

# 1     **Development-Induced Protest Movements in Post-Independence** 2                                    **India: An Analysis**

## 3     **Abstract**

4     The antecedents of environmental development in India can be critically analyzed through  
5     Marxian concepts of modes of production and production relations. Different societies, such as  
6     hunter-gatherer communities, nomadic pastoral groups, settled agricultural societies, and  
7     industrial capitalist systems, have historically utilized natural resources in distinct ways.  
8     However, the mode of resource utilization under industrial capitalist civilization has had a  
9     profound impact on biodiversity and ecological systems over the past two centuries. With the  
10    expansion of industrial capitalism, environmental movements gradually emerged as significant  
11    forms of resistance. In India, such movements originated during the colonial period and  
12    continued through the postcolonial, independence, and liberalization phases. The changing  
13    ecological processes across these historical periods reveal how indigenous and native  
14    communities have increasingly faced displacement, marginalization, and exploitation. Against  
15    this broader backdrop, the paper examines the functioning of development projects and  
16    environmental protest movements in India. It analyzes major environmental movements such  
17    as the Chipko Movement in the Himalayan region, the Narmada Bachao Andolan, and the  
18    Silent Valley Movement in the Malabar region of southern India. The paper concludes with a  
19    discussion of various environmental movements in Odisha.

20    **Keywords: Marxian Principles, Capitalist Social Systems, Chipko Movement, Narmada**  
21    **Movement, and Odisha**

## 22    **Introduction**

23    In India, the Gandhian, non-violent tradition starts expanding, and the grassroots environmental  
24    movements come up accordingly. These movements, however, differ significantly from those  
25    in the West, as they are conscious of environmental conservation and protection, financial  
26    equity, and social justice (Karan, 1994). During colonial or postcolonial regimes, the state  
27    machinery has taken away indigenous people's ability to make a livelihood. Individualism and  
28    capitalism's emergence coincided with a considerable increase in the state's role. As a result,  
29    community-based natural resource access and management methods have been severely  
30    rejected (Nayak, 2015).

31    **Environmental Movements in India: Examples of Different Types of Protest Movements**

32 In his work *Social Movements and the State*, Ghanshyam Shah examines various dimensions  
33 of social movements. According to him, the major components of social movements include  
34 objectives, ideology, programmes, leadership, and organisation, all of which are interconnected  
35 and influence one another (Shah, 2002:17). Social movements emerge because no society  
36 remains in a condition of complete structural equilibrium. Every society experiences conflicts  
37 and tensions, and different institutional mechanisms are developed to express and resolve them.  
38 When people collectively mobilize their resources and efforts to bring about social change or  
39 structural transformation, such collective action is termed a social movement. At times,  
40 however, resistance also develops against changes that may alter the existing social order,  
41 resulting in counter-movements aimed at preserving the status quo. Such organised collective  
42 resistance is likewise considered a form of social movement (Jain, 1984:1788).

43 Throughout the preceding two decades, people in many parts of India have taken positive steps  
44 to safeguard their environment, livelihoods, and way of life. Environmental movements  
45 evolved in response to various development projects that violated people's fundamental human  
46 rights to land, water, and the ecological integrity of life-support systems, from Uttar Pradesh's  
47 Himalayan highlands to Kerala's tropical forests and Gujarat's Tripura. Each of these Indian  
48 movements has prominent social movement traits, such as democratic ideals and decentralized  
49 decision-making. Environmental movements have caused significant ecological instability  
50 while progressively building a development model to improve on previous resource-intensive  
51 growth strategies (Centre for Science and Environment 1982:190 cited in Karan, 1994). Some  
52 of the significant environmental movements in India that are discussed in greater detail in the  
53 following section are the Chipko movement in the lower Himalayas, the Appiko resistance  
54 movement in Karnataka, the Save the Narmada resistance Movement in the center of India, the  
55 Silent Valley Project in Kerala, and the BALCO movement in Odisha.

### 56 **Chipko Movement: Hugging Trees to Save Nature**

57 The Chipko Movement emerged in the Himalayan region of present-day Uttarakhand during  
58 the early 1970s as a powerful environmental protest against commercial deforestation. The  
59 movement began in April 1973 in Mandal village of the Garhwal Himalayas, where local  
60 peasants opposed the capitalist logging practices carried out by contractors in nearby forests  
61 (Gadgil and Guha, 1994). The protesters adopted the unique method of "hugging the trees," in  
62 which villagers, especially women, placed themselves between the trees and the woodcutters  
63 to prevent felling. This non-violent form of resistance symbolized the deep emotional and

64 ecological relationship between local communities and forests (Karan, 1994). The movement  
65 spread across the Himalayan region, particularly in the northern parts of Uttar Pradesh (now  
66 Uttarakhand), and became a significant example of people's participation in environmental  
67 conservation. Led largely by women, the movement aimed to stop indiscriminate tree cutting  
68 and protect forests, which were considered essential for human survival and ecological balance.

69 In popular culture, Chipko is frequently romanticized, emphasizing its environmental ethos. It  
70 is believed to represent "poor environmentalism" (Guha & Martinez-Alier, 1997; Brown, 2014:  
71 640) and the synergistic connection between slope individuals and woods. The "original tree  
72 huggers," as their followers are called, were motivated by altruistic qualms about the  
73 environmental repercussions of industrial forestry. A small group of notable writers fuelled  
74 these representations greatly (Brown, 2014: 640). The Chipko ecofeminist movement is a  
75 phenomenon. *"The Chipko movement was led by the viewpoints of women, who were more  
76 cognizant of the societal and ecological devastation brought by commercial deforestation,"*  
77 *writes Shiva (1989). They were subsistence farmers with a responsibility to feed and maintain  
78 communities." Chipko is described by Vandana Shiva (Shiva, 1989:68) as "a revitalization of  
79 women's sovereignty and preservationist consciousness". Even though Chipko's principal  
80 planners were males, it is said that they were the only "effective communicators" who  
81 transmitted Chipko's "feminine ecological ideals" (Shiva, 1989:71).*

82 According to Bharat Dogra (2000, quoted in Brown, 2014: 646), a journalist with a long-  
83 standing concentration in Chipko and its offshoots, the Henwal Valley was vital for its  
84 increased attention to environmental consequences. Kunwar Prasun wrote one of Chipko's  
85 most well-known environmental phrases:

86	<i>"Kyahainis jangal ke upkaar,</i>	<i>What favors does the jungle bestow?</i>
87	<i>Mitti, paani aur bayaar,</i>	<i>Soil, water, and pure air,</i>
88	<i>Mitti, paani aur bayaar,</i>	<i>Soil, water, and unpolluted air,</i>
89	<i>Zinda rehne ke adhaar.</i>	<i>The foundation of existence".</i>

90 The Chipko movement arose from a confrontation over mountain forests, which opposed the  
91 commercial interests of mountain people against the economy of the lowlands. When the  
92 harvesting contractual framework was dissolved, the movement's core foundation was severely  
93 weakened, and the public sector Forest Development Corporation was formed. The sentiments  
94 were developed with the involvement of local village co-operatives (Bandopadhyay, 1999).  
95 The Chipko movement is one of the world's most recognized environmental movements

96 because it combines the intimate face of a traditional peasant movement with a public front.  
97 Chipko's face has been strategically adorned with some “deep ecological” terms, while its roots  
98 are in the tough financial battle for survival (Guha, 1989). In the Uttarakhand area of the central  
99 Himalayas, financially deprived people voiced their opinions for the first time through the  
100 Chipko movement, whose survival and livelihood are mostly based on forests. Their  
101 connection with the forests operates on two levels: first, through the preservation of natural  
102 ecosystems, and second, through ancient traditions (Bhatt, 1990).

### 103 **Six Ideological Foundations of the Chipko Movement**

104 Chipko campaigners have enlisted a six-point note of demands (Bhatt, 1990: 11).

- 105 1. It is essential that one of the central principles of the Chipko Movement was the need  
106 to understand the ecological and social importance of forests. Supporters of the  
107 movement believed that forests should be protected because they provide essential  
108 resources such as soil fertility, water, fuel, and energy necessary for human survival.  
109 According to the movement, forests must be conserved and nurtured until they become  
110 self-sustaining. The Chipko activists also emphasized the importance of carefully  
111 examining the social and economic conditions of people living in forest regions. They  
112 argued that local communities, who maintain a close and dependent relationship with  
113 forests, are best suited to protect and manage them. Therefore, the traditional rights and  
114 customary relationship of forest dwellers with their natural environment must be  
115 safeguarded. A proper understanding of these ecological and social realities would help  
116 in determining suitable and sustainable forestry practices
- 117 2. The Andolan urged that places prone to landslides and soil erosion, as well as forest  
118 regions critical to water resource conservation, be recognized and protected.
- 119 3. The minimum needs of people living near forests, who have traditionally depended on  
120 them for sustenance and village economics, should be such that these rights can be  
121 easily realized by them.
- 122 4. People living in forest regions should be mobilized to carry out all of these duties, and  
123 the contractor system should be entirely eliminated for forest conservation,  
124 development, and exploitation.
- 125
- 126 5. Planting valuable trees close to the village will reduce the need for residents to travel  
127 to the designated areas.
- 128
- 129 6. Village enterprises based on minor-forest output should be formed to aid residents in  
130 obtaining a livelihood and discourage village migration.

### 131 **Narmada Bachao Andolan: Voices of the Displaced**

132 According to Karan (1991), the Narmada Valley Development Project is considered one of the  
133 world's largest multipurpose river valley projects. The project involved the construction of  
134 around thirty major dams along with several smaller dams on the Narmada River and its 51  
135 major tributaries. It was designed to transform the Narmada Valley and improve the living  
136 conditions of people in the states of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, and Maharashtra through  
137 increased agricultural production and hydroelectric power generation.

138 The 'Narmada Bacho Andolan' (Save Narmada Movement), a designated among the dam's  
139 outsees the location of the Sardar Sarovar dam in Gujarat, conducted a 250-kilometer march  
140 from Rajghat, Madhya Pradesh, to the Kevada colony on December 25, 1990. The marches,  
141 however, were detained by the Gujarat law enforcement agency at the frontier settlement of  
142 Ferkuva and prohibited from entering the state. In addition to it, the students and the non-  
143 uniform police personnel also started heckling them. As a result, for several days, there was a  
144 stalemate between pro-dam agitators on one hand and anti-dam sloganeers headed by one of  
145 Gandhi's famed disciples, Baba Amte, on the other (Gadgil and Guha,1994). The Save the  
146 Narmada Resistance Movement commenced in the 1980s as a pursuit for appropriate  
147 rearrangement and reconciliation of exiled communities as a result of the Sardar Sarovar Dam.  
148 Nonetheless, the focus has shifted to protecting the valley's natural and organic processes. The  
149 project was also seen as a reflection of Indian development planners' concern with humongous  
150 proposals for the dispersion of the landscape and the impoverished. When the World Bank  
151 withdrew its financing, the campaign declared a humanitarian victory (Karan, 1994: 38).

152 Villagers in Madhya Pradesh's Nimad area initiated remonstrating contrary to the threat of  
153 relocation due to Sardar Sarovar as early as 1977. Medha Patkar, a social activist, was the first  
154 to focus on the correct rehabilitation of possible outsees. Only after the announced 'land for  
155 land' policy in Madhya Pradesh/Maharashtra, or Gujarat began to realize that there was no land  
156 available did people begin to protest the dam's construction. As a result, although almost 10  
157 years old, the movement finally gained traction in 1989. The Narmada Bachao Andolan  
158 employed several types of demonstrations to press its goals, including road and traffic  
159 blockades. Community hearings (particularly locations where oustees have vowed not to depart  
160 their homes, although if dam waters rise and overwhelm them), starvation abstinence, and  
161 demonstrations, notably in state capitals (Gadgil and Guha, 1994). While small-scale protests  
162 have occurred throughout the Narmada valley, public attention has been directed to the most  
163 significant cases. The New Delhi assembly and the 'Sangarsh Yatra' (resistance march) from  
164 Rajghat to Ferkuva have already been documented. However, the most notable of these public

165 events was a large demonstration on September 29, 1989, in the town of Harsud. A huge public  
166 gathering attended by Amte, Patkar, Bahuguna, and others finished in a brought-together  
167 pledge to get through the succession of 'horrendous improvement' proved by the Sardar Sarovar  
168 dam. And to display their support for the Narmada movement, citizens' groups from throughout  
169 India joined together; Amte, Patkar, Bahuguna, and others spoke at a large public congregation,  
170 which brought about a collective oath (Gadgil and Guha, 1994: 113).

### 171 **Preserving Nature: The Silent Valley Movement**

172 The issue of development versus environmental protection first gained major significance in  
173 India during the Silent Valley Project (SVP). In the late 1970s, the Kuntipuzha River in the  
174 Palakkad district of Kerala, flowing through the Silent Valley, was identified as a suitable site  
175 for the construction of a hydroelectric dam. The project promised several developmental  
176 benefits, including the irrigation of nearly 10,000 hectares of land, the generation of 240  
177 megawatts of electricity, and the creation of employment opportunities. However, the proposed  
178 dam also threatened to destroy one of the richest ecological regions in the country. Due to  
179 strong environmental concerns and public opposition, the project was eventually cancelled, and  
180 the area was later declared a biosphere reserve. Nevertheless, before rejecting the project, the  
181 government appointed a task force to study the issue, and the report suggested several  
182 precautionary measures regarding the environmental impact of the project (Rao, 2013).

183 The Kerala People's Science Movement was created by a web of rural school teachers and local  
184 individuals to accomplish environmental science initiatives in the villages (Kerala Sastra  
185 Sahitya Parishad). It was believed that the movement would cover the financial needs of the  
186 people of Malabar, but it was recognized that the initiative would only assist regional growth  
187 significantly. Through millions of years of lobbying, the project's ecological consequences  
188 were discovered. As a result, the organization criticized the idea, particularly for the possibility  
189 of the extinction of evolved species. Keralans recognized that new businesses and clear-cutting  
190 of forests also contributed to the disturbance of streams and water supplies in the river's upper  
191 basins. Out of the situation and to challenge the idea, a lot of people in Kerala didn't like the  
192 idea of the dam, so they started a movement against it. They stated that, while the dam would  
193 assist residents in Kerala's rural parts since the majority of the electricity generated would be  
194 exported from the project to the industrialized sections of Kerala and the surrounding states,  
195 the significant benefit would go to Trivandrum, the state capital. But this would cause a lot of  
196 damage to the environment, but it would be good enough to justify it (Karan, 1994). The Kerala

197 Sastra Sahitya Parishad (KSSP), a well-known scientific and educational organisation with  
198 significant public support in Kerala, strongly opposed the Silent Valley Project. This Marxist-  
199 oriented group, mainly consisting of school and college teachers, formed an unusual alliance  
200 with environmental activists. While different organisations opposed the project for various  
201 reasons, the KSSP mainly focused on the techno-economic assessment of alternative energy  
202 sources. At the same time, environmentalists emphasized the importance of protecting wildlife  
203 and preserving the region's rich biodiversity. Moreover, it has been argued that Indira Gandhi's  
204 interest in strengthening her international image within the global conservation movement also  
205 influenced the government's decision to halt the project (Gadgil and Guha, 1994: 112).

206 Some environmental groups expressed doubts, but the state government favoured the project.  
207 Following years of campaigning, the Government of India created a high-level board to  
208 investigate the project's environmental and social impacts. The group then advised that the  
209 programme be abandoned, which the state government approved in 1983 (Swaminathan 1979,  
210 cited in Karan, 1994). The Silent Valley project sparked the most heated ecological debate in  
211 India. This initiative has also established a standard in cases when a large development project,  
212 notably a dam, has damaged natural equilibrium (Karan, 1994).

### 213 **Environmental Movements in Odisha: Protests Against Displacement**

214 During the period of liberalisation and privatisation, several mineral-processing companies  
215 invested heavily in the mineral-rich state of Odisha. These developments led to large-scale  
216 involuntary displacement, particularly affecting indigenous and socially marginalised  
217 communities. The conflict between those who had already been displaced and those who were  
218 likely to face displacement created widespread unrest and often resulted in harsh responses  
219 from the government (Dash and Samal, 2008). In response, various people's organisations  
220 emerged across the tribal regions of Odisha to oppose mining projects and industrial activities  
221 that threatened to deprive local communities of their land, forests, and livelihoods. However,  
222 the political and administrative machinery appeared to support rapid industrial development,  
223 especially in the mining sector, while paying limited attention to the concerns of poor and  
224 marginalised populations. The speed with which Odisha transferred rights over its mineral  
225 resources became a matter of concern, as economic interests and profit motives strongly  
226 influenced policy decisions (Mishra and Mishra, 2014: 56). Several resistance movements  
227 against large extractive and industrial projects, such as the Kashipur movement, Chilika  
228 movement, Niyamgiri Hills movement, Kalinganagar movement, and anti-POSCO campaign,

229 turned Odisha into a significant centre of environmental and displacement-related struggles.  
 230 These movements consistently resisted large-scale projects and delayed investments worth  
 231 billions of dollars by both Indian corporations and multinational companies (MNCs) (Kumar,  
 232 2014).

233 **Table 1: Brief Overview of Important Movements Against Extraction in Odisha**

Protest Movement	Movement base	Main Issues	Repertoires of Contention	External Support Networks
Chilika Bachao Andolan Against TATAs prawn project (1991-93)	Fishermen and other local communities	Loss of livelihood	Rallies and demonstrations	Utkal University student groups, different environmental groups
Gopalpur Andolan against land acquisition for TATA steel plant (1995-98)	Small peasantry	Against land acquisition, loss of livelihood, destruction on kewda ( extract from pandanus flower) based economy	Road blockades, non-cooperation, rallies	Communist party of India, environmental and social activists from different parts of India
Kashipur Movement against UAIL (1994-2008)	Tribal and dalits Peasantry	Displacement environmental pollution	Rallies, demonstrations , occasional road blockades	Activist networks both in Odisha and Delhi, support of national and international NGOs
Niyamgiri Movement against Vedanta( 2003-2014)	Dongria Kondhs	Displacement, loss of livelihood, environmental pollution	Rallies, demonstrations , occasional road blockades and legal action	CPI-ML, Samajwadi Jan Parisad, Green Kalahandi, Supreme Court lawyers, National and International NGOs International celebrities
Anti POSCO Movement (2006-2014)	Small farmers, betel vine farmers	Displacement, loss of livelihood, destruction of betel	Road Blockade and gates, satyagrahas	CPI, activists lawyer ,networks and groups from Odisha,

234  
 235 **Source: Kumar, 2014**

236 The number of reports/studies generated by various national-level collaborative platforms  
 237 employing empirical studies/surveys to encompass these grassroots efforts has expanded. Here  
 238 are a few examples: Judicial Commissions, Tribunals, or Similar Independent Reports on  
 239 Violence Against Adivasis Violating the Laws in Odisha (Examples only) (Pattnaik, 2013: 66).

- 240 • In 1999, Former Foreign Secretary Muchkund Dubey established an impartial panel  
 241 from CSD to investigate allegations of brutality against Adivasis (11–18 January 1999).

- 242 • In 2001, Chief Justice D.S. Tewatia and Swami Agnivesh released an independent audit  
243 on the police killing of Adivasis on December 16, 2000.
- 244 • The 2003 High Court Justice Prafulla K. Misra Commission also investigated the deaths  
245 on December 16, 2000. (suppressed by GoO, later leaked and released)
- 246 • 2005 Lawyers' Field Mission, India's Peoples Union for Civil Liberties and an  
247 independent civil society organisation
- 248 • 2006 Chief Justice Bhargava's Tribunal, published October 2006 (Chatterji& Desai,  
249 2006, cited in Pattnaik, 2013: 66)
- 250 • Yogesh K. Sabharwal, Chief Justice of India, for the Supreme Court in 2006 on Vedanta  
251 alumina, law violations, and malfeasance against tribals (work started).

### 252 **Baliapal Struggle Against Missile Testing Range**

253 The Baliapal Movement emerged during the 1980s in the Balasore district of Odisha,  
254 particularly in the Baliapal and Bhograi blocks. The movement is regarded as a significant  
255 example of people's struggle for human and environmental rights at a time when the  
256 government appeared indifferent to the problems and sufferings of ordinary citizens. The  
257 protest gained prominence because it successfully opposed the government's plan to establish  
258 a National Missile Testing Range for the armed forces in the region. The proposed project  
259 threatened to displace thousands of people from their homes, agricultural lands, forests, and  
260 traditional livelihoods in an agriculturally prosperous area. The movement is widely recognised  
261 as one of the most successful people's movements in India because it compelled the  
262 government to withdraw its plan. Despite the threat of large-scale displacement, suffering, and  
263 inadequate compensation promised by the authorities, the local people organised strong  
264 resistance and defended their rights and environment. According to Raj (2017), the Baliapal  
265 Movement remains an inspiring example of collective struggle against forced displacement and  
266 unjust development policies. Songs were sung as part of Baliapal's struggle against the missile  
267 base to enlighten and motivate the people. Other than a resister being many things, each person  
268 speaks with a distinct voice, viewpoints like inclination, standing, or class that were generally  
269 lacking in the poetics of plunge; for a single identity, these disputes in the Baliapal movement  
270 were kept to a minimum (Routledge, 2000). The Baliapal people's opposition was based on  
271 financial and cultural issues. The plays, songs, and symbols that made up the Baliapal  
272 Movement's poetics of resistance carried these characteristics. Under the title Maha Rakhyasa  
273 Khepanastra (Super-Demon- Missile), Purushottam Behera, a pana (betel leaf) seller and one  
274 of the Baliapal movement's leaders, produced approximately sixty-five (65) songs about the  
275 movement and local culture. These songs were written to commemorate Baliapal's agricultural

276 abundance and richness, in addition to the affluence it had provided to the peasants, and to  
277 communicate the generally held emotional state that embraced Baliapal's sense of place  
278 (Routledge, 2000).

279

280 Behera highlights “the agrarian fruitfulness and heterogeneity of the Baliapal region, as well  
281 as its remarkable economic wealth, in the phrase "Soil 'is not our mother." However, as will be  
282 addressed more below, he also presents an idealistic portrayal of social life in the region, one  
283 that glosses over significant financial and gender disparities:

284 *It is not infertile;*

285 *Our soil of Baliapal;*

286 *In Odisha a more high-yielding;*

287 *Moorland and you will not find;*

288 *Herein grows;*

289 *Grain, betelvine, cashew;*

290

291 *And coconuts of extraordinary amounts;*

292 *Banana, guava, mango, palm and jamun;*

293 *And other new fruits abound.;*

294 *In each Inhabitant's house, there is a yard;*

295 *Where all the vegetables are grown;*

296 *We fish in the ocean;*

297 *What else is our want?" (Routledge, 2000: 377-378).*

298

### 299 **The History of the Movement**

300 The history of the Baliapal agitation can be separated into two phases. The first phase was  
301 linked when the leadership of Gadhagar Giri, who used the strategy of non-violent satyagraha  
302 to confront the state, and Giri's effort to ensure that a collectivity of all parties and groups  
303 directs the agitation. This phase was inaugurated when the Uttara Balasore Khepanastra Ghati  
304 Pratirodh Samiti KGPS was formed in late 1984 (Patel, 1989). The second phase of the  
305 movement began when a friend of Gadhagar Giri, named Gananath Patra, a member of the  
306 UCCRI (ML), joined the agitation. The organizational structure of the agitation was provided  
307 by Patra, which was, until then, run by upper-caste male KGPS leaders. During that time, four  
308 fronts were organized, named the students' front, the youth front, the women's front, and the  
309 fisher-people front. At the level of the Block, Districts, and the state headquarters,  
310 demonstrations were organised. At the same time, from the side of all opposition parties,  
311 including the SUCI, CPI, and CPI (M), a district-level support committee was formed. The  
312 youth members during this period also gheraoed the collector and made him go back to the

313 outer reaches of this area and barricaded the approach road. So to say, this phase of agitation  
314 is characterized as the phase of tremendous output. This mobilization was attempted through  
315 songs and poems. With each family making up tunes towards the contribution and cooperation  
316 of individuals in the fomentation, this stage arrived at its pinnacle (Patel, 1989).

317

318 In the years after that, the Baliapal Movement, which began as a grassroots movement, evolved  
319 into an organized mass movement. The state has tainted it; the weaker masses and the false  
320 model of 'development' foisted on them, and the state's false image of environmental  
321 preservation (Panda, 2006).

322

### 323 **Chilika Bachao Andolan**

324 Chilika is Asia's biggest brackish water lagoon. The pear-shaped lake was formerly part of the  
325 seabed. It was finally isolated from the sea by a set of islands produced by silt deposits and a  
326 sandy ridge less than 200 meters wide over time. The lake is located on the eastern coast of  
327 peninsular India and is linked to the Bay of Bengal. The majority of the lake is located in the  
328 Puri district's Krushnaprasad block. The western bank of Chilika is located alongside the  
329 Madras-Calcutta National Highway (NH5) and the Madras-Howrah railway line (Samal and  
330 Meher, 2003: 3319). Its first significant continuous revolutionary movement over private  
331 investment happened in Chilika Lake in 1986, when the Tatas partnered with the state  
332 government to begin hostile prawn farming. In 1991, to the Tatas for the Integrated Shrimp  
333 Farm Project, the state government leased out 400 hectares of the lake (Mohanty, 2000). In  
334 1984, the Ministry of Agriculture granted permission to construct a \$300,000 shrimp farm on  
335 300 acres in Panaspara. 1.7 crore. The public authority then surrendered the land to Odisha  
336 Maritime and Chilika Area Development Corporation (OMCAD) for the structure of the  
337 previously mentioned project. Due to administrative issues at OMCAD, the project was put on  
338 hold before being reintroduced as a joint venture between Tata and OMCAD as CAFL  
339 (Pattanaik, 2003). The CAFL first claimed there would be no effect on Chilika Lake's  
340 environment. Still, they revealed that water from the agricultural ponds would flow to the  
341 Bhubania Channel and then to the outer channel, where it blended with the sea on the lake's  
342 south-eastern shore. The toxic consequences that contaminate the lake's water originate from  
343 effluents discharged into the Bhubania Channel via the lake's mouth, which is an essential  
344 component of the Chilika lake's flow. As a result, the fishermen's capacity to fish would be  
345 restricted, presenting a danger to their basic survival. Under the banner of Chilika Bachao  
346 Andolan (CBA), the fisherfolk systematized themselves into a whole movement. A student

347 forum at Utkal University called "Meet the student" and Odisha Krushak Mahasangha, an  
348 Odisha peasant organization, played a substantial protagonist in assembling the people. Several  
349 acts were carried out by the Andolan, including a dharna (non-violent strike), a demonstration,  
350 a padayatra (foot trip), the symbolic destruction of agricultural embankments, and a gherao of  
351 the State Legislative Assembly in protest of the Chilika Aquatic Farm. From across the country  
352 and abroad, many intellectuals, environmentalists, and environmental groups have exhibited  
353 their concordance and new sustenance to the movement. As a result, Chilika Aquatic Firm  
354 halted the project, although the state's Mafias are now using the same land for prawn  
355 production (Pattnaik, 2003).

356

357 In 1992, the Chilika Matsyajibi Mahasangha, a fishermen's organisation representing 122  
358 villages, actively participated in the movement, leading to the formation of the Chilika Bachao  
359 Andolan (Save Chilika Movement) (Mohanty, 2000). The proposed prawn cultivation project  
360 was opposed on both environmental and economic grounds. Protesters argued that intensive  
361 prawn farming would damage the fragile ecosystem of Chilika Lake and threaten the  
362 livelihoods of traditional fishing communities. In 1993, the High Court banned all intensive  
363 and semi-intensive prawn cultivation in the lake, bringing the project to an end. However, a  
364 second phase of resistance emerged against the powerful prawn mafia, which included  
365 influential politicians and bureaucrats who had illegally occupied large areas of the lake  
366 through shrimp gherries (enclosures). When local fishermen attempted to remove these illegal  
367 enclosures, police firing during the protests in May 2009 resulted in the death of at least three  
368 fishermen. Despite this violence, the struggle to free the lake from unauthorized prawn gherries  
369 continued (Kumar, 2014).

370

### 371 **TISCO: Kalinganagar Resistance Movement**

372 Kalinganagar is situated nearly 100 kilometres from Bhubaneswar in the Sukinda and Danagadi  
373 blocks of the Jajpur district. The Brahmani River flows approximately five kilometres away  
374 from the Kalinganagar Industrial Complex (Dash and Samal, 2008). In 1992, Kalinganagar was  
375 identified and developed as a major steel industrial hub. Over time, several industrial  
376 companies established their operations in the region, including MESCO, Neelachal Ispat  
377 Nigam Limited (NINL), Jindal Stainless, Visa Steel, and Maharashtra Seamless (Mishra, 2006:  
378 551). The police execution of 12 tribals in Kalinganagar on 2 January 2006 brought a severe  
379 and sorrowful dimension to the public's campaign against the huge Kalinganagar Industrial  
380 Complex, notably the Tata Steel Plant. The locals of Kalinganagar were not opposed to the

381 notion of an industrial complex. Based on verbal pledges from government officials, they  
382 expected that the new industrial complex would generate jobs for locals, increasing their  
383 standard of living. In 1992 and 1994, many embraced IDCO's payout for property purchases.  
384 People continued to work on the purchased property until about 1997, when the first group was  
385 transferred (PUCL: 2006). During the 1990s, the state government utilized the Property  
386 Acquisition Act of India to purchase 6,900 acres of private land for the complex. Because the  
387 lands were not immediately put to use, they persisted under neath the ownership of major  
388 Adivasi groups. A further 6,100 acres of state-owned land were converted for complex, the  
389 majority of which was undergoing cultivation by indigenous tribal people whose entitlements  
390 had yet to be determined (PUCL, 2006). In the early 2000s, the government initiated the  
391 displacement of tribal communities from their lands in order to transfer the area to industrial  
392 companies. Initially, the local people mobilised to demand fair compensation, employment  
393 opportunities, and better rehabilitation measures from the upcoming industries (Kumar, 2014).

394

395 In 2004, the Sukinda Upatyaka Adivasi-Harijan Ekta O Surakshya Parishad was formed to  
396 represent and protect the interests of people affected by industrial projects in the region. Later,  
397 the organisation was renamed Bisthapan Birodhi Jan Mancha (BBJM) Sukinda. In October  
398 2004, the organisation submitted an open letter to the Chief Minister of Odisha, placing several  
399 demands before the government, including five demands for communities facing displacement  
400 and six for those who had already been displaced. Throughout 2005, BBJM actively opposed  
401 various industrial activities in the Kalinganagar industrial complex, including land acquisition,  
402 bhumi puja ceremonies, land levelling, and the construction of boundary walls by industrial  
403 companies (Dash and Samal, 2008).

404 The public hearing for the Tata Steel facility was scheduled for July 27, 2005. Over 3,000  
405 people protested Tata Steel's proposal to host a Bhoomi puja on July 23, 2005. On October 7,  
406 2005, protesters again protested against Tata Steel's Bhoomi puja. The District Collector and  
407 the SP escorted Tata Steel personnel on both occasions. The marchers were the target of  
408 multiple complaints, and when one of the BBJM's leaders, Rabindra Jarika, was detained on  
409 October 27, 2005, the Kalinganagar police station was set ablaze in response. On November  
410 17th, the displaced people also halted the manufacturing of Maharashtra Seamless Steel. The  
411 movement was gaining traction. There has been no building work since then, with the exception  
412 of the day of the tragic fire on January 2, 2006 (Dash and Samal, 2008: 632). Following the

413 savage fire that lasted more than a year, the BBJ Magitators obstructed the path with seven-  
414 point demands.

415 **Seven-point Demands of BBJM:**

- 416 • Prohibit all types of relocation. Families who have already been transferred will be  
417 given five acres of land.
- 418 • The Chief Minister, the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Mines and Industry, and  
419 the Minister of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Welfare should be removed from  
420 their positions, and the Chief Minister and the Minister of Finance should be prosecuted  
421 with murder.
- 422 • The Home Secretary, DGP, SP, Collector of Jajpur, District Magistrate, and ADM of  
423 Kalinganagar should be sacked and prosecuted under Section 302. The relatives of the  
424 wounded will get Rs. 10 lakhs, while the families of the dead will receive Rs. 20 lakhs.
- 425 • MNCs and monopolies are being driven out of Odisha. In tribal regions, Adivasis  
426 should have access to natural resources, land, water, forests, and industry. •
- 427 • The immediate acquittal of activists and movement leaders and the termination of any  
428 ongoing proceedings against them (PUCL, 2006: 9-10).

429 Until 2012, in a constant war of attrition, the BBJM held off the state government and the Tatas.  
430 This included arrests, beatings, police attacks on villages, and the filing of false cases, and it  
431 also led to injuries to many and some deaths. Tatas gained control over part of the land and  
432 began the construction of its steel plant in 2013 (Kumar, 2014).

433

434 **The Narayanpatna Movement:**

435 Narayanpatna in the Koraput district of Odisha has been the scene of a strong Adivasi agitation  
436 opposing land estrangement and victimization by non-Adivasi. The movement was conducted  
437 in the Narayanpatna area up to 1960, when there occurred large-scale alienation of tribal land  
438 inhabited primarily by the Kondh, Paraja, and Jatapu tribes by the liquor vendors (Sundhis),  
439 and the landlords, though there were strict laws against it (Kumar et al 2005 cited in Kumar,  
440 2014).

441 Tribal distress allegedly began in the Koraput block of Bandhugaon and Narayanpatna in 1994  
442 over a land issue. A tribe's land was taken over to create an 'arrack' (liquor) business  
443 (Mahapatra, 1999, p.139 cited in Mallick 2017: 185). Throughout history, most such  
444 agricultural land has eventually been transferred to the non-tribal landowners. Many tribe

445 people-built connections with respective landowners and worked as workers (Kumar, 2014).  
446 When the Chasi Mulia Samiti (CMS) staged a tribal insurrection in Koraput in 1998, the  
447 administration vowed to enforce the law aggressively. In 1998, police murdered eight members  
448 of the Mandrabaju clan in the Gajapati district as they denounced land conflicts. When a  
449 confrontation arose between the Kashipur tribes and the corporation over land concerns, the  
450 government changed the legislation to support the firms' interests (Mahapatra, 1999, cited in  
451 Malik, 2017: 187). Subsequently, in 1998, the Sundhi-sahukar-sarkar (primarily Dalit liquor  
452 merchants) linkage, poor and landless peasants in Narayanpatna, Bandhugaon, Semiliguda, and  
453 other localities banded together under the umbrella of CMAS to resist their oppressors. The  
454 CMAS has been present in the region since 1998, but its anti-liquor and land campaign did not  
455 begin until 2009. In January 2009, it broke out when the rural commonalities of Narayanpatna  
456 not only drove the alcohol sellers, mainly Dalits, out of their villages but also gathered in large  
457 numbers to chase them to their fortress (Patnaik, 2009:2, cited in Malik, 2017: 188).

458

459 Four thousand demonstrators demolished vineyards, liquor plants, and shopkeepers who sold  
460 international liquor in Narayanpatna town. By the end of 2010, the state's military soldiers were  
461 stationed in the Narayanpatna and Bandhugaon block headquarters, with just two liquor outlets  
462 in the area. Mahua trees, which were used to make inexpensive alcohol, were destroyed as part  
463 of a CMAS and Biplabi Adivasi Mahila Sangha political campaign in Bhaliaput (BAMS). As  
464 a result, no solo Mahua tree could be discernible in the villages of Narayanpatna. By 2009, the  
465 sale and use of alcoholic beverages were prohibited. Many landowners and liquor vendors  
466 departed the region due to the public rebellion, ending in the demise of this exploitative  
467 industry. The anti-liquor campaign's efficacy fuelled the land war, which galvanized the people  
468 (Malik, 2017). A campaign began to demonize the CMAS from 2008 onwards. In this  
469 campaign, both the state's print and television media wholeheartedly contributed. In November  
470 2009, in the Narayanpatna region, the government, with the appeal of an anti-Maoist operation,  
471 sent the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF). Over by the CMAS, the CRPF stopped  
472 harvesting operations on the land taken. Outraged, the CAMS leadership and hundreds of  
473 Adivasis proceeded to the Narayanpatna police station, where two CAMS leaders were killed,  
474 and several more were wounded in police firing (PUCL 2009, cited in Kumar, 2014).

475 CMAS reclaimed roughly 180 acres of land in the first progressive movement, which lasted  
476 from 2000 to 2006. The movement's primary leader, 'Nachika Linga', was sentenced to jail in  
477 2006 and accused of several infractions, including claims of being a Revolutionary. Still, he  
478 was acquitted of all charges in 2008, by which time the movement's second phase had already

479 begun. Prior to 2009, on the release of Nachika Linga from prison, the CMAS and nomadic  
480 tribals convened a large Ghenua Bahini assembly (men wearing red shirts and equipped with  
481 old indigenous armaments such as bows and arrows). CMAS had taken a more belligerent  
482 stance in Narayanpatna than in Bandhugaon, with roughly 2,000 acres of land under its direct  
483 control. (Malik, 2017). The bourgeoisie, dispossessed landowners, brewers, and liquor traders  
484 (Dalits), who were strapped out of Narayanpatna, assembled in Laxmipur under the patronage  
485 of the state government, and were used by the state in two ways to strengthen the capability in  
486 Narayanpatna. They were first classified as poor people who agonized from the Narayanpatna  
487 movement's 'vices of fear'. Second, they were depicted as "victimized Dalits", giving the  
488 Narayanpatna campaign an anti-Dalit tinge (Radical Notes, 27 April 2011:4, cited in Malik,  
489 2017: 188). Consequently, the bourgeoisie in Laxmipur produced a type of public panic  
490 contrary to the Narayanpatna movement (Malik, 2017: 188).

#### 491 **Conclusion**

492 The postcolonial state eradicated the preponderance of ecological movements in India. There  
493 were just a handful of successful movements. A few movements gained popularity in the mid-  
494 1970s, including the Chipko movement of Utarakhand, the Narmada Bachao Andolan (Save  
495 Narmada) protest movement, and the Silent Valley movement. A large spectrum of national  
496 and international human rights groups, environmental organisations, non-governmental  
497 organizations (NGOs), and activists from throughout the globe supported these efforts. Since  
498 the 1990s, many demonstrations and environmental movements have taken place across India  
499 during the current age of liberalization. The majority of movements involving indigenous  
500 peoples' subsistence concentrated on the industrial and mining industries. There is little  
501 question that all environmental initiatives had significant backing from various sources, but  
502 only a few of these campaigns were successful (Nayak, 2015). In Odisha, demonstrations  
503 opposing exploitative industrialization embody legitimate democratic aspirations for  
504 citizenship and justice. Class and caste distinctions, along with different power connections,  
505 including gendered power, could be seen as intrinsic phenomena of these activities that mimic  
506 Indian civilizations and need further research and focus (Kumar, 2014).

#### 507 **References**

508 Bandyopadhyay, J. (1999). Chipko Movement of Floated Myths and Flouted Realities,  
509 Economic and Political Weekly, April 10, 1999.

- 510 Bhatt. C.P. (1990). *The Chipko Andolan: Forest Conservation Based on People's Power,*  
511 *Environment and Urbanization*, Vol. 2, No. 1. Sage Publications.
- 512 Brown, T. (2014). *Chipko Legacies: Sustaining an Ecological Ethic in The Context of Agrarian*  
513 *Change*, *Asian Studies Review*, 38:4, 639-657, DOI: [10.1080/10357823.2014.956686](https://doi.org/10.1080/10357823.2014.956686).
- 514 Centre For Science and Environment. 1982. *The State of India's Environment, 1982*. New  
515 Delhi.
- 516 Chatterjee, A.P., & Desai, M. (Eds) (2006). *Communalism In Odisha. Report of the People's*  
517 *Tribunal on Environment and Human Rights (Led by Justice K.K. Usha)*. Indian  
518 *People's Tribunal Secretariat: New Age Printing Press*, P- 1–87.
- 519 Dash and Samal. (2008). *New Mega Projects in Odisha: Protests by Potential Displaced*  
520 *Persons*. *Social Change: December 2008: Vol. 38 No.4*
- 521 Dogra, B. (2000) *Linking Environment Protection to People's Livelihood*. *Frontier* 33(19), p.  
522 6
- 523 Gadgil, M. and Guha, R. (1994). *Ecological Conflicts and the Environmental Movement in*  
524 *India, Development, and Change*, Vol. 25, Blackwell Publishers, UK.
- 525 Guha, R. (1989). *The Unquiet Woods: Ecological Change and Peasant Resistance in the*  
526 *Himalayas*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- 527 Guha, R. and Martinez-Alier, J. (1997). *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North and*  
528 *South*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- 529 Jain, S. (1984). *Women And People's Ecological Movement: A Case Study of Women's Role*  
530 *in the Chipko Movement in Uttar Pradesh*, Vol. 19, No. 41, PP. 1788-1794, *Economic*  
531 *and Political Weekly*.
- 532 Karan, P.P. (1994, January). *Environmental movements in India*. *Geographical Review*, 84(1),  
533 pp-32–41.
- 534 Kumar, K. (2014). *Confronting Extractive Capital Social and Environmental Movements in*  
535 *Odisha*, Vol 5, 2014, *Economic & Political Weekly*.
- 536 Kumar, K., Choudhary, P.R., Sarangi, S., Mishra, P., and Behera, S. (2005): *A Socio-Economic*  
537 *and Legal Study of Scheduled Tribes' Land in Odisha*, Bhubaneswar: Vasundhara.

- 538 Mahapatra, L. K. (1999). Tribal Rights to Land and The State in Odisha. In K. B. Deepak & P.  
539 Georg (Ed.), *Contemporary Society: Tribal Studies*, Vol. III, New Delhi: Concept  
540 Publishing Company, pp. 23–48.
- 541 Mallick, K. S. (2017). Tribal- Dalit Conflict Over Land: A Case of Narayanpatna Land  
542 Movement in the Koraput District of Odisha. 9 (2) 184-193. *Contemporary Voice of*  
543 *Dalit*, SAGE Publications.
- 544 Mishra, B. (2006). Tribals And Projects In Odisha People’s Movement at Kalinga Nagar, an  
545 Epitaph or an Epitome, February 2006, *Economic & Political Weekly*.
- 546 Mishra, B. and Mishra, S. (2014). Mining And Industrialisation Dangerous Portents, Vol. XLIX  
547 No 14, *Economic and Political Weekly*.
- 548 Mohanty, R. (2000): *Chilika Bachao Andolan (Save the Chilika Movement): A Case Study of*  
549 *People’s Resistance to the Integrated Shrimp Farm Project in Chilika, Odisha, Civil*  
550 *Society, And Governance Programme*, Institute of Development Studies, UK: 1.
- 551 Nayak, A.K (2015). Environmental Movements in India. *Journal Of Developing Societies*, Vol  
552 31 (2): 249-280, SAGE Publications.
- 553 Nayak, A.K (2015). Environmental Movements in India. *Journal Of Developing Societies*, Vol  
554 31 (2): 249-280, SAGE Publications.
- 555 Panda, S.P. (2006): *State, Development, and The Rise of Grassroots Movements. The Indian*  
556 *Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 67, No.1.
- 557 Patel, S. (1989). Agni, Cyclone and Baliapal Agitation, June 24, 1989, *Economic and Political*  
558 *Weekly*.
- 559 Patnaik, K. S. (2009). Narayanpatna Block in Odisha’s Koraput Is Under the Control of Chasi  
560 Mulia Adivasi Sangh. *Radical Notes and Sanhati*. Retrieved from  
561 [sanhati.com/narayanpatna](http://sanhati.com/narayanpatna).
- 562 Pattanaik, S. (2003). Development, Globalisation and The Rise of a Grassroot Environmental  
563 Movement: The Case of Chilika Bachao Andolan (CBA) IN Eastern India, Vol.XLIX,  
564 No.1, *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, SAGE Publication.

565 Pattnaik, B. K. (2013). Tribal Resistance Movements and The Politics of Development-  
566 Induced Displacement in Contemporary Odisha. *Social Change*, 43 (1), pp 53-78, Sage  
567 Publications.

568 Pattnaik, B. K. (2013). Tribal Resistance Movements and The Politics of Development-  
569 Induced Displacement in Contemporary Odisha. *Social Change*, 43 (1), pp 53-78, Sage  
570 Publications.

571 PUCL (2006). Police Firing at Kalinganagar: A Report by People's Union for Civil Liberties  
572 (PUCL) Odisha, People's Union for Civil Liberties, Bhubaneswar.

573 Radical Notes, 3–9. Retrieved from [http://radicalnotes.com/2009/11/25/a-Fact-Finding-  
574 Report-On-Narayanpatna](http://radicalnotes.com/2009/11/25/a-Fact-Finding-Report-On-Narayanpatna).

575 Raj, R.S (2017). People's Movement in Odisha: An Assessment, *Indian Journal of Public  
576 Administration*, 63 (2), SAGE Publications, pp. 265-283.

577 Rao, U.J (2013). Displacement and Protest Movements: The Indian Experience. Vol. 3, Issue.3  
578 PP-1554-1560, *International Journal of Modern Engineering Research (IJMER)*.

579 Routledge, P. (2000). *Geopoetics of Resistance: India's Baliapal Movement*, Vol. 25, No.3,  
580 *Poetic World Politics*, pp. 375-389, Sage Publications, Inc.

581 Samal, K.C. and Meher, S. (2003). Fishing Communities on Chilika Lake Comparative Socio-  
582 Economic Study, August 2, 2003, *Economic and Political Weekly*.

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

584 Shiva, V. (1989). *Staying alive: Women, Ecology, and Development*, London, Zed Books.

585 Swaminathan, M. (1979). *Development of The Silent Valley Reserve Forest, Kerala*. New  
586 Delhi: Ministry Of Agriculture and Irrigation.  
587