

Presaging Social Unrest: Empirical Evidences from a City

Pawan Kumar

Assistant Professor, Geography
Department of College Education
Govt of Rajasthan

Abstract

Social unrest leads to the social movements. The causes and consequences of the unrest are neither unique nor replicable because of the complex dynamics of the society. However, the empirical evidences from the local level can be used as formal tools and also as indicators to the needs of the masses. The present paper based on the quantitative results from the study conducted in Jaipur city analyses the distribution of the resources within the city limits. The results indicate that, despite of being a homogenous unit of planning for regional development, the city region does not have equitable distribution of resources. The question thus arises whether it is a deliberate attempt to marginalize certain sections of the society from reaping the fruits of benefits that a city provides.

I. Background and Motivation

Social Movements are collective actions by the people eager to promote or resist change in a society with which they are dissatisfied. It involves actions of individuals, masses, leaders and elites. Individuals act when his or her identity is under peril or when the self is challenged. Different levels of dissatisfaction of the individuals towards a common cause results in adherence of the masses to the common thread so that their voices are heard. Persons able to disseminate their influence locally form the leaders who in turn are influenced by the think-tanks as the elites of the society. Public policies, social exclusions and role of the state either deliberately or inadvertently drive communities towards a feeling of marginalization.

The history of social movements leads us to a few categorizations for the understanding of causes and consequences. Broadly, the social movements have been classified as, the Conventional or primordial movements and Modern or Neo-primordial movements. The former movements existed in the era of pre-industrialist and industrialist societies and thrived in the roots of the environment of production and practice. The latter movements existed in the service-class society having roots more in theory than in practice. It is pertinent here to mention that, be it Conventional or Modern, the social movements itself or the ideological support for these movements gathered force in the civilized societies based in the centers of production of goods and services that are to be construed as the urban centers.

Historically, the urban centers have not only been the centers of production of goods and services but also the center of power. These centers included activists as academics, as upper castes, as males, as members of urban elite who have been often confronted by the movements. The studies and theoretical positions of intellectuals regarding the social movements as part of the ongoing ideological debate in and about the movements, conditioned by their own social position and related to the hegemonic ideological structures of the society - not as theories has been used to analyze the movements. It is pertinent to state, for instance that, the Nehru settlement had been based on a coalition of urban and rural interests united behind an essentially urban-oriented industrialization strategy. Its senior partners were India's proportionately small but politically powerful administrative, managerial and professional English-educated middle classes and private sector industrialists. The English-educated middle classes manned the senior services, built and managed the public-sector industries, and staffed the large firms in the modern private sector. That control enabled them to allocate resources and monitor policy implementation for the agricultural sector and rural society in ways that protected their interests (Omvedt, 1993). With such a stronghold of position and power by the urban elites, the subsequently developed cities itself were manifested with divisions between the rich and the poor, the haves and have not's. The people living in the peripheral and alienated parts of the city region serve the city and derive their sources of livelihood but reside in shanty unhygienic spaces with congested and poorly built tenements. Such a structure of the city is hangover of the pre-colonial period.

Context of the Study

With this background the study relates the dynamic interplay of social and political phenomenon and its role in forecasting the social unrest by utilizing the concept of relative deprivation. First, the study tries to

establish itself with the concept of relative deprivation. Next, with the empirical evidences from a field study of Jaipur city, it identifies the distribution and accessibility to the resources a city provides.

Relative Deprivation

Relative deprivation has been used widely as a central variable in the explanation of social movements. The concept has also been used to explain the processes involved in social change that are brought about by social movements (Gurr, 1970). Deprivation is both absolute and relative. The former is without any relation to the reference group and is comparatively easy to measure. While, the latter form of deprivation occurs in relation to desired points of reference, often 'reference groups'; rather than in relation to how little one has and is difficult to measure. The latter is also difficult to measure because often, in those cases where data on individual attitudes are offered, both data and theory on the processes by which individuals acquire feelings of relative deprivation and on the way in which relative deprivation is related to the beliefs and attitudes about social change that characterize participants in social movements, are lacking (Morrison, 1971). Several works in the late 60s and early 70s have accounted for the data analysis on relative deprivation and its role in social movements (Runciman, 1966; Geschwender, 1968; Gurr, 1970; Morrison, 1971). The psychology that emerges and develops during a power-oriented movement is the legitimate expectations of a group being substantially blocked. The source of the blockage is in the social structure and the group acting in concert can and will change the social structure to remove the blockage. Given the structural conditions of blockages and solutions, probability of emergence of a power-oriented movement depends upon the following parameters in (Morrison, 1971):

1. A large population experiencing the relative deprivation
2. Close interaction, communication, and proximity are necessary so that similarity of situation can be better observed
3. High role and status commonality is, related to the 'class consciousness' that is a part of all movements.
4. A stratification system with clear strata boundaries and visible power differences between the strata
5. The presence of much voluntary association activity in a society

Besides, other factors responsible for the emergence of purely urban change have also been outlined. The theories of urban processes and the historical context of clash of social interests contribute towards social change. Collective consumption, creation of communities with particular cultural identity and of power are three phases in construction of urban social movements (Castells, 1977, 1983; Lowe, 1986).

Though at later dates few studies have gone to the extent of suggesting that relative deprivation and social movements are not empirically related. The relative deprivation approach has failed due to unresolved theoretical and conceptual problems but has its existence largely due to the efforts of energetic and creative researchers. (Gurney & Tierney, 1982). On the other hand, indicators such as occupation of the head and marital status has been used as social location models; whereas indicators such as self-interest, socio-tropic and post-material dimensions has been used as psychological models to forecast to predict social movements. Both the models have been used for providing empirical evidences as the root of the social movements (Rohrschneider, 1990).

Statement of the Research Problem

It is argued that one amongst other aspects of social movements is relative deprivation. In geographical terms relative deprivation in urban areas can be measured by utilizing the data on horizontal distribution of city resource. Housing stock and provision of urban infrastructure or basic amenities such as drinking water, sewerage, electricity etc in a welfare state should ideally be evenly distributed amongst the population to reduce inequality. Housing is the attained by efforts of the household residing in it. On the other hand, housing alone cannot exist without the existence of basic amenities. The provision of basic amenities is largely the duty of the state in order to attain social welfare actions of the governing international, national or local bodies. The distribution of housing stock and related urban amenities amongst the dwelling masses forms the basis of inequality. Whereas, the capitalist mode of production promotes competition the socialist mode demands for the equal distribution of city resources for particularly those people who are unable to attain it. This creates a hypothetical division between the haves and have not's. It also forms the basis of division on many grounds, such as, social economic or political creating a skirmish and challenge for the policy makers to reduce the inequality.

Therefore, this paper undertakes to explain the spatial distribution of resources taking an example of the Jaipur city and understanding the phenomenon underlying the skewed distribution of the resources. To apprehend the situation the objectives set forth are discussed in the next section.

Objectives and Data Base of the Study

The review of literature in the previous sections of the study leads us to presume that inequality persist in the urban society leading to the structural blockage and feeling of deprivation. Thus the main aim and objective of the study is to search for the parameters that lead to feeling of relative deprivation in terms of distribution of resources (to mean urban infrastructure or basic amenities) within the city or designated urban area. Here the term city is used in reference to the census definition and the area of study is Jaipur city in Rajasthan state. Another objective is to alienate goals for the policy formulation for the future.

The secondary data for the study is obtained from Census of India¹. Some of the conclusions are also drawn from the focused group discussions in selected slums during the field survey by the author (Kumar, 2019, 2020).

II. Methodology

The secondary data available from the Census of India is utilized to identify the order of wards in terms of the households' accessibility to the resources. The variables used to extract the order of these wards are percentage of household to the total households in that ward living in houses that are/ have Non-Good Houses; *katcha* roof, *katcha* wall and *katcha* floor; one room only; rented houses; no separate rooms for married couples; no access to treated drinking water; no access to drinking water within the house premises; no electricity; no latrine facility; no bathroom facility, no drainage, no LPG connection and no kitchen. These variables are here termed as City Housing and Infrastructural Resources (CHIR). Such an analysis reveals the haves and have not's or in other words deprivation with respect to the access to city sanitation resources. There are 77 wards as per the latest Census of year 2011 and the already mentioned 6 variables' data is available in percentage of households without access to these sanitation resources. Since the dimensions of variables are large a composite picture can only be obtained by suitable dimension reduction method. Hence, the variables are reduced dimensionally using the Factor Analysis to construct a deprivation index of the wards. The method of extraction of factors being the Principal Components and can be represented as:

$$PC_1 = b_{11}X_1 + \dots + b_{1p}X_p = Xb_1$$

Where, b's are the coefficients for principal component and each column of b contains the coefficients for one principal component. X_1, X_2, \dots, X_p are the variables. A principal component analysis of this set of variables can generate p new variables, known as the principal components, PC_1, PC_2, \dots, PC_p (Khatun, 2009).

With the objectives, dataset and prescribed methodology the study now takes up the main analysis part in the section ahead.

Jaipur City: Distribution of City Resources

Jaipur is the capital city and the only million plus city of Rajasthan. The city is the house of more than 3 million people. It has originally been a planned city. Population in this urban area is growing at a greater pace. In 2011, it had a total population of 3,046,163 and 599,507 households. With a population of 2,324,319 it alone accounted for 30.75 percent of the population of class I cities in Rajasthan in 2001. During the decade of 1991-2001, Jaipur has registered the highest growth rate of 59.37 percent. The growth rate between 2001 and 2011 stood at 31.15 percent. The area of Jaipur Municipal Corporation has swelled from 200.4 sq. km. in 1991 to 484.64 sq. km. in 2011 with the inclusion of Amber and Sanganer Municipalities and 93 revenue villages. Thus, the population density of Jaipur Urban Agglomeration now comes out to be 6,956 persons per sq. km. Such a population size, if not provided proper housing and basic amenity solutions, may pose a threat to the city's originally planned structural and planned discourse.

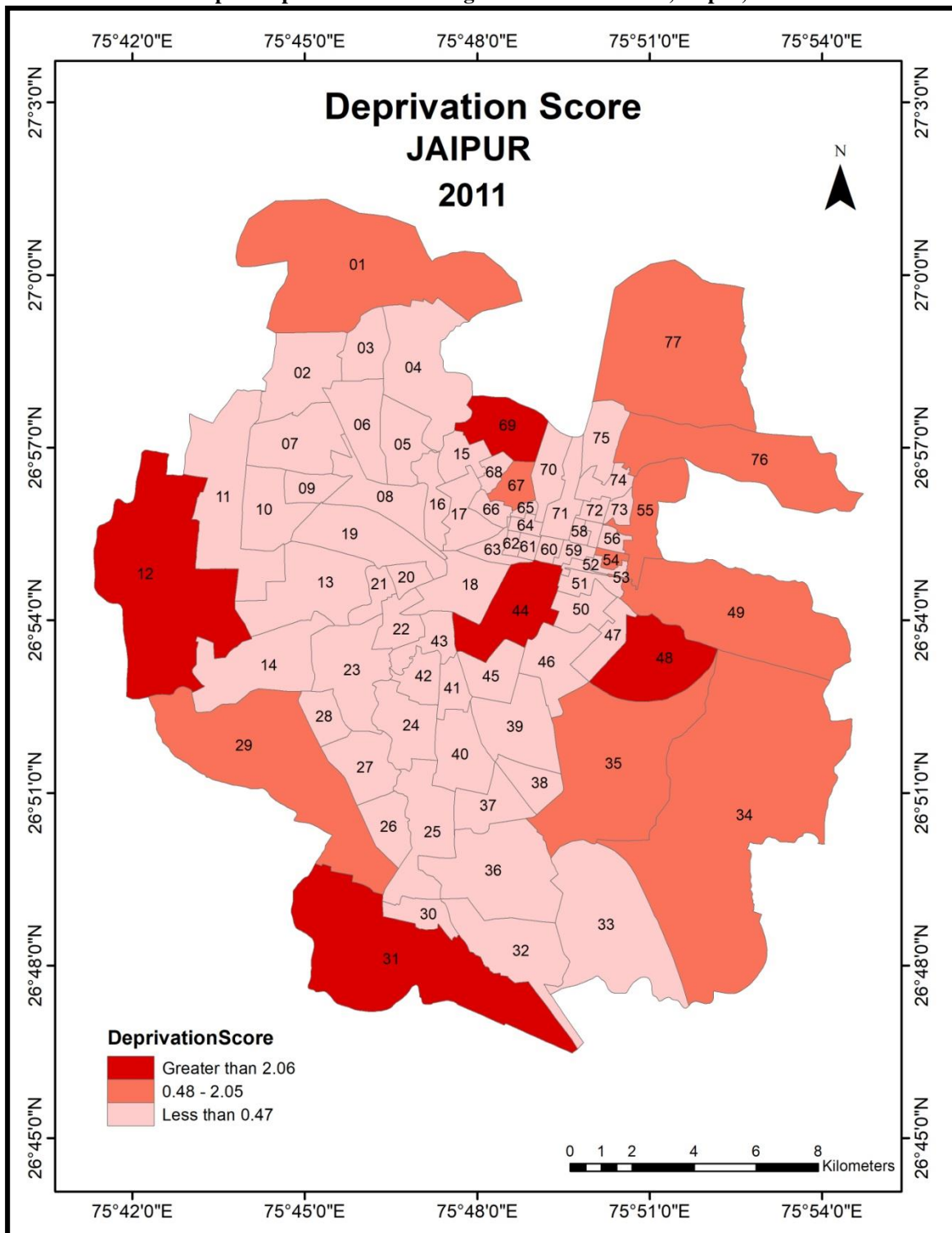
From the parameters discussed in database and methodology sections a principal component analysis has been conducted using the City Housing and Infrastructural Resources (CHIR). The results have been presented in Table below:

Deprivation Score	Name of the Ward	Total (Percent)
Greater than 2.06	48, 69, 44, 31, 12	05 (8.1)
0.48 to 2.05	49, 34, 77, 35, 1, 29, 67, 76, 54, 55	10 (12.99)
Less than 0.47	66, 75, 71, 53, 68, 73, 57, 15, 4, 8, 11, 58, 2, 72, 33, 17, 21, 19, 52, 51, 36, 62, 16, 30, 63, 43, 47, 23, 14, 65, 60, 25, 24, 59, 20, 3, 64, 5, 7, 56, 39, 74, 42, 61, 50, 46, 32, 70, 18, 10, 6, 38, 41, 37, 27, 40, 13, 28, 9, 22, 45, 26	62 (80.52)

Source: Table HH-14, House listing & Housing Census of India, 2011.

¹ Source of the data is House listing and Housing Census Data (2011), Percentage of Households to Total Households by Amenities and Assets, Rajasthan, Jaipur, Retrieved from http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/HLO/HL_PCA/Houselisting-housing-RJ.

Map 1: Deprivation in Housing and Basic Amenities, Jaipur, 2011.



Source: Table HH-14, House listing & Housing Census of India, 2011.

The results of the methodological analysis from preceding table and the map suggest that five wards constituting 8.1 percent of the total 77 wards are highly deprived in terms of the CHIR. Other 10 wards constituting nearly 13 percent of the total are moderately deprived and the rest 62 wards enjoy the benefits of the CHIR. There is thus a clear demarcation between the access to city resources. The map shows that majority of the distant wards from the city center are poor in terms of housing and basing amenities. The results from field survey suggest that majority of the wards with high deprivation values are the sites with poorly built tenements described as the slums.

III. Conclusion

Marginalization and relative deprivation in comparison to reference group occurs in mostly peripheral and few central locations of Jaipur city. There is a substantially large chunk of population experiencing relative deprivation. There exists a close proximity and contiguity in the eastern margins of the city. There is also a clear stratification system with clear strata boundaries and visible power differences between the strata because majority of people residing in these locations belong to schedule caste and schedule tribe population characterized by illiteracy and marginal or non-working class people. Thus, holding other things constant, if the premises set by Morrison (Morrison, 1971) are construed as true, the likelihood of accrual of social movement exist because three of the five premises tally in the present empirical study.

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