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## INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ADVANCED RESEARCH (IJAR)

Article DOI:10.21474/IJAR01/23508  
DOI URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.21474/IJAR01/23508>



### RESEARCH ARTICLE

## DEVELOPMENT-INDUCED PROTEST MOVEMENTS IN POST- INDEPENDENCE INDIA: AN ANALYSIS

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#### Manuscript Info

##### Manuscript History

Received: 12 March 2026

Final Accepted: 14 April 2026

Published: May 2026

##### Key words:-

Marxian Principles; Capitalist Social Systems; Chipko Movement; Narmada Movement; Odisha

#### Abstract

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

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#### Introduction:-

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

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

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

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

**Chipko Movement: Hugging Trees to Save Nature:-**

The Chipko Movement emerged in the Himalayan region of present-day Uttarakhand during the early 1970s as a powerful environmental protest against commercial deforestation. The movement began in April 1973 in Mandal village of the Garhwal Himalayas, where local peasants opposed the capitalist logging practices carried out by contractors in nearby forests (Gadgil and Guha, 1994). The protesters adopted the unique method of “hugging the trees,” in which villagers, especially women, placed themselves between the trees and the woodcutters to prevent felling. This non-violent form of resistance symbolized the deep emotional and ecological relationship between local communities and forests (Karan, 1994). The movement spread across the Himalayan region, particularly in the northern parts of Uttar Pradesh (now Uttarakhand), and became a significant example of people’s participation in environmental conservation. Led largely by women, the movement aimed to stop indiscriminate tree cutting and protect forests, which were considered essential for human survival and ecological balance.

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

According to Bharat Dogra (2000, quoted in Brown, 2014: 646), a journalist with a long-standing concentration in Chipko and its offshoots, the Henwal Valley was vital for its increased attention to environmental consequences.

**Kunwar Prasun wrote one of Chipko’s most well-known environmental phrases:**

“Kyhainis jangalkeupkaar,	What favors does the jungle bestow?
Mitti, paaniaurbayaan,	Soil, water, and pure air,
Mitti, paaniaurbayaan,	Soil, water, and unpolluted air,
Zindarehnekeadhaar.	The foundation of existence”.

The Chipko movement arose from a confrontation over mountain forests, which opposed the commercial interests of mountain people against the economy of the lowlands. When the harvesting contractual framework was dissolved, the movement's core foundation was severely weakened, and the public sector Forest Development Corporation was formed. The sentiments were developed with the involvement of local village co-operatives (Bandopadhyay, 1999). The Chipko movement is one of the world's most recognized environmental movements because it combines the intimate face of a traditional peasant movement with a public front. Chipko's face has been strategically adorned with some "deep ecological" terms, while its roots are in the tough financial battle for survival (Guha, 1989). In the Uttarakhand area of the central Himalayas, financially deprived people voiced their opinions for the first time through the Chipko movement, whose survival and livelihood are mostly based on forests. Their connection with the forests operates on two levels: first, through the preservation of natural ecosystems, and second, through ancient traditions (Bhatt, 1990).

**Six Ideological Foundations of the Chipko Movement:-**

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

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

**Narmada Bachao Andolan: Voices of the Displaced:-**

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

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

Villagers in Madhya Pradesh's Nimad area initiated demonstrating contrary to the threat of relocation due to Sardar Sarovar as early as 1977. Medha Patkar, a social activist, was the first to focus on the correct rehabilitation of

possible outsees. Only after the announced 'land for land' policy in Madhya Pradesh/Maharashtra, or Gujarat began to realize that there was no land available did people begin to protest the dam's construction. As a result, although almost 10 years old, the movement finally gained traction in 1989. The Narmada Bachao Andolan employed several types of demonstrations to press its goals, including road and traffic blockades. Community hearings (particularly locations where oustees have vowed not to depart their homes, although if dam waters rise and overwhelm them), starvation abstinence, and demonstrations, notably in state capitals (Gadgil and Guha, 1994). While small-scale protests have occurred throughout the Narmada valley, public attention has been directed to the most significant cases. The New Delhi assembly and the 'Sangarsh Yatra' (resistance march) from Rajghat to Ferkuva have already been documented. However, the most notable of these public events was a large demonstration on September 29, 1989, in the town of Harsud. A huge public gathering attended by Amte, Patkar, Bahuguna, and others finished in a brought-together pledge to get through the succession of 'horrendous improvement' proved by the Sardar Sarovar dam. And to display their support for the Narmada movement, citizens' groups from throughout India joined together; Amte, Patkar, Bahuguna, and others spoke at a large public congregation, which brought about a collective oath (Gadgil and Guha, 1994: 113).

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

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

The Kerala People's Science Movement was created by a web of rural school teachers and local individuals to accomplish environmental science initiatives in the villages (Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad). It was believed that the movement would cover the financial needs of the people of Malabar, but it was recognized that the initiative would only assist regional growth significantly. Through millions of years of lobbying, the project's ecological consequences were discovered. As a result, the organization criticized the idea, particularly for the possibility of the extinction of evolved species. Keralans recognized that new businesses and clear-cutting of forests also contributed to the disturbance of streams and water supplies in the river's upper basins. Out of the situation and to challenge the idea, a lot of people in Kerala didn't like the idea of the dam, so they started a movement against it. They stated that, while the dam would assist residents in Kerala's rural parts since the majority of the electricity generated would be exported from the project to the industrialized sections of Kerala and the surrounding states, the significant benefit would go to Trivandrum, the state capital. But this would cause a lot of damage to the environment, but it would be good enough to justify it (Karan, 1994). The Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad (KSSP), a well-known scientific and educational organisation with significant public support in Kerala, strongly opposed the Silent Valley Project. This Marxist-oriented group, mainly consisting of school and college teachers, formed an unusual alliance with environmental activists. While different organisations opposed the project for various reasons, the KSSP mainly focused on the techno-economic assessment of alternative energy sources. At the same time, environmentalists emphasized the importance of protecting wildlife and preserving the region's rich biodiversity. Moreover, it has been argued that Indira Gandhi's interest in strengthening her international image within the global conservation movement also influenced the government's decision to halt the project (Gadgil and Guha, 1994: 112).

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

**Environmental Movements in Odisha:Protests Against Displacement:-**

During the period of liberalisation and privatisation, several mineral-processing companies invested heavily in the mineral-rich state of Odisha. These developments led to large-scale involuntary displacement, particularly affecting indigenous and socially marginalised communities. The conflict between those who had already been displaced and those who were likely to face displacement created widespread unrest and often resulted in harsh responses from the government (Dash and Samal, 2008). In response, various people's organisations emerged across the tribal regions of Odisha to oppose mining projects and industrial activities that threatened to deprive local communities of their land, forests, and livelihoods. However, the political and administrative machinery appeared to support rapid industrial development, especially in the mining sector, while paying limited attention to the concerns of poor and marginalised populations. The speed with which Odisha transferred rights over its mineral resources became a matter of concern, as economic interests and profit motives strongly influenced policy decisions (Mishra and Mishra, 2014: 56). Several resistance movements against large extractive and industrial projects, such as the Kashipur movement, Chilika movement, Niyamgiri Hills movement, Kalinganagar movement, and anti-POSCO campaign, turned Odisha into a significant centre of environmental and displacement-related struggles. These movements consistently resisted large-scale projects and delayed investments worth billions of dollars by both Indian corporations and multinational companies (MNCs) (Kumar, 2014).

**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,

Source: Kumar, 2014

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

- In 1999, Former Foreign Secretary Muchkund Dubey established an impartial panel from CSD to investigate allegations of brutality against Adivasis (11–18 January 1999).
- In 2001, Chief Justice D.S. Tewatia and Swami Agnivesh released an independent audit on the police killing of Adivasis on December 16, 2000.
- The 2003 High Court Justice Prafulla K. Misra Commission also investigated the deaths on December 16, 2000. (suppressed by GoO, later leaked and released)
- 2005 Lawyers' Field Mission, India's Peoples Union for Civil Liberties and an independent civil society organisation
- 2006 Chief Justice Bhargava's Tribunal, published October 2006 (Chatterji & Desai, 2006, cited in Pattnaik, 2013: 66)
- Yogesh K. Sabharwal, Chief Justice of India, for the Supreme Court in 2006 on Vedanta alumina, law violations, and malfeasance against tribals (work started).

### **Baliapal Struggle Against Missile Testing Range:-**

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

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

It is not infertile;

Our soil of Baliapal;

In Odisha a more high-yielding;

Moorland and you will not find;

Herein grows;

Grain, betelvine, cashew;

And coconuts of extraordinary amounts;

Banana, guava, mango, palm and jamun;

And other new fruits abound;

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

Where all the vegetables are grown;

We fish in the ocean;  
What else is our want?" (Routledge, 2000: 377-378).

### **The History of the Movement:-**

The history of the Baliapal agitation can be separated into two phases. The first phase was linked when the leadership of Gadthagari, who used the strategy of non-violent satyagraha to confront the state, and Giri's effort to ensure that a collectivity of all parties and groups directs the agitation. This phase was inaugurated when the Uttara BalasoreKhepanastraGhatiPratirodh Samiti KGPS was formed in late 1984 (Patel, 1989). The second phase of the movement began when a friend of Gadthagari, named Gananath Patra, a member of the UCCRI (ML), joined the agitation. The organizational structure of the agitation was provided by Patra, which was, until then, run by upper-caste male KGPS leaders. During that time, four fronts were organized, named the students' front, the youth front, the women's front, and the fisher-people front. At the level of the Block, Districts, and the state headquarters, demonstrations were organised. At the same time, from the side of all opposition parties, including the SUCI, CPI, and CPI (M), a district-level support committee was formed. The youth members during this period also gheraoed the collector and made him go back to the outer reaches of this area and barricaded the approach road. So to say, this phase of agitation is characterized as the phase of tremendous output. This mobilization was attempted through songs and poems. With each family making up tunes towards the contribution and cooperation of individuals in the fomentation, this stage arrived at its pinnacle (Patel, 1989).

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

### **Chilika Bachao Andolan:-**

Chilika is Asia's biggest brackish water lagoon. The pear-shaped lake was formerly part of the seabed. It was finally isolated from the sea by a set of islands produced by silt deposits and a sandy ridge less than 200 meters wide over time. The lake is located on the eastern coast of peninsular India and is linked to the Bay of Bengal. The majority of the lake is located in the Puri district's Krushnaprasad block. The western bank of Chilika is located alongside the Madras-Calcutta National Highway (NH5) and the Madras-Howrah railway line (Samal and Meher, 2003: 3319). Its first significant continuous revolutionary movement over private investment happened in Chilika Lake in 1986, when the Tatas partnered with the state government to begin hostile prawn farming. In 1991, to the Tatas for the Integrated Shrimp Farm Project, the state government leased out 400 hectares of the lake (Mohanty, 2000). In 1984, the Ministry of Agriculture granted permission to construct a \$300,000 shrimp farm on 300 acres in Panaspara. 1.7 crore. The public authority then surrendered the land to Odisha Maritime and Chilika Area Development Corporation (OMCAD) for the structure of the previously mentioned project. Due to administrative issues at OMCAD, the project was put on hold before being reintroduced as a joint venture between Tata and OMCAD as CAFL (Pattanaik, 2003). The CAFL first claimed there would be no effect on Chilika Lake's environment. Still, they revealed that water from the agricultural ponds would flow to the Bhubania Channel and then to the outer channel, where it blended with the sea on the lake's south-eastern shore. The toxic consequences that contaminate the lake's water originate from effluents discharged into the Bhubania Channel via the lake's mouth, which is an essential component of the Chilika lake's flow. As a result, the fishermen's capacity to fish would be restricted, presenting a danger to their basic survival. Under the banner of Chilika Bachao Andolan (CBA), the fisherfolk systematized themselves into a whole movement. A student forum at Utkal University called "Meet the student" and Odisha Krushak Mahasangha, an Odisha peasant organization, played a substantial protagonist in assembling the people. Several acts were carried out by the Andolan, including a dharna (non-violent strike), a demonstration, a padayatra (foot trip), the symbolic destruction of agricultural embankments, and a gherao of the State Legislative Assembly in protest of the Chilika Aquatic Farm. From across the country and abroad, many intellectuals, environmentalists, and environmental groups have exhibited their concordance and newsustenance to the movement. As a result, Chilika Aquatic Firm halted the project, although the state's Mafias are now using the same land for prawn production (Pattnaik, 2003).

In 1992, the Chilika Matsyajibi Mahasangha, a fishermen's organisation representing 122 villages, actively participated in the movement, leading to the formation of the Chilika Bachao Andolan (Save Chilika Movement) (Mohanty, 2000). The proposed prawn cultivation project was opposed on both environmental and economic grounds. Protesters argued that intensive prawn farming would damage the fragile ecosystem of Chilika Lake and threaten the livelihoods of traditional fishing communities. In 1993, the High Court banned all intensive and semi-

intensive prawn cultivation in the lake, bringing the project to an end. However, a second phase of resistance emerged against the powerful prawn mafia, which included influential politicians and bureaucrats who had illegally occupied large areas of the lake through shrimp gherries (enclosures). When local fishermen attempted to remove these illegal enclosures, police firing during the protests in May 2009 resulted in the death of at least three fishermen. Despite this violence, the struggle to free the lake from unauthorized prawn gherries continued (Kumar, 2014).

**TISCO: Kalinganagar Resistance Movement:-**

Kalinganagar is situated nearly 100 kilometres from Bhubaneswar in the Sukinda and Danagadi blocks of the Jajpur district. The Brahmani River flows approximately five kilometres away from the Kalinganagar Industrial Complex (Dash and Samal, 2008). In 1992, Kalinganagar was identified and developed as a major steel industrial hub. Over time, several industrial companies established their operations in the region, including MESCO, Neelachal Ispat Nigam Limited (NINL), Jindal Stainless, Visa Steel, and Maharashtra Seamless (Mishra, 2006:551). The police execution of 12 tribals in Kalinganagar on 2 January 2006 brought a severe and sorrowful dimension to the public's campaign against the huge Kalinganagar Industrial Complex, notably the Tata Steel Plant. The locals of Kalinganagar were not opposed to the notion of an industrial complex. Based on verbal pledges from government officials, they expected that the new industrial complex would generate jobs for locals, increasing their standard of living. In 1992 and 1994, many embraced IDCO's payout for property purchases. People continued to work on the purchased property until about 1997, when the first group was transferred (PUCL: 2006). During the 1990s, the state government utilized the Property Acquisition Act of India to purchase 6,900 acres of private land for the complex. Because the lands were not immediately put to use, they persisted underneath the ownership of major Adivasi groups. A further 6,100 acres of state-owned land were converted for complex, the majority of which was undergoing cultivation by indigenous tribal people whose entitlements had yet to be determined (PUCL, 2006). In the early 2000s, the government initiated the displacement of tribal communities from their lands in order to transfer the area to industrial companies. Initially, the local people mobilised to demand fair compensation, employment opportunities, and better rehabilitation measures from the upcoming industries (Kumar, 2014).

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

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

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

- Prohibit all types of relocation. Families who have already been transferred will be given five acres of land.
- The Chief Minister, the Minister of Finance, the Minister of Mines and Industry, and the Minister of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Welfare should be removed from their positions, and the Chief Minister and the Minister of Finance should be prosecuted with murder.
- The Home Secretary, DGP, SP, Collector of Jajpur, District Magistrate, and ADM of Kalinganagar should be sacked and prosecuted under Section 302. The relatives of the wounded will get Rs. 10 lakhs, while the families of the dead will receive Rs. 20 lakhs.
- MNCs and monopolies are being driven out of Odisha. In tribal regions, Adivasis should have access to natural resources, land, water, forests, and industry.

- The immediate acquittal of activists and movement leaders and the termination of any ongoing proceedings against them (PUCL, 2006: 9-10).

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

### **The Narayanpatna Movement:-**

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

Tribal distress allegedly began in the Koraput block of Bandhugaon and Narayanpatna in 1994 over a land issue. A tribe's land was taken over to create an 'arrack' (liquor) business (Mahapatra, 1999, p.139 cited in Mallick 2017: 185). Throughout history, most such agricultural land has eventually been transferred to the non-tribal landowners. Many tribe people built connections with respective landowners and worked as workers (Kumar, 2014). When the ChasiMulia Samiti (CMS) staged a tribal insurrection in Koraput in 1998, the administration vowed to enforce the law aggressively. In 1998, police murdered eight members of the Mandrabaju clan in the Gajapati district as they denounced land conflicts. When a confrontation arose between the Kashipur tribes and the corporation over land concerns, the government changed the legislation to support the firms' interests (Mahapatra, 1999, cited in Malik, 2017: 187). Subsequently, in 1998, the Sundhi-sahukar-sarkar (primarily Dalit liquor merchants) linkage, poor and landless peasants in Narayanpatna, Bandhugaon, Semiliguda, and other localities banded together under the umbrella of CMAS to resist their oppressors. The CMAS has been present in the region since 1998, but its anti-liquor and land campaign did not begin until 2009. In January 2009, it broke out when the rural commonalities of Narayanpatna not only drove the alcohol sellers, mainly Dalits, out of their villages but also gathered in large numbers to chase them to their fortress (Patnaik, 2009:2, cited in Malik, 2017: 188).

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

CMAS reclaimed roughly 180 acres of land in the first progressive movement, which lasted from 2000 to 2006. The movement's primary leader, 'NachikaLinga', was sentenced to jail in 2006 and accused of several infractions, including claims of being a Revolutionary. Still, he was acquitted of all charges in 2008, by which time the movement's second phase had already begun. Prior to 2009, on the release of NachikaLinga from prison, the CMAS and nomadic tribals convened a large GhenuaBahini assembly (men wearing red shirts and equipped with old indigenous armaments such as bows and arrows). CMAS had taken a more belligerent stance in Narayanpatna than in Bandhugaon, with roughly 2,000 acres of land under its direct control. (Malik, 2017). The bourgeoisie, dispossessed landowners, brewers, and liquor traders (Dalits), who were strapped out of Narayanpatna, assembled in Laxmipur under the patronage of the state government, and were used by the state in two ways to strengthen the capability in Narayanpatna. They were first classified as poor people who agonized from the Narayanpatna movement's 'vices of fear'. Second, they were depicted as "victimized Dalits", giving the Narayanpatna campaign an

anti-Dalit tinge(Radical Notes, 27 April 2011:4, cited in Malik, 2017: 188). Consequently, the bourgeoisie in Laxmipur produced a type of public panic contrary to the Narayanpatna movement (Malik, 2017: 188).

### **Conclusion:-**

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

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