his movement but also successfully engaged people in his movement. He worked out various communication tactics to resonate his messages with his people.

One of them is prophecies. There are various incidents observed when Birsa used prophecy in his speech to attract and involve people in his movement. At the beginning of his movement, he fabricated an apocalyptic prophecy of catastrophe based on his religious knowledge of various religions where he proclaimed the world's end. Birsa knew that prophecy

would significantly influence his community as, during that period, they were being influenced by Christianity and learning biblical prophecy stories. On the other side, when catastrophes made by Birsa failed, he smartly reinterpreted the situation and said it has been postponed for a while and succeeded in maintaining people's faith and commitment to his mission. The failure of catastrophe did not weaken his people's belief because Birsa presented himself as an incarnation of God. He told them that he was not speaking on God's behalf, but he himself was the voice of God. His utterance took the form of interpersonal communication where God, through the mouth of Birsa, was talking to the people. Likewise, by utilizing this approach, he used prophecy as a communication strategy at later stages too to fulfill his various motives. Like once, he made a prophecy to ensure that people obey him. He told them that "If you do not obey my orders and kill them and burn houses, you will be shot with arrows and cut down yourself" (Singh, 1983, p. 93).

Further, he was also prepared for the mess arising from his false predictions and was ready for it in advance. While healing sick, he used to tell them that they can be only cured if they had enough faith in him and if anyone used to complain that he/she hasn't healed, he used to make excuses by saying that they haven't approached him with "proper attitude of reverence" (Roy, 1912, p. 328). In the same way, anticipating his arrest, he told people in advance that police cannot arrest him as by using his power, he will come out from the jail leaving wood as his substitute (Singh, 1983 & Roy, 1912). During the preparation of the movements, in many situations, when he was suspicious of being arrested, he went underground to hide, which Roy (1912) has described as a 'temporary eclipse' in his study. During these times, his absence was interpreted as a visit to heaven by his followers. The intent was to maintain his divinity. Similarly, when the British bullets killed people at the time of the open revolt, he announced that only those people got killed who were not the real followers of Birsa (Singh, 1983). In the same way, he continued with his ingenious tricks throughout his movement.

Besides this, he also scripted prophecy to keep his people motivated. There is a firm belief in tribal communities that their ancestors coexist with them in the form of a spirit. Utilizing this notion of faith during his pilgrimage tour, which was designed for acquiring ancestral possession of power, he purposefully asked his followers to share if anyone heard the 'ancestral talk' (Singh, 1983). As pre-planned, a few people in the night while sleeping heard some voice asking them, "Are you ready?" (Singh, 1983, p. 85) to which they replied, "Yes, we

are ready” (Singh, 1983, p. 85). Through the incident of ‘ancestral talk,’ Birsa tactically concluded that their mission had the blessing of ancestors and what they were doing was right. On another occasion, to assure his people of their security Birsa said that at the time of open revolt through his miraculous gift, the enemy’s bullets will turn into water and their guns into stones (Roy, 1912 & Singh, 1983).

In the same way, another act of *Bir-da* (*Bir* means brave & *da* means water) ceremony was conducted at Nawratan Fort to obtain supernatural power. While sprinkling the *Bir-da* on followers, Birsa announced that with the drops of the holy water, people had acquired extraordinary ability to fight their enemy, which will make them invisible during the encounter (Singh, 1983 & Roy, 1912). Even after being caught by the police, Birsa did not stop trying to motivate people to continue the fight. Prophesying his return before going for the court trial, he appealed to his people to continue their struggle. In his last prophecy, he said:

As long as I do not change this body of earth, you will not be saved. Do not be disappointed. Do not think that I left you in the lurch. I have given you all the weapons, all instruments. You will save yourselves with them...Let us not lose heart; let us wait patiently. I will return one day and win my kingdom. If I fix a date like *Sardars*, you will only look forward to the day. (Singh, 1983, p. 132)

In this way, Birsa explicitly used prophecy to spread his movement motives by giving it a voice of God, where he represented himself only as a midway between God and the people. Here Birsa first, by proclaiming himself as God’s chosen prophet, assigned himself a superlative rank of a speaker. Secondly, the speaker’s superlative rank automatically bestowed on him the power with which his utterance became an essential message for the people. Both of these formed the perfect situation for movement formation, where leadership was not questioned, and the leader’s words were taken as ordered by his followers.

Along with the prophecy, Birsa also used a mythical message. To convey his perception of their existing situation under the British Raj in one of the meetings, Birsa compared British with *Ravana* and the British Queen with *Mandodari*, as mentioned earlier. As interpreted by the researcher, he did it to arouse the rebellious emotions among his followers and structure the revolutionary situations. By referring to the mythical anecdote of *Ravana* and *Mandodari*, Birsa wanted his followers to equate the British and the British Queen with devils. He used this myth, knowing very well that it will work on the people, attract them to his movement and spur them

against the British. As myths, while “communicating the perception of a situation also communicates the emotions aroused by that perception” (Sykes, 1970). The myth related to *Ravana* and *Mandodari* helped him concisely and accurately communicate his attitude towards the British to his followers in the same way as he desired. Besides communicating the overall perception of a social situation referred to, the myth also conveyed the integrated attitude, beliefs, and values (Sykes, 1970). By equating the British with *Ravana* and the British Queen with *Mandodari* he tried to portray the colonial situation with that of the kingdom of *Ravana* and *Mandodari*. He hence justified his call for the open revolt and killing of the British.

Similarly, by citing another myth related to the concept of the ‘*manvantara*’ of Hindu cosmology of four cosmic ages — *Puranas* are *Satyayuga*, *Tretayuga*, *Dvaparayuga*, and *Kaliyuga* he called their present as *Kaliyuga*, the era of exploitation of tribals by the British and *dikus*. Using the same plot, he also announced that the *Satyayuga* (golden age) would return shortly, where Munda were supposed to rule. In this way, he indirectly projected himself as the ‘*avatar*’ of God. As per ‘*manvantara*,’ at the end of *Kaliyuga*, God will take the ‘*avatar*’ of the human body to clean and restore the universe from evils. Purposely by referring to the myth of *Satyayuga* (golden age), he ultimately justified the sudden change in his character, and people were bound to think of him as an incarnation of God who was there to liberate them from the exploitations.

Further, to diffuse his mythical messages and prophecies far and wide, Birsa made the use of rumors in his communication. *Sardars* were the leading players who helped him in spreading the rumors. Birsa’s story of divinity and miraculous deeds of curing people got highly exaggerated by the *Sardars* and purposely spread out in the form of rumors to mobilize people. As rumors are difficult to verify and resist, many people started coming to Birsa’s pilgrimage. Here ambiguity of rumor and people’s high interest in being cured added to the popularity of Birsa, utilizing which Birsa succeeded in communicating his idea of movement.

The study also intensified the use of rebel messages for communicating. The rebel message refers to the utterances that came while performing the movement. Singh (1983), in his study, has recorded many such utterances. Guha (1986) interpreted it as a ‘war-cry’ and ‘communal idioms,’ which he says were used to mobilize and inform the insurgents during the rebellion. Singh (1983) calls it a ‘shouting’ and ‘exclaim’ and avoided any further analysis. A complete description of a rebel occurrence of 7th January 1900 of Khuti from Singh’s (1983)

account was referred for the analysis to understand the rebel messages from a communicative perspective. Where Singh (1983), while describing the whole incident of the rebel, has cited three utterances yelled during the rebel. Those are: “‘The rahar crop in Khunti is ripe, let us harvest it’ (*Khunti re rahar jaromakana, dolabu maea*), they shouted...‘Beat and cut the red *pagri wallahs* and co. (constables)’...Victory! We have won the fight; hoist our flag” (Singh, 1983, pp. 109-110).

By analyzing the sequences and how these rebel messages were called out, it foretasted the rebel discourse where the first utterance was used as an operative idiom by the rebellions to call the other rebellions for a collective task of performing rebel. Here, this operative idiom got used as a call and as information whereby through utterances, they got simultaneously informed about the arrival of the time for them to act. Similarly, the other two utterances denote the goings-on of a rebel where by yelling “‘Beat and cut the red *pagri wallahs* and co. (constables),” the rebellions seem to be informed about the arrival of their enemy. The yell was also to direct rebellions to do predefined action. While the last scream, “Victory! We have won the fight; hoist our flag,” after the accomplishment of a task was made to declare victory, where victory was declared by hoisting the flag. The sequence of actions clearly explained their sense of obligation and demonstrated the level of preparation done for the movement.

Further, by looking at the frame of these messages, one can easily connect tribal rhetoric practices of annual hunting and harvesting and the rebel utterances, about which Guha (1986) has adequately written. The wordings used in the first utterance mentioned above, like ‘crop and harvest,’ refer to agriculture. In the same way, in another utterance of Etkedih incident of 5th January 1900, “*samara hijulenako mar goekope* (Sambhar deer have arrived, kill them)” the words like ‘deer and kill’ (Singh, 1983, p. 105), refer to the hunting act. By finding this connection, with the agricultural and annual hunting activities, a kind of communal work for tribal community, Guha (1986) calls the rebel a communal activity and the rebel utterances communal idioms. For them, it was merely another way of working together (doing rebel). Tribal has a unique communitarianism culture and cooperation where they work in a group through coordination and cooperation. The group work is never performed in silence; instead, it is carried out alongside folklore’s utterances, which enclose the traditional and cultural messages based on past experiences. Similarly, rebel utterances enclosed the rebel’s coded messages only for the rebellions to understand.

Use of Cultural Knowledge in Leadership formation and Communication and Mobilizing Strategies

Leadership analysis is essential as it is the key to the mobilizing and communicational analysis of the movement. It is because strategies like mobilization and communication are often the outcome of leaders' cognitive resources. But to understand the leaders and their nature of leadership, the kind of crises that gave rise to the movement is also equally essential to know. Leaders in both movements emerged in a period of crisis, which was of integrated nature. It included social, political, and religious crises to some extent, as discussed earlier. It was because of the integrated nature of the tribal community. In the colonial period, tribal life was integrated, unlike other communities. They hardly differentiated and separated their religious and cultural life from their work life. Their spiritual, economic, and social practices were all integrated into one. For example, agriculture was simply not a money-making practice for them; it was also a cultural and social practice. Till today, in tribal communities, rituals and cultural practices mark the beginning and end of agricultural work. Agriculture is a group activity where people sing agriculture-related folk songs and do the cultivation work on a communitarian basis, which also reflects their social life. Likewise, the movement also integrated with their life's economic, social, political, and cultural aspects. Hence the leaders who emerged from a tribal community in the colonial period had a mixed character of both political and religious leaders and used cultural and religious strategies, along with political strategies to draw people to the movement. Thus, cultural and religious strategies dominated both movements.

The analysis of both movements showed an authoritative tone of leadership. The concept of 'divine intervention' was used by Birsa as well as Sidhu and Kanhu to ensure their authority. For establishing the idea of 'divine intervention,' Sidhu and Kanhu and Birsa, utilized the theology of their respective supreme God *Bonga* and *Singbonga*, respectively. *Bonga* and *Singbonga* denote indigenous theology, which can be seen as something similar to the concept of '*Mana*,' which is like a supernatural power. Or it is like some energy, in the modern term. Where '*Mana*' is defined as:

A power or influence, not physical, and in a way, supernatural; but it shows itself in physical force, or in any kind of power or excellence which a man possesses...*Mana* is not fixed in anything and can be conveyed in almost anything. (Codrington, 1877, as cited in Tomlinson & Tengan, 2016, p.3)

Here the implication of the ideas of *Bonga* and *Singbonga* can be seen from two positions: the leader's perspective and from the perspective of the movement's prospective participant. From the view of leaders - it shows the leaders' understanding of their respective cultural beliefs, their adeptness in recognizing the most effectual ideas, and their strategic capacity in shaping their leadership formation by utilizing the concept. It shows both the leaders' competency in organizing movement where they both were able to form movement by using their communication skills and cultural knowledge. Further, the formation of leadership and acceptance of these ideas in the respective set also explained the role of culture in organizing the movement, as culture is said to shape the movement's dynamics (Zhao, 2010).

As already mentioned, culture shapes movement from three ideal-typical mechanisms, as Zhao (2010) suggested: problem-solving tool-kit, as scripts, and as an instinct and taken for granted. Here, from the leader's perspective, the implication of these ideas of *Bonga* and *Singbonga* appeared as the mechanisms of cultural tool-kit. The leaders of both movements skillfully used this concept to construct their leadership and create a favorable situation for the movement. This analysis is based on Swidler's (1986) idea of culture as the tool-kit, which means culture can be used as a tool kit to construct movement strategies and to initiate social action.

While from the position of movement participants, the acceptance of these ideas in their respective sets explains the mechanism of 'cultural text,' which says the culture has the power to impact behavior when people are strongly committed to cultural values. Therefore, when Sidhu and Kanhu claimed the divine apparition through the book, slips of paper, and *sal* twig, and Birsa the ascription of divinity in him, it quickly got their acceptance. It happened not solely because of the leaders' strategic capacity but also because of the people's beliefs, emotions, and value system. With *Bonga* and *Singbonga* denoting the supreme God of Santhals and Mundas, respectively, the participants responded not just to the leaders but also the divine idea and values attached to it.

Similarly, both the movements also referred to the communal hunting practice, which is an annual event common among all tribes. It was used in the Santhal Hul for the intended effect of mobilizing during the formation of the movement intentionally. In contrast, it was used in the Birsa Movement as the granted routine or instinct as part of the movement.

Sal twigs are used in the Santhal community as a summoning for hunting. Utilizing the

same concept with little improvisation by adding *tel* and *sindur* to the twig Sidhu and Kanhu used it to mobilize people and communicate. It shows how they developed the range of their movement communication tool just by using the ‘tool-kit mechanism’ (Zhao, 2010) of the culture. The participants of the Birsa Movement used rhetorical practices of hunting while doing the movement, which is a socialized practice, and this behavior appears in all of their communal work. Birsa did not guide this act; the participants took it on their own as the routine practice, and hence it shows the cultural mechanisms of routine and instinct in shaping the movement as per the idea of Zhao (2010).

The reference to communal hunting, to some extent, helped the leaders unknowingly to enforce a sense of community among participants while performing movement activities since it brought the tribes together and made them collectively participate in the movement. The tradition of communal hunting is related to the village’s cleaning process, where people clean their thought processes and try living in harmony with others. The cleaning process is their physiological assumption. During this tradition, people by hunting in a group and having communal lunch after a few days of hunting, assume their surroundings have gotten rid of the wrong practices of their villages together. So when *sal* twig was circulated in Santhal *Hul*, people came together to correct the wrongdoing of the *dikus* and Britishers. Likewise, by rhetorical practices in the Birsa Movement, people assumed the movement as their communal task and contributed to it. Since movements were divine by design, leadership became authoritative by default. Thus, both leaders were able to connect and mobilize their community members on the ground of their religiosity by using various verbal and symbolic communication derived from the communities’ socio-cultural practices.

Santhal *Hul* and Birsa *Ulgulan*: A Comparative Analysis

When the two movements are compared against their background, at one look, it appears that both emerged out of similar socio-economic conditions and against similar hostility. As it is apparent, the increased taxation and landlessness were the triggers for both of these movements. However, a close analysis exhibits dissimilarities. Indeed, people of both the communities Santhal and Munda at the time of movement breakout had grievances, but their underlying causes were not the same. The leading cause of grievances among the Santhals, as discussed, was the loss of land for the second time, plus their debt, which forced them to slavery, and the judicial injustices done to them. Thus Santhals had more political and social grievances. While in

the Munda community, the circumstances were relatively diverse. As mentioned earlier, besides being landless, they were also the victims of cyclical epidemic and drought, were on the brink of losing their communal rights over the forest, and due to Christianity to an extent, they were losing their indigenous identity. Thus besides political and social grievances, Munda had religious grievances too. Though these movements had comparable grievances, they were not entirely alike; their intentions were slightly different as per their needs and times. Santhals using movement were trying to bring down the tax rate and wanted to get away from the interference of *zamindars* and *mahajans* so that the principle of social equality and justice can be reworked. Birsa, unlike the Santhals, besides establishing the Munda kingdom, also intended to create a new religion. Because of this difference, the movements also were distinct in their leadership communication. They differed in their rhetoric approach. Birsa used an image of a ‘heavenly messenger’ and ‘messiah’ in outlining his leadership; and strategies like preaching, prayers, and prophecies for communicating and dress code and meetings for mobilizing, which was no doubt religious in outlook and conduct. Still, it also indicated the elevated influence of Christianity on it. Whereas, Sidhu and Kanhu used the word like *parvaana* (permit), God command, and ultimatums, where *parvaana* was in use among the Mughal rulers and ultimatums and command among the British administration. Thus it seems the administrators profoundly influenced Sidhu and Kanhu’s ideas. In short, it can be seen that the contemporary setting influenced the leaders of both movements.

However, the social context is equally essential. This whole episode cannot be seen in isolation. The movement’s actors, the leaders, and participants are also the social actors; hence, they are to be seen in the context of a particular time and place. Both movements happened in the colonial period when the societies were highly primitive and superstitious, and because of which, the dominance of divinity in their communication and mobilizing strategies is evident. A close look reveals that these movements’ approach looked quite diverse despite being primitive and superstitious in design. From the mobilizing strategies of Birsa, which comprised pilgrimages, songs and dances, and communication strategies like ‘ancestral talk,’ mythical messages, use of communal idioms, and rhetoric practices of hunting, we get a glimpse of traditional and cultural practices of their indigenous life. Same with Sidhu and Kanhu, their further mobilizing strategies like a pilgrimage and *sal* twig summon and the use of drums-horns show the use of their cultural practices in mobilizing strategies and use of their traditional means of communication in their

communication strategies. From this, it is apparent that movements implied the ideas simultaneously from their contemporary environment as well as from cultural practices.

However, both movements significantly differ in ideas. This difference can be because of the following reasons. The first and foremost reason is because of the difference in community and culture. Second, because of the difference in the period as the Birsa Movement happened after four decades of Santhal *Hul*. The difference in the period can be observed from the strategic differences as well, as Sidhu and Kanhu implied rumors extensively in the preparation of the movement, where rumors had a dual role. It informed as well as mobilized people. It may be because rumors were extensively used in the movements of that time. Guha (1986), in his study, has explained many such incidents of rumors in the movements of that period. Birsa, too, used rumor but not extensively. He stressed more on the strategies based on prophecy, meetings, and preaching as by that time the society was very much under the influence of Christianity. Third is the difference in knowledge and experience of the two leaders. Birsa was educated and had experienced the culture of different religions, which helped him to come up with more ideas as competence comes with knowledge and skills with experience. Fourth, Birsa had a vision for his movement, and he was looking forward to establishing his religion, so he worked more on the rituals for structuring his belief and used more rituals for strategizing his movement. Thus these differences and approaches made the movements distinct. Despite different approaches, both the movements also looked similar. Both were religious in their outlook during the formative stage and militant at the time of the outbreak. Both movements framed their consensus mobilizing strategies based on their religion and action mobilization strategies based on their cultural practice and rituals. It may be because of the prevailing socio-political conditions of that time. Movements occurred during the colonial times when activities like the movement were seen as conspiracy and crime against the state. Maybe because of this, it was religious in the formation and became militant afterward. Briefly, these strategies show that leaders had a good acquaintance with their social and cultural context. The society was primitive and highly superstitious, so were their communication and mobilizing strategies.

Observation

This Chapter demonstrated how leaders mobilized the people through verbal and symbolic communication and how the people's religiosity got utilized in organizing a movement. These case studies' learning concluded that the movement mobilization and communication

strategies are contextual to some extent. It depends on the culture and the characteristics of the societies in which it is formed. Both the case studies have sought to highlight three aspects — first, the importance of the leader’s communication skills in creating and sustaining the movement; second, the role of culture in shaping the movement’s communication and mobilization strategies; and third, the role of sociopolitical characteristics of the society in shaping the approach of the movement and its temper.

Further, the study suggests that despite rejecting rumors, superstitions, myths, rituals, and the likes as rustic, primitive, and inferior ways of communication, we should consider them as a standard way of primitive communication despite being modern scientific thinkers. We can certainly gain more insights into the primitive and traditional communication processes and systems that once established the communication systems in particular communities. Likewise, we can learn more about primitive knowledge as the researcher learned from these case studies about the primitive ways of social movement communication.

With time, like other communities, the communication methods and approaches have advanced in tribal communities (covered in Chapter 5). Still, few primitive communication styles centered on misbelief, rumors, and superstitions from tribal-dominated areas sometimes recorded and reported. That reveals how this manner of communication is still in practice and exists in rural pockets of India. Scholars who have read this type of communication from the perspective of psychology have written that when people are distressed in crises and do not know how to deal and cope with the problem, they turn to these types of rustic communication. Communications based on misbeliefs, rumors and superstitions are widely observed in times of crisis. A glimpse of which too got observed in India in the current pandemic situation – COVID 19, when multiple religious collective processions were recorded from rural areas during lockdown when people across the country were called upon to practice social distancing. Thus, the Chapter upholds its view on the significance of studying the primitive and rustic forms of communication like these, which sometimes take over people’s intellectual disposition to communicate and act logically. Thus, to understand the communication habits and behaviors of an average mass residing in rural India like the tribal community, it urges ongoing research in this area.

Chapter 5

Social Movement Communication among Displaced Tribe: Role of Civil Society in Forming Movement

Introduction

Post-independence, a new tribal category has emerged in India, which is not talked about much. Like the Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG), this group is equally at peril but remains unseen deliberately. This new tribal group comprises displaced people, which are not a voluntary grouping; instead, it is forced upon them by circumstances. Today tribes constitute a significant portion of the displaced groups in India. As discussed in Chapter three, their plight stems from the continuous massive land acquisition in the tribal belts post-independence for mega-development projects. Displacement has become a prerequisite for development projects due to which the number of internally displaced people (IDPs) is on the rise.

As a result, social movements against displacement are also on the rise. Thus this Chapter aims to analyze the communication and mobilizing strategies of the social movements induced due to the development projects in a tribal-dominated area. The two case studies, as mentioned in Chapter two, namely the Chandil Dam Movement (CDM) and movement against the Greater Ranchi Master Plan-2037 (GRMP-2037), emerged in two different settings rural and urban areas formed the subject of this Chapter. The Chapter focuses on the communication of social movements initiated by civil society's efforts and guided by its ideology where civil society members collectively took over the communicational and leadership role.

The Chapter is divided into six sections. The first section refers to social movements and civil society. The second and third sections contribute to the two case studies: CDM and movement against the GRMP-2037, respectively. These sections further contain four subsections, where the first subsection introduces the case studies and talks about the movement from a historical perspective. The second subsection traces the emergence of the movement and identifies civil society's efforts in organizing people. The third subsection concerns the mobilization strategy of the movement. The fourth subsection covers the communication strategy of the movement. The fourth section looks at the role of civil society in the movement. The fifth section discusses the two case studies based on their similarity and dissimilarity. The sixth is the closing section, which highlights the contributions of civil societies and activist media practice in

the formation of contemporary movements.

Thus the Chapter, edging away from the movements organized by the single leader, such as the movements discussed in the previous chapter, focuses on the movements organized by an association of people and looks into the practices of contemporary social movements where communication and leadership take place collectively. In doing so, the Chapter explores the present-day ‘movement community’ and recent forms of social movement communication and mobilization, along with the framing techniques and process involved. Further, by approaching rallies, *dharna*, *padayatra*, hunger strike, meetings, etc., from their communicative perspective, the Chapter explores how these demonstrations serve as a means of communication in social movement and also keeps the momentum of the movement communication. The Chapter thus, through the analysis of these case studies, addresses all the objectives and responses to the question related to the creation of a movement community, movement communication, mobilization process, framing practice and movement demonstrations.

Social Movements and Civil Society

In contemporary times, social movements and civil society, through their collective actions, have tried to transform the community by ushering in or opposing the change. While both worked for the community, there have been instances when they have facilitated each other’s emergence. In a few cases civil society has emerged as an outcome of social movement. At same time, there are instances when social movements have emerged from the efforts of civil societies. In India, such a linkage between social movements and civil society is evident since the Indian freedom struggle. During colonial India, the struggle for freedom was collectively initiated by various civil society structures like literary groups, college students, civic groups, student associations, and religious organizations. Like, *Sarva Seva Sangh*,¹¹ an association of people that emerged in 1923 based on the Gandhian ideology of serving people, later on worked for the *Sarvodaya* Movement¹² (Watt, 2011 & Hardiman, 2003). The emergence of civil society in India during the freedom struggle was quite different from that of civil societies in western countries, where their formation is seen in capitalism’s growth. The transition from civic associations to movement groups, which appeared in colonial India, persists in free India too.

¹¹ Sarva Seva Sangh was an organization founded by an industrialist named Jamnalal Bajaj who was a follower of Gandhi.

¹² Sarvodaya Movement was started in 1951 by Vinoba Bhave for establishing an equitable society by the upliftment of all. S. Narayanasamy (2003) “The Sarvodaya Movement: Gandhian Approach to Peace and Non-Violence”

Like during pre-independence, civil societies in republic India have also continued to counter State dominance and its authoritarian will. A most prominent example is the outbreak of the students' movement in 1974 against the Indira Gandhi government, which peaked during the 1975-1977 emergency. The movement was led by Jayprakash Narayan, which later became famous as JP's Movement. A socialist leader, Jayprakash Narayan, based on non-violence principles of Gandhian ideology, formed an association of young students called *Chhatra Yuva Sangharsh Vahini* (CYSV)¹³ in 1975. This association extended support to the movement against the government, as the result of which Indira Gandhi had to step down. Later in 1977, the same association, CYSV, started working for the marginalized and oppressed sections' well-being. The *Vahini* workers morphed into social activists and took up welfare work in response to Jai Prakash Narayan's call for "Total revolution."¹⁴ They formed various grassroots movements in different places.

A similar pattern of social movement and civil society linkage can also be traced to the civic group, involving prominent activists like Medha Patkar, Arundhati Roy, and Baba Amte, who along with affected people of the Sardar Sarovar Project, set off the famous *Narmada Bachao Andolan*. Similarly, another civic organization founded in 1990, *Mazdoor Kisan Shakti Sangathan* in Rajasthan by three activists Aruna Roy, Shankar Singh, and Nikhil Dey, worked for the rural poor and went on to give shape to the movement called Movement for Right to Information. Post-independence, many civic associations have been formed to safeguard civil liberties and civil rights. A few among them have also worked to create grassroots movements, which this Chapter discusses in detail.

Thus, combining the civil society idea of Alexis de Tocqueville and Neera Chandhoke with Pramod Parajuli's sense of oppressed people's movement, the Chapter largely analyses the civil society's role (from a mobilizing and communication perspective) in the formation of a social movement. Tocqueville (2002) saw civil society as a means of check on the State and a mechanism to limit the State's power. Tocqueville (2002), in his study "*Democracy in America*," observed two roles of an association. He said that Americans were capable of solving their various issues collectively by forming different types of associations. And his second

¹³ CYSV is a student association formed on the Gandhian ideology. D. Geary (2013) "Math and the afterlife of Zamindari" p. 373 & D. Hardiman (2003) "Gandhi: In His Time and Ours" p. 214

¹⁴ Total Revolution was an idea of comprehensive movement aimed at bringing changes at both the levels society as well as the individual level. R. Das (2007) "Jayprakash Narayan: His life and Mission", pp. 149-234

observation was that by creating associations, Americans had developed civic skills and hence had enlarged their individual perspectives and strengthened their ability to solve their issues and problems collectively, which encouraged democratic citizenship among them. Chandhoke (1995) saw civil society as the site of mediation and expressed politics. As a mediation site, Chandhoke (1995) saw civil society associated with reasoned debate on the rational human subject mediating between the family and the community and between the community and the State. She considered civil society as a dialectical sphere and as the public sphere of society, relating to the idea of Habermas. As she wrote, “civil society is the public sphere of society. It is the location of those processes by which the experiences of individuals and communities, and the expression of these experiences in debate and discussion, affirmation and contestation are mediated” (Chandhoke, 1995, p. 169). She also saw the existence of civil society as the “possibilities for reappropriation by the popular movement” (Chandhoke, 1995, p. 199). According to her, civil society, because of its democratic values and principles, often provides popular classes an opportunity “to mould and mediate the politics of the dominant classes” through popular movements (Chandhoke, 1995, p. 199). For her, social movements have arisen as a forum for people on the periphery of civil society to express and articulate their needs and participate politically, not as passive but as active participants. While Parajuli (2001) considered oppressed people’s movement as a dual strategy wherein they try to collaborate with the State on the one hand and attempt to resist the State on the other.

Case Study: Chandil Dam Movement (CDM)

This case study is based on the social movement that began in the Chandil against the Subarnarekha Multipurpose Project (SMP), a damming project, already discussed in Chapter two. In the beginning, CDM was a composite movement of many small and large movements initially led by different groups formed by the oustees of the dam. But the leading group whose efforts are widely acknowledged is *Visthapit Mukti Vahini* (VMV), an association of displaced people formed in 1987. The VMV was not an anti-dam movement. Instead, it was a movement to get rehabilitation and resettlement (R&R) policy. Later it turned into a movement to get the R&R work completed by bringing an end to the process’s corruption. Thus the nature of movement shifted from advocacy to a movement of fixing the state accountability and ensuring transparency in the R&R procedure. It was the only movement of oustees, which sustained for long and has still not been called off. The VMV members continue to fight for the livelihood of

displaced people. There is no mass demonstration, but the movement keeps reflecting on the problematic social and political domain.

The study has also looked into the movement's historical perspective to know how the movement originated. The people of the project area, namely Chandil, Ichhaghar, and Nimdih, when they learned about the SMP, which was initially estimated to affect 90 villages, a feeling of distress took over. The 70s and 80s in India were the eras of massive land acquisition when the government used to develop mega-development projects without giving prior information to the people about the projects and acquired land in the name of national interest. It was also the phase when various people's movements were organized opposing the land acquisition process. People of SMP were little aware of the Narmada Valley and Koel-Karo project's ongoing dam movements, because of which few began to oppose the project when the survey work started. As the problem was not widely recognized, only a few people began to oppose it. Subsequently, there were scattered voices of resistance, but as their numbers were small and the people were loosely organized, the voices did not matter at the administrative level. Also, in view of the limited information about the project that was shared and their inadequate understanding, the opposition from the people was subdued in the initial phase of the project.

In such a situation utilizing the loosely organized people's situational grouping, a political party out of political interest started organizing the people to form a movement against the project. Gaining strength from the support of the political group, resistance against the project grew during the mid-70s in the dam construction site's vicinity. Slowly under Ghanshyam Mahto, a Forward Bloc leader, the community struggle of the Chandil region got shaped into a movement followed by regular rallies and *dharnas*. The community member mobilized collectively to display its first impactful demonstration on 26th March 1978 at Chandil Block office, robustly demanding to call off the project (Sinha, 1978; Chadha, 1993 & Sinha, 2017). It is said that nearly one lakh people participated in this rally (Sinha, 1978). Seven demands were made to the government through this rally, and unless they were fulfilled, the movement leaders threatened a fast-unto-death program from 23rd April 1978. This was to bring pressure on the government to initiate negotiations with the protestors. However, with little government response, the fast-unto-death program went ahead as scheduled on 23rd April and continued for eight days. The *satyagrahis* (people who were supposed to be on fast) began the fast-unto-death protest demonstration first by taking a bath in the Subarnarekha River and

worshiping in the ancient Lord Shiva temple (Sinha, 2017 & Sinha, 1978). Before going on fast, the people also took a pledge to save their land. Their taking the pledge is evident of their commitment to the cause. The pledge is considered a psychological strategy to involve people emotionally in a task or work effectively.

However, the movement couldn't sustain long. It collapsed after the unpleasant incident of 30th April 1978, when community people were protesting against the arrest of those on hunger strike. Thus, the program that started on 23rd April 1978 at Jaida Dak Bungalow ended with the protest suppressed by ruthless police repression, resulting in four protesters' deaths. Shyamal Mardi, a participant of the movement since his school days and secretary of a cooperative called '*Chandil Baandh Visthapit Matas Jivi Swawlambi Sahkari Samiti*,' talking about the police repression said, "People got frightened, and the movement turned quiet. People even stopped talking and discussing the matter of compensation and amount." Ravi, another oustee of Chandil dam, who participated in the movement and is associated with CYSV and VMV since his school days, called the Jaida episode a horrifying incident. He said, "after the incident, no one used to speak of any further movement and against the government. As a result, the gap of almost ten years prevailed and construction of the dam began again as there was no community resistance."

This incident when was analyzed from the perspective of movement, it was realized that the police firing was just not an incident of government dominance; instead, it was a strategy to instigate terror and send out a stern warning to the people. When it was interpreted from the communication view, it showed no interest on the government part in communicating with members of the movement, who tried to open up the conversation to discuss and negotiate the issues through the hunger strike. For the government, police repression has remained one of the best measures to mute the movements' voice.

The emergence of the main movement: The main movement emerged from the efforts of the CYSV, which worked hard to constitute VMV under the banner of which the CDM sustained for decades. CYSV, although being an outside group, ideologically guided the movement. Its members belonged to the same student activist group that was active during the JP Movement. CYSV's members were ideologically committed to JP's idea of 'Total Revolution'—the approach through which JP aimed to bring changes in society through peaceful means and by involving everyone in the movement irrespective of their class, gender, and caste. After arriving

in Chandil, the members of CYSV continued to work on the same idea by following JP's basic proposal of going directly "to the people and help them create a force in society which will affect the revolution in the life of the community" (Das, 2005, p. 317).

Like the JP Movement, CYSV, too, while mobilizing people for movement in Chandil, asked the educated youth to organize on behalf of their community members. While doing so, CYSV emphasized the principles of non-violence and the necessity to create a casteless and classless society. Accordingly, while organizing the community volunteers, it appealed to them to give up their surname. It mainly intended to erase their caste-based social identity and to overcome the distinctiveness produced by the caste system. Because of this appeal, many community volunteers who later on emerged as the community leaders gave up their caste identity. Ravi is one such community leader who gave up his surname. In his interview, reflecting on this, he said:

Since we worked to form a casteless society, we needed to hide surnames that revealed caste and community identity. This change applied to both self and society. Casteless society had to start at an individual level, so we all changed our identity at first. That's why the members of CYSV only have names as their identity and no surnames.

The members of CYSV, even today, avoid talking about caste and surname. They also don't reveal or comment on their fellow members' identity, which showed their strong commitment to the movement ideology. Another participant of the CDM and a member of CYSV, Nishant Akhilesh, a lawyer by profession and a human rights activist, talked about the training and grooming work undertaken by the CYSV in Chandil. Emphasizing CYSV's training efforts, he said, "We have been groomed in CYSV. After joining, we were trained there and in pockets, we gave shape to some mass movements and political movements." Here, the acceptance of movement training confirms the aspirations of the initial members of CYSV who came to Chandil with a defined ideology and aimed to empower people through training, not just for the Chandil movement but also for establishing an equitable society.

The acceptance of such movement training pointed to two aspects: first, an outsider's intervention as an expert to form a movement. Second, it confirmed the aspirations of such outsiders. Those people came to Chandil with a defined purpose. Here it can be said that CYSV, by training was empowering people and ensuring their engagement in the broader movement, the ultimate objective of which was to establish an equitable society. In this context, CYSV was

defined as a strong association of ideologically devoted people working to transform society while maintaining distance from political parties. On the other side, in the CDM context, CYSV's involvement was recognized as an enabler and catalyst of the movement formation as it had a primary role in forming the movement. The affected community, too, talked about the various contributions of CYSV in the movement, thus validating the enabling role played by CYSV. Many community-based leaders of the movement in interviews have categorically acknowledged CYSV's participation in the form of leadership guidance, ideological input, forming guiding principles, and movement training.

On the other side, community people got associated with CYSV because it made them feel empowered through training. To them, CYSV was a source from which they derived power to fulfill their political will and get justice. Here, the political will was to form a movement and enter into dialogue with the government to negotiate further on R & R policy and ensure economic and social justice. As Dutta (2011) said, by empowerment, the ability of individual participation can be drawn out, especially in the decision which is going to affect their future. CYSV seems to be working on a similar line. It was not that people were completely unaware of the damming issues. Following the firing incident of the past movement, they were terrified to organize themselves again. CYSV thereby empowered the people towards the movement by teaching them about the principles of non-violence in movements.

By associating with CYSV, people got to debate, discuss and spread awareness of displacement's consequences. They also learned about their rights of livelihood and compensation, about which the government was not vocal. As the project threatened their existence, people determined to open up communication with the government. Subsequently, by forming VMV, people started discussing their livelihood and existence issues with the government.

VMV, organized as collectives: The creation of VMV at the grassroots level was a coherent call of CYSV to enforce collective identity among all possible supporters and sustain their movement. From an organizing perspective, it was an effort to pool all the people's discursive skills and potential under one umbrella to raise a unified voice. While, when seen from the framing perspective, it was observed that the word *visthapit* in the name of VMV got strategically included to motivate people as a 'motivational frame' (Snow & Benford, 1988). The meaning of *visthapit* in English is 'displaced.' Indeed, the name *Visthapit Mukti Vahini* was the

result of a well-considered strategy emphasizing the creation of collective identity and providing direction to a budding movement focused on the issues of displacement and resettlement. The expression *Visthapit Mukti Vahini* in its English translation means an army that liberates people from displacement. Since the association's name was expressive and appealing, it helped gain momentum for the movement. The use of the words *visthapit* and *mukti* in itself became the driving force in organizing and motivating the people, respectively. While the word *visthapit* helped in roping in more supporters around the core issues of displacement, the word *mukti* helped in mobilizing people around their rights to be settled and rehabilitated. Besides, the name *Visthapit Mukti Vahini*, as already mentioned, reiterated the collective identity among the people.

This collective identity was evident even when this study's fieldwork, years after the movement, was conducted. It has been decades since the movement, yet the people, while introducing themselves, did not forget to mention that they are displaced. Almost all the people living in the rehabilitation sites began the conversation with such an introduction. After saying their names, they cited their native village's name, which presently does not exist and has submerged due to the Chandil dam. They also did not miss to mention, as part of the introduction, that they are displaced. This form of introduction was analyzed first as a strategy to catch the other person's attention with whom they interacted and gain sympathy. Second, it might be because of their long involvement in the movement activities that they got habituated to introduce themselves in a particular way. Whatever the purpose may be, it has become a standard way for them to open a dialogue, which automatically leads to the movement's issues (present and past). It can also be due to the training provided by the members of CYSV (the educated urban) and VMV (the educated rural youth) during the movement's peak. At that time, most people in the movement's vicinity were rural and illiterate, incapable of articulating their problems into organized thought and words. CYSV and VMV gave them basic training in making arguments that will be heard by government officials, politicians, and media personnel.

Further, the new identity of collectiveness that came with VMV helped them stand in solidarity. Such an identity helped share the feeling of belongingness among the sufferers of what was not a natural crisis but fuelled by neoliberalism. It further encouraged the sufferers to hold the state accountable for their loss by forming a civic association. From the movements' point of view, a feeling of belongingness among the movement participants is necessary for creating internal bonds. It helps in creating a sense of sacrifice in the movement and limits the

withdrawal of the participants. Eventually, VMV, together with the members of CYSV, succeeded in giving shape to a strong movement in the late 80s and early 90s and became successful in creating an R&R policy. But R&R policy posed further challenges to the protestors in its proper implementation and gave the movement a new opening to continue its struggle.

Mobilization strategies: VMV, with the support of the CYSV during the latent and visible phase, deployed a range of mobilizing strategies to draw people into the movement. It used different approaches to engage people at the initial stage and different strategies to scale up the flow; however, the movement failed to mobilize the entire project's affected people. During initial organizing for the first level of movement recruitment, CYSV primarily targeted the young and intellectual groups. For this, they conducted talks and discussion sessions in educational institutions like secondary schools and colleges in and around the Chandil area. By doing this, CYSV mainly focused on creating awareness among the participants about the damming project. In interviews, it was found that youth were targeted at the initial stage for two reasons: first, because they were easy to approach, and second, they were easy to mobilize. They were easy to approach since schools and colleges were collective sites and emerged as an accessible recruitment platform. Second, they were easy to mobilize because they belonged to a generation that did not experience the previous movement's police repression. Hence, they had a limited understanding of state terror.

The researcher understood this strategy of approaching youth through the "biographical availability" concept of McAdam (1986), defined as "the absence of personal constraints that may increase the costs and risk of movement participation, such as full-time employment, marriage, and family responsibilities" (p.70). Wiltfang and McAdam (1991), in their research, based on this concept, have concluded that in comparison to married who had less free time because of family responsibility and job, the young people are more likely to participate in the movement because they had fewer family obligations, more free time and willingness to take the risk. Also, Verba, Schlozman, and Brady (1995) concluded that a politically informed individual is more likely to participate in movements in their study conducted on all sorts of political participation. Similarly, CYSV tried to organize a movement by conducting awareness and information-based programs among educated youth. Later the mobilized youth was engaged as the first level of communication and to gain entry into the community towards reaching the receptive members. It used pre-existing interpersonal communication networks and places like

schools, village familiar gatherings places, and *panchayats* to carry out the mobilization at the village level as they had easy access to these spaces being an insider.

This way, through the new sets of young volunteers, CYSV started conducting community-level meetings, searching for local volunteers in each village. The local volunteers were assigned the task of finding prospective participants for the social movement in their respective villages. They were also assigned the responsibility to conduct meetings regularly and follow up programs in the communities to continue with the momentum of mobilization. That's how CYSV deepened its networking capabilities and extended the movement sphere by using existing social links between volunteers and villagers, as both were from the same community.

On the other side, unlike the previous movement, CYSV made its stand clear on the movement's non-violent approach right from the beginning. CYSV that believed in the Gandhian ideology of non-violence continued to work on the same lines in the CDM. While mobilizing older people, particularly, it stressed the aspect of non-violence since they were quite opposed to the idea of a movement because of their horrifying memories of the past movement. Against this backdrop, the volunteers subtly persuaded the older people to be a part of the movement by rationally explaining the cause that led to the police repression. The elders were educated about the mistakes the earlier movement leaders committed by encouraging participants to carry traditional weapons during the protest demonstration. As per CYSV, the weapons in the participants' hands gave the police a chance to manipulate the situation.

Ravi, talking about the challenges of mobilization in his interview, said, "citing past incidents people we approached, often used to reject our call to join the meeting. We faced a lot of problems in mobilizing people to restore the movement. Though after our continuous efforts, people started attending the meetings and discussions, their participation was half-hearted. At the end of the meeting, they used to recall again how the previous movement was suppressed and made the conclusion that this too will meet the same fate. Therefore volunteers decided to bring to the forefront the ideology and principle of non-violence to which both CYSV and VMV were committed. It was done to draw attention to the low risk involved in participating in the movement." Non-violence movements are assumed as peaceful and capable of keeping movement within the law regime, which lessens the probability of violence (police repression) and opens the negotiation space.

The use of 'non-violence' by the movement in the framing sense can be interpreted as

Snow and Benford's 'motivational framing' (1988). As CYSV and VMV, through their non-violence approach, motivated people for peaceful resistance by minimizing the risk involved. In the context of mobilization, the volunteer's effort to educate people about the project and non-violence approach of movement was understood from the perspective of "consensus mobilization" of Klandermans (1984 & 2013b). The use of non-violence ideology for mobilization purposes is interpreted here as the frame by which movement was constructed and conversed its meaning. The movement also used 'non-violence' to the extent of the 'prognostic frame' (Snow and Benford, 1988). Here, CYSV and VMV saw peaceful resistance as a solution to the problem and used it as the guiding principle for formulating nearly all its strategies and tactics. In this movement, the use of non-violence was observed in many ways. As a mobilizing means, as a frame, and also as an ideology. Ideology, like a frame, also communicates the nature and characteristics of the movement.

After recruiting the volunteers, CYSV started working on leadership, focusing on community leadership and local representation. Once the local volunteers got trained and equipped to organize people independently, the CYSV handed over the reins of the discursive space to VMV, whose members were local people. The CYSV thereafter assumed the role of facilitator. The objective behind decentralizing the movement was to ensure that the movement was local in all its aspects, be it the issue, members or leadership. In other words, the movement was one of, for and by the locals. The movement's popularity also shot up with this approach and helped in gaining more support at the ground level as people trusted the local leaders, and more and more people got mobilized. When asked about the reason for the shift in leadership, Nishant Akhilesh, a CYSV member, said that the CYSV's members were never in the race for leadership as their ideology and principle did not permit them to lead the movement. The association's underlying slogan was "*Jiski ladaee, uska netritva*" (your fight, your leadership). Since the movement was of displaced people, they themselves were supposed to spearhead it. Hence people from the displaced community were trained to lead the movement from day one. CYSV tried to develop leadership among displaced people by empowering them in various capacities, he said.

Somehow, CYSV, by limiting its role to that of a facilitator and letting community people lead the movement, adopted a sustainable approach towards establishing community leadership. Further, leaders were carefully selected, and the new members were not assigned the leadership

work immediately. Senior members of the movement decided on the new members' role and responsibility as a measure to ensure against the deception and keep pretenders out.

The movement also brought in the issue of R&R Policy while mobilization, which later on formed the locus of the movement. Since the people's existence was at stake, VMV recognized displacement as the foremost problem and strategically foregrounded the fear of livelihood loss while mobilizing the people. The use of 'displacement' by VMV can be seen as the 'diagnostic frame' of Snow and Benford (1988), with which VMV tried to define the main problem and specified the issue further by calling it an act of injustice done to the oustees. In exchange for the acquired land, only a compensation package was announced for the oustees, and no further grant and assistance was extended. In this context, VMV's demand for R&R policy was considered as the 'prognostic frame' (Snow and Benford, 1988) of the movement where VMV saw R&R policy somewhat as the solution to the problem displacement. For this, VMV initially educated the people about their rights to avail R&R assistance from the government. Simultaneously they started discussing with the administrators the R&R policy. The people more or less got convinced with the idea of R&R as it did not converse about doing movement directly but tactically advocated for their rights without making it appear as a movement. VMV did not talk about movement demonstrations but focused on the grants and allowances required for the displaced people. To some extent, the monetary factor delighted the villagers who were on the verge of losing all their assets. The R&R policy became the fulcrum around which the movement revolved. In 1990, due to its efforts, the movement succeeded in getting R&R policy, following which more people started joining the movement to derive benefits.

For R&R policy formation, VMV had to lobby with the members of the review committee constituted by the World Bank (WB), which funded the project to pressurize the state government. For this, VMV highlighted the issue of violation of human rights. Taking the issues into consideration, WB analyzed the situation and asked the project authority to work out an effective R&R plan. The movement also demanded the *sampurn punarvaas* (comprehensive rehabilitation). The demand for *sampurn punarvaas* insisted on both economic and physical rehabilitation. With *sampurn punarvaas* the movement advocated for possible alternative means of subsistence at the rehabilitation sites that the authority did not consider earlier. The project, merely by giving compensation packages, tried to eliminate the responsibilities of R&R work.

But VMV, by its constant demand for R&R policy and economic rehabilitation, made it difficult for the government.

The VMV's emphasis on economic rehabilitation, when interpreted from the frame function's perspective, appeared as the strategy of 'frame transformation' of Snow, Rochford, Worden and Benford (1986). VMV, by forming the alternative discourse of '*sampurn punarvaas*,' tried to dispel the prevailing view that R&R was limited to physical rehabilitation only. Putting forward the notion of economic rehabilitation, VMV tried to shape a new rehabilitation perspective beyond the physical relocation. Doing so also addressed the fundamental issues of the livelihood crisis, which people who are displaced often have to face in their new habitat. In the words of Ravi by *sampurn punarvaas* the movement meant that:

The alternative site to which the government intended to shift those displaced should have the minimum requirements to continue their lives. Like the economic condition which was there in villages should be recreated. Similarly, the cultural tradition of *masaan* (crematorium) and *jahira* (tribal worship place with a special tree called *Saal*), which are essential aspects of the tribal society, should be taken care of.

In a way, *sampurn punarvaas* called for rehabilitation in all forms. Drawing inspiration from the ongoing *Narmada Bachao Andolan*, VMV also demanded 'house for house' and 'land for land.' Result of which, according to the policy of R&R, each displaced family received a compensation payment along with a grant of rupees fifty-five thousand towards the construction of a house, shifting charges, economic rehabilitation, and homestead of twenty-five decimals (Rajya Sabha Debate, 11th July 1996).

During mobilization, CYSV, apart from the movement front, also tried to connect with the people on other fronts, especially on a humanitarian basis, where it took up the community advancement work. Through its social work initiatives like health check-up camps, blood donation camps and night schools, CYSV connected with the people on other social issues. Such connections provided volunteers an opportunity to establish a rapport with the community, which indirectly contributed to the movement's initial mobilization. Here social work in the movement framework was seen as the strategy of bonding with the people on emotional grounds, which took the CYSV's volunteers closer to the community. Such bonding between the community and volunteers helped bridge the gap between the community's resistance to the movement and VMV's drive to organize the community again for the movement. CYSV also conducted village

visits to popularize VMV. For this, the volunteers went door-to-door and talked about the importance of R&R. The volunteers, during their door-to-door visits, also popularized VMV by projecting it as a means to claim their rehabilitation and resettlement rights. About the organizing phase, Shyamal Mardi said in an interview:

In that era, we did not have any modern communication means. There was no recorder, cell phone, television or camera with us. It used to be person-to-person communication. Sometimes, we used to walk for more than ten kilometers just to deliver a message and spread awareness about the movement. People like Arvind Ji, Bal Ram Ji, and Akhilesh Ji used to walk to all these places, which are now submerged by the dam water. They used to knock on every door.

He also spoke of how, as a result of the volunteers' continuous efforts, VMV at one point in time emerged as "the new hope for the people." People got determined to fight for their rights, "realizing VMV as a way to achieve their demands."

Further, to make people trust in the movement and show the government that the people are once again united, VMV, with the support of the CYSV, organized its first rally in September 1978. The mass rally was conducted strategically both as an 'action mobilizing' (Klandermans, 1984) technique and as the movement's commencement. The success of this rally further eased the mobilization process. Also, the approach of non-violence that VMV assured the people meant that there was no occurrence of violence. The movement remained peaceful throughout. In its first demonstration, VMV ensured no mishaps by asking its volunteers to mobilize and educate people about the dos and don'ts as a precautionary measure. The participants formed the human chain and walked in the queue. They also got instructed not to carry any weapon. Along with it, the volunteers assigned to monitor and guide the rally kept a watch on the participants so that they would not mess up with any stranger or police. According to Ravi, these preventive measures were ensured as they knew that in the event of anything untoward, it would be not possible to unite people again. While talking about the outcome of the rally, he said, "after the rally, we could see a new passion among us that we can do it, and its success also brought courage among the villagers to stand up for their rights."

In the later phase of the movement, programs like *padayatra* (foot march) were conducted to educate, create awareness, and mobilize people on a mass scale who were suffering from similar displacement and livelihood issues like Chandil dam oustees. The *padayatra* was

collectively organized by the Chandil and Koel-Karo dam movement members with the support of many similar civil associations working on the issues of displacement and marginalization. As a movement repertoire, *Padayatra* in India is considered a significant tool for mobilization and raising consciousness among people in a non-violence movement since Mahatma Gandhi used it in 1930 during the Salt March. *Padayatra* has been used in the non-violence movement time and again by both activists and politicians. Since the CDM was rooted in Gandhian ideology, it used *padayatra* as a mobilization tool to garner rural people's support in isolated villages situated between the expanse of Chandil dam and Koel-Karo dam. The participating pedestrians started their *padayatra* from Chandil and took a week to reach Koel-Karo. The whole event was strategically planned with a well-defined purpose and intention. The *padayatra* began from Jaida village in Chandil. It was the same village that witnessed police action on 30th April 1978, in which four people died.

Before starting the *padayatra*, the agenda was set forth by conducting *sankalp-paath* (resolution text) and a meeting. The regional convener of VMV conducted the *sankalp-paath*, which was the opening of the gathering. The resolution said that to save people's lives from the SMP project and other similar projects, VMV supports the people in their struggle to protect their livelihood and rights. Together it will fight for the people's interests and liberty (Subarnarekha Se Koel-Karo Yaatra Shuru, 1991). Here, in the context of framing, the resolution text can be considered as the 'motivational frame' of Snow and Benford (1988).

The *sankalp paath* meeting, held before the *padayatra* was attended by all participants and supporting civil society organizations who pledged their support for Chandil and Koel-Karo movement. Dr. B. D. Sharma (social activist), director of *Bharat Jan Aandolan* was invited as the chief guest. In his speech, he said that his association will continue with the struggle, and he will protest against the wrong perception of development till his last (Subarnarekha Se Koel-Karo Yaatra Shuru, 1991). Enroute to Koel-Karo, the walkers during the *padayatra* carried the specific banner of VMV. They also wore a green color band on their forehead, written '*vahini*' on it. Since the journey continued for days, the arrangement of food and night stay was made by the villages en route.

Moreover, walkers also distributed leaflets and raised slogans in each village. For the Koel-Karo movement, the slogan was '*Subarnarekha ka hai avahan, Koel-Karo ka rook kaam*' (Subarnarekha's call is to stop the Koel-Karo's work). And for the Chandil movement, it was

‘Pehle punarvaas, tab visthapan’ (First rehabilitation, then displacement). During *padayatra*, the walkers asked the people to visit and witness the displacement consequences in Chandil and pleaded with them not to part with their land to the government for any further project. In a way, *padayatra* emerged as the strategy of exposing the government’s failure in fulfilling its promises related to R&R and Chandil as the model of post displacement devastation. Besides its purpose of educating and mobilizing people, *Padayatra* also focused on the need for a broad debate on the development concept, which emerged as an opportunity to ‘frame bridging’ (Snow et al. 1986) between the Chandil and Koel-Karo movements. Utilizing the discussion on development conception, both the movements came to work together where *padayatra* appeared as an occasion for spreading movement messages through speech, pamphlets, banners, and slogans throughout its journey. Overall, *padayatra* was an event based on the co-operation of various people and communities and also a useful means of rallying support in remote villages for the movement. In addition to *padayatra*, rallies and *dharna* also got conducted regularly to keep the movement’s momentum and hunger strikes to compel the government to agree to its demands.

Communication strategies: The movement as its core communication strategy throughout used interpersonal communication by involving with people socially, regularly conducting meetings, discussions, teach-in sessions, and through the door to door visits as it’s most reliable and productive means of communication. The movement used its trained volunteers (insiders) mainly to communicate with the older people to overcome language barriers and perpetuate its ideology and strategy through means that the community believed. VMV’s official record book reveals how the programs like teach-ins, *sammelans*, meetings, and training camps were conducted extensively to organize and sustain the movement. The researcher collected the record books during the field study from VMV members Ganshayam, Ambika Yadav, and Narayan Gop. The record book has an entry of VMV’s meetings and other program details, along with the list of participants who attended it. The record books revealed that CYSV started the work of movement formation with teach-in programs focused on attracting educated youth to the movement by raising their consciousness on socio-political issues. Teach-ins programs used to last for three to four days. It comprised various engaging sessions like discussions, lectures, and plenary sessions. And topics like the Birsa movement, Sidhu-Kanhu Movement, tribal situation, and Jharkhand separatist movement were discussed and talked about to make the students aware of the socio-political situation. These teach-in programs were the first

initiative to recruit the youth, as discussed earlier.

With a motive to create community-level discursive spaces, CYSV further, with volunteers' help, conducted *visthapit sammelans* (displaced conference). In *visthapit sammelans*, the same teach-in program, discussion and talk sessions were conducted by CYSV members and volunteers. The process of creating awareness was not only limited to discussions and teach-ins sessions but also involved participants by asking them to share their problems and experiences. Also, new volunteers were encouraged to conduct sessions. In this way, prospective participants from the community were encouraged to speak for themselves and get grounded in public speaking skills. The researcher also tracked the people's participation from the record book, which showed an average between eighty to ninety people participated in such programs.

Besides these in the later stage, preparatory meetings were also conducted in villages. Before every significant movement demonstration like rallies, dharna, and hunger strike, preparatory meetings were conducted in each village by the village-level volunteers' effort. At such meetings, the concerned village panchayat members were also involved intentionally to convince people to participate. The preparatory meetings in each village were attended by all volunteers of the VMV and held mainly during the night, taking into account the participants' convenience to ensure maximum attendance. In these meetings, people, besides being briefed about the date, venue, and general plan of the forthcoming movement demonstration were asked about problems and issues so that the volunteers could know about each village's particular issues and raise them during the demonstration. At the meeting's conclusion, a few volunteers stayed overnight in the communities and engaged in friendly and informal conversations with the villagers. This was strategically done to create a psychological impression of close association and to solicit feedback on the meetings through such casual conversations, according to Ambika, the convener of VMV at the time of fieldwork.

The other CDM leaders listed leaflets, drum beating and wall writings as their preferred means to provide prior information about the protest call and demonstration. Leaflets were distributed well in advance for the information to reach everybody in the community. At that time, few reading materials used to be available in the villages because of which leaflet was preferred. The leaflets were printed in Hindi and were an excellent communication medium for VMV to connect with literates and illiterates. Ravi, in his interview, explained:

It was an excellent medium for us to communicate with both those who can read and

those who couldn't because those who couldn't read inquired from others about the contents. Similarly, one who could read felt proud and took an interest in talking and explaining the contents to the people who approached them. The leaflets also aroused curiosity among the illiterates. Once they got to know about the contents, they circulated the information among themselves. If not all information, at least the date and time of the meeting and demonstration used to be conveyed by them properly.

Leaflet distribution often used to go with *dholak bajwana* (messaging by drum beating), where a traditional community messenger used to carry a drum on a bicycle with a placard in front with a leaflet posted on it. While distributing leaflets, he also used to beat the drum and attracted the attention of the people. Once they collected around him, he read out the pamphlet's message loudly and gave them a leaflet. VMV, to extensively spread the word, also wrote the message of the leaflet on walls. Besides this, VMV also used wall writing for slogans and social messages to motivate people for social integration. The texts on the wall used to be there forever.

Besides these means of community communication, CDM leaders used newspaper coverage to reach out to the general public. VMV, utilizing the network of CYSV with the reporters and through its journalistic practice of writing a press release, press note and conducting press conferences, managed to get wide coverage in almost all the major regional newspapers of that period. Like *Hindustan*, *Aaj*, *Aawaj*, *Jagaran*, *Ispat Mail*, *Prabhat Khabar*, *Uditvani*, *Ranchi Express* and *Chamakta Aina*, this helped in propagating its issues to the public and in gaining further visibility. As per the VMV, the print media supported the movement by continuously covering its protest activities and considering press releases. The media also helped the movement by doing follow-up stories on various issues like government shortcomings in R&R work, problems of the people in getting *vikas pustika*¹⁵ and compensation amount cheque, and about agents (middlemen). Such unlawful agents worked on a commission basis to get the people's work done. The frequent reporting on the issues helped VMV receive support and solidarity from other civil society organizations and similar surrounding areas' movements. Also, the media's continuous investigative reporting on the corruption involved in the project somewhere provided legitimacy to the movement. The analysis showed the movement used newspaper coverage to communicate with both the government officers and the public. The movement extensively used the print media indirectly as a mediator to convey its demands and

¹⁵ Record book given to displaced family to keep the record of compensation and grants given under the R&R work.

the issues to the government authorities.

Similarly, the movement also used newspaper coverage as a pressure building tactic on government officers, many of whom often neglected the people's request for redressal of their problems. The officials used to make excuses by claiming that they were not aware of the matter. As a counter, VMV began airing people's complaints to both the government officials and newspaper reporters simultaneously. With the newspapers highlighting the issues, there was little scope for excuses on the grounds of officials not being aware, and officials were forced to look into the matter. This was how VMV's members tried to interact with the SMP project authorities— by indirect and mediated communication through the press. Koopmans (2004), in his research, had found that most of the interaction between movement participants and government authorities takes place through media, as it happened in the case of CDM. However, in the context of CDM, newspaper coverage', besides the means of communication and media-driven mobilization, also emerged as the means of indirectly putting pressure on the government as the newspaper reporting assisted the movement in bringing the matters to higher authorities. In turn, the authorities directed their subordinate officers to look into the matter. Newspaper coverage also helped increase the visibility of the movement issue in the public domain, which was essential from a movement mobilization perspective. As observed, the newspaper coverage, besides as a communication tool, also contributed to the mobilization process since continuous and sympathetic coverage helped gain public attention and legitimize the issue.

During the field visit, the researcher collected more than a hundred old newspaper clippings from CYSV member Ghanshyam, one of the CDM's active participants. The substantial number of newspaper clippings that the researcher collected from him indicated levels of success the movement had in terms of its media coverage. The analyses of the articles showed that the movement got positive and favorable coverage. The range of issues covered in the news articles was also broad. The media regularly covered meetings and all the demonstration activities conducted by VMV like rallies, dharna, hunger strikes and *sammelans*. Among the coverage, the two incidents, the sudden submergence of villages in September 1991 and an attack on Arvind Anjum, a CYSV member in July 1996, had the maximum clippings. The reporters also extensively wrote on the project's corruption, corrupt officials and the agents (middlemen) involved and highlighted the community people's difficulties in receiving compensation packages.

There were also articles based on the movement's call regarding the forthcoming movement demonstration, which shows how the movement used the media coverage for disseminating information. Shashank Shekhar, one of the reporters from *Awaz* newspaper, wrote numerous articles like '*Antaheen Samasyaon ke Shikaar hai Punervaas Sthal ke Nivaasi*' (The residents of the rehabilitation center are the victims of the endless problem), '*Subernarekha Pariyojana se Visthapit Parivaaron ko Mila Kagazee Punervaas*' (Displaced families of Subernarekha Project got Rehabilitation on Paper), and '*Sab Kuch Lutaakar Bhaagya ke Bharose Baithe Hai Chandil ke Visthapit*' (After losing Everything the Displaced of Chandil are sitting hoping for luck). A few CYSV members like Manthan and Nishant Akhilesh also wrote articles on Chandil issues in newspapers.

The success in getting media attention can be understood by partly looking into the media and political environment that prevailed in Bihar during the movement and partly by evaluating the relationship between the movement and the media personnel. While analyzing the media and political environment, it was realized that the period of the 1980s and 90s in Bihar was the period of unrest as the Jharkhand separatist movement was in full swing because of which movement reporting was a key reporting beat in the tribal regions of Bihar. Also, young journalists reporting from the remote area focused more on movement-related news because of its demand and also because they related themselves to the cause of the movement, as Arvind Anjum said.

The VMV and CYSV volunteers also managed to build a good rapport with the reporters that helped secure media attention as desired by the movement. For every movement, media coverage is a challenge. Therefore to ensure favorable and continuous coverage, VMV and CYSV too put extra efforts into their media strategy. It also trained volunteers in preparing press releases and asked them to keep track of the coverage to know when and what gets reported in the newspapers. The community members also respected the reporters for their media support.

The analysis of various press releases released by the movement showed how VMV used press releases as an essential tool for media coverage of its issues and agenda. For journalists' convenience, the volunteers themselves used to go to media houses located far away and handed over the press releases. VMV also ensured that those invited but couldn't attend the events also had access to the press release. For this, the volunteers of CYSV who resided in Jamshedpur city were given the task of distributing the press release in Jamshedpur's newspaper offices.

As a result, coordination with journalists emerged as one of the critical assignments of VMV volunteers and an essential strategy for getting coverage for the movement. VMV used a press release to share information on all its demands, upcoming protest demonstrations and agenda. VMV helped the reporters by continuously feeding them with the developments, and journalists contributed to the movement by getting the information published. Thus VMV had no difficulties in getting media coverage. Besides press releases, VMV also extensively used memorandums to negotiate on its demand with the government.

Further, to educate the people and document movement discourse from its perspective, VMV brought booklets and a book. The booklet “*Vikaas Ki Bali Chadhate Vanavasi-Subernarekha Pariyojana Se Visthapan Aur Visthapiton Ke Sangharsh Ki Kahani*” (Forest-dweller being the victims of development: The story of the struggle of Subernareka’s displacement and displaced) was first printed by the Progressive Printers, Delhi in December 1991 with the help of a Delhi based journalist friend of Arvind Anjum as mentioned by Ravi in the interview.

The revised version of the same booklet got published with an updated cover page and under a different title, “*Subernarekha ka Aawahan*” (Call of *Subernarekha*), after few weeks of the first booklet by Ravi, the VMV convener of that time. Change in the booklet title, as Ravi explained, was made because of objection to the words in the earlier title, particularly ‘*vanvashi*’ by some movement participants. The objection was raised because the expression ‘*vanvashi*’ was used by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), a political party, to describe tribals, which a few VMV’s members thought would convey the wrong message of BJP’s association in the movement. As the VMV was apolitical and did not have political linkage with any political group, it decided to go for a new booklet title.

Content-wise there was not much difference in the booklets. Manthan (CYSV member, one of the in-charge of the movement’s literary work) compiled the content of the booklets, and Arvind Anjum contributed related facts. The booklet tells the story of the SMP Project, displaced people, and their struggle in detail, including the former movement. The booklet also covers the rehabilitation scheme promised by the government and the actual rehabilitation work that was implemented. It critically discussed the role of the World Bank and the Bihar Government in the overall project implementation. In a way, the booklet was widely used to draw attention to the

issues of the displaced people and for spreading the movement's message with a focus on the concept of alternative development and complete rehabilitation. '*Punervaas Ki Avdharna*' (Rehabilitation concept), another booklet, was brought out to explain what VMV exactly thought of rehabilitation, with its demand for *sampurn punarvaas*, Ravi said. VMV in 2007 produced a book as well with the help of the Pune based organization 'National Center for Advocacy Studies.' Like its other booklets, this book "*Tinakon ko jod ke: Chandil baandh ke visthaapiton ka sangharsh*" (Combining Stinkers: The Struggle of Chandil Dam Oustees) also contained details about the movement till 2007. From the perspective of movement communication, these acts of publishing booklets and books on the part of VMV, whose main motive was to inform people about the Chandil movement, could be seen as a self-publication initiative. It can also be considered as the strategy of counter-information and documentation since such efforts on the movement's part was an act of producing the information from the ground level.

Case Study: Movement against the Greater Ranchi Master Plan-2037 (GRMP- 2037)

This case study is centered around the displacement issue arising out of the urbanization process and concerning development projects like GRMP-2037 undertaken by the state government of Jharkhand. The project primarily aimed to fulfill the state government's basic infrastructural requirements like assembly building, high court, the state secretariat and related social and financial institutions. This kind of city development project is not new to Ranchi. A similar project was first visualized during the mid-1960s and got approval only in 1972 (Anand, 2017). Ranchi Regional Development Authority (RRDA) was also established in the same year to plan and conduct such city improvisation projects. This project was further delayed until 1983 and underwent a course correction with the fresh target for completion set as 2001 (Anand, 2017). The new GRMP-2037 is the latest revised version of the same project, which after its approval in 2015, stirred a movement among the tribal community whose land was to be acquired as they feared displacement.

The need for such a project then and now remains the same. During the 1960s, the need to improve the city was felt because of the expansion of urbanization following the setting up of industries like Heavy Engineering Corporation Limited (HECL)¹⁶ and National Coal

¹⁶ HECL, visit- <https://www.hecltd.com/>

Development Corporation¹⁷ (NCDC) in the 50s. In contemporary times a similar need was felt but in the context of a capital city creation. After Jharkhand's formation as a new state in 2000, Ranchi was chosen as the capital city, which lacked the physical governance infrastructure. The government had to rent a building for its legislative assembly. Following this, the first Chief Minister Babulal Marandi, who belonged to a political party Bharatiya Janta Party (BJP), emphasized creating a capital city's underlying infrastructure. He announced the GRMP-2037 project in 2000. However, work could not begin due to the unavailability of a proper site.

After coming to power again in 2014, the BJP government started working on the project steadily. Twenty-two years have been fixed as a deadline for the completion of the latest project. The whole project is divided into seven sites. The construction of Site-1 is almost complete and comprises the capital complex, including buildings for state assembly, the state secretariat, high court, and related social and financial institutions. Commencement of Site-1 construction also resulted in community resistance in the villages like Ani, Tiril, Kute, and Labeled, which lies in the area of Site-1. While such city improvement projects are tout as signs of development by the project proponents, it is a fact that such infrastructure development also results in the displacement of people. Fearing displacement, the people of the villages surrounding Site-1 began a struggle for their compensation and rehabilitation in 2015 under the banner of *Hatia Visthapit Parivar Manch* (HVPM). This case study tries to explore HVPM from the viewpoint of social movement communication.

Before doing that, the study has also looked into its historical perspective. The HVPM movement traces its roots to the Bihar government's unfinished land acquisition and rehabilitation mission undertaken during the establishment of HECL. The industrial unit was instrumental in initiating urbanization and industrial development of what then was a tribal location, Ranchi. HECL was visualized as the 'mother industry' by first Prime Minister Jawahar Lal Nehru, when it was established in 1958 and towards which surplus land was acquired. For its establishment, 7,199.5 acres was acquired by the Bihar government, displacing people across 23 villages (Ramachandran, 2015). The displaced villagers were rehabilitated in the area around the Jagannathpur region. As the land acquired was surplus, much remains unutilized. Out of 7,199.5 acres, nearly 2555 acres have been unutilized by HECL. The community people are still utilizing some portions of these unutilized lands for living and cultivation as HECL at that time did not

¹⁷ Now known as Central Coalfields Limited. visit- <http://www.centralcoalfields.in/ind/>

take over the entire acquired land's physical possession and allowed the original owners to continue living there. Eventually, people were not evicted completely. As a result, rehabilitation work was not implemented in its entirety even though compensation was duly paid to all the raiyats (landowners).

This approach of HECL concerning the eviction process has resulted in the second-time displacement of such people who continued living for decades on those unutilized land. The issues of displacement of villagers of Ani, Tiril, Kute and Labeled by GRMP-2037 can be traced to the land acquisition for HECL and its incomplete rehabilitation process. Consequently, those people started a movement by forming an association of HVPM and are seeking rehabilitation and compensation for a second time. For Justifying their demand for rehabilitation and compensation again, the members of HVPM refer to the provisions of the Act like Right to Fair Compensation and Transparency in Land Acquisition, Rehabilitation, and Resettlement Act, 2013 (RFCTLARR-2013)¹⁸.

The situational grouping among the people of Ani, Tiril, Kute, and Labeled, who apprehended displacement, began in December 2006 when their villages got identified as unauthorized settlement sites by the government (The Telegraph, 2006). Since then, the people of these villages have involved themselves in the protest against eviction. However, the eviction process did not get completed because of the resistance, and people continued living there. But the situational grouping among people started maturing when in 2009, HECL sold 2342 acres to the state government as part of its revival package (Ramachandran, 2015) that got conceived given the company's mounting losses and debt. The area marked for construction of the capital complex under Site-1 of the GRMP-2037 came under this deal.

However, the people residing in these areas who still consider themselves real *raiya*s believe this deal is illegal and refuse to move out. The protesting community has filed cases under RFCTLARR-2013 against HECL. As per the provision of this Act, if acquired land remains unutilized for more than five years, it has to be given back to the original owner. In this context, these villages' people protest against both HECL and the state government for overlooking this provision.

HVPM is demanding HECL to return the land to the community. And asking the state

¹⁸ RFCTLARR-2013- <http://legislative.gov.in/actsofparliamentfromtheyear/right-fair-compensation-and-transparency-land-acquisition-rehabilitation>

government to buy those lands from the community as per the provisions of Section 27 (which describes the new methods of compensation) of the RFCTLARR-2013 by initiating a new process of land acquisition. But the state government is not receptive to their demands as it contends that land has already been acquired under Land Acquisition Act 1894, and the government has a right to use acquired land for other public purposes. This stand of government led to the scaling of protest; however, the government is ready to consider rehabilitation and resettlement issues, but as per its conditions.

The emergence of the main movement: The continuous and intensified movement against GRMP-2037, Site-1, got aggravated from the day Chief Minister of Jharkhand, Raghuvar Das, laid the foundation of the project in June 2015 (Press Trust of India, 2019). To prevent the entry of demonstrators', the boundary around the site was constructed in the presence of security forces, and then the edges were fenced with wires. HPVMM is leading the main movement of the Site-1 against the construction of buildings for the legislature and the high court under the principal guidance of journalist turned social activist Vasavi Kiro, politician Bandhu Tirkey and Pankaj Shahdeo.

Vasavi Kiro is a former member of the State Women's Commission, Jharkhand. She belongs to a tribal community and has been involved in the tribal movements since her college days. She has done extensive reporting on rallies, dharnas, and strikes during her journalistic career and has covered movements like Jharkhand Separatist Movement, Koel-Karo and Netarhat. She was also an active participant in these movements. Bandhu Tirkey is the former member of the Jharkhand Vikas Morcha (JVM), the political party founded by Babulal Marandi, whose 'brainchild' is this project and Pankaj Shahdeo of Kute village is the director of HPVMM and a party volunteer of BJP.

HVPM, organized as collectives: HPVMM was created to integrate and mobilize the displaced families of HECL and intended to resolve the problems of displacement and the related issue of rehabilitation and resettlement as the rehabilitation of people displaced by HECL remains incomplete. The people of Nayasari, Murma, and Labeled had not received the land title of the land on which they resettled even after more than 55 years of their displacement. The association became more active in 2013 and since then, it has been mobilizing people for the movement to get lawful rights over the land. The association calls itself a '*visthapit parivar*,' which means displaced family. As the researcher interpreted, the frame of family sentiment and

attachment are used here as the compelling force to bring people together and restore the association among them, which got destabilized due to displacement. Here '*visthapit parivar*,' when analyzed from the perspective of movement formation, emerged as the frame used as the tool for creating a collective identity.

Mobilization strategies: To draw people into the movement and secure their association, HVPM used various mobilizing strategies. Though most participants said they joined the movement themselves, the other approaches figured out by the researcher are explored deeply to comprehend the movement's mobilization process. In the context of mobilization, Vasavi Kiro revealed that HVPM had to put less effort into the mobilization process as villagers themselves got drawn to the movement. She said, "people lost their land to HECL and with it their livelihood. Many of those people remain jobless even today. As they were aware of the situation from their sufferings, it was easy for HVPM to mobilize them. When HVPM started conducting its initial meetings in the villages, people themselves came forward to join the association." In this light, Shalgi Oraon of Tiril village, about her participation in the movement, said, "I always participate in rallies and dharna as the project is going to consume my house and these four walls within which I live will not be there in the future." Another woman Lakshmi Devi of Murma village, said, "We ourselves have associated with this movement. We are into it to save our land and will continue to be part of the movement." She said, "Everything is lost when the land goes." She is one of those who are voluntarily participating in each demonstration and meeting, leaving behind unfinished household work on those days. Others also exhibited this level of self-motivation and similar reasons for participation in interviews, which shows how the movement's diagnostic frame of 'displacement' has helped attract people for self-recruitment.

Also, the movement took the issue of rehab and jobs and projected it as its main demands. HVPM is demanding a rehabilitation package and jobs that also helped in mobilizing people for the movement. The issue of rehabilitation and job is the core agenda of the movement. Anil Tirkey, in his interview, said,

It was decided that we would not give our lands for this project. But the Chief Minister, during the shilanyas (foundation stone) of the project, had visited the village and spoken to us. He has been adamant about taking up our lands. So we demanded compensation for our lands. But rejecting compensation, they are providing homes to us, which also is a verbal promise; there is nothing in writing. We tried to get it in writing twice, but they

refused. They keep on denying and ignoring. There is a house under construction there, but no one knows who will eventually get the keys.

Greater Ranchi Development Agency (GRDA) on the rehabilitation issue of HECL displaced people in its report—“*Proposed Rehabilitation and Resettlement of the HEC displaced persons in Site-I*” has mentioned that the “project comprises of the residence houses, primary school, community center, and convenience shopping” (GRDA, n.d., p.1), but further specifics have been shared. The villagers are worried because only four-hundred houses have been constructed while the number of families displaced is more. There is no clarity about the recipient list. Anil Tirkey said, “Everything is being done in the name of faith. We have not been shown the list yet. We tried twice or thrice, but it did not work out.” It shows the government is not transparent with its proposal and plan and avoids discussion on this issue. Given the uncertainty that prevails, villagers are still tied to the movement.

And in this direction, to rally support for the movement, HVPM regularly convened meetings with the group of politicians, social activists, and other such groups protesting against the GRMP-2037 project, something which they call *Sahayog Aur Samarthan*. This has all been done to build solidarity with the influential groups. But from the perspective of movement strategy to some extent, it can be read as lobbying, especially their effort to involve the political leaders of the Left parties. As Vasavi Kiro said, the MLAs help them by raising their movement-related issues in the state assembly and assisting them in availing the copies of replies from the state assembly record.

As mentioned by William Munda of Ani village, politicians like Bandhu Tirkey and Arjun Munda extended advisory support for them. These politicians take a keen interest in their issues and regularly support them with their advice. Williams said, “there is no obligation to abide by their advice. There is no pressure. We follow and execute what we think will be unanimously acceptable.” But indeed, “the politicians’ involvement has further strengthened our cause,” he adds. Besides politician involvement, he also talked about the cooperative tie-up, which HVPM did by roping in adjoining villages for support. For this, HVPM partakes in the movement of their adjoining villages and also attend their meetings. In return, they, too, do the same. HVPM has a strong cooperative tie-up with Nayasarai and Murma Villages and it has helped in the mobilization of people.

Further, to mobilize and organize people into movement collectives, HVPM took up the

meetings as its regular activity. Preparatory meetings got conducted ahead of every demonstration. However, as the researcher found in interviews with the participants, not all participants play an active role in the meetings. Women consider themselves to be inferior to speak in such gatherings. Shalgi Oraon, in her interview, said, “I have never spoken in meetings because I think the male members can better deal with the situation. I support whatever they say. Men are more competent than us. It is what I believe.” Besides community meetings, HVPM also attended meetings with government leaders to address and negotiate issues pertaining to their rehabilitation and compensation demands. In this regard, Anil Tirkey said that because of the pressure exerted by the movement, they had been called to a meeting twice by the Chief Minister. During the talks, they were told not to engage in movement and were advised to find possible solutions. As Anil Tirkey puts it:

He told us that we would be provided shelter, but we protested, saying that we are agriculture-driven people, this Core Capital, and Greater Ranchi will not profit us much. Are we going to get to earn our livelihood? Our farming will suffer extensively. After which, the Chief Minister appealed to us to find a solution to this rather than making it an agenda. He even went on to say that protest won't improve things. So it would be better if we find a solution and obey that.”

While few women of Ani Village who did not want to reveal their names said they attended the community meeting of HVPM because of the compulsion. As for every meeting, discussion and demonstration, it is compulsory for at least one member of the family to be present; otherwise, the family is punished by charging double the amount of *chanda* (fund collection) the next month, fearing which people participate in the movement meeting. It shows HVPM has social control over villagers, and to some extent, it also forces people to participate, citing the punishment that will follow for non-adherence. Besides meetings, rallies and *dharna* also got conducted regularly to draw the people into the movement. On one occasion, the members of HVPM also made use of the *Hariari* festival to register their protest and to encourage community members to continue with their struggle.

Hariari festival is one of the agricultural festivals of the Oraon community, which is conducted before paddy transplantation. The whole community collectively performs the rituals of this festival in the presence of *pahan* (traditional village priest) for the prosperity of the village and functional rain and good crops. Thus, after the foundation stone laid by the Chief Minister in

June 2015, when the villagers officially lost their land and were no longer permitted to pursue agriculture, they culturally asserted their agricultural right on their land. To assert the right, they collectively celebrated their festival and performed rituals in July 2015, despite being stopped by the police. As the researcher interpreted, this unique way of registering their protest was to amplify the project's consequence — that the people were deprived of livelihood and cultural tradition. As observed, such demonstrations helped in culturally motivating community members and encouraged them to safeguard their livelihood and ethnicity.

Communication strategies: Like Chandil Movement, this movement also extensively used meetings and community messenger for communication within the community and memorandums and press releases for communicating with the government and media, respectively. When the respondents from all the villages like Ani, Kute, Tiril, and Labeled were asked how they got to know about the movement-related information, they said they get from their respective *Kotwar*. One or two days ahead of the meeting, the *Kotwar* informs them about the date, time and venue of the meeting by making a loud verbal announcement in the village.

Kotwar is one of the traditional posts within the tribal village council. This post is similar to the official messenger. Every tribal village has appointed a person to the post, and he is known by a different name in the diverse tribal communities. Like in the Oraon community, it is known as *Kotwar*. A person who gets this position acts as the community messenger and is responsible for communicating every type of message, notice, and information in the village. From the perspective of the customary village council, *Kotwar* is the assistant of the *Pahan*, who is the priest of the village. *Pahan* conducts all the religious ceremonies with the assistance of *Kotwar*. Traditionally *Kotwar* was responsible for communicating the village council's information and religious activities to the community members. But in contemporary time, he also circulates the movement-related information and messages as he is the most familiar person in the village. While conveying the meeting details, he also requests the community members to be present at the meeting. As the researcher recognized, the presence of such indigenous communication methods had made it easy for the community leaders to reach out to the community members with the movement's message. As revealed in the interviews, community leaders rely more on *Kotwar* than pamphlets and leaflets when the message has to be circulated among the community members.

Besides *Kotwar*, HVPM also used phone calls to communicate the movement-related

message and information to its members and volunteers. The young volunteers in every village have a phone. A few volunteers, too, had a smartphone with internet connectivity. However, they do not have any WhatsApp group related to the movement; few volunteers use WhatsApp for communication among themselves. Like Sushil Oraon, Roshan Oraon, and Arvind Oraon, the volunteers of Tiril village in their interview mentioned that they use WhatsApp in their group. Likewise, the HVPM committee members from different villages keep in touch with each other over the phone and regularly talk to each other for movement updates. Krishna Oraon, one of the village committee members of Tiril village, said that the committee at the village level also maintains a record book. In which the name and contact numbers of all the volunteers are recorded. Besides details of volunteers, they also keep a few essential contacts of the other villages too.

On the other side, to communicate with the prospective participants and supporters of the movement outside the community, HVPM often uses placards, leaflets, and banners. These are mostly used during rallies and *dharna*. As the researcher analyzed, leaflets, banners, and placards got extensively used to communicate the movement demands and issues, especially to the passersby. It also got used to having a photo opportunity for the media person to cover the demonstration. As observed in the rallies and *dharna*, women participants displayed homemade placards in front of the camera. To an extent, their participation in the movement was limited to raising slogans and holding placards. In one rally where the researcher was also present, she saw women sitting in a group behind the leader, and some of them had brought their children along. Some women were holding placards throughout, while a few kept their placards aside and lifted them only after they saw the media personnel with cameras. The act of raising the placard in front of the media to an extent showed their alertness.

However, most of the women were hesitant to speak for the interview. Those who agreed to be interviewed said the volunteers had distributed the placards to them just before the demonstration. It also meant that the wordings of messages on the placards were not of those women who were holding it. Though most women were able to read out the placards' message, they kept holding it despite knowing that it is not their words. The placards had short and simple messages in Hindi like *Hamari Zameen Vaapas Karo* (Return our land), *Nyaay Ke Mandir Mein Anyaay Karna band Karo* (Stop injustice in the temple of justice), *Adivasi Ko Visthapit Karna Band Karo* (Stop displacing tribe), and *Hamari Jameen Mein Core Capital Ka Sapana Dekhna*

Band Karo (Stop dreaming of core capital in our land). These brief messages addressed the main issues of the movement. However, the details of the matters got communicated through the leaflets, which the volunteers distributed to the passersby. The leaflets were also printed in Hindi. Other messages that got propagated include *Purakhon Ke Zameen Mat Jaane Do* (Don't let the ancestors' land go) and *Astitv Ke Liye Sangharsh Karo* (Fight for survival). These messages can be seen from the motivational frame's perspective as it mentioned words like ancestral land. The ancestral land which tribes of Jharkhand call *Khatiyani* and *Raiyati Zameen* is not just a piece of land but they see it as a means of their identity and existence. The bottom of the leaflets contained the name of HVPM, informant organization, along with the list of associations that extended solidarity to the cause.

Rahul Oraon, who is a community leader from Kute village, in the interview, revealed that due to a shortage of funds, the same set of placards are used in all movement demonstrations. Hence, the volunteers took the placards from the participants back once the demonstration was over. Further, he said that the volunteers made the placards themselves by using the printer and desktop computer of the HVPM office, which is there in Rahul Oraon's house. While talking about the content of the written materials, he said volunteers collectively work out the messages of the placards during the preparatory meetings of the movement. In contrast, the content of the leaflet was generally written by Vasavi Kiro, who intellectually contributed to the movement. Vasavi Kiro also helps them with vital information related to the project, which she gets through Right to Information (RTI), he added. She also guides him in writing the memorandums and letters for conversing with the bureaucrats and HECL officers, he said. Thus it is evident that for intellectual input, the community is dependent on Vasavi Kiro to a great extent. Volunteers Anil Tirkey and William Munda of Ani Village said that this dependence is because she is more knowledgeable than them. They look at her as their guide. Further, not everyone can be representative, so they have unanimously chosen her for guidance, they added.

HVPM also used its official banner during rallies, *dharna*, meetings, and press conferences. The banner simply stated the name of the association *Hatia Visthapit Parivar Manch* and those of the villages which are associated with it. The top of the banner had HEC *Visthapit Zindabad* (HEC displaced live) and two pictures depicting the rural and agricultural nature of the tribal community. From a communicative perspective here, the banner appeared as

a means to show the affiliation of the demonstrating people. Moreover, the font size of the banner content made it readable from a distance, thus contributing to better visibility of the movement identity. Here too, they used a general banner for all-purpose on which details of the date and specific event were avoided so that the banner can be used repeatedly, a significant approach considering their limited resources.

When the participants were asked what they do at the demonstration site, they said they listen to the leaders' speeches and raise slogans when asked to do so. During interviews, when women participants were asked about the slogans, they recalled only a couple of them. The most common slogans recalled by them were *LARR*¹⁹ *Kaanoon Lagu Karo* (Apply the LARR Act) and *Hamari Zameen Wapas Karo* (Return our land). These are the two slogans that form the movement's base, which shows that women are more or less aware of the movement. On slogan writing, volunteer William Munda said, "We share our thoughts on what possibly the slogans should convey and after a brainstorming session, we finalize them. We all help with writing slogans." His statement confirmed that the volunteers are involved in creative writings, and they work collectively, implying a participatory approach. From this, the researcher figured out that the young boys who are educated had more means of contributing to the movement. On the other side, women who are not educated and are burdened with household and livelihood responsibilities did not have much means to contribute.

As for the speakers who spoke at the demonstration, it was recognized that Vasavi Kiro and Pankaj Shahdeo were the star attractions of the movement. Several other invitees of HVPM like Arjun Munda, Bandhu Tirkey, Naveen Jaiswal and Dayamani Barla also delivered speeches at the movement programs. Among them, Arjun Munda, Bandhu Tirkey, Pankaj Sahdeo, and Naveen Jaiswal have political affiliations while Vasavi Kiro and Dayamani Barla come from the activist group. In a few instances, community leaders like Krishna Oraon and Rahul Oraon had delivered speeches. Among all the volunteers and community members, only Lakshmi Devi of Murma village, whose agricultural land is at stake, said she had given a speech during a rally. She regularly gives interviews to media personnel. As she says, "Not all women are articulate enough to address a gathering. But I do speak whenever I participate in programs as also to media reporters. "

The interviews revealed that most speakers often focused on highlighting the issues of

¹⁹ Same as RFCTLARR-2013 Act, Community members called this act LARR Act in their interview.

tribal land and criticized the government's shortcomings in implementing acts like CNT, SPT, and RFCTLARR-2013 Act. Most of the participants in their interviews said they have learned about the RFCTLARR-2013 Act through these speeches. Speeches formed a powerful means of communicating the movement issues at the site of the demonstration. Besides highlighting the problems and cause of the movement, the speeches also influenced prospective supporters and bystanders through artistically incorporating motivational and persuasive words.

Apart from these communication means, press conferences, press releases and memorandums also got implied from the communication. During the field study, the researcher got to know that HVPM held press conferences many times. As revealed in the community leaders' interviews, such face-to-face interaction with media personnel helped them convey their demands and open channels for mediation with the government. Regarding the work related to the draft of the press release and memorandum, Vasavi Kiro said before every demonstration, volunteers and the committee members of HVPM discuss and collectively decide the lists of their demands and do the required writings. Once they submit, she reworks on them and makes changes wherever required before sending it for print. The media invites for movement demonstrations are emailed to share the specifics of the location and the names of the known persons invited to deliver a speech at the demonstration. The press releases are distributed to reporters at the venue, and a soft copy is also shared requesting coverage. As Vasavi Kiro and her husband are journalists, she helped the community members with her media contacts and helped them get media coverage. Some media persons attend the program, even without an invite, due to their interest in covering the movement. They believe that any development related to the GRMP-2037 project will be of interest to both supporters and opponents.

Like most of the contemporary movements, the members of HVPM used Facebook to post movement-related information. But unlike other movements, they used Facebook posts only to update their selective supporters as most of it pertained to summarizing the outcome of the demonstrations. Most of the movement-related posts appeared on the wall of Rahul Oraon with tags and were open for the public view analysis, but they contained selective information. Rahul Oraon, in his interview, said HVPM had deliberately decided not to form a Facebook page of their movement because they do not want to make all the deeds of the movement public. Moreover, not all participants are on Facebook. Posts that appear on his wall are simply his activity update and not done on behalf of the HVPM. While Vasavi Kiro said she does not

consider social media platforms as a ‘serious medium’ for social movement, and the members of HVPM are well connected with its empathizers through emails and phone calls, so the need for a Facebook page is never felt. However, she said she’s linked to a few movement-related online groups on other sites, but not on Facebook.

Civic associations within Social Movement — in the role of Mediation and Watchdog

In both the projects, the government, without involving the local people, took the decision. It also did not give people prior intimation about upcoming projects; such a lack of communication on the government’s part shows the government’s intentions towards its citizens. It can be interpreted as the government’s way of showing its authoritarian nature or power as this trend of not making an official proclamation or announcement was apparent in almost all the developmental projects of that time. Dutta (2011), in his study, had conceptualized such conduct as marginalization through information inequalities. By not giving equal access to information to the poor and marginalized people, the government tried to limit the representation of their voices. In the context of such development projects, poor and marginalized people like tribes who get most affected by the implementation are often seen as passive entities and without agency during planning.

As a result of such lop-sided communication on the part of the government, people, especially those in the tribal belt, have lost faith in government and often doubt its intention. After learning about the iniquitous development projects, the people of both areas formed civic associations such as VMV and HVPM to voice their issues. But as Couldry (2010) says, the voice is meaningful only when it is heard effectively. In this perspective, the voices of these associations initially were ineffective since they remained unheard. When their concerns got overlooked, the civic associations reorganized themselves into social movements and tried to get their voices heard by the government by creating a legitimate space for them within the project. By doing so, to an extent, the movement blunted the government’s intent to skip citizens’ voices. In the words of Dutta (2011), it shows how organizing within a community can be an entry door to “the articulation of community-specific needs and agendas by bringing together the collective under an umbrella” (p. 223). This is similar to Tocqueville’s finding of civic associations in a democratic country that enables people to collectively solve a problem by transforming them into active citizens with civic skills.

Here the two civic associations, VMV and HVPM, were also an outcome of a community

organizing in a democratic space. An analysis from a communication perspective showed that both communication and leadership were a product of group interaction. The associations emerged as the purposive civic associations among the respective community as it was meant to counter the state tyranny concerning the development projects. Moreover, the discursive space created by both the associations, when comprehended in line with Chandhoke's (1995) understating of civil society, can be noticed mediating at two levels. Initially, it can be observed conversing among the community members and later negotiating with the government. While discussing and educating the community about the matter of R&R during consensus and action mobilization acts, both associations were seen as mediating at the community level. Where it first tried to form a debate around the issue. After which, by creating a public opinion, particularly against the injustice done, it pushed the people to negotiate (mediate) with the government by doing various movement demonstrations. Here while reconciling with the state, the community members mediated as an association and not as individuals. In both these case studies, it is also apparent how these associations, besides mediating with community and state, also reconciled with the other groups, like politicians (political association), journalists (media professionals), civil associations concerned with similar issues and with groups like 'middlemen' and 'agent,'— who were either trying to restrict or support their cause.

These mediating acts exhibit the overall discursive space of movement, which can be compared to Fraser's 'counter-discourse' (1990). Because through movements, the marginalized tribal community, to an extent, tried to counter the dominant discourse of the development being practiced by the state. Where the government without any proper R&R scheme attempted to acquire the land from the people, as comprehended by the researcher, it was the movements' collective voice through which the respective communities could put forth the demand of R&R and contest the prevalent issue. Besides challenging the issues of R&R, the associations, on a few occasions, performed the role of a 'watchdog' of Tocqueville's way of viewing civil societies. Such as VMV's voice against the corruption involved in the R&R work and HVPM's fight concerning the state's negligence towards the RFCTLARR-2013 Act. Here both the associations, through their collective voice and influence, tried to put right the wrongdoings of government agencies and took the position of the supervisory union. At the same time, it is apparent how associations, while countering the state on the issue of displacement, tried to collaborate with the state on the matter of R&R. By agreeing with the state on R&R policy,

VMV worked with the state while continuing its movement beyond the R&R policy formation. VMV countered the state on issues of improper rehabilitation and corruption. In the later phase, it again collaborated with the government in efficiently carrying out the rehabilitation work by keeping a check on corruption. It shows how the associations which are involved in social movement collaborate and oppose government at the same time, which stands very accurately with Parajuli's (2001) analysis of oppressed people's movement as a 'dual strategy' of collaboration and confrontation in these case studies.

VMV & HVPM: A Comparative Analysis of both the Associations

Here the members of both the communities, first by organizing themselves into an association and later by conducting a movement, became the agent of social change. In the process, people got mobilized and organized themselves around the issues concerning them. For this, both the associations followed the non-violence principles and raised voice against 'displacement.' But they differed slightly from each other in their mediating approach and conduct. Ideologically being an apolitical association, VMV tried to avoid politicians' involvement and interference in their association even when they extended support. Whereas HVPM derived significant support and coordination from the politicians of various political parties. The striking contrast was mainly because of the differences in their origin, ideology, and working principles.

VMV was formed by the efforts of an outside group in the late 80's while HVPM solely emerged from the collective efforts of community members in 2013. The people in both associations were organized following a different course of the line. In the context of VMV, the people of Chandil were organized around displacement issues on R&R for the first time, due to which VMV's approach was to awaken and teach people about their rights during mobilizing. When HVPM came into existence, people of the Jagannathpur area of the HECL region were already aware of the R&R and conscious of their rights. Hence, HVPM, despite educating people, had more focus on motivating people for the movement, which led to self-recruitment. Also, as an outside group got involved in CDM, the phase of meso-mobilization is more apparent in CDM, where CYSV emerged as the initiator and VMV as the foremost organizer of the movement. The CYSV's act of mobilizing the educated youth who appeared as the first level volunteer can be comprehended as the meso-mobilization phase and the later stage of mobilization carried out by the volunteers of VMV as the micro mobilization. Though in the

following period, it was VMV that was involved in organizing and mobilizing the villagers, the CYSV's influence was evident in the conduct of VMV where VMV, similar to CYSV, conducted meetings and discussion among the villagers to raise awareness. Such distinction is difficult to make in the GRMP-2037 movement as the initiator and organizer came from the community, blurring the two phases of mobilization evident in CDM.

Besides this, the two associations also differed in their work philosophy and ideology. As CYSV was committed to the philosophy of 'Total Revolution' and worked within the ambit of Gandhian philosophy, VMV adopted the same line of approach and worked similarly. It came up with more dedicated participation and a more intense way of pursuing struggle as it made the use of strategies like a hunger strike, *padayatra*, *sankalp path*, *dharna*, and social work, which shows familiarity with the Gandhian way of movement. When analyzed from Tilly's (1977, 1995 & 2008) notion of 'repertoire of contention,' these confrontational ways further illustrate how VMV, which worked under the guidance of CYSV, adopted the tactics that the CYSV was familiar with. It also confirms Tilly's words related to the limitations of means of claim-making a group has. Tilly has, however, also recommended the deletion of limitation through innovations within the tactics. Here the continuation of the same movement strategies of Gandhi, first by CYSV and then by VMV, can be understood in two ways. First, based on the utility and second based on familiarity of the tactics. Post-independence Gandhian way of doing movement by conducting *dharna*, *padyatra*, hunger strike and alike emerged as the effective and productive tactics of resistance. As these tactics generated positive results, it appeared as a standard repertoire of protest and was used by many movements— as CYSV and VMV did. Second, as innovation within tactics happens slowly and people take time to learn how to use the tactics effectively, they prefer to repeatedly use familiar tactics as it is easy to conduct standard tactics with ease.

HVPM, like VMV, also conducted rallies, hunger strikes, and sit-ins to demonstrate disagreement and put forth its demand to the government. But in some incidents, HVPM also made use of the festival to register their resistance. Celebration of the *Hariari* festival on the site of the project was one such incident which, when analyzed from the lens of the repertoire of contention, elucidates how innovation happens in a group's repertoire of contention. Here, the *Hariari* festival's celebration appeared as the innovative version of 'civil disobedience.' People performed agricultural rituals and thus disobeyed the state order and its claim on their

agricultural land. The integration of culture with political interest led to new ways of resistance.

Further, VMV, which worked for an equitable society and believed in empowering people increasingly, used the teach-in programs, *sammelans*, and training camps to mediate with the community members. It tried to form discourse from below by bringing people into the discursive zone and empowering them to participate in deliberations. Besides these, VMV also published various booklets based on the movement. HVPM, too, used Gandhian ideology of non-violence movement but made more use of the techniques like meetings and lobbying. It extensively tried to lobby with politicians, elite groups, and other associations working on tribal issues. It was because, being in the capital city, HVPM had the option to collaborate with political parties regularly, and politicians equally showed interest in the issues. Since HVPM worked to get fair compensation and rehabilitation for the people and did not have an ideology of being apolitical like VMV, it did not find it unethical to seek political support. Instead of an ideological association like VMV, HVPM emerged as a situational association.

For visibility and popularization of issues on a broader level, both the associations made extensive use of newspapers. Both associations ensured the coverage of the movement activities by practicing good media relations, which shows that the leading members of the movements had a sense of media functioning. VMV also maintained a file of all movement-related news to track the coverage, while Vasavi Kiro of HVPM did all the journalistic work on behalf of HVPM. Here a glimpse of ‘activist media practice’ can be seen, about which Mattoni (2013) had talked in her idea of ‘repertoire of communication.’

Furthermore, associations with people were formed on similar grounds. People from a particular geographical area came together and connected on the grounds of common interest, safeguarding themselves from being displaced. However, different beliefs guided people in both associations. VMV also tried to counter the established notion of rehabilitation and resettlement by pushing the concept of *sampurna punarvas*. In contrast, HVPM did not have any such counter approach, though it also struggled for people’s livelihood and existence like VMV. The path perceived to attain their demands was also not the same. VMV confronted displacement and resettlement by adopting a social movement path, whereas HVPM opted for both — a legal fight and a social movement.

Observation

The chapter highlighted the contributions of civil societies, the trend of activist media

practice and the use of repertoires of contention like dharna, rally, *padayatra* and hunger strikes in contemporary movements. It focused mainly on civil society's involvement in social movement formation where people were organized based on collective identity shaped by the movement. Another aspect of focus was the use of activist's journalistic skills in making the best use of the available media options to popularize the movement. It also uncovered the influence of civil society's ideology in selecting the movement's framing, mobilizing, and communication strategies. Through a comparative analysis of both associations' mediating role, the study tried to establish that the communicative function of an association in social movement, to a large extent, is driven by the issue involved and the ideology it perceived. So to explore the 'social movement communication' of a social movement that emerged from the civic association, it is necessary to mine into its ideology as that is the one guiding the association to contest the issue with the adversary.

Chapter 6

Conclusion: Tribal Movements as the voice of Tribal Community

Introduction

The study looked at the socio-economic, cultural and political conditions of the tribal community in Jharkhand and their oppression that led to social movements to counter and fight the injustice. By constituting ‘social movement communication’ as a comprehensive analysis frame, the study primarily looked at the organizing, mobilization, framing and movement demonstration practices of the tribal movements from communication strategies through four case studies: Santhal Hul, Birsa Movement, Chandil Dam Movement (CDM), and the movement against the Greater Ranchi Master Plan-2037 (GRMP-2037). Overall, in its interpretive process, the study examined the collective activities and practices like community meetings, discussions, rallies, *dharnas*, religious gatherings and processions of a tribal community involved in the movement from a communication angle and established the tribal movement as one of their collective communication processes. It saw the movements as attempts of tribal to resolve the problems related to their livelihoods and lives by raising their voices in unison. The tribal people, by organizing movements, often try to amplify their issues about which the government remains silent thus, leading to a situation where they are forced to suffer. This process of highlighting their problems through social movements has emerged as a ‘voice from below’ and ‘force of change’ in marginalized communities like tribes. Through the interdisciplinary approach, this study examined such social movements in the context of communication. The study approached the tribal movements from a communication viewpoint and witnessed the occurrence of communication in the social movement at every stage — organization, mobilization and protest demonstration, making social movements a continuous process of communication. Therefore, acknowledging the significance of communication in social movement formation, this chapter aims to conclude the thesis with the study results. While analyzing the responses to the research questions, this study established the shift in the tribal community’s movement communication practices to show how the community was never a voiceless society. It recognizes their movements as a ‘voice from below’ and briefly converses over their communication and social movement experiences from a perspective of the concept of freedom of expression and a force of change from below. The study also proposes a few

suggestions for future research in this area, besides illustrating the study's implication.

Thesis Overview

By establishing a link between communication and social movement studies, this study tried to build on the 'social movement communication' aspect throughout the research. Melucci's (1989 & 1996) understanding of social movement — as the course of dynamic interaction — served as the foundation for carrying forward this study's primary idea. And Porta & Diani's (2006) definition of social movement contributed to the interpretation of social movement from a communication perspective. This study looked into different approaches used for studying communication in social movements by scholars of communication and social movements studies. It also briefly looked into social movement studies' premises to get acquainted with the field as the researcher conducting the study comes from the communication field. By utilizing the insights gained from the field of social movement studies and approaches used by the scholars for studying communication in social movement, the researcher was able to frame the theoretical and conceptual framework for the study. It formed 'social movement communication' as a comprehensive approach to study communication in a social movement. By the approach of social movement communication it tried to integrate all communication happening in social movement by including i) internal and external communication, ii) staged and backstage, iii) mediated and non-mediated, iv) verbal and non-verbal, and v) symbolic and behavioral communication during the planning, organizing, mobilizing and demonstration phases of a social movement.

Before settling on the methodology, the researcher went through the available literature on the social movement methodology to get a basic understanding of social movement research. The available literature pointed to a practice of methodological pluralism in the study of social movements, which had enriched the field in terms of theory and methodology. This practice has also enabled researchers to use a range of methods and pursue experiments with methodologies. The literature helped the researcher to identify the right methodology for this study. Thus, given the main objective of this research (for an in-depth analysis of communication in social movement), a qualitative research approach of — Multiple Case Study was adopted. After finalizing the methodology, a multiple qualitative research method comprising the field study and the historical research was selected to track the communication of both past and recent social movements. Historical research facilitated in understanding the communicative events of the past

movements. Archival research was resorted to considering that there is no relevant person alive to interact directly. Here, the study used archival research to construct the colonial tribal movements' communicational events. On the other hand, the field study helped the researcher get a holistic view of the communication facets of contemporary movements. Making this happen were the interviews with the movement participants was possible. The multiple case study approach helped to study the communication aspects of the past and the contemporary social movements through a multiple qualitative research strategy comprising historical research and field study.

A contextual study was also undertaken by the researcher to get a sense of the community and the geographical area under investigation. During the study, the researcher mainly focused on the tribal community in the state of Jharkhand and tribal movements. The investigation helped the researcher understand the complexity of tribes as a concept since there were many differences in how a tribal community is defined in India and around the world. To trace the origin of the category of 'tribe' in India, the researcher went through various Census Reports of India during the colonial and post-independence periods and found that tribes as a category have changed from time to time. A survey of the Census reports found that the need for such classification was felt to define a set of primitive people living in isolation and followed a different kind of religion based on superstitions. The motive of such categorization was to identify and civilize them. Hence, the task of tribal development was initiated by the government of the day. The survey of contemporary scholarly work on tribes showed that in the process of development, tribes were displaced from their natural habitat. As a result, they became marginalized and forced to live in poverty. Investigation on Jharkhand brought to light that the state is facing development consequences in terms of neo-liberalism due to its natural resources. And the tribal people who live in the vicinity of natural resources have also had to suffer in the process. Analysis of tribal social movements highlighted the struggles of marginalized people against the exploitation and infringement of the rights.

The contextual awareness gained by the background study on the community and geographical area assisted in the analysis of the case studies. The case studies conducted on the colonial movements — Birsa Movement and Santhal *Hul* — helped outline the type of social movement communication that gets promoted under a particular leader where the person in charge took the communication decisions single-handedly. When the leadership in

these movements was analyzed using the ‘discursive leadership’ concept of Fairhurst (2009) and Omilion-Hodges (2017), the researcher observed that the leadership was strategically developed through religious communication for which the leaders exploited the religiosity of the people. An examination of the communication strategies of leaders showed that there were varied forms of human-based communication styles centered on misbeliefs, rumors, rituals, myths and superstitions. Here the study mainly explored the movement communication largely based on speech (oral communication), object-mediated communication and symbolic communication. For the analysis of such communication, it relied on scholars like H. Bulmer for the symbolic and object-mediated communication, Aristotle for rhetoric communication, Charles Tilly for communication through religious processions, D. A. Snow and R. D. Benford for decoding frames from a mobilization communication perspective and A. J. M. Sykes for analyzing mythological communication. An analysis drawn from such communication helped the researcher learn how a communication-related decision and action gets decided single-handedly in social movements led by a leader. Besides this, the analysis also foregrounded the importance of the leader’s communication skills primarily in terms of his/her adeptness in recognizing effectual ideas, the capacity to work out a successful mobilization strategy as well as knowledge and understanding of the socio-political and cultural beliefs of the concerned community involved in the movement. In short, it illustrated the leaders’ competency in movement communication in terms of their communicative skills, understanding and knowledge.

On the other side, the analysis of the case studies of contemporary movements— Chandil Dam Movement (CDM) and movement against the Greater Ranchi Master Plan-2037 (GRMP-2037) — brought to the fore a sort of social movement communication that was conducted and operated by an association of people. This emerged from collective leadership and group communication practices. The study observed movement communication as a group activity— conducted and strategized by an association and guided by shared leadership. The analysis of such communication and leadership practices highlighted the civil society’s role in forming a social movement where community members are in distress. They were organized into an arena where they could express their grievances. In doing so, the individual sense of grievance through communication could be transformed into a feeling of collective injustice. All those affected are roped in to form a strong civic association and thereafter into a movement to get justice. Chandhoke (1995) was referred for the analysis of the civil associations like *Chhatra Yuva*

Sangharsh Vahini (CYSV), *Visthapit Mukti Vahini* (VMV) and *Hatia Visthapit Parivar Manch* (HVPM) as a site of mediation and expressed politics and Tocqueville (2002) for understanding how by forming associations marginalized people of weaker section like tribe actively participates in the issues concerning their social and political life.

Conceptual Context

The conceptual framework formulated using the theories of community, public sphere, communication, mobilization and framing worked to an extent and helped the researcher explore the different dimensions of the tribal social movement's communication. By utilizing the concept of community, the researcher understood the formation of a 'movement community' within a social movement as an outcome of interaction among the community members and movement group. For this the researcher referred to the ideas of Stoecker (1995), Staggenborg (1998), and Buechler (1990). These scholars' recognition of movement collectives as a community helped the researcher approach social movement communication from the community networking perspective. In exploring the communication from the networking perspective, the study captured the expressive view of social movement communication that often doesn't get the recognition it deserves. Also, the various notions of the community suggested by Tracy (2009) helped understand that people come together to shape a community by using their own reason and different community ideas. This is also reflected when a movement community is created. The people in the Birsa Movement and Santhal *Hul* came together to constitute the movement community by recognizing their tribal bond to throw out foreign rule and establish native authority. On the other hand, people in contemporary movements formed the movement community based on their shared interests and geographical ties to get compensation and a resettlement package. It shows different social movements refer to the community's varying notions as per their nature and characteristic while forming a movement community.

By examining the public sphere inside the social movement, the study was able to establish how marginalized people through movement counter the dominant discourse. Studying social movement in the public sphere context helped understand the strategies put together by the marginalized people through their movement to counter the dominant discourses, prominently in the contemporary case studies of CDM and GRDP-2037. The idea of subaltern counterpublics offered by Fraser (1990) helped decode tribal movements from subaltern counter-discourses. The tribal community, in each case study, opposed government dominance through the movement.

As observed in case studies, the government showed its dominance on the tribal community through the change in taxation rules and enactment of the new Forest Act in colonial time and through damming projects and forced eviction in contemporary time. Gerhards and Neidhardt (1990), Chandhoke (1995) and Koopmans (2004) helped analyze the emergence of the public sphere in the tribal movement. Using Gerhards and Neidhardt (1990) and Chandhoke (1995) the public sphere of contemporary movements was traced through the discursive space created by the movement -- regular associational and community level meetings and discussions. The newspaper coverage of CDM using the reading of Koopmans (2004) was analyzed in terms of the public sphere mediating between the movement collectives and the bureaucrats where *Vithapit Mukti Vahini* (VMV) of CDM besides memorandums used newspaper coverage to convey the corruption involved in the damming project to the government.

Through the mobilization concept, the study explored the ways of communication that drew people into the social movement. The researcher evaluated the case studies' mobilization process using the idea of Tilly (1978) and Klandermans (2013a). Tilly's (1978) concept of mobilization as a process through which a community transitions from a passive set of individuals to an active role in public life helped view mobilization from a recruitment viewpoint where communicational facilities and means emerged as primary mobilization resources. The study took note of the favorable condition of mobilization in the tribal community in light of their traditional communication practices like community meetings and community messenger's presence in contemporary movements. Klandermans (2013a) saw effective persuasive communication and communication channels as one of the concerns of mobilization processes. This particular view helped analyze the latent phase of movement communication as persuasive communication and revealed how mobilization communication succeeds when it uses existing social networks and established communication channels.

For digging into the communication aspects of a social movement collective demonstration, the study relied on the works of Tilly (1977b; 1995; 2006 & 2008). It helped comprehend the collective performance of the tribal movements from the perspective of communication. Here the work of Tilly and Tarrow (2015 [2007]) on repertoires of contention and contentious politics guided in exploring the interactive aspect of the movement's collective performances like *padayatra* of CDM. Besides the collective performance, the *padayatra* also served as the passage for the movement collectives to interact with people they came across

during their *padayatra*. Likewise, it also helped examine the interactive perspective of the movement demonstrations like rally and dharna where participants got an opportunity to interact with media persons who came to cover the demonstration and pass on the movement message to the bystander through their slogans, speech and leaflets. The use of banners, leaflets, booklets and placards as the channels of communication was also approached through the idea of Downing's (2008) radical media, where these movement media helped the participants in advocating the change from below. The CDM's two booklets are a striking example of how social movements form their media and communicate and advocate for change.

Further, Mattoni's (2013) idea of 'media knowledge practices' and 'relational media practices' helped analyze the trend of organizing press conferences and issuing press releases in contemporary movements. The holding of press conferences, especially by the GRMP-2037 movement's activists, shed light on how the activist's knowledge of media was used while conducting movement communication, thereby helping in its coverage. It also underscored the need for the movement activists to have knowledge of media and an ability to make use of it for their cause. The efforts of activists to build bridges with media personnel were witnessed through the VMV volunteers' gesture of making available the press release to the reporters in their offices. Also, the 'repertoires of communication' (Mattoni, 2013) helped understand the selective use of media by the movement activists and leaders among the various media options available to them. It showed, selection of media outlets in movement, besides its availability, also depends on the impression the media has on the movement leaders. As Vasavi Kiro, an activist leader of the movement against the GRMP-2037 stated in her interview that they don't use social media platforms for their movement, considering it as nonserious media. Overall this study, through the analysis of the contemporary tribal movements, revealed more use of print media than electronic media in tribal movements of Jharkhand.

On the other hand, Blumer's (1986 [1969]) work on symbolic interaction and Aristotle (1925 [350 B.C.E]) on rhetoric provided the ground for analyzing the tactics of verbal communication and non-verbal communication implied by the tribal colonial movement's leaders with the intention of movement formation. The claim of being God's descendent and religious speech made by Birsa, Sidhu and Kanhu in the colonial movements, when analyzed using Aristotle's rhetoric, revealed that the leader's style and presentation of speech could enhance the movement's communication and facilitates the movement's emergence. It also

showed that the leader's awareness and understanding of the community's nature could enable the leader to apply the most appealing style and presentation of speech that influences people. Using people's religious sentiments, Birsa, Sidhu, and Kanhu mobilized the people through their religious speeches. The use of other verbal communication like 'prophecy' and 'ancestral talk' by Birsa is also an example of rhetoric used in tribal movement communication. The idea of symbolic interaction by Blumer (1986 [1969]) helped analyze the use of items like *sal* twig, rice, oil and *sindoor* in Santhal *Hul* in terms of symbolic communication, which showed the strategic use of objects of native importance in movement communication. The communication through such items was community-specific and was meant for inward communication. It is an indicator of how the colonial tribe communicated a secret message during social movements. The use of drum beating in Santhal *Hul* displayed the tribal way of symbolic aural communication, which was also the form of their inward communication.

The various framing strategies of Snow & Benford (1992 & 1988); Snow, Rochford, Worden & Benford (1986) and Snow (2004) were used to understand the use of frames in social movement from a communication viewpoint — the process by which social movements construct and convey the meaning of a situation in its intended manner to organize and mobilize people. The analysis provided a good insight into the communicational and interactive aspects of framing strategies like 'motivation' and 'transformation' frame. The demand for '*sampurn punarvaas*,' besides the provision of physical rehabilitation in R&R policy in the CDM movement, illustrated an example of frame transformation where movement leaders by the idea of '*sampurn punarvaas*' gave displaced people an alternative view in terms of economic rehabilitation too. In the colonial movements, the expression 'divine intervention' provided by the leaders of Birsa and Santhal *Hul* in the initial phase of the movement formation appeared as the motivation frame in the context of movement communication. The analysis showed such expression as deliberate and as a part of framing activity.

Discussing the aspects of Social Movement Communication from Case Studies

As the foremost objective of this study was to analyze social movement as a communication phenomenon, it approached the subject of social movements by mobilization (Tilly, 1978; Melucci, 1989; McAdam, 1988; Tilly, 1977a; Klandermans, 2013a; Gerhards & Rucht, 1992; Klandermans, 2013b; Walgrave, 2013; Boekkooi & Klandermans, 2013; Haug, 2013 & 2010), framing (Snow & Benford, 1992; Snow & Benford, 1988; Snow, Rochford,

Worden & Benford, 1986; Snow, 2004), and collective demonstrations (Tilly & Tarrow (2015 [2007])); Dutta, 2011; Tilly, 1977b; 1995; 2006 & 2008) that constitute the social movement to bring to the fore the communication process embedded in each event.

In its analysis, the study observed that communication in social movement initially begins with organizing and later takes the form of mobilization and then participation (demonstration). Organizing and mobilization are prominent in the dormant phase of the movement, where communication usually happens within the circle of prospective movement participants. During this movement communication phase, the movement engages with people who are impacted directly by the issue. In the participation phase, which is the more evident and active phase of the movement communication, the movement, besides communicating with its active participants, also connects with other prospective participants, allies, and opponents. And communication happens throughout social movements.

The organizing process begins with the sensitization and realization of people about their unjust situation. It is in this backdrop the movement organizers strategically frame the issue in a way that is likely to mobilize and motivate people. Organizing, mobilizing, and participating are communication-centric social movement events that overlap with each other throughout the movement. Subsequently, the holistic picture of communication in a social movement is captured by investigating these communication-centric events. As social movement is an ongoing process of organizing and mobilizing, and participants also keep involving and retreating at various stages, the same event of movement demonstration for one set of people could be an occasion for mobilizing. At the same time, for another, it pertains to organizing and participation. Thus, these communication-centric events being interchangeable are also relative, depending on the participants' response and reaction. From the movement's viewpoint, an event is termed as an occasion to mobilize, organize, or participate from the perspective of its intended goal.

Besides all these, the study comprehended that communication in social movement happens in a number of ways. Social movement communication is a compilation of all sorts of communication starting from the interpersonal and extending to mass communication — being expressed in person through social networks or communicated through technological channels — that can be studied from different perspectives. The study traced the social movement's communicational aspect, mainly from the perspective of movement association and its leader. From both perspectives, the study found that communication activities are dominant in the social

movement, and it often takes the form of mobilization, framing and demonstration. Thus for the researcher, studying communication in social movements consisted of investigating all communication-centric acts of social movements.

While analyzing the case studies' mobilization process, the study found that mobilization is a vital aspect of the movement formation and starts with the beginning of the organizing activities. Also, mobilization forms a significant portion of organizing activities. The study looked at both these courses of action as a unit and considered it the beginning stage of the movement formation. It also observed mobilization as the recruitment mechanism of social movement—the process by which participants are drawn into the movements. A closer look shows that mobilization is actually a communication process. The purpose of communication in mobilization is to make people aware of the problem perceived by the movement and make them actively participate, a process which Klandermans (1984 & 2013b) in his study has described as consensus mobilization and action mobilization, respectively. The study observed the consensus and action mobilization as two steps of mobilization conducted with different motives at two different movement stages. While examining CDM, the study came across the mobilization process carried out by the two associations involved in the movement. When analyzed using the idea of micro-mobilization and meso-mobilization of Gerhards & Rucht (1992), Boekkooi & Klandermans (2013), McAdam (1988) and Haug (2013 & 2010) it showed that mobilization also happens in movements at different levels like— at the initiators' level and the organizers' level. In an analysis of communication used in mobilization, the study found that different communication patterns and strategies are used for mobilizing people at different levels and movement stages. This fact was evident in almost all the case studies.

For consensus mobilization, extensive use of face to face communication in the form of 'religious gatherings' and 'community meetings' were observed in colonial and contemporary movements, respectively. In religious gatherings of colonial movements, people were addressed using rhetoric that appealed to them. In community meetings of the contemporary movements, people were convinced of the movement's viewpoint through political discussion and talk sessions based on the community's socio-political issues. In contrast, for action mobilization, the colonial movements used religious rallying acts, prayer meetings and implied the strategic use of symbolic and object mediated communication along with the myths. The leaders of colonial movements also used rumors to circulate the message. In contemporary movements, leaflets,

wall writings, meetings and community messenger were used for the action mobilization. Besides these, in colonial and contemporary movements, collective performances were also used for the action mobilization in a few instances. Like in CDM, VMV strategically organized the first rally both as a collective demonstration and action mobilization. Likewise, Birsa, Sidhu, and Kanhu, the colonial movement leaders, also made the pilgrimage's strategic use for action mobilization.

Further, all movements used the pre-existing group-based social networks for communication in their efforts to mobilize people. In colonial movements, people were reached out through the peer networks of friends, neighbors, family and religious leaders. Contemporary movements used the services of the village head, community messenger, community leader, and educated youth from the community to reach out to people. In this way, all the movements for mobilization communication extensively used the community's existing social network and bond. But the purpose of mobilization is not only to make people aware but also to encourage them to participate in the movement. All the movements made use of various mobilizing techniques directed at sentiment, religion, rights and injustice to mobilize people. Besides the content, the channels and the mobilizing message's source also tended to be equally important. The study noted that communication is used in its various forms for effective mobilization, and it is difficult to separate communication from mobilization.

It also found that communication in the social movement is not just communication but also a strategy to which framing is central. The study examined the frames implied by the movement from its communicative dimension to enhance the understanding of how it contributed to improved social movement communication. In this context, the analysis perceived frames as a critical component of movement communication. As in all the case studies, it became apparent how particular frames are strategically implied by the movement leaders to present the issue to people, shape collective identity among them, and bring them closer to the movement. Entman (1993) called this process 'framing.' In which the movement leaders selected only those aspects of the perceived facts in their movement communication that are likely to contribute to the movement's organizing and mobilization processes. While looking at the framing approaches of the movements selected as the case studies, the researcher came across various frames constructed using the cultural values and religious belief systems of the people involved in the movement, especially in the colonial case studies. In contemporary movements, the frames based

on injustice and rights were used to evoke people's participation. Here, frames got used strategically as the diagnostic, prognostic, transformative and motivational frame. Making use of the frames to identify the issue in a particular way and proposing a suitable solution to the problem, the movement leaders and associations tried to motivate people to participate. The issue of increased taxation, oppression of poor and corrupt administrations was comprehended in colonial movements by the leaders in the form of a religious problem of '*adharm*' (unrighteousness). The leaders saw the solution to the dilemma in the form of a religious movement and influenced the people for the movement using the religious text. In contemporary movements too frames were used to interpret the damming, relocation and dislocation issues in a particular way: displacement, livelihood loss and right to resettlement, where the movement identified the problem as a political issue of rights and injustice, so the solution to this was proposed in the form of right to rehabilitation and resettlement and compensation.

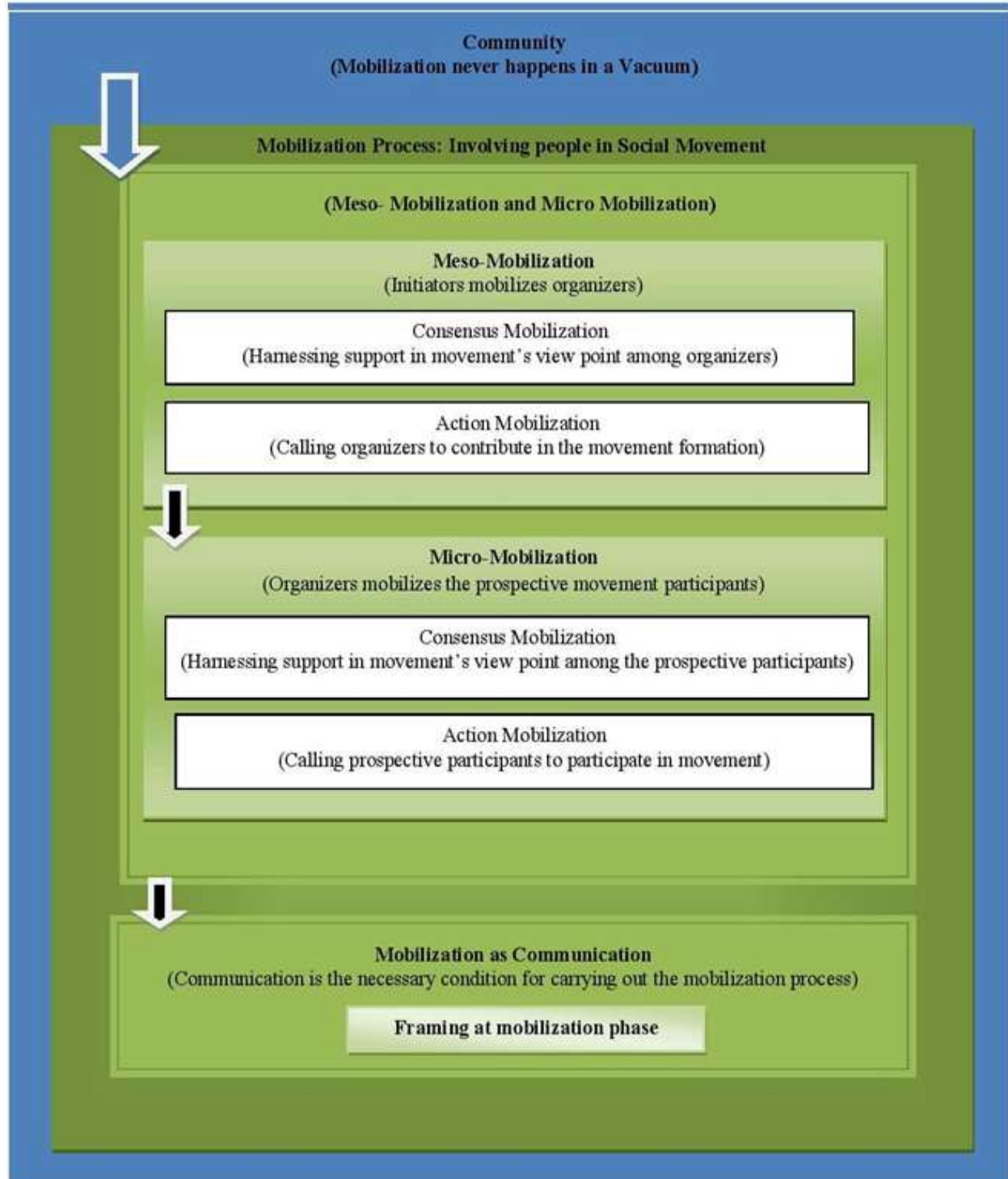
Likewise, framing activities help sharpen the focus on the issues and help to mobilize people and guide the social movement's communication and mobilization strategy. But to make effective use of the selected view of the problem, especially in the mobilization process, movements need to popularize their perception of the problem to the wider public. This specific mission was achieved by carrying out different types of movement demonstrations and gatherings. The slogans, public speeches, banners, memorandum, leaflets, etc., which were used while conducting demonstrations, opened up a communication channel between the movement and the wider public. Through collective demonstration, the movement communicates and negotiates with the opponent group and tries to fulfill its objectives. From the analysis of case studies, it was observed that collective demonstration becomes essential to present the movement's voice once the movement reaches certain levels of maturity. Besides serving as a communication channel, a continuous demonstration also provides an apparatus to maintain the movement communication momentum. In colonial movements, the researcher observed the movements' collective action incidents and gatherings primarily in the form of religious processions like a pilgrimage and other religious gatherings. While in contemporary movements, people constituted to the movements' collective action in the form of *padayatras*, rallies, hunger strikes, public meetings and sit-ins. The study carefully examined all these movements' events from a communication perspective and observed that a substantial part of the movement communication is carried out through demonstration and public gatherings.

The analysis mentioned above of communication in social movement based on mobilization, framing, and demonstration confirms the idea of approaching social movement from a comprehensive approach that considers all these communication-centric acts of a social movement together. One such inclusive approach which this study tried to formulate and check was ‘social movement communication.’ In this study, this approach has deepened the communication analysis to some extent in the selected social movements. It explored the people’s varied communication practices based on interpersonal, group and public communication involved in movements. Overall, the ‘social movement communication’ approach helped explore social movement from a communication perspective.

Thus, the research, which began with a limited understanding and an indistinct description of ‘social movement communication,’ based on the insights gained from the analysis, tries to modify its understanding by describing it as a concerted and conscious communication effort of a group of people united in an unjust and oppressed situation. They are frequently involved in the varied forms and practices of communication that arise from the combination of mediated and non-mediated, verbal and non-verbal, formal and informal, symbolic and behavioral, object mediated and performative communication and the likes in the pursuit of the aspiration to restrict or eliminate the causes that lead the situation of unjust. The study observed the ‘communication’ in the social movement in terms of social practice beyond the transmission and mediation process. In the movement’s latent phase, people communicate their perception of the situation with one another— a mechanism by which they are awakened and begin to relate. By communicating with each other, they also work together to raise awareness and solidarity among themselves. They also produce and disseminate information at the visible phase to oppose and negotiate with their adversaries and make the public aware of their issue. The systematic flow of communication in social movement comprehended in this study is summarized in the form of a flow chart on the next page:

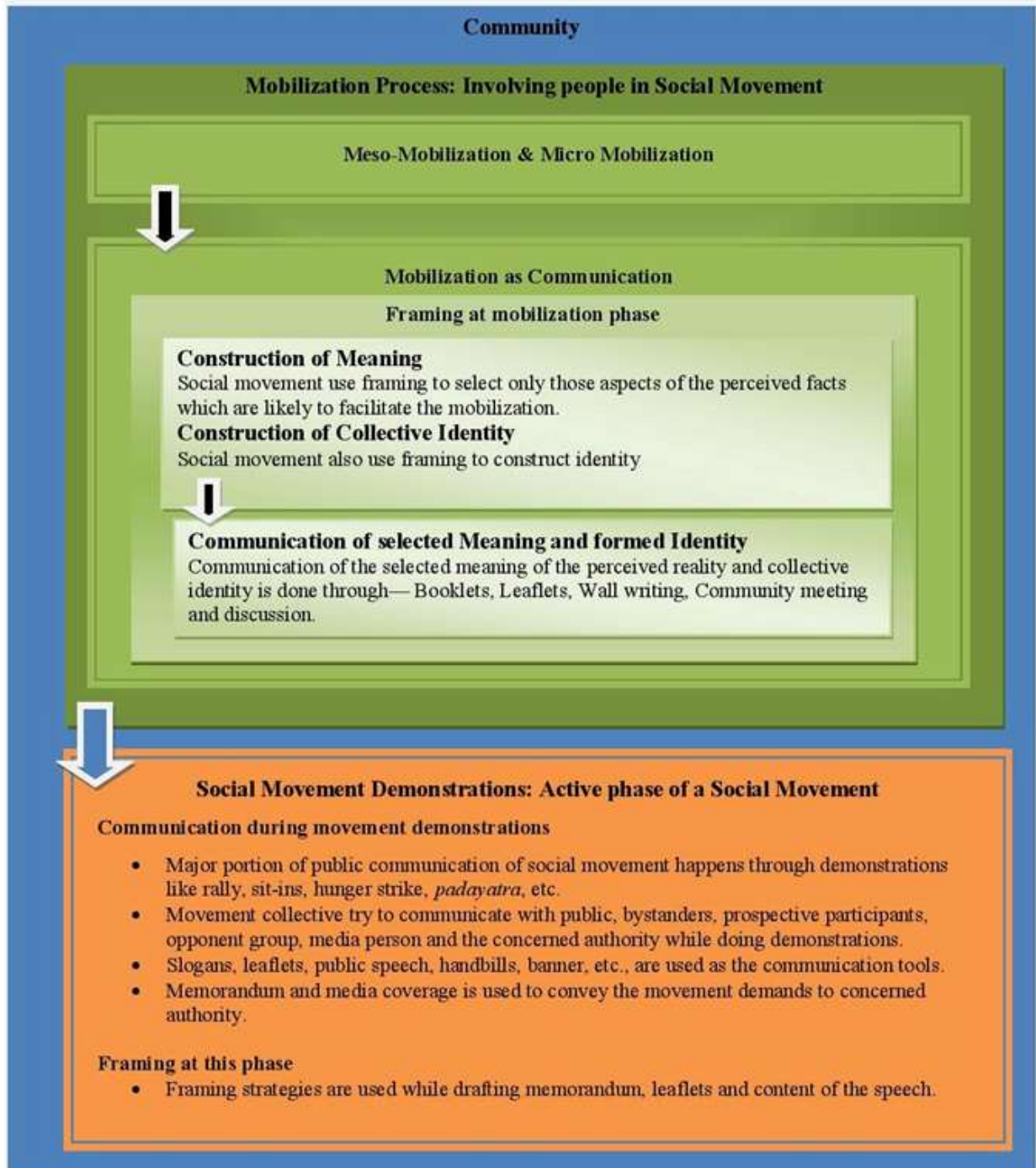
SOCIAL MOVEMENT COMMUNICATION

(Social movement begins with organizing and mobilizing process. Here Mobilization forms the major portion of organizing in which community people are mobilized for the social movement)



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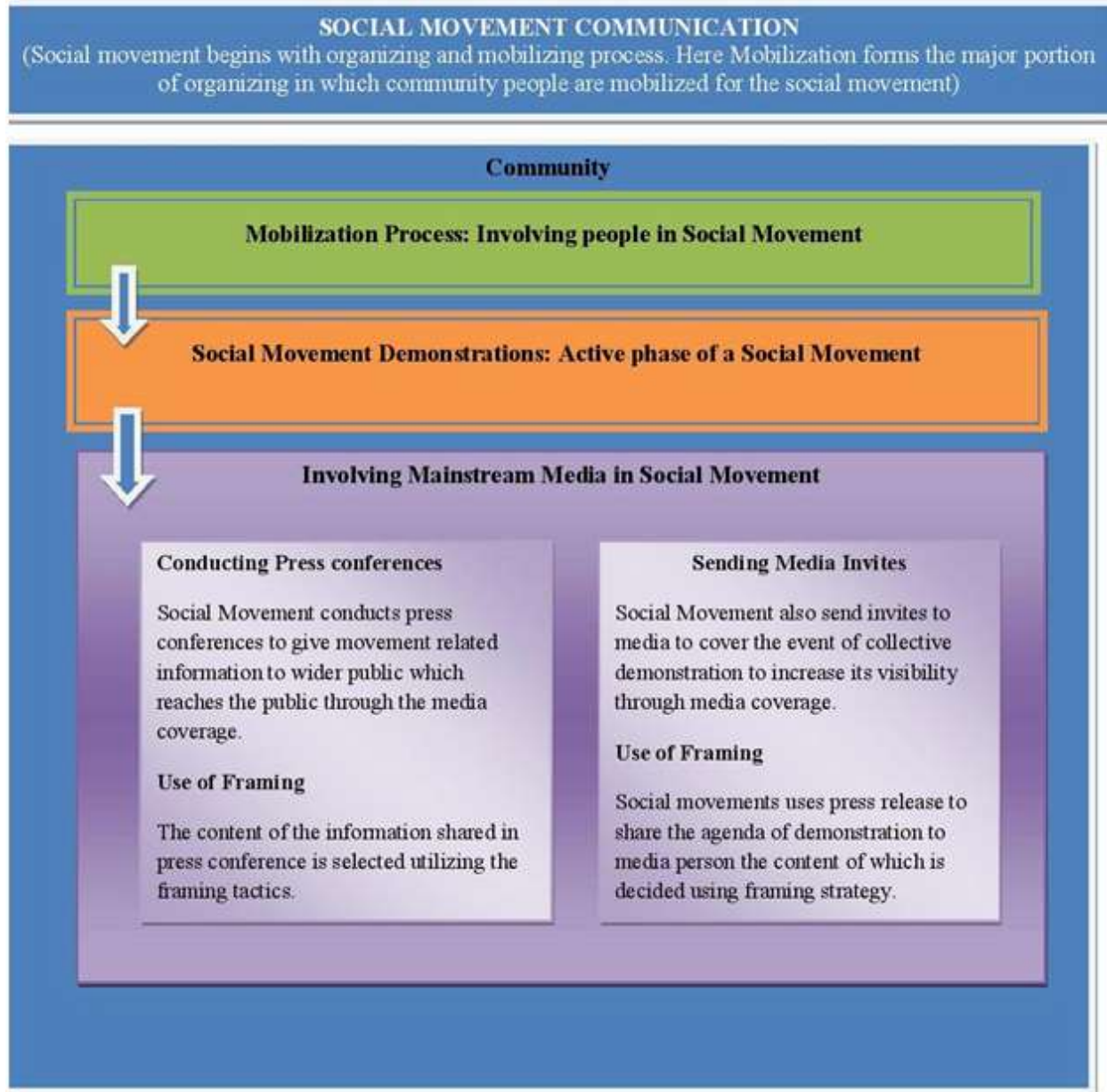


Figure 1.: Showing the flow of communication in social movement

While exploring movement communication, the study also examined the ‘movement community.’ The study used the community notion to observe both the people involved in the movement and the geographical area. In doing so, the researcher got a grasp of the community’s connotation from the place and assemblage senses (Tracy, 2009). The sense of place explored the larger geographic area from which the participants belonged. The focus of the movement collectives explored the grounds and procedure by which the movement community got

constituted in each case study. In this way, the study looked at the community from geographical location and social grouping perspectives. As far as the area is concerned, the ‘community’ under investigation belonged to the area inhabited by tribal people — Jharkhand, which is rich in natural resources, socially backward and politically vibrant. Simultaneously, in terms of assemblage, it turned out to be a community of marginalized and exploited people — who had come together to limit their exploitation and avail the rights to which they are constitutionally entitled. In this way, social movements have formed a doorway to discursive space by organizing the people into collectives.

The discursive space of social movement has enabled them to voice their concerns regarding their development and existence to some extent that has emerged into a sub-community — ‘movement community’ within the larger tribal community. The study used the concept of the movement community to include all the movement actors directly or indirectly involved in the formation and sustention of the movement. The phrase sub-community is used here because the study comprehended the movement community as a part of the larger community to which the members of the movement belonged prior to the emergence of the movement community. From the analysis of all the four case studies, this study understood that the movement community is transitory, and it can never overtake or outreach the community from which it has emerged. However, it can transform and add to the character and nature of the larger community. The study also notes that the movement community, like the larger community, also develops some identifiable characteristics and features in its movement discourse.

In the colonial movements, the study found that the exploited and distressed people from the larger community (Munda and Santhal community) came together to form a movement community that first acquired the religious group’s character and features and subsequently acquired the characteristics of a rebellious group. But after the movement ended, the movement community which emerged from the larger tribal community got submerged, imparting its prominent characteristics like ‘rebellious and fearlessness’ to that particular tribal community. The tribal community, which was called primitive and animists before the movement, came to be addressed as the rebellious and fearless in the colonial writings after the movement ended.

In the case studies of contemporary movements, this study found a similar trait of the movement community, helping transform the respective larger community from which it

emerged. In these movements also, the distressed people fearing displacement came together to form a civic association that later emerged into the movement group. Unlike the colonial movement grouping, the grouping in the contemporary movements was primarily governed by the issues involved and participation was open to all those who could relate to the problem. Participation in the movement was not restricted only to the distressed community and the people from outside could also join the movement. These outsiders were primarily activists and social workers. They all got associated with the movement community based on their values and concern and not on their geographical ties. The contemporary movement community members also share common links where they simultaneously become involved in issues that show affiliations to similar issues raised by other movements through expressing and extending solidarity. In both the contemporary case studies, the movement extended solidarity to similar movements in the neighborhood. It was done to support and amplify each other's voices as all the movements dealt with the issues of displacement, livelihood, resettlement and compensation. To an extent, this reflects the practice of solidarity culture in Jharkhand, where movements in the process of extending solidarity to each other often create a bond among them and also expand their outreach. Such a situation also leads to a dense movement network and increased coordination among the movement associations. This practice of doing movement and extending solidarity is not new to Jharkhand. As a result, today, all small and big movement associations (communities) working in Jharkhand are well connected and aware of each other's issues and extend moral support. It shows how movement communities have come together to form one big 'community of social movements.' It is not that the associations or movements are interconnected to each other, but as they are fighting against government dominance and working towards social change, they keep extending solidarity to each other.

The current study focused on the formation and communication function of a particular social movement community. But while conducting the study, it observed a wide perspective for future studies to research the emergence of a 'community of social movements' and explore the dynamics of networking, coordination, cooperation, and communication between the members from a broader perspective of communication studies. Such a link between the communities of movement gives rise to factors that lead to the expansion of unity among the strugglers and make it easier for them to have a unified impact on the government. This trend has also led to the convergence of many tribal movements, such as land, agriculture, livelihood, environment,

cultural rights, development and displacement, resulting from which movement approach has shifted from segregated to integrated. Contemporary tribal movements like the CDM and the movement against the GRMP-2037 project, besides addressing displacement issues, also tried to cater to the land issue, livelihood and cultural rights. Likewise, there are immense possibilities of studying the tribal movement community from the perspective of solidarity culture.

While examining the communication in social movement and the community involved, the study noted some changes. But when the researcher comprehended those changes in terms of modern communication practices and technological advancement, the study found no drastic change in the mobilization patterns and communication of Jharkhand's tribal movements like other communities' movements have undergone in the wake of social media. It shows with time and change in technology, their social movement mobilization and communication behaviors have experienced a slow transition. They embrace the importance of strong social ties and face-to-face communication in their community to date. Meetings remain a vital activity to discuss any matter at the community level. In their social movements, meetings form an active discursive space for all community-level discussions and were extensively used to mobilize people and plan movement activities. Interpersonal communication, mouth-to-mouth communication and meetings appeared as an essential communication practice at the community level.

Interpersonal and mouth-to-mouth communication appeared as an inward communication practice and communication based on prophecy and religious gatherings as external communication in colonial movements. In addition to these, symbolic communications through items of religious importance such as *sal* twigs were also strategically used for both internal and external communication in the colonial movement. In contemporary movements, interpersonal and group communication in teach-ins and discussion emerged as the community's inward communication practice. The use of leaflets, press conferences, and press releases has been observed as an outward communication practice in both contemporary movements. Change in the external communication practice of colonial and contemporary movements can be easily understood by taking into account the timeframe between them and the nature of the society that set the backdrop for these movements. The use of meetings and traditional community messengers is a common thread across all the movements irrespective of the times in which they occurred. The continued use of these two practices, of meetings and traditional community messengers, shows a slow transition in the community communication practice. These practices

have been maintained till today because tribal people have kept their socio-political culture alive. Organizing community meetings is an old practice in a tribal community and was perceived as an essential activity of the traditional village council. It was often a platform for the tribal people to solve the village level issues collectively. The participants in the meetings used to sit in circles facing each other and discussed the issue. Over time, such meetings served as a forum for constituting social movement, conveying the objectives, and encouraging people to participate in it. There is, however, a difference between the meetings of colonial and contemporary movements. The leaders of colonial movements organized meetings in the garb of religious gatherings and prayer meetings where generally the leader had the authority to speak. In contrast, in contemporary movement meetings, besides the moderators, the participants also had the right to speak and actively participate in meetings. In other words, meetings have now become more democratic through interactive and participative aspects. In the CDM movement, the organizers even maintained a logbook listing all the participants and recorded the minutes of the meeting in writing.

Contemporary tribal communication has taken the shape of political communication and shifted away from religious communication tactics. With progress on several fronts in the society, contemporary tribal communication has become more strategic in its approach and has started using logic and facts. However, technological developments have not changed their movements' mobilization and organization patterns and processes drastically. They have retained the value of their offline social ties when it comes to mobilization. They continue to remain heavily dependent on their small and reliable social networks rather than the web of social networking sites to carry forward the movements. Overall, the study observed that there is use of social media in contemporary tribal movements to a limited extent. The use of technology was limited to WhatsApp and emails, that too, largely when the movement was being organized in an urban setup - Ranchi. This trend of Jharkhand's tribal movements not leveraging social media is observed because tribal activists have different views regarding social media use in their movements. According to CDM movement activist Balram, a tribal movement is not just a struggle for a single issue, it is to support their indigenous worldview. Thus, their movements, which prolong for decades, need people committed to the cause and not mere participants. Commenting on the Chandil movement's participants, he said tribal people live movement; they just do not participate in it. There is a difference between living in a situation and being a

participant; that is why their movements remain alive for decades.

Regarding social media, he said there is no doubt that social media and online media have made significant contributions to the movements' visibility and mobilization process. Yet, it can never substitute the offline and conventional conduct of the movement. And hence he considers cadre building through socially involved people to be the best and long-lasting. "These (tribal) are simple people, hardly aware of what you call social or new media. If a few of them are aware, they hardly use it for their movement because they want dedicated participants, not event-based participants. And truly committed participants can emerge only from a community of sufferers and one who is empathic to the cause," he points out. As most of the sufferers and their empathizers are not techno-savvy, they don't use social media.

Similarly, Vasavi Kiro, an activist involved in the anti-Greater Ranchi Project-2037 movement, while reflecting on the use of social media in the tribal movement, said that it is a non-serious means of movement communication. It certainly helps to connect with people, but it does not help develop a bond needed for movement of long duration. Thus, she sees it just as an alternative medium of communication compared to other communication options and prefers to use phone and email to connect with the movement participants and sympathizers rather than through social media. Echoing their sentiments, Rahul Oraon, another activist at the community level, reveals how minimized use of social media is also a movement strategy. Other reasons behind the lower level of use of modern means of communication in these movements, as observed by the researcher in the field, are as follows— first is the age factor. The majority of active participants and senior activists engaged in movement strategy planning are elderly people who are not very conversant and comfortable using social media. Second, very few youths of the present generation trained and born in the information age show interest in social movement affairs. Also, among the youth who are interested, they lack technical resources. Although cell phones have reached a few tribal villages, it has not reached every household. Also, only a few people in the tribal villages have smartphones, and among them, only a few have a regular internet pack. The use of the internet depends on the economic situation of the people, which continues to fluctuate. These different aspects of the lesser use of social media in tribal movements may be the area of future research in tribal movement communication.

Thus it could be said that tribal movement communication in Jharkhand is not fully oriented towards technology. It is more geared towards people's traditional communication

habits and practices, where people-centric communication, such as meetings and discussions, is widely used to argue issues and convince people. Also, important information in the community is shared through a specific set of people, such as the village's traditional head and community messengers (*kotwar*), to further communication to the community. The practice of routing information through such specific people is generally not questioned and regarded as genuine and legitimate. When any outsider like *Chatra Yuva Sangharsh Vahini* (CYSV) initiates a movement, they first try to mobilize the tribal community's influential members to further the community mobilization. Thus the communications within tribal social movements are more source-specific and people-centric. How the information was given and by whom it was given are very important aspects to make the people act according to the message. Especially on information related to socio-political issues, they tend to rely on their known source of information. Even today, the information given through wall writings, community meetings, and community messenger announcements is given more importance than the information received through modern communication methods. People are more convinced of the messages provided by the insiders. This communication style makes them vigilant towards conspiracy and self-reliance in voicing their concerns and issues.

It is also such a communication method that is difficult for agencies like the government to control as opposed to other contemporary movements and their use of social media communication and other digital communication. In the latter, the government sometimes uses the tactics of jamming or blocking the networks. Such communicational practices had also helped the movement activists and participants to escape surveillance and in avoiding detention. For a long in Jharkhand, activists and movement participants have been targeted by the government agencies and detained on the grounds of Naxalism and unlawful activities.

Tribal Community as a Voiced Community

When seen from a social movement perspective, tribes of Jharkhand have never been a voiceless community. Instead, they have been raising voice against exploitation since colonial times, and the same practice is being continued till date like explained in Chapters 4 and 5. Here, tribal movements easily qualify for the status of 'voice' on the parameters of Couldry's (2010) understanding of 'voice' first as a process of articulation and second in terms of 'voice as value.' Tribes of Jharkhand, through movements, have articulated their problems and also forced concerned agencies to take their voice into account. That is, their voice, besides being articulate,

has also been compelling.

Through movements, they have drawn attention to their issues on several occasions and on some got their problems solved by the enactment of Acts like the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act (CNT), Santhal Pargana Tenancy Act (SPT), and Panchayat Extension to Scheduled Area Act (PESA). CNT and SPT are the outcome of the Birsa movement and Santhal *Hul*, respectively, which this study has explored in detail. Also, the contemporary movement of the Chandil dam, which is one of the case studies discussed in Chapter 5, succeeded in getting rehabilitation and resettlement policy for the displaced people. Besides raising their voice against exploitation, they have successfully drawn the attention of society to their aspirations and needs. One such example is the formation of Jharkhand as a state after their prolonged struggle. Thus, Jharkhand's social movements show they have been continuously aware of their deteriorating situation and always worked to improve their situation by raising a voice against exploitation and discrimination.

The revolutionary movements of Sidhu, Kanhu and Birsa Munda are examples of a trend in which people economically and socially exploited by the colonial administrators were compelled to mobilize against the government to get their grievances heard. Likewise, there are various movements recorded by the colonial anthropologist and historians, which show evidence that they have always raised their voice on issues affecting them through their revolts. However, the essence of their past movements (pre-independence) had been violent and aggressive and more of a kind of rebellion. It was also because they failed to grasp the colonial polity comprehensively and remained occupied in their village council's traditional system— ignorant of the changing political structure at a higher level. But now, with their improved political consciousness and social awareness, both the spirit and approach of their movements have changed with time. It has become non-violent and reasonable, as evident in Chapter 5. They have understood the implication of political voice in a modern democracy and have learned to be part of politics and deal with it. Thus, one can see the emergence of social movements in tribal communities in modern times as a means of their socio-political expression. This expression has arisen primarily as their voice in contemporary politics and the development process that affects them. The dominant class tried to diminish their participation and suppress their voice on the issues that concerned them by not giving them equal opportunities. The process of marginalization continued in the absence of their strong representation and voice. But with time, they have realized the importance of an amplified and unified voice. They have started

frequently raising their voice against those who misappropriated their needs and aspirations with this realization. Thus, instead of searching for their voices in the media, communication and media researchers should simultaneously look at their movements to observe their voices and understand that they were never a voiceless community. Being a marginalized community, the efforts of tribes to raise voice through their social movements constitute a voice from below that requires a great deal of attention. A few of the reasons for its attention are as follows: First and foremost, it is the unified voice of a marginalized community emerging from the grassroots level. Second, the movement helps the suppressed group make themselves heard and compel the concerned authorities to notice their condition. Third, such voices bring actual issues to the picture that until then are ignored or dismissed by political forces. Fourth, such movements portray the political voice. These reasons pointed here subsequently set the stage for further discussion on how, in the long term, tribal movement communication as a voice from below has contributed to politics and democracy. As Porta and Diani (2006) said, “movements that explicitly demand increased equality and protection for minorities promote democratic development” (p.246) and Tilly (2004) saw the social movement’s rise and fall as an indicator of “expansion and contraction of democratic opportunities” (p.3). Continuous tribal movements in Jharkhand thus are also the agents of democratic development. It increases the opportunity for the suppressed people to raise their voice against the several socio-political exploitation — justified as development by the dominant group.

Further, relationships between the state and society can be observed by focusing on how states handle the movement collectives. The situation in which state apparatus like police opt for escalated-force instead of negotiating with the movement collectives shows the government agencies are less tolerant and non-democratic in their approach. Thus, besides constituting the marginalized voice, the social movement’s presence in society also ensures that freedom of speech and expression are respected. The emergence of social movements also brings to the fore many aspects such as the presence of an active and aware community and also exhibits the failure of government in meeting the aspirations of people and redressing their grievances.

Here, tribal movement communication also contributes to political participation— the process on which democracy thrives. Todd and Taylor (2004), in their study “*Democracy and Participation*,” proposed a new perspective of looking at the social movements as the process of political participation. They saw social movements as a means of active involvement in politics

beyond the traditional practices of voting and being a member of a political party. From this perspective, tribal movement communication could be seen as their means of enhanced political engagement through which they try to get into the political debate of their concern. Tilly (1978), too, saw the social movement's collective demonstrations as an entrance to the polity.

Such social movements allow the tribal community to participate in community-level political affairs and form political views regarding the issue. It also makes them socially and politically active members of a community where they debate their problems with the concerned officials and politicians. As part of their struggle, they also interact with administrative machinery that often gets choked with corrupt bureaucrats and politicians. Their movements lubricate the system from such obstructions. In this way, social movements for tribal people are not only a means of raising voice but also participating in politics and democracy. Therefore, greater attention to tribal movement can reveal the significant contribution of such a marginalized community to the functioning of democracy.

Implications for Future Research

This study's strength lies in its approach where the study, rather than viewing at communication in social movement in one particular form, viewed it in multiple dimensions. The study combined the existing approaches of studying communication in social movements like media uses, media representation, framing strategies, collective performances, etc., into one by forming 'social movement communication' as a comprehensive approach. The study called it a comprehensive approach because it saw communication in social movement in its most basic form— as a process through which people connect with each other in a situation like a social movement. In a way, the social movement communication approach integrated all the communicative means like expression, action, symbols, speech, and media. This approach helped the researcher explore the varied dimensions of communication in a social movement— from the extent of mobilization, organization, framing and collective demonstration of a social movement, which are often studied individually. It also highlighted the communication of a social movement in its varied form and practices such as public, interpersonal, group, mediated and symbolic communication. This approach allowed the researcher to simultaneously capture both the transmission and expressive views of communication in tribal movements. Likewise, the communication of other movements, too, like movements based on gender issues, environment issues, migration movements, land issues, religious issues, etc., can also be explored using this

comprehensive approach.

This comprehensive approach also allowed the researcher to explore the communicational aspects of a tribal movement in depth. When the approaches like the frame analysis, media representation study, or the collective performance study are used alone, they restrain the study by exploring only a particular dimension of movement communication, neglecting the rest. The comprehensive approach also provided the flexibility to conduct a study based on multiple case studies. For example, in colonial case studies, movement relied on human and object-based communication and no technology-based communication was involved. In contrast, the movements of contemporary case studies relied on both human and technology-based communication. In a situation like this, where the study aimed to explore both colonial and present-day movements' communication, one particular approach would not have done justice to the study.

Similarly, the methodology of the study also added to the significance. The study's approach to using multiple qualitative research techniques such as field research and archival research helped the researcher study the colonial and contemporary means of communication in tribal movements, side by side. As the study looked into the tribal community and their communication practices, the exploration of colonial means of tribal movement communication provided context for studying the contemporary means of tribal movement communication. Without being a longitudinal study, it appeared longitudinal as the tribal movements of the same geographical area over several decades were studied. To some extent, the use of multiple methods provided methodological insight to conduct a similar study based on the historical and contemporary movements.

The study also explored communication in social movement from two different perspectives— leadership and civic association. By applying the leadership perspective, the study saw the leader as a communicator in a social movement. It explored the role of a leader beyond the managerial role through the perspective of discursive leadership. This approach brought to light a different aspect of social movement communication. Here, leader and leadership emerged as an outcome of continuous communication between the leader and movement participants. This aspect increased the importance of analyzing the leader's communication skills and knowledge in social movement communication studies.

On the other side, approaching the communication in social movement from the

standpoint of communication done by the civil association formed by the movement collectives gave an insight into the collective communication and leadership where communication roles often got shared among the participants. The communication conducted by the civil association also brought to light the mediating role of the association at the level of community and society. At the community level, the association conversed with the community members about the issues and possible solutions. At the society's level, it negotiated the demands of the movement with the concerned authority. Here, the researcher explored the leadership and mediated communication of the tribal movements of a grassroots level. The researcher sees the possibility of exploring tribal movements' communication from leadership and civic association in the national tribal movements too.

Studying tribal social movements entirely from the communication process perspective emerged as an exciting challenge to the researcher. It was so because the study was interdisciplinary. The study's interdisciplinary nature led the researcher into the tribal and social movement, a new area for the researcher. But as the study progressed, the researcher got familiar with the tribal and social movement study. Towards the completion, the study added to her knowledge of tribe and social movements. In this research journey, the researcher studied the tribal community from their social movement and found that social movement can emerge as a trend in studying the community's communication practices. As the social movement continues for days and months, studying the community's communication practices through social movements will allow one to look into the community's social communication and political interaction practices at once. It will also throw light on communication in a conflict zone and among people in an unrest situation. Besides these, a community's social movement communication practice will also reveal many things about the community, like— How much aware the community is about its rights and surrounding? How much empowered people are to raise their voice? How privileged are they in terms of media and technology use? To what extent are they politically aware? How much united are they as a community? And to what extent they contribute to democracy. In short, it can bring many aspects to the communication study and expand the scope for a communication scholar.

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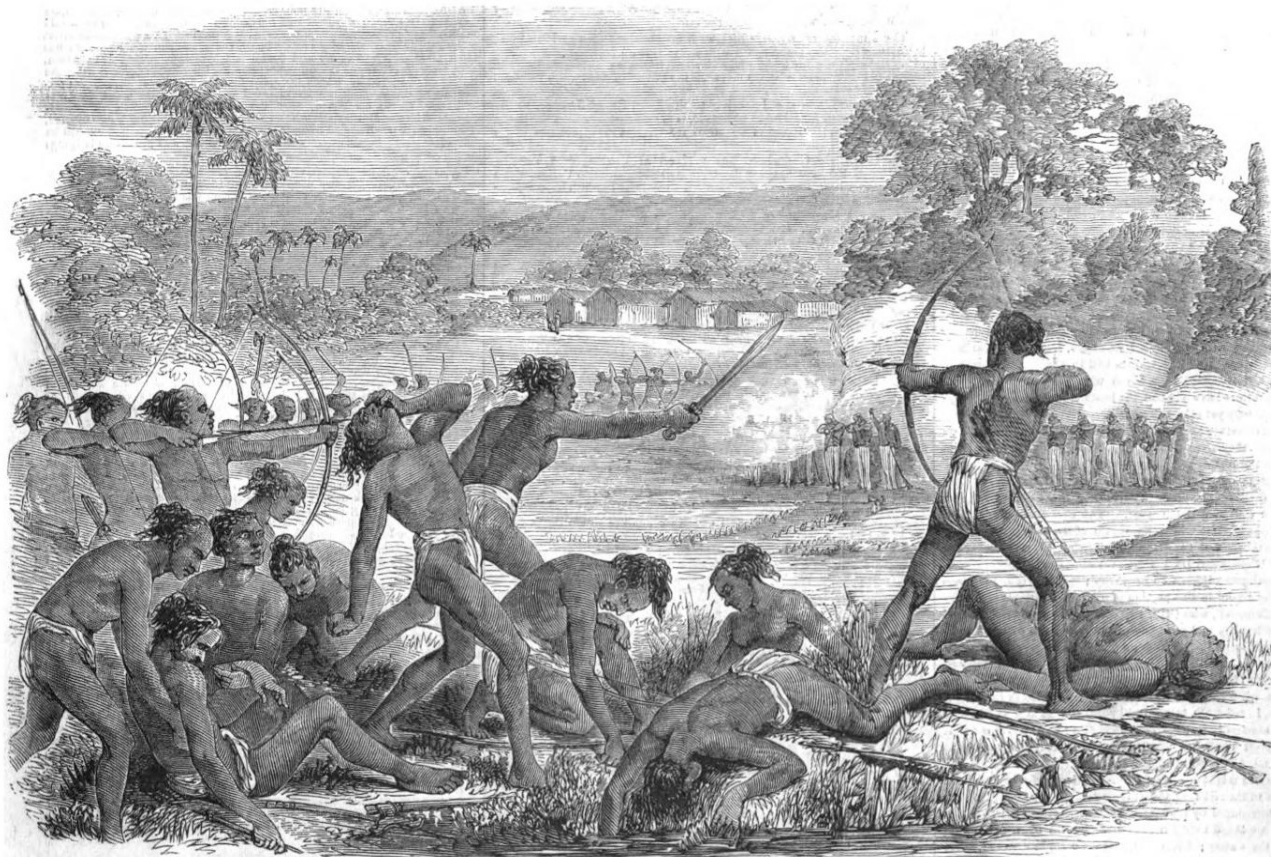
Appendix I Pictures: Santhal Hul

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THE ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS

[FEB. 23, 1856.]

T H E S A N T H A L I N S U R R E C T I O N .



ATTACK BY 600 SANTHALS UPON A PARTY OF 50 SEPOYS, 40TH REGIMENT NATIVE INFANTRY.

territory, had settled down, cleared away the forest, and cultivated the land.

The migration commenced about 1830; and in 1838, their numbers attracting the notice of Government, an officer was appointed to superintend their movements, to watch their interests, to induce them to clear away the forests in the Bhagulpoor District, and eventually to collect the land tax exacted from them as well as from their neighbours, the Zemindars.

In July last intelligence reached the quiet little station of Bhagulpoor that a band of armed Santahals had decapitated a police-officer in the hills; had wounded several policemen; and were plundering the neighbouring villages. The intelligence, delivered with every semblance of truth, and backed by most minute circumstantial and corroborative evidence, was disbelieved, from the simple fact that the Santahals had up to that moment

borne the character of 'being the most truthful, faithful, gentle, and harmless race in India. Rapid and repeated messages, however, pouring in one after the other, soon confirmed the truth of the first report; and it was too soon discovered that this race of men, naturally the most cowardly and harmless of the human race, were all of a sudden turned into the cruellest, boldest, and most bloodthirsty wretches that ever disgraced the face of the earth. Such a transition and effect was too sudden not to have some deep-seated cause, which I will describe hereafter. In the mean time troops were sent against them; but these troops, being composed of the natives of a tribe very similar to themselves, they fled upon the first attack of the Santahals. Regular troops were then poured in upon all sides; and, after some fighting and scouring the jungles, hanging the rebels, and capturing the chiefs, we may hope that the matter is at an end and that the Santahals have been taught a lesson they will never forget.

The Portrait of Seedhoo Manghee, the chief and miserable origin of the insurrection, was taken whilst he was in prison at Bhagulpoor, immediately after his capture. He is a short, thin, active little fellow, very unlike a Santhal in appearance. He exulted over his performances, and spoke unreservedly about all he had done. He gloried in the orders he had given for numerous executions of Zemindars, police officials, and others; in the numerous villages he had plundered and then burnt, and in the general devastation and misery he had caused; he declared that he was now a great man—that his name was well known, even all the way down to the banks of the Damoodah river, an insignificant stream seventy miles from the scene of his atrocities. Upon being confronted with an official—I believe in the service of a Zemindar—Seedhoo exclaimed "What! you here? Why, I ordered your execution ten days ago!"

(Continued on page 200.)

Newspaper clipping of The Illustrated London News on Santhal Hul,
Dated 23rd Feb, 1856, p 196

THE SANTHAL INSURRECTION.

SEEDHO MANGHEE, CHIEF OF THE SANTHAL REBELS.
SKETCHED FROM LIFE.

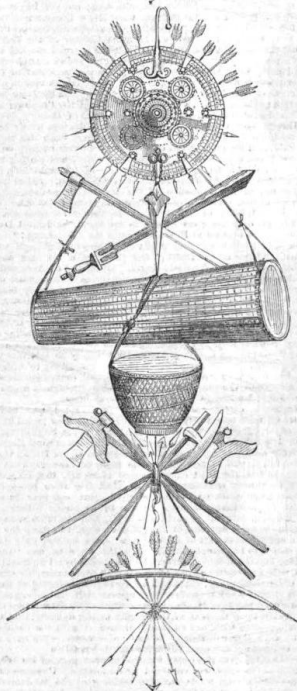
(Continued from page 198.)

Seedho was shot through the right wrist, and through a fleshy part of the body, in the attack of the 7th Regiment Native Infantry upon a large body of Santals, at Moheshpur, where the rebels were gallantly led on by Seedho in person—he being armed with a sword in each hand. He led the attack, and was the last man to leave the field when their numbers were routed.

The origin of the insurrection, he affirmed, was as follows:—Being indebted to his money-lender to the amount of ten shillings sterling, and being very much harassed by the importunities and threats of his creditor, Seedho conceived the idea of removing this troublesome man out of the way. As the Santals in general had been much troubled of late by extortionate money-lenders, and by unfair grain-dealers, who reaped at certain periods of the year to purchase the agricultural products from the Santals, and as the Santals in these transactions had been for years the duped victims of the most nefarious practices, and as the evil was becoming a universal and a grievous burden, Seedho concerted measures with his brothers and friends to expel these traders from amongst them. He gave out that he had been commanded in a vision from Heaven to exterminate

all natives from the plains who had any dealings with them or who had in any way oppressed them. The police were the first sufferers, then the money-lenders and grain-dealers, then any one that fell in their way, amongst whom we have to deplore several English, two of whom were females. Having once tasted blood nothing, in the absence of the military, could now check the horrors being daily committed by the Santals: the whole country was in flames, every respectable man who could not fly the country was murdered, every village within reach was plundered and then burnt to the ground. At this juncture the regular troops arrived, they soon came into collision with the rebels, and of course wherever they met them the rebels were dispersed with great loss of life—being only armed with battle-axes, swords, and bows and arrows.

The daring and bravery shown by these deluded men deserved a better chance for its exhibition. I have seen them approach to within fearfully

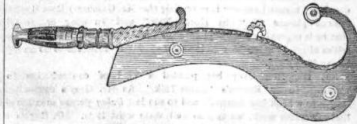


SANTAL TROPHY.



THE SANTHAL REBEL, SINGHA.

close quarters to the Sepoys' muskets, and stand repeated discharges before breaking, whilst their numbers were being thinned at each discharge. On one occasion, when, in company with Lieutenant and Adjutant J. Burn, of the 7th Regiment Native Infantry, and Dr. Macnamara, accompanied by fifty Sepoys (see Sketch), we were reconnoitering the road for the next day's march, we were surrounded by about 600 Santals, who, shouting and screaming, and beating drums, seemed to spring out of the ground, so sudden was their appearance. They advanced, forming thereby a complete circle round our small band, who, with the utmost coolness, under the orders of their Adjutant—when the rebels had approached to within sixty yards, and when the arrows were falling thick amongst the Sepoys—commenced independent file firing, killing and wounding a number of the rebels before they dispersed.



SANTAL SACRIFICIAL WEAPON.

The portrait of Singha, one of the supposed murderers of Mrs. Thomas and Miss Pell, presents a good type of the Santal physiognomy in general.

In the Sketch representing the searching for Santal rebels is a very fine elephant, the property of Mr. Charles Barnes, a gentleman well acquainted with the Santals, their country and manners, and who was with us in all our wanderings and foraging parties. This elephant, besides being of great use as affording an excellent and an elevated position for viewing the country from, was employed by us in forcing open the doors and pushing over the huts of the Santals wherever the presence of rebels was suspected. This elephant was in various engagements, and was several times wounded by Santal arrows.

Picture of Sidhu in The Illustrated London News, Dated 23rd Feb 1856, p 200

From R. I. Richardson, Collr. of Beerbhoom

To : Colonel Burney, Commanding at Soory, Dated Soory the 21st September, 1855.

I have the honor to report for your information that I yesterday received from the Police Zemadar at Nugger a Soul twig, with 3 leaves upon it.

This twig had been sent to the Zemadar, from a person calling himself the Soobah Baboo with a request that he (the Jemadar) should forward it to the authorities at Sooree, whom he was shortly coming to see.

I have enquired among the Sonthal prisoners in the jail, as to the meaning of this symbol, but they are either unwilling or unable to give any information in the matter, except that the three leaves express the intention of the sender to come at the third day. Under the above circumstances, I beg you will make whatever arrangements you may consider called for. I for my part, shall send no answer to the message, it being my intention to put the Soobah in irons on his arrival.

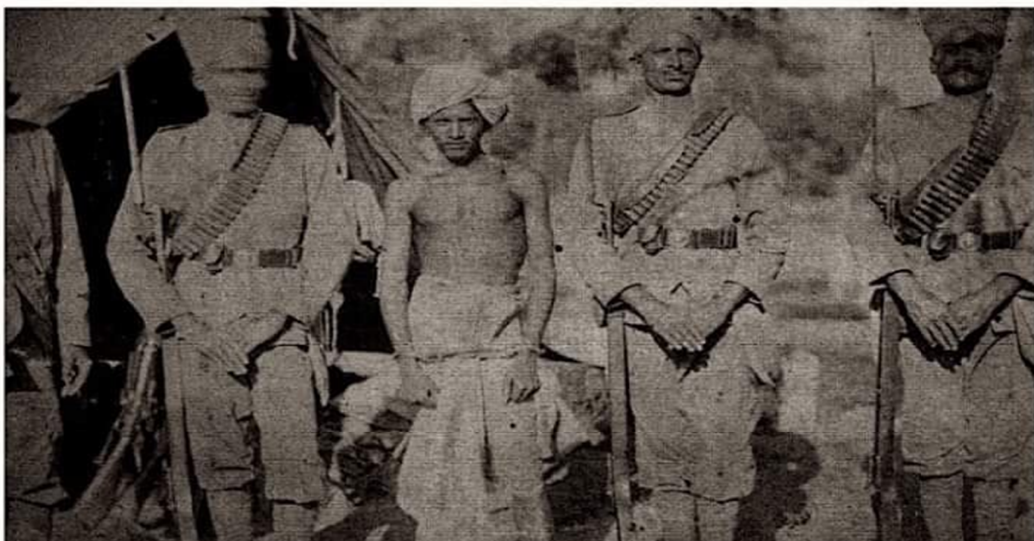
The question as to whether he is about to come in peacefully to submit, or to try his strength with us, must remain for the present, a matter of doubt.

A letter which mentions the use of Sal twig as 'dahra' or 'missive' during Santhal Hul
Source: West Bengal District Records, Birbhum 1855

Appendix II
Pictures: Birsa Movement



Birsites under arrest



Birsa in chain

bloodshed was contemplated, the preparation of weapons was directed, and the readiness of the inadequacy of the means at their disposal, were met with promises of supernatural interference and assistance. The money of the Government was to turn to water, their guns were to become sticks or shoot their holders, or else the bullets were to turn to water. Birsas, himself, was to clear the way for his followers, who would cut down the few that escaped his destroying arms. The water of heroes was to be brought by Birsas, from "Nan-ratum" temple, and the ground was to become red with the blood of the enemy. All landlords, missionaries, and officials were to be destroyed, and the land was to belong to the followers of Birsas, who would no longer be forced to subscribe for cases in the High Court, or to appeal to an inattentive Government. Later on, speedy preparation was urged, and finally a day was fixed for a simultaneous uprising. Immediately after the release of Birsas, he held a meeting at the Dumari Hill, in February, 1898. That night Birsas marked his disciples with the "ticia" a ceremony familiar to every Hindu, and then sang a hymn in his own glowing language, his position on earth to that of God in Heaven. Then followed the procession to the hill, and the erection of the flags and the dance round them. Then came the speech of the teacher and his explanation: the two flags set up were respectively those of the Munda and of the interlopers. The red one was the flag of the interlopers, and the earth was to be red with blood till it resembled the flag. On this occasion the coming fight with the outlanders was openly spoken of. In the following month, March, 1898, there was a meeting at the Sombira Hill at which some 300 men assembled. Birsas set up a plantain tree and hung strips of cloth upon it, and then set fire to the strips of cloth and said that this foreshadowed the way in which the houses of the Christians and the worshippers of demons would burn. He called for some one to come forward and to cut down the tree, and extolled the man who did come forward, and said that he would cut down the Rajas and the officials, who would be cut as the plantain tree had been cut. At the Sombira meeting, Birsas said that his disciples would not see him again until his kingdom had come, and as a matter of fact he seemed to have retired into seclusion for sometime. Nothing more was known of his movements till the end of October or the beginning of November, when one or two weeks before the Sombira festival, there was a second meeting at Dumari Hill, about two months before the commencement of the outrages. At this meeting, which was held at night, a number of men assembled from various villages. Birsas opened the proceedings by enquiring after the condition of his followers, and was informed that their bodies were well, but that they suffered many things at the hands of the Rajas, zemindars and Christian priests; the latter destroyed their "caste" by making them Christians and the former exacted forced labour and continually raised their rents. This representation was succeeded by a prayer for advice and instruction from the master. He in his turn asked whether they were prepared to follow his directions. On their assent, he told them to choose bamboos which grew inclined towards the east, as those made from those would shoot like guns; they were also to prepare axes and to let him know when they were ready. They were then warned that operations would commence at the Christian festival, the one to be begun encouraged with the assurance that the bullets of the soldiers would turn to water.

It was distinctly understood that the object of the armament was to fight the soldiers who would come to revenge the local outrages, and the men assembled were reassured with promises of supernatural assistance. There were several small meetings held afterwards, at one of which Charra, one of the accused, told the men that they were to cut down the Rajas and the officials at the Christmas festival, and that this was the order of Birsas. At the next meeting held in November-December, Birsas described his power, and told his hearers that he could make himself invisible; that he had done so at Ranchi, that he had walked through the Government Treasury and had cut down a man, and that till his departure he perceived what he had done. To further encourage his audience he said that when the fight came, the Magistrates and police would be unable to move hand or foot or to see him or his followers, and that they would be surrounded and cut down. All this was to take place because the missionaries gave trouble, and the landlords raised the rents, and the Courts did not give decrees in their (his followers') favour. These were all, therefore, to be killed or driven out of the country, after which the Birsaites were to have the kingdom. At the Jalasur meeting Birsas was again present and impressed on his hearers the necessity of action. The meeting replied that they looked to him for guidance, and he then told them that they must fight. He said he was going to "Nauratan" to fetch back the water of heroes, and that on being sprinkled with this water, the brethren would become strong, and he would lead them to battle. After some small meetings, the next important one was held on the night of the 22nd December, when Birsas made a speech on the same lines as at other meetings, and at the end of the meeting, allotted the work of assassination and house-burning to various followers. Other smaller and less important meetings were held in different parts of the country, which showed that there was a wide-spread conspiracy headed by Birsas, and accepted by numbers of his followers, for the purpose of attacking the authorities, and the missionaries and their congregations, and the landlords, with the object of either killing them or driving them out of the country. This conspiracy involved a simultaneous series of outrages throughout the portions of the affected districts. The teaching of Birsas during the years 1898 and 1899, was followed at Christmas, 1899, by a series of outrages spreading over a very large tract of country; simultaneously throughout this tract, houses were set on fire, in the dead of night, and congregations of Christians, assembled

for their devotions on Christmas Eve were attacked by lurking assassins who shot arrows into their midst. In other instances, inoffensive travellers were attacked and grievously wounded—in some cases with fatal results. Two Jesuit priests, who had been lured out of their house by the burning of a shed in the compound were deliberately shot with arrows: one of them, Father Carbery, was struck full in the chest with an arrow, which penetrated through the folds of a thick winter coat he was wearing, and two arrows struck the wall close to where his companion was standing. In Ranchi itself, the head-quarters of the district, a man was shot with an arrow just outside the English Club House, and another was fatally wounded with an arrow in the main road through the heart of the town. The troops and the police were sent into the district to quell the disturbance. A number of men were found collected on a hill in the neighbourhood of the village of Bhartodi, and the military had to fire upon them before they would disperse. Some prisoners were made, and under the orders of the Deputy Commissioner the local followers of Birsas were arrested and brought into Ranchi. Certain prosecutions and convictions followed these arrests, but a number of persons remained in the hands of the authorities, against whom no evidence of actual participation in any of the outrages could be obtained. The evidence of the Deputy Commissioner showed that at first these men were to be treated under the Criminal Procedure Code as dangerous characters. But when evidence was accumulated sufficient to justify such a step, a formal trial under the Indian Penal Code was started, and the result already stated. Birsas was also arrested, but died in prison from cholera, thus preventing his trial. The present accused were charged with abetting three of the cases of house-burning, viz., at Sarwada bungalow, where Father Carbery was shot, at Jamri village, where the house of Jaipal Singh was burned; and at Muchia, where Ghassi Roy's house was set on fire. Charges were also drawn up of attempted murder in respect of the shooting of Father Carbery. There was also a charge under section 117, alleging that the accused abetted Birsas, by entering into a conspiracy with him. The twenty-three appellants were convicted of all three charges, but the Judicial Commissioner did not consider it necessary to pass any separate sentence under section 117. The eighty-seven accused were committed to the Sessions on the 29th of October, 1900, and judgment in the case was delivered on the 28th of January last. As no less than 256 witnesses were examined in the case, the Judicial Commissioner, to avoid the record becoming unwieldy and unmanageable, had the evidence been recorded in ordinary writing, used a type-writer, of course recording the evidence with his own hand.

The Advocate-General had not finished reading the judgment in this case, when the Court rose for the day.

The further hearing will be resumed this morning.

The further hearing of the appeal preferred by Ghamra Mondas and 23 others, who were convicted of arson, attempted murder and abetment of these offences and sentenced in a case to ten years' rigorous imprisonment by Mr. F. B. Taylor, the then Judicial Commissioner of Ranchi, was resumed to-day.

The Hon. Mr. Woodroffe, Advocate-General, referred to various portions of the evidence and brought the case for the Crown to a close late in the evening.

Their Lordships reserved judgment.

CRIMINAL APPELLATE JURISDICTION.

JULY 16.

(Before Mr. Justice Ghose and Mr. Justice Taylor.)

A MUNICIPAL CASE.

Mr. Mehta moved on behalf of Okhoy Coomar Dutt and three others for a transfer of a case pending against them in the Court of the Deputy Magistrate of Sealdah to some other Court competent to try the same.

The case appears to have arisen in the following way: Some Municipal police men were issued a warrant of attachment to the house of the first petitioner, No. 31, Anando Gopal Palit's Lane, but finding the gate closed, wanted to jump over the court-yard of the house No. 30 into the house No. 31. The owner of the house No. 30 and his brother, the second and third petitioners, objected to this being done. Thereupon an assault took place, and on the first petitioner coming up he was also assaulted. The petitioners then ran away to the house No. 28, whereupon the Municipal police went to the thannah and lodged information charging the petitioners with assault. Subsequently the petitioners went to the thannah and also lodged information, and showed their injuries to the police, who sent them to the Campbell Hospital, where their injuries were dressed, and they were discharged. On their return home the police came and held an enquiry, and arrested the petitioners. Subsequently the petitioners were placed on their trial before the Deputy Magistrate of Sealdah and made a complaint to him, and one of the accused showed him his wounds, but the Magistrate said, he could not see any wounds on his person. The Magistrate also told them to bring their witnesses in regard to their complaint on a certain day, and he would examine them, but on the day appointed, when the petitioners produced their witnesses, the Magistrate told them to come another day. The witnesses were also produced on this occasion, but the Magistrate said he would not examine them until the case against the present petitioners was decided.

After Mr. Mehta had read the verified petition of his clients, their lordships passed the following order: Let the verified petition be forwarded to the Deputy Magistrate of Sealdah for any observations that he may desire to make with reference to the allegations contained in it. In the meantime let further proceedings be stayed.

"GAZETTE OF INDIA."

HOME DEPARTMENT.

Mr. T. W. Holderness, C.S.I., has been permitted to resign the Indian Civil Service, with effect from the 24th May 1901.

ARMY.

Captain S. P. James, M.B., I.M.S. (Madras), is placed on special duty under the orders of the Director-General, Indian Medical Service, with effect from the 2nd June, 1901.

DEPARTMENT OF REVENUE AND AGRICULTURE. Lieutenant E. T. Rich, R.E., Officiating Assistant Superintendent, 1st grade, Survey of India Department, is granted leave out of India, on private affairs, for one year.

MILITARY DEPARTMENT. East Indian Railway Volunteer Rifles.—Mr. John Leitch, to be Second-Lieutenant, with effect from the 1st April 1901, vice Maxwell, promoted. Mr. Harry Howard Yule, to be Second-Lieutenant, with effect from the 1st April, 1901, vice McDonald, promoted.

East Coast Rifle Volunteers.—Mr. Charles Stewart Holland, to be Second-Lieutenant, with effect from the 16th January 1901, vice Hawkins, promoted. Mr. Antoine Rene de Chassai, to be Second-Lieutenant, with effect from the 16th January, 1901, vice Hanesy, transferred to the supernumerary list. Second-Lieutenant Eric Alan Davis to be Lieutenant, with effect from the 1st May 1901, vice MacMillan, promoted.

The undermentioned officer has been granted an extension of leave by the Secretary of State for India: Engineer W. O. Kerr, Royal Indian Marine (M.C.), for two months.

PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT.

Mr. Nirmal Chandra Haldar, Assistant Traffic Superintendent in Class III, Grade 4 of the Superior Revenue Establishment of State Railways, is promoted to Class III, Grade 3 of this establishment, with effect from the 25th April, 1901.

Mr. E. Burton, Assistant Locomotive Superintendent, is promoted from Class III, Grade 1, to Class III, Grade 3 of the Superior Revenue Establishment of State Railways, with effect from the 7th June, 1901.

THE "CALCUTTA GAZETTE."

GENERAL.

Mr. L. Birley, Officiating Joint-Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Samastipur, Darbhanga, is allowed leave for two months and twenty-seven days.

Mr. F. W. Ward, Officiating Joint-Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Shahabad, officiates.

Mr. T. S. Thomas, I.C.S., has been granted by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India an extension of extraordinary leave, without allowances, for four months.

Mr. A. W. Watson, Officiating Joint-Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Madhubani, Darbhanga, is allowed leave for two months and twenty-five days.

Mr. Syam Lal Gupta, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, on leave, officiates.

Mr. L. J. Clarke, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, is allowed leave for three months.

Babu Jogendra Kumar Ghose, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Dinajpur, is allowed leave for two months.

The undermentioned officers are vested with the powers of a Collector, under Act I of 1894, in their respective sub-divisions.

Mr. L. Birley, Officiating Joint-Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Samastipur, Darbhanga.

Mr. A. W. Watson, Officiating Joint-Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Madhubani, Darbhanga.

Mr. P. E. Caminade, Officiating Joint-Magistrate and Deputy Collector, Jhenida, Jessore, is allowed leave for forty-five days.

Babu Moin Mohin Roy, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector, officiates.

Mr. W. J. Stark, Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector is posted to the head quarters station of the Muzaffarpur district.

POLICE.

Mr. R. G. Watling, Probationary Assistant Superintendent of Police, Bhagalpur, is posted to the Backerganj district.

ECCLIASTICAL.

The Rev. T. Scott, Officiating Senior Chaplain of St. Andrew's Church, Calcutta, is allowed leave

The Englishman.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON.

Postscript.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

The War in South Africa.

LIST OF CASUALTIES.

SIMLA, JULY 16.

The following casualties are reported from South Africa:—

30th June, severely wounded, accidentally, Lieutenant Meek, Natal Volunteers.

2nd July, severely wounded, accidentally, Lieutenant Smith, Royal Scots.

5th July, slightly wounded, Captain Webb, Driscoll's Scouts; severely wounded, Captain Terry, 2nd Manchester.

7th July, died from accidental wounds, Lieutenant Motherly, Royal Garrison Artillery.

8th July, slightly wounded, Captain Tabutean, Border Scouts, and Lieutenant Prosser, Imperial Yeomanry.

10th July, injured, broken leg, 2nd Lieutenant Wallace, 2nd Yorkshire Light Infantry.

11th July, died from wounds, Lieutenant Anderson, R.E.

12th July, slightly wounded, Lieutenant Sharlock, 5th Victorians.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENTS.]

A BRUSH WITH MAHSUD RAIDERS.

SIMLA, JULY 17.

On the evening of the 14th instant and the morning of the 15th, 330 men of the 35th Sikhs were sent out from Sarnak, to block the passes in this locality as reports had been received of an impending Mahsud raid on the village of Murtaza. One party of Sikhs came upon a gang of 30 raiders at Murgha Tisha and immediately attacked them. The gang dispersed firing several shots and leaving all their supplies of flour, a pistol and some knives. One copy of the 35th Sikhs was slightly wounded. None of the raiders appeared to have been hit.

MILITARY NOTES.

SIMLA, JULY 17.

A supply of dandies is on its way to South Africa from India.

The maintenance of either camels or mules for military transport purposes will probably be made a condition of the grant of land on the Jhelum Canal.

SEQUEL TO THE HOFF CASE.

SUITS FOR DEFAMATION.

CANBERRA, JULY 16.

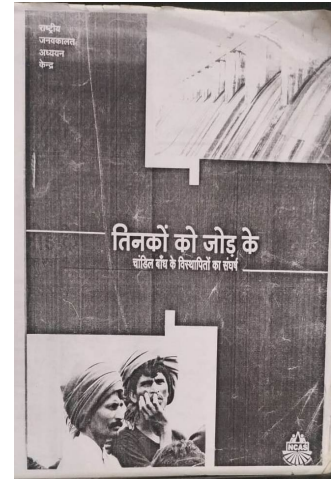
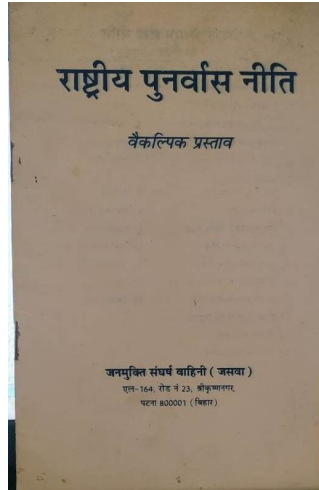
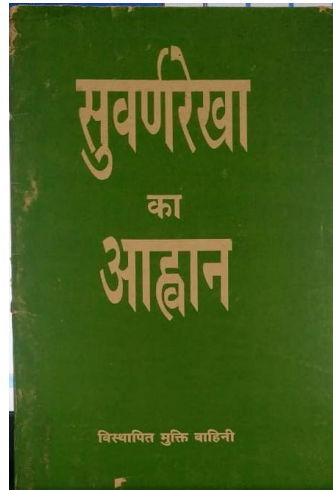
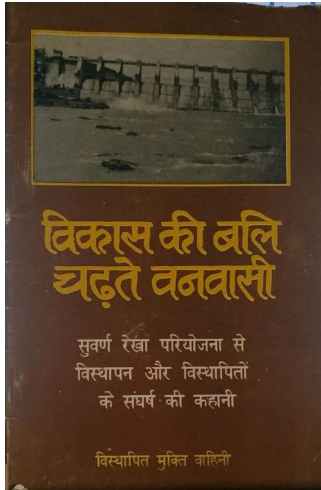
Three suits for defamation under Section 530, I.P.C., brought by Mr. Hoff in connection with the emigration depot case, against Babu Moti Lal Ghose, Editor of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Babu Ashutosh, publisher of the same paper, and the Hon. Surenath Banerji, editor of the *Bengalee*, came up to-day for hearing before the Joint Magistrate, Mr. W. Raw. Applications were

Clipping of Newspaper Coverage on Birsas Movement. The article talks about the details of the meetings conducted by Birsas during the preparation phase of the movement. Source: The Englishman, Dated 18th July, 1901, p. 22

Grade, temporary rank, was placed on special duty in connection with the preparation of a project for the formation of a new subdivisional station at Barnagar from 28th April to 9th July, 1901, inclusive.

DEPUTY EDITOR, Mr. N. Banerjee for the same paper and the editor of the *Ben galee*. Babu Nabin Kumar Mukerji, Vakil, also appeared for the three accused.

Appendix III Pictures: Chandil Dam Movement



Booklets and a book by the Chandil Dam Movement group



Clippings of newspapers coverage of the Chandil Dam Movement

Memories of Fieldwork



With the oustees of SMP Project at Chandil Dam



Visit to partially submerged village in Icchaghar , Chandil for interviews



With the villagers of Kukru Village, Dulmi after conducting in-depth interviews with them



Chilgu Rehabilitation site of SMP Project.

Appendix IV

Pictures: Movement against the Greater Ranchi Project

Fieldwork memories



Press Conference by HVP



Rally by HVP



Participating in HVMP's Dharna at Birsa Chowk



Conducting interviews with women of Tiril village Village



After Conducting Interviews with women of Ani Village

Social movements and communication: A case study of selected tribal movements of Jharkhand state in India

by Nisha Singh

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