



Language

, [Against Her Will. Forced and Coerced Sterilization of Women Worldwide](#) [1], Open Society Foundations, 2011

This Open Society Foundations fact sheet provides information on instances of forced sterilization of racial and ethnic minorities, poor women, women living with HIV, and women with disabilities in Chile, Czech Republic, the Dominican Republic, Egypt, Hungary, India, Mexico, Namibia, Kenya, Peru, Slovakia, South Africa, Spain, Venezuela, the United Kingdom, the United States and Uzbekistan. It also provides recommendations for governments, medical professionals, UN agencies, and donors on how to end the practice of forced and coerced sterilization.

, [Dalit rights activists break new grounds in South Asia](#) [2], UN Women, 2018

Brief account of the initiative of Moni Rani Das, a Dalit woman living in Dhaka, Bangladesh, who started advocating for nearly 3 million Dalit women living in the country and became the first Dalit woman sitting on the National Human Rights Commission in Bangladesh. Her activism is a source of empowerment for 120 million women altogether that live in South Asia and contributed to the transnational activism of FEDO, Feminist Dalit Organisation based in Nepal, which formed connection with the UN's Women Fund for Gender Equality; more local organisations such as Nagorik Uddyog in Bangladesh, Swadhikar and Asia Dalit Rights Forum in India; and the Human Development Organization (HDO) in Sri Lanka. By predominantly promoting women's economic rights, FEDO's activity constitutes a protection against gender-based violence against Dalit women.

, [India's #MeToo movement' documentary](#) [3], Now This World, 2018

The short documentary explores the rise of the #MeToo movement in India. It also shows how the accusations on sexual harassment extended from the media industry to academia and the political sector, alongside campaigning for women to speak up when harassment happens in the private sphere as well. Men and women in India have been speaking up against violence against women since 2012-2013, following the death of a 23 year-old young woman. This episode initiated a more grounded conversation on sexual assault against women and especially against women of lower castes. In fact, according to Indian's Crime National Bureau, more than four Dalit women – the 'untouchable' - are raped every day. In 2018, India was rated the most dangerous country in the world for women by the Thomson Reuter Foundation because of high rates of sexual violence. Reports attested that in 2016, India had 338,954 reported crimes against women (38,947 were rapes).

For first hand interviews with survivors, please see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=13w-CJRoi30&vl=en> [4].

See also: India was highlighted as one of the worst country for sexual violence, human trafficking, and for cultural and religious discrimination by Thomson Reuters Foundation's 2018 survey (<http://poll2018.trust.org/country/?id=india> [5]).

, [Thomson Reuters Foundation's survey on the 10 most dangerous countries for women in 2018](#) [6], Thomson Reuters Foundation, 2018

The survey reports on the worst countries in the world for women in terms of health (e.g. maternal mortality, lack of access to health care facilities, lack of control over reproductive rights); discrimination (e.g. over land rights, job rights, property or inheritance); culture and religion (e.g. acid attacks, FGM, forced marriages); sexual violence (e.g. Rape, rape as a weapon of war, domestic rape or by a stranger); non-sexual violence (e.g. domestic violence); and human trafficking (including domestic servitude, forced labour, sexual slavery and forced marriage). The methodology is outlined and each listed country is fully described in each of the categories explored by the survey.

, [Meet 15 Women Leading the Fight Against Climate Change](#) [7], Time, 2019



This article notes the disproportionate impact on women of climate change in many parts of the world and the recognition of this fact in the UN Paris Agreement, which called for empowerment of women in climate talks. It also points to the prominence of women in the struggle to limit climate change, and selects 15 women from round the world playing varied roles, including Greta Thunberg.

, [The Big Story: Global Climate Protests](#) [8], Guardian Weekly, 2019, pp. 10-14

Covers the demonstrations by school children and students in an estimated 185 countries with a photo of a protest in Nairobi, Kenya, and an overview of the protests in their environmental and political context. Coverage also includes brief statements from young activists in Australia, Thailand, India, Afghanistan, South Africa, Ireland and the US; the speech by Greta Thunberg to the UN Climate Action summit in New York; and 10 charts explaining the climate crisis.

See also: Milman, Oliver, 'Crowds Welcome Thunberg to New York after Atlantic Crossing', *The Guardian*, 29 Aug. 2019, p.3.

Reports on Thunberg's arrival in New York where she was to address the UN Climate Action summit on reaching zero carbon emissions.

, [India: Journalists Covering Farmer Protests Charged](#) [9], Human Rights Watch, 2021

Critical account of the Indian government's response to the farmers' protest in central Delhi on Independence Day. This response included shutting down the internet, charging six journalists with sedition, promoting communal disharmony and making statements prejudicial to national integration.

Akula, Vikram, [Grassroots Environmental Resistance in India](#) [10], In Taylor, [Ecological Resistance Movements: The Global Emergence of Radical and Popular Environmentalism](#) [11] (C.1.a. General and International Studies [12]), Albany NY, State University of New York Press, pp. 127-145

Discusses early resistance in 19th and 20th centuries and contemporary campaigns against destruction of forests, dams, pollution and over-fishing of seas, and mining. Akula also describes Jharkand separatist 'tribal' struggle to own their historic land and promote sustainable use of resources.

Ali, Tariq ; Bhatt, Hilal ; Chatterji, Angana P. ; Mishra, Pankaj ; Roy, Arundhati, [Kashmir: the Case for Freedom](#) [13], London, Verso, 2011, pp. 192

Includes Roy's 2008 essay 'Azadi: the only thing Kashmiris want', previously published in the [Guardian](#) [14] (London), [Outlook](#) [15] (New Delhi), and her 2009 book , [Listening to Grasshoppers: Field Notes on Democracy](#) [16] London, Hamish Hamilton, , 2009, pp. 304 .

Altieri, Rocco, [Mohandas K. Gandhi. Guerra Senza Violenza. La Nascita Della Nonviolenza Moderna](#) [17], Firenze , Libreria Editrice Fiorentina, 2005, pp. 307

A narration of Gandhi's life in South Africa and his battle for the civil rights of the Indian minorities who were living there at the time. The work illustrates how Gandhi's teaching and practice of nonviolence developed from the South African experience.

Anderson, Robert S. ; Huber, Walter, [The Hour of the Fox: Tropical Forests, the World Bank and Indigenous People in Central India](#) [18], Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1988, pp. 173

Arnold, Martin, [Gueteskraft: Grundlage der Arbeit fuer Freiheit, Gerechtigkeit und Menschlikeit](#) [19], Sicherheit



und Frieden, Vol. 31, no. 3, 2013, pp. 150-156

Presents an 'ideal type' of nonviolence (the power of good) which synthesizes the approaches developed by the Catholic Hildegard Goss-Mayr, the Hindu Gandhi and the atheist de Ligt. Attempts to describe the common core of the various traditions of nonviolence: the conception of how nonviolent action typically works. Differentiates between nonviolence as a pattern of interaction, a model of behaviour and a human potential. 'The power of good' chiefly has an impact through action by committed individuals, 'contagion' and the evolution of both in mass noncooperation.

Baisakh, Pradeep, [We will give people a political alternative: an interview with Arvind Kejriwal](#) [20], OpenDemocracy.net, 2013

Bala, Sruti, "[Unsere Waffe ist die Beharrlichkeit](#)": Auftreten, Konzept und Aktivaeten der gewaltfreien Paschtunischen Armees (1929-1948) [21], In , [Gewaltfrei Aktion - Erfahrungen und Analysen](#) [22] Frankfurt am Main, Brandes & Aspel, , 2011, pp. 119-125

Sruti Bala comes from the state of Tamil Nadu in southern India. In her dissertation on nonviolent protest she discusses some significant elements of nonviolent resistance such as 'action', 'play' and 'display'. She also tries to define certain consequences of nonviolent protest for political identity. Finally, these conclusions are related to the ideas of Gandhi and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (the 'Frontier Gandhi').

Banerjee, Mukulika, [The Pathan Unarmed: Opposition and Memory in the North West Frontier](#) [23], Oxford and Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 256

Barkham, Patrick, [Can planting billions of trees save the planet?](#) [24], The Guardian, 2019, pp. 10-11

Barkham notes the major potential value of reforestation to limit global warming and preserve biodiversity as well as local economic benefits. But he also stresses the dangers of ignoring the importance of planting local species or relying on technologies that may require minerals under old forests. His article focuses on the role of the 'TreeSisters' charity founded in 2014, which funds tree planting in India, Nepal, Brazil, Kenya, Cameroon and Madagascar. In Madagascar the focus is partly on replanting lost mangroves (providing multiple environmental benefits).

Basu, Amrita, [Women's Movements In The Global Era. The Power Of Local Feminism](#) [25], New York, Routledge, 2017, pp. 560

This book provides a study of the genesis, growth, gains, and dilemmas of women's movements in countries throughout the world. Its focus is on Brazil, China, India, Pakistan, Russia, South Africa, USA, as well as more generally covering Europe and Latina America. The authors argue that women's movements have engaged in complex negotiations with national and international forces, and challenge widely held assumptions about the Western origins and character of local feminisms. They locate women's movements within their context by exploring their relationships with the state, civil society, and other social movements.

Bengali, Shashank ; Parth, M.N., "[It Isn't Just Men Who Drive Tractors](#)". [Women Help Lead India's Historic Farm Protests](#) [26], Los Angeles Times, 2021

This article explores the role of women in the farmers' protests in the context of 75 per cent of rural women working in agriculture. The authors note that this sector has been left behind in the boom accompanying the previous three decades of economic liberalization.

See also <https://time.com/5942125/women-india-farmers-protests/> [27] and <https://thediomat.com//2021/01/indias-invisible-women-farmers//> [28]



Beyerle, Shaazka, [Curtailing Corruption: People Power for Accountability and Justice](#) [29], Boulder CO, Lynne Rienner, 2014, pp. 261

Bhan, Gautam, [This is No Longer the City I Once Knew. Evictions, the Urban Poor and the Right to the City in Millennial Delhi](#) [30], Environment and Urbanization, Vol. 21, no. 1 (April), 2009, pp. 127-142

See also the book , [Swept Off the Map: Surviving Eviction and Resettlement in Delhi](#) [31] New Delhi, Yoda Press, , 2008

Bhan, Gautam ; Menon-Sen, Kalyani, [Swept Off the Map: Surviving Eviction and Resettlement in Delhi](#) [31], New Delhi, Yoda Press, 2008

Bikrum, Gill, [The Data Harvest](#) [32], Red Pepper, 2021, pp. 30-33

Gill discusses the Indian farmers' protests in the context of the shift towards neo-liberal global capitalism and the power of Indian agribusiness, aided by new internet platforms and data analytics.

Boga, Dilnaz, [Curfew in the Vale](#) [33], New Internationalist, no. October, 2010, pp. 46-47

Indian journalist's account of the continuing unarmed protests

Bondurant, Joan V., [Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict](#) [34], [1958], Revised edition, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1969, pp. 271

Analysis of Gandhi's approach to conflict and struggle and of three of his campaigns in India; the 1918 Ahmedabad textile workers strike; the 1919 resistance to the repressive Rowlatt Bills, and the 1930-31 Salt March.

Broom, Fiona, [Lessons from the Thirst Economy](#) [35], New Internationalist, 2017, pp. 30-32

Discusses major crisis of water scarcity in India, due not only to climate change (failures of monsoons since 2012) but commercial exploitation of water sources, which leaves small farmers and citizens without water supplies and often reliant on tankers run by 'water mafia'. The government still tends to favour dams rather than localised measures to preserve water, and political pressures promote crops such as sugar cane in unsuitably environments. The author also notes an example of local good practice. The women's organization, the Mann Deshi Foundation, has in last few years promoted rehabilitation of streams and the local river in a semi-desert area of Maharashtra, before creating a reservoir which was handed over to the local village council.

Brown, Carrie ; Gielen, Uwe P. ; Gibbons, Judith L. ; Kuriansky, Judy, [Women's Evolving Lives: Global and Psychosocial Perspectives](#) [36], ed. [Alexander. Amy](#) [37], Cham, Switzerland, Springer, 2018, pp. 296

This wide-ranging collection analyzes the status and progress of women both in a national context and collectively on a global scale, as a powerful social force in a rapidly evolving world. The countries studied?China, India, Indonesia, Iran, Egypt, Cameroon, South Africa, Italy, France, Brazil, Belize, Mexico, and the United States?represent a cross-section of economic conditions, cultural and religious traditions, political realities, and social contexts that shape women's lives, challenges, and opportunities. Psychological and human rights perspectives highlight worldwide goals for equality and empowerment, with implications for today's girls as they become the next generation of women. Women's lived experience is compared and contrasted in such critical areas as: home and work; physical, medical, and psychological issues; safety and violence; sexual and reproductive concerns; political participation and status under the law; impact of technology and globalism; country-specific topics.



Brown, Judith M., [Gandhi's Rise to Power: Indian Politics 1915-1922](#) [38], Cambridge MA, Cambridge University Press, 1972, pp. 382

First of three books by leading Gandhi scholar. Followed by:

Brown, Judith M., [Gandhi and Civil Disobedience: The Mahatma In Indian Politics 1928-1934](#) [39], Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977, pp. 414

Brown, Judith M., [Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope](#) [40], New Haven, Yale University Press, 1989, pp. 440

Sympathetic yet objective biography with an emphasis on political tactics and organisation.

Brown, Judith M., [The Essential Writings of Mahatma Gandhi](#) [41], Oxford, James Currey/Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 464

Brown, Judith M., [Gandhi and Civil Resistance in India, 1917-1947: Key Issues](#) [42], In Roberts; Garton Ash, [Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present](#) [43] (A. 1.b. [Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements](#) [44]), Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 43-57

Brown, Judith M. ; Parel, Anthony, [The Cambridge Companion to Gandhi](#) [45], ed. [Brown, Judith M.](#) [46], [Parel, Anthony](#) [47], Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 296

Bundela, Sanjay, [The Role and Impact of NGOs in non-violent protest against Women Harassment in India](#) [48], IJRAR- International Journal of Research and Analytical Reviews, 2017, pp. 117-121

This work examines the role of NGOs in protest against violence and harassment against women. The aim is to show that women are not just victims, but also rational actors, and to inspire courageous and nonviolent responses to harassment.

Cameron, Maxwell A. ; Lawson, Robert J. ; Tomlin, Brian W., [To Walk Without Fear: The Global Movement to Ban Landmines](#) [49], Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 512

This book was published soon after December 1997, when over 120 states (excluding the USA, Russia, China, India and Pakistan) signed the Ottawa Convention to ban production, stockpiling and use of anti-personnel mines. It provides a wide ranging survey of both the global campaign and the diplomatic moves culminating in the 'Ottawa process', which, under Canadian government leadership, resulted in the treaty. There are contributions from leading campaigners, diplomats and academics.

Cervera-Marzal, Manuel, [Désobeir En Démocratie:La Pénsee Désobeissante De Thoreau A Martin Luther King](#) [50], Paris, Aux forges de Vulcain, 2013, pp. 170

Largely based on the author's PhD thesis, this book analyses three historical approaches to civil disobedience, from conservatives and liberal philosophies to the applied theory of disobedience derived from Gandhi and Martin Luther King.

Chabot, Sean ; Vinthagen, Stellan, [Rethinking Nonviolent Action and Contentious Politics: Political Cultures of Nonviolent Opposition in the Indian Independence Movement and Brazil's Landless Workers' Movement](#) [51], Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change, Vol. 27, 2007, pp. 91-121



Chakrabarty, Bidyut, [Nonviolence: Challenges and Prospects](#) [52], Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 560

Brings together historical and contemporary approaches to nonviolent struggle and theoretical contributions as well as analyses of particular movements. Section 1 on theory includes writings by Thoreau, Tolstoy, Gandhi and Martin Luther King. Section 2 covers 'Nonviolence as a Political Strategy' and Section 3 'Nonviolence in Contemporary Movements' including a number of contributions on important recent movements in India: environmental campaigns against the Narmada dams and to preserve forests, Gandhian campaigns after Independence and the role of Jayaprakash Narayan, and the Anna Hazare Movement against corruption. A number of eminent contemporary Indian scholars have contributed.

Chatteriee, Sritama, [Reading Climate Justice through the Indian Farmers' Movement](#) [53], Edge Effects, 2021

This article sets the Indian farmers' movement within the context of climate justice, since farmers, who are a significant proportion of the population, are dependent on rainfall for their crops. Due to climate change farmers are increasingly affected by changing rainfall patterns and suffering from drought.

Chatteriee, Shritama, [Reading Climate Justice through the Indian Farmers' Movement](#) [54], Edge Effects, 2021

This article positions the Indian farmers' movement within a conversation about climate justice because a significant demography of farmers in India are dependent on rainfall for the growth of crops. The author highlights that due to uneven rainfall patterns caused by climate change, instances of drought and rainfall are frequent, leading to a feeling of uncertainty about rainfall and sense of insecurity about crops.

Chaudhuri, Maitrayee, [Feminism in India](#) [55], London, Zed Books, 2005, pp. 416

Collection of essays by academics and activists on condition of women in colonial and independent India, and the challenges to Indian feminism from globalization and the Hindu Right. Indicates a vigorous if uneven women's movement over several decades.

Chibber, Ajay, [Farm Protests in India. A New Menu Needed](#) [56], Institute for International Economic Policy, 2021, pp. 17

The author argues that Indian agricultural policy, devised in response to food shortages in the 1960s, relied on a mix of technological solutions to increase yields and a range of pricing measures to support farmers. These policies are out of date, but changing the overall policy is difficult as farmers believe their livelihoods are at stake. This paper considers the issues behind the protests and suggests ways forward.

Chibber, Ajay, [Farm Protests in India. A New Menu Needed](#) [57], Institute for International Economic Policy, 2021, pp. 17

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Cockburn, Cynthia, [From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis](#) [58], London and New York, Zed Books, 2007, pp. 288

Examines women's resistance to war in many parts of the world, including Sierra Leone, Colombia and Gujarat, India. It also covers women's cooperation across enemy lines in the former Yugoslavia and in Israel/Palestine, and



resistance in the west to imperialist war, and develops theoretical questions about gender and militarism. See also: , [Women in Black: The Stony Path to "Solidarity" \[59\]](#) In Clark, [People Power: Unarmed Resistance and Global Solidarity \[60\]](#) (A. 1.b. [Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements \[44\]](#)) London, Pluto Press, 2009, pp. 156-163

Copley, Antony, [Gandhi Against the Tide \[61\]](#), Oxford, Blackwell, 1987, pp. 118

Brief Historical Association study giving historical context and referring to historiographical debates, noting 'Cambridge school' argument that internal weaknesses of the British Administration main cause of independence, and 'subaltern studies' school which stresses autonomous resistance of peasants and workers.

Dalton, Dennis, [Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action \[62\]](#), New York, Columbia University Press, 1993, pp. 279

Analysis of Gandhi's concept of satyagraha, of his political leadership and and of the 1931 Salt Satyagraha and 1947 fast, as well as covering critiques by contemporaries and making comparisons with Martin Luther King and Malcolm X.

Ellis-Petersen, Hannah, ["We Know We Will Win." Farmers in for Long Haul \[63\]](#), Guardian Weekly, 2021, pp. 15-17

Provides an account of who is protesting in the camps around Delhi, why the farmers oppose the government's new farm laws, the government's responses to the protests, and future plans.

Engler, Mark ; Engler, Paul, [This is an Uprising: How Nonviolent Revolt is Shaping the Twenty-First Century \[64\]](#), New York, Nation Books, 2016, pp. 368

The book examines how contemporary movements are using strategic nonviolent action to promote social change, covering a range of protests including climate change, immigrant rights, gay rights, Occupy and Black Lives Matter. The authors argue that nonviolent uprisings are becoming more common than violent rebellion, and look back to twentieth century antecedents in the Indian Independence and US Civil Rights movements, examine the nature of effective strategy and discuss organizational discipline. Their analysis includes the Arab Spring, but notes its discouraging implications.

Fischer, Louis, [The Life of Mahatma Gandhi \[65\]](#), [1950], London, Granada, 1983, pp. 593

Lively sympathetic biography used as basis for Richard Attenborough's 1982 film.

Fontanella-Khan, Amana, [Pink Sari Revolution: A Tale of Women and Power in India \[66\]](#), ed. [Berthod, Anne \[67\]](#), Oxford, W.W. Norton and One World Publications, 2013, pp. 304

Describes Sampat Pal and the now 20,000 strong Pink Gang she founded, which uses 'social power' to defend individual women treated unjustly and to challenge misogyny in general, The women carry sticks and sometimes attack corrupt politicians and policemen. See also: Pal, Sampan ; Berthod, Anne , [Warrior in a Pink Sari. \[68\]](#) New Delhi, Zubaan Books, , 2012, pp. 220

Food Empowerment Project, [Water Usage and Privatization \[69\]](#), Vol. 2016, Cotati CA, Food Empowerment Project, 2015

Useful summary analysis including brief case studies of corporate misuse of water and resistance to them (and further references): Nestle in US, Vivendi and Suez in Mexico, Bechtel in Bolivia and Coca Cola in India.



Franceschet, Susan ; Krook, Mona Lena ; Tan, Netina, [The Palgrave Handbook of Women's Political Rights](#) [70], ed. [Ennaji, Moha](#) [71], [Sadiqi, Fatima](#) [72], [Vintges, Karen](#) [73], London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, pp. 784

Covers women's political rights across all major regions of the world, focusing both on women's right to vote and women's right to run for political office. The countries explored are Afghanistan, Armenia, Australia, Bolivia, Canada, Cameroon, Chile, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czech Republic, Finland, France, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Israel, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Malaysia, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, New Zealand, Myanmar, Niger, Nigeria, Poland, Russia, Rwanda, Slovenia, Sri Lanka, Sweden, South Korea, Slovenia, Switzerland, Taiwan, Tunisia, Turkey, the United States, Uganda, Uruguay, and Zimbabwe.

Gandbhir, Gaur, [India: New Laws will Enslave Farmers, Workers, Enrich Big Business](#) [74], Green Left Weekly, no. 1292, 2020, pp. 10-10

This article was written in response to the All India General Strike of 26 November 2020, organized by 10 trade unions and over 250 farmers' organizations, that mobilized over 250 million to protest against the new farm and labour laws passed by the BJP dominated coalition government. It examines the protests and the laws which gave rise to them.

Gandhi, Mohandas K.Narayan, Shriman, [Selected Works of Mahatma Gandhi](#) [75], ed. [Narayan, Shriman](#) [76], Ahmedabad, Navajivan, 1968 6 volumes,

pp. 375, 379-794, 471, 464, 514, 555

Includes Satyagraha in South Africa (vol. 3), as well as Gandhi's highly personal Autobiography, published 1927 (vols 1-2), important pamphlets such as his translation of Ruskin's *Unto This Last* (vol. 4 – influential on Gandhi's socio-economic thinking), letters on key issues (vol. 5) and speeches on historic occasions (vol. 6).

Ganguly, Sumit ; Diamond, Larry ; Plattner, Marc F., [The State of India's Democracy](#) [77], Baltimore MD, John Hopkins University Press, 2007, pp. 264

Godrej, Dinyar, [For a Few Cents More': Interview with Anannya Bhattacharjee from the Asia Floor Wage Alliance campaigning for a living wage](#) [78], New Internationalist, 2020, pp. 32-33

The interview examines the role of Asian garment workers in a ruthlessly competitive garment industry influenced by 'fast fashion', which intensifies pressure on workers through forced overtime and 'inhuman productivity targets'. The Asia Floor Wage Alliance was created to unite unions across the borders of countries such as India, Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka competing for market share, to create a regional bloc able to negotiate with the global brands in the industry. The aim was to ensure there is a cross-border minimum wage which cannot be breached, though the aim is also to raise wages, which would only entail a small rise to consumers. There is now recognition of the principle of an Asia Floor Wage across the industry, supported by the International Labour Organization (ILO), but pressure on the brands is needed. AFWA works with other labour rights bodies and NGOs, and also has partners in Europe and the US, where the global brands have their headquarters.

See also:

<http://awajfoundation.org/> [79], <https://ngwfbd.com/> [80] and <https://www.ilo.org/dhaka/Areasofwork/workers-and-employers-organizations/lang--en/index.htm> [81] (ILO-Bangladesh).

Gopikutan, Goti ; Naik, Gopal, [Deregulation of Agricultural Markets in India](#) [82], Indian Institute of Management Bangalore - Indian Institute of Management (IIMB), 2021, pp. 19

This paper argues that in principle there is a potential for market reforms to benefit farmers, but that the farm laws passed by the government will in practice benefit 'traders' rather than farmers. Deregulation without 'enabling



preconditions' is not likely to help farmers, and may prove counterproductive.

Guha, Ramachandran, [Gandhi: The Years That Changed the World 1914-1948](#) [83], London, Allen Lane, 2018, pp. 1.104

This is the second volume of massive biography by the eminent contemporary Indian historian re-evaluating Gandhi's life, ideas and role. It is published at a time when Prime Minister Narendra Modi is rehabilitating the far right Hindu nationalists in the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (an individual linked to the RSS assassinated Gandhi), and when Gandhi is often vilified. This volume is broadly sympathetic to Gandhi, though not uncritical, and gives weight to the influence of his secretary Mahadev Desai.

The first, widely praised, volume *Gandhi Before India*, which covers all of Gandhi's life to the end of the South African campaign, was published by Penguin Random House in 2015.

See also Guha, Ramachandra, 'Remembering Vaikom satyagraha in the light of Sabarimala', *The News Minute*, 6 January 2019.

Available

at <https://www.thenewsminute.com/article/remembering-vaikom-satyagraha-light-sabarimala-94585#:~:text=In%20Sabarimala%20today%2C%20women%20are.in%20the%20eyes%20of%20god.> [84]

Commentary by prominent Indian public intellectual, and author of books on Gandhi, at the time of the 2019 mass protest by women in Kerala against a Hindu temple refusing to admit them. Guha responds by recalling the 1924-25 campaign (in which Gandhi played a role) to persuade the Vaikom temple to admit dalits (untouchables).

Hardiman, David, [Gandhi in His Time and Ours: The Global Legacy of his Ideas](#) [85], London, Hurst, 2003, pp. 356

Sympathetic, but not uncritical, assessment of Gandhi's style of politics, his conflicts with the Raj and opposition groups and critics within India, and his impact on later movements. The author studied 'subaltern' movements in India for many years before engaging with Gandhi.

Hardiman, David, [The Nonviolent Struggle for Indian Freedom- 1905-19](#) [86], London, C. Hurst & Co., 2018, pp. 280

This is the first volume in a study of Gandhi's role in relation to the broader history of Indian movements for justice and independence, by a British historian who has specialised in Indian history and peasant struggles. The book includes important and little known material on Indian 'passive resistance' movements from 1905-1909, charts Gandhi's role in the 'passive resistance' in South Africa 1906-14, and after his return to India his varied links to different forms of peasant resistance in Bijoliya, Champaran (often covered in literature on Gandhi) and Kheda. This volume concludes with an assessment of Gandhi's evolving theory of nonviolence in relation to other theories of the time, and his leadership role in the 1919 resistance to the Rowlatt Acts.

Hundai, Sunny, [Why Sikh Farmers' Protests have Sikhs Fearing Violent Attacks](#) [87], OpenDemocracy, 2021

Hundai examines the predominantly Sikh farmers protests centred on Delhi in the context of the history of religious pogroms in India, and notes that fear of persecution has resurfaced within the Sikh community.

Hussein, Nazia, [Rethinking New Womanhood: Practices Of Gender, Class, Culture And Religion In South Asia](#) [88], London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, pp. 231

A collection of essays by feminist scholars and activists in South Asia outlining the development of feminism in India, Bangladesh and Pakistan over the last decade with regard to the social embodiment of women, television



representations, LGTB discourses, domestic violence, and the “new” feminism.

International Institute for Population Sciences (IIPS), ; ICF, [National Family Health Survey \(NFHS-4\), 2015-16: India \[89\]](#), Mumbai, IIPS, 2017, pp. 637

A large scale survey conducted in a representative sample of households throughout India. It reports that 30% percent of women aged 15-49 in India have experienced physical violence since age 15, amongst many other forms of violence or discrimination, and the social context that makes it difficult to challenge. The National Family Health Survey 2018-2019 is yet to be published.

Jayaram, N., [Frenzied argument in India. \[90\]](#), OpenDemocracy.net, 2011

Article written at peak of Hazare movement, noting the divided views on the movement and criticisms of it, including the dangers of ‘messianic campaigns’ for parliamentary democracy.

Jayawardena, Kumari, [Feminism And Nationalism In The Third World \[91\]](#), London and New York, Verso, 2016, pp. 304

By demolishing the myth that feminism originated in the West, Kumari Jayawardena presents feminism as it originated in the Third World, erupting from the specific struggles of women fighting against colonial power, for education or the vote, for safety, and against poverty and inequality. Gives particular attention to Afghanistan, China, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Iran, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Turkey, and Vietnam.

To look at a brief extract of the book see also <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/4018-feminism-and-nationalism-in-the-third-world> [92]

Jaywardina, Kumari, [Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World \[93\]](#), London, Zed Press (Third World Books), 1986, pp. 288

Study of women’s rights movements in Middle East and Asia from 19th century to 1980s, covering Egypt and Turkey, China, India, Indonesia, Korea and the Philippines. Argues feminism was not an alien ideology but indigenous to these countries.

Jenkins, Rob, [Democracy, Development and India’s Struggle Against Corruption \[94\]](#), Public Policy Research, Vol. 3, no. 3 (Sep-Dec), 2006, pp. 155-163

Jenkins, Rob, [Civil Society versus Corruption in India \[95\]](#), ed. [Ganguly, Sumit \[96\]](#), [Diamond, Larry \[97\]](#), [Plattner, Marc F. \[98\]](#), In , [The State of India’s Democracy \[77\]](#) Baltimore MD, John Hopkins University Press, , 2007, pp. 264, pp. 161-167

Jenkins, Rob ; Goetz, Anne Marie, [Accounts and Accountability: Theoretical Implications of the Right-to-Information Movement in India \[99\]](#), Third World Quarterly, Vol. 20, no. 3, 1999, pp. 603-622

Examination of the grass roots work of the MKSS in developing campaign for right to information as part of their wider campaigning and their use of jan sunwals (public hearings) in communities where official documents regarding public works, anti-poverty programmes etc. are read out and people are encouraged to add their own testimony about diversion of funds and fraud. The article also covers the MKSS use of public protest, such as a 52 day sit-in in the capital of Rajasthan, Jaipur, in 1997. See also: Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, [Right to Information. State Level: Rajasthan \[100\]](#) [2005] , 2005 . Brief elaboration and update on work of MKSS and Right to Information Acts up to 2005.

Jodkha, Ravinnder, [Farmers in India Have Been Protesting for 6 Months. Have they Made any Progress? \[101\]](#),



The Conversation, 2021

Overview of farmers protests round Delhi after six months, including the impact of Covid-19. Jodkha also summarizes why the farmers are protesting and what they had achieved, and also their future plans. The article includes links to more detailed examination of specific issues, such as the role of women.

Johnson, Richard L., [Essential Writings by and about Mahatma Gandhi](#) [102], ed. [Johnson, Richard L.](#) [103], Lanham MD, Lexington Books, 2005, pp. 408

Selected key texts from Gandhi with essays by Judith Brown, Richard Falk, Michael Nagler, Glenn Paige, Bhiku Parekh and others.

Kaur, Ravinder, [How a Farmers' Protest in India Evolved into a Mass Movement that Refuses to Fade](#) [104], New Statesman, 2021

Kaur explains the social and economic context within which the Modi government introduced the new farm laws. These, he argues, will result in an unending cycle of structural adjustments, disinvestment and privatization, that farmers fear will lead to debts and dispossession. He outlines how the farmers are, despite intimidation, developing solidarity across caste, class, religion and regional divides.

Kedzior, Sya Buryn ; Leonard, Liam, [Occupy the Earth: Global Environmental Movements](#) [105], ed. [Kalland, Arne](#) [106], [Persoon, Gerard](#) [107], Bingley, Emerald Publishing Group, 2014, pp. 275

Covers range of environmental campaigns in different parts of the world, including Ireland, France, Israel, Japan, India and Indonesia.

Khagram, Sanjeev, [Restructuring the Global Politics of Development: The Case of India's Narmada Valley Dams](#) [108], ed. [Khagram, Sanjeev](#) [109], [Riker, James V.](#) [110], [Sikkink, Kathryn](#) [111], In Khagram; Riker; Sikkink, [Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks and Norms](#) [112] ([C.2.c. Campaigns Against Dams](#) [113]), Minneapolis MN, University of Minnesota Press, pp. 206-230

Khagram, Sanjeev, [Dams and Development: Transnational Struggles for Water and Power](#) [114], Ithaca NY, Cornell University Press, 2004, pp. 288

Focused particularly on the controversy over the major Narmada River dam projects, but also provides comparative perspective by considering dam projects in Brazil, China, Indonesia, South Africa and Lesotho, where the World Bank and other lenders were persuaded to withdraw funding.

Khan, Naila ; Usman, Uzair, [Modi's Repeal of Farm Laws Isn't Enough. Say Indian Farmers](#) [115], The Diplomat, 2021

The authors explain the significance for Sikhs of the date (19 November) of Modi's surprise announcement, summarize the laws to be repealed, and interview a number of protesters who express their distrust and require proof the laws will no longer apply.

See also: BBC, 'Farm Laws: India's PM Narendra Modi Repeals Controversial Reforms', 19 November, 2021

<https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-india-59342627> [116]

Report on Modi's announcement and the laws to be repealed, and on farmers' reactions. Notes celebrations in Punjab and Haryana, but also the refusal to end protest camps until formal repeal by parliament. The report is followed by an analysis by the BBC's India Correspondent.



King, Mary, [How South Africa Forced Gandhi to Reckon with Racism and Imperialism](#) [117], Waging Nonviolence, 2019

At a time when Gandhi is being widely criticized (for very different reasons) in India, South Africa and the UK, Mary King sets Gandhi in his historical context and also stresses Gandhi's own willingness to confront his assumptions and prejudices.

See

also <https://jameslawsoninstitute.org/2019/10/07/can-we-celebrate-gandhis-achievements-while-also-learning-from-his-errors/> [118]

King, Mary Elizabeth, [Gandhian Nonviolent Struggle and Untouchability in South India: The 1924-25 Vykom Satyagraha and the Mechanisms of Change](#) [119], India, Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 312

Revisionary analysis of Gandhi's 608 day campaign to secure right of untouchables to use road by a Brahmin temple, challenging claims in earlier accounts that a solution was reached because the Brahmins were 'converted'. The author criticises both Gandhi's belief that self-imposed suffering can convert the opponent and his leadership of this campaign.

Kumar, Raj C., [Corruption and Human Rights in India: Comparative Perspectives on Transparency and Good Governance](#) [120], New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 234

Analyzes corruption as a violation of human rights and proposes a multi-pronged approach to tackling corruption, including a greater role for civil society. A postscript takes account of the 2011 Anna Hazare movement against corruption.

Loonba, Ania ; Lukose, Ritty A., [South Asian Feminisms](#) [121], Durham NC, Duke University Press, 2012, pp. 432

Building on 40 years of activism and scholarship, contributors assess recent feminist issues and campaigns in India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh.

Manara, Fulvio C., [Una Forza Che Dà Vita. Ricominciare Con Gandhi In Un'Età Di Terrorismo](#) [122], Milano, Edizione Unicopli, 2006, pp. 360

A selection of Gandhi's writings that illustrate his thought and action, his relationship with the West and his reflection on the West-East relationship. The author presents also research findings on educational programs based on Gandhian principles, Gandhi's thought on economic issues, nonviolence, nationalism, intercultural dialogue, terrorism and war, as well as experiments in Italy based on the Gandhian philosophy.

Mathews, Dylan, [Interview with The Rescue Foundation: Liberating Sex Slaves in India](#) [123], ed. [Woodward, Alison E.](#) [124], [Bonvin, Jean-Michel](#) [125], [Renom, Merce](#) [126], New Internationalist, no. June, 2006, pp. 33-33

Mazgaonkar, Anand, [India – Macro Violence, Micro Resistance: Development Violence and Grassroots Unarmed Resistance](#) [127], In Clark, [People Power: Unarmed Resistance and Global Solidarity](#) [60] (A. 1.b. [Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements](#) [44]), London, Pluto Press, pp. 76-85

Include two brief accounts of struggles to retain land, by Adivasi (indigenous) people in Gujarat against dispossession from traditional lands by the Forest Department, and the 'Save Our Lands' campaign in Gujerat for common lands held by villages and often used by the landless for herding animals, plant collecting, etc, who were threatened by corporate agriculture. See also Mazgaonkar, Anand , [Macro Violence, Micro Resistance](#)



[\(Development Violence and Unarmed Grassroots Resistance\)](#) [128] , 2006 .

Merton, Thomas, [La Mia Passione Per La Pace](#) [129], Miano, Garzanti Editore, 2017, pp. 164

Merton explains his theoretical approach, which draws on exponents of nonviolence such as Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr, and in this context discusses the Danish people's resistance against the Nazis, the perils of the nuclear age and racism.

Mishra, K.P., [Gandhian Views on Democracy](#) [130], Gandhi Marg, Vol. 34, no. 2-3 (Jul-Dec), 2012, pp. 205-216

Primarily an exposition of Gandhi's theory of democracy, but commenting on Hazare's anti-corruption movement as a starting point.

Moore Jr., Barrington Jr., [The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World](#) [131], London, Allen Lane, 1967

Chapter 6 'Democracy in Asia: India and the price of peaceful change' argues that Gandhi was 'the spokesman of the Indian peasant and village artisan' (p. 178) and comments critically on Gandhi's desire to return to 'an idealized past' of the village community purged of untouchability, and failure to challenge interests of landed aristocracy.

N.P., Ullekh, [In India, Farmers Are Resisting Narendra Modi's Propaganda Machine](#) [132], The Nation, 2021

An in depth examination of the Indian farmers' resistance to the 2020 agricultural laws passed by Narendra Modi's government.

See also: <https://nationalheraldindia.com/india/why-are-farmers-protesting> [133] and <https://thediplomat.com/2021/02/past-imperfect-the-future-of-indias-farmer-protests> [134]

Nanda, Bal R., [Gandhi and His Critics](#) [135], Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1985, pp. 178

Nanda, who has also written a balanced biography of Gandhi and studies of other Indian leaders close to Gandhi (including Gandhi's early mentor Gokhale), here examines controversial aspects of Gandhi's life and thought.

Narain, Sunitra, [A Million Mutinies](#) [136], New Internationalist, no. 419 (Jan/Feb), 2009, pp. 10-11

Nasir, Zakia, [Feminism and power in the post-colonial societies of the sub-continent](#) [137], Asia Dialogue, 2019

Explores the use of power over women in post-colonial Pakistan, Bangladesh and India.

Nepstad, Sharon Erickson, [Nonviolent Struggle: Theories, Strategies, and Dynamics](#) [138], New York, Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 264

Designed as a textbook, it covers history, theoretical developments and debates about the results of nonviolent movements. It categorizes nine types of nonviolent action, which are illustrated by case studies. A separate chapter explores key issues of why and when sections of the armed services defect from a regime challenged by a nonviolent movement.

Neuwirth, Robert, [Shadow Cities: A Billion Squatters: A New Urban World](#) [139], London, Routledge, 2006, pp. 335



Author lived in squatter communities in Rio, Bombay, Nairobi (where squatting was linked to building new homes) and Istanbul.

Ngaihte, Thianalman, [Democratizing the roles of women: Reading feminist voices](#) [140], Asian Journal of Women's Studies, Vol. 24, no. 4, 2018, pp. 526-539

This article explores some feminist voices from India, especially one of a Dalit feminist, and two Northeastern feminists, and identifies certain views on common issues that bind them together. It also looks into the different priorities of each of these feminists, in order to understand the contexts, cultures and experiences that have shaped their primary concerns.

Nigam, Aditya ; Menon, Nivedita, [Anti-Corruption Movement and the Left](#) [141], Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 46, no. 37, 2011, pp. -4

Comments on the potential of a large and nonviolent movement and criticizes hard line leftist criticisms.

Operation Omega, [Operation Omega](#) [142], In Hare; Blumberg, [Liberation without Violence: A Third Party Approach](#) [143] ([A. 5. Nonviolent Intervention and Accompaniment](#) [144]), London, Rex Collings, pp. 196-206

After Pakistani repression of the 1971 East Bengali independence movement and outbreak of the India-Pakistan war, a transnational team tried with some success to take relief supplies into East Bengal. Their aim was to provide practical aid to refugees and protest against Pakistani army repression. At the same time US activists blocked arms supplies to Pakistan (see also Taylor, [Blockade: A Guide to Nonviolent Intervention](#) [145] ([E.3. Opposing Other Wars and Occupations](#) [146])).

Orwell, George, [Reflections on Gandhi](#) [147], Partisan Review, Vol. 16, no. 1 (January), 1949, pp. 85-92

Reprinted in A Collection of Essays, New York, Harcourt, 1953.

A frequently cited critical review of many aspects of Gandhi's philosophy and life, which nevertheless recognizes his positive contribution as a politician.

Ostergaard, Geoffrey, [Nonviolent Revolution in India](#) [148], New Delhi, Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1985, pp. 419

Especially chapters 4 to 7.

Overy, Bob, [Gandhi as a political organiser](#) [149], In Randle, [Challenge to Nonviolence](#) [150] ([A. 1.b. Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements](#) [44]), Bradford, University of Bradford, pp. 132-162

A chapter from Overy's unpublished PhD thesis.

Overy, Bob, [Gandhi the Organiser](#) [151], Sparsnäs, Sweden, Irene Publishing, 2019, pp. 436

Through detailed analysis of Gandhi's campaigns from 1915 to 1922 the author illuminates the evolution of Gandhi's thinking and strategy. Overy stresses the importance of Gandhi's constructive programme, promoting local empowerment, and its interconnectedness with resistance campaigns against imperial rule.

Pal, SampanBerthod, Anne, [Warrior in a Pink Sari](#) [68], New Delhi, Zubaan Books, 2012, pp. 220

Palit, Chitaroopa, [Monsoon Risings: Megadam Resistance in the Narmada Valley](#) [152], New Left Review, Vol. II,



no. 21 (May/June), 2003, pp. 80-100

Anti-dam resistance persuaded the World Bank to withdraw from funding one of the dams, but did not change Indian government policy.

Pandiri, Ananda M., [A Comprehensive, Annotated Bibliography on Mahatma Gandhi \[153\]](#), Foreword by Dennis Dalton, Vol. 1, Westport CT, Greenwood Press, 1995, pp. 424

Pandiri, Ananda M., [A Comprehensive, Annotated Bibliography on Mahatma Gandhi \[154\]](#), Vol. 2, Westport CT, Greenwood Press, 2007, pp. 653

Parekh, Bhikhu, [Gandhi's Political Philosophy: A Critical Examination \[155\]](#), Notre Dame IN, University of Notre Dame Press, 1989, pp. 284

Political theorist and Gandhi scholar Parekh has also written a brief account of Gandhi's life and work: Parekh, Bhikhu, [Gandhi \[156\]](#) Oxford, Oxford University Press, , 1997, pp. 111 .

Parekh, Bhikhu, [Gandhi \[156\]](#), Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 111

Patel, Vibhuti ; Khajuria, Radhika, [Political feminism in India \[157\]](#), New Delhi, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 2016, pp. 40

Analyzes the current feminist actors, organizations and debates around gender equality and feminist perspectives in order to provide an overview of feminist ideas and actors in India. It shows that feminism today is the constant questioning of the world we perceive and the boundaries we encounter.

Patnaik, Prabhat, [Anna Hazare and Gandhi - Whatever devalues Parliament strikes at the root of democracy \[158\]](#), The Telegraph, Calcutta, 2011

Criticizes coercive nature of a 'fast to the death' and dangers of civil society activism that bypasses parliament.

Pinckney, Jonathan, [Making or Breaking Nonviolent Discipline in Civil Resistance Movements \[159\]](#), Washington, D.C., International Centre on Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC Monograph Series), 2016, pp. 102

The book discusses what factors encourage or undermine nonviolent discipline, including the reactions of the government and the way the movement is itself organised.

Pontara, Giuliano, [Teoria E Practica Della Nonviolenza \[160\]](#), [1973], Torino, Edizioni Einaudi, 2014, pp. 408

This is an anthology of Gandhi's writings on ethical-political orientations and his teachings on nonviolence. The first part covers the fundamental principles of nonviolence, including the difference between the nonviolence of the strong and the nonviolence of the weak; the relationship between ends and means; and his perspectives on violence and war. In the second part, Pontara discusses practical aspects relating to preparation for a nonviolent struggle and elucidates different nonviolent techniques.

Popovic, Srdja ; Miller, Matthew, [Blueprint for Revolution: How to Use Rice Pudding, Lego Men, and Other Nonviolent Techniques to Galvanise Communities, Overthrow Dictators, or Simply Change the World \[161\]](#), Melbourne and London, Scribe, 2015, pp. 282



Popovic, an activist against the Milosevic regime in Serbia in the 1990s, went on to find CANVAS, which has offered advice and nonviolent training to activists in former Soviet states and other parts of the world, including Egypt before Tahrir Square and Syria. The book emphasizes the role of CANVAS (but does not address criticism of its role) and foregrounds the author's own experiences and interpretation of nonviolent action. It covers many varied campaigns with examples of how to mobilize successfully and use humour and imaginative forms of protest. It also addresses how to make oppression 'backfire' and the need to persevere in one's effort after apparent success. Written for activists rather than for scholars of nonviolence.

Ramachandra, Guha, [The Unquiet Woods: Ecological Change and Peasant Resistance in the Himalayas](#) [162], expanded edition, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 244

Emphasizes local roots of movement. including development of 'non-secessionist regionalism' in Uttarakhand. The epilogue, written in 1998, adds historical perspective on the movement's achievements and reports on-going struggles. Seeks to offer 'corrective' to romanticized western and ecofeminist interpretations.

Reading, Anna ; Katriel, Tamar, [Cultural Memories of nonviolent Struggles: Powerful Times](#) [163], Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, pp. 260

This is an academic contribution to memory studies, but shows how preserving knowledge and stories of past movements affects present politics, and how nonviolent activists can learn from past campaigns. Examples examined include the suffragettes, Greenham Common, Polish Solidarity, US struggles against racism and Australian aboriginal campaigns. The authors also illustrate how one movement can influence others and stress the need to make archival and other sources (films, music, etc.) available.

Rosset, Peter M. ; Patel, Roy ; Courville, Michael, [Promised Land: Competing Visions of Agrarian Reform](#) [164], ed. [Latin American Perspectives](#). [165], Oakland CA, Food First, 2006, pp. 380

Includes chapters on Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Guatemala, India, Mexico, South Africa and Zimbabwe (the latter refrains from discussing the human rights issues of the government sponsored post 1996 land occupations). Not all chapters discuss social movements, but the book does cover gender and indigenous issues.

Routledge, Paul, [Terrains of Resistance: Nonviolent Social Movements and the Contestation of Place in India](#) [166], Westport CT, Praeger, 1993, pp. 196

Introduces radical geography perspective on spatial components to sites of resistance. Chapter 1 looks at the developing resistance to aspects of economic development (industrialization, dams, deforestation) and the numerous movements since independence among tribal peoples, peasants, women and squatters. Chapters 3 and 4 analyse the Baliapal movement against a missile testing range, and the Chipko movement against logging.

Routledge, Paul, [Voices of the Dammed: Discourse Resistance amidst Erasure in the Narmada Valley, India](#) [167], Political Geography, Vol. 22, no. 3, 2002, pp. 343-370

Roy, Arundhati, [The Greater Good](#) [168], Bombay, India Book Distributors, 1999, pp. 76

Commentary by Booker-winning novelist and prominent Narvada Dam activist on struggle against the Sardar Sarovar Dam and the wider implications of government policy on building dams. Also available in various forms on the internet.

Roy, Arundhati, [Listening to Grasshoppers: Field Notes on Democracy](#) [16], London, Hamish Hamilton, 2009, pp. 304

Sarkar, Jayita, [An Indian Anti-Nuclear Movement?](#) [169], Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis, 2011



Discusses briefly the potential for a significant movement either against new nuclear power plants, especially in the light of the US 2008 deal to assist India's civilian nuclear energy programme, or against India's nuclear weapons policy. Sarkar notes that a number of lively local protest movements had sprung up against the construction of new nuclear reactors. There are also a number of groups, backed by 'prominent citizens', opposed to India's possession of nuclear weapons. But Sarkar is sceptical about the likelihood of an effective national campaign against either the energy programme, or the nuclear weapons policy, capable of influencing the government's commitment to both.

Sawyer, Suzana ; Gomez, Edmund Terence, [The Politics of Resource Extraction: Indigenous Peoples, Multinational Corporations and the State](#) [170], New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp. 336

Studies cover Peru, India (Orissa), Philippines, Nigeria (the Niger Basin), Chad and Cameroon, as well as Australia and Canada.

Scalmer, Sean, [Gandhi in the West: the Mahatma and the Rise of Radical Protest](#) [171], Cambridge MA, Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 254

Primarily discusses the US civil rights and the British nuclear disarmament movements.

Schapiro, Jonathan Anjaria ; McFarlane, Colin, [Urban Navigations: Politics, Space and the City in South Asia](#) [172], London, Routledge, 2001, pp. 347

Focuses on conflicts over urban space, resources and housing in Cambodia, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka, and includes accounts of resistance in squatter settlements, e.g. in Kathmandu.

Schock, Kurt, [People Power and Alternative Politics](#) [173], ed. [Barnell, Peter](#) [174], [Randall, Vicky](#) [175], In , [Politics in the Developing World](#) [176] Oxford, Oxford University Press, , 2008, pp. 496, pp. 186-207

Pays special attention to Ekta Parishad (an Indian land rights organization), the Assembly of the Poor in Thailand and MST in Brazil.

Schock, Kurt, [Land Struggles in the Global South: Strategic Innovations in Brazil and India](#) [177], In Maney; Kutz-Flamenbaum; Rohlinger; Goodwin, [Strategies for Social Change](#) [178] ([A. 1.b. Strategic Theory, Dynamics, Methods and Movements](#) [44]), Minneapolis MN, University of Minnesota Press, pp. 221-244

Selma, James, [Four decades on, our strike is still growing](#) [179], The Guardian, 2018

Looks back at the 1975 Iceland women's strike at the start of the UN Decade for Women; the 8 March 2000 Global Women's Strike, the 2016 Polish women's strike to resist successfully anti-abortion legislation, the 2017 Argentina women's mass demonstration against the rape and murder of women, and the cooperation between women in Poland and Argentina in 2017 to coordinate the International Women's Strike.

Sengupta, Mitu, [Anna Hazare and the Idea of Gandhi](#) [180], Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 71, no. 3 (Aug), 2012, pp. 595-601

Originally published in *Dissent*.

Raises caveats about comparisons with Gandhi, discusses Hazare's diagnosis and prescriptions for corruption and comments on the nature of the Hazare movement. Argues against claims that it is a pawn of the extreme right RSS and/or CIA, noting the extent of mass protests and the depth of anger about corruption.



Shabnoor, Sultana, [Dig Deep into Corruption in India](#) [181], OpenDemocracy.net, 2011

Brief summary of key disagreements between government and Hazare camp on role and powers of proposed ombudsman.

Sharp, Gene, [Gandhi Wields the Weapon of Moral Power: Three Case Histories](#) [182], Ahmedabad, Navajivan, 1960, pp. 316

Main focus on 1930-31 independence campaign, but also covers peasant struggle in Champaran 1917-18, and Gandhi's 1948 fast in Delhi against inter-communal killings linked to partition.

Sharp, Gene, [Gandhi as Political Strategist](#) [183], Boston, Porter Sargent, 1980, pp. 384

Shiva, Vandana, [Politics and the Ecology of Survival](#) [184], London and Tokyo, Sage Publications and UN University Press, 1991, pp. 365

Analysis by expert on issues of ecology, development and the role of women in conflicts over natural resources in India; includes references to Appiko protests to save forests and satyagraha against mining.

Shiva, Vandana, [Resisting Water Privatisation, Building Water Democracy](#) [185], Mexico City, World Water Forum, 2006

Includes information on successful local campaigns:

1. against Coca Cola bottling plant, closed in 2004, leading to national campaign "Coca-Cola-Pepsi Quit India Campaign";
2. resistance to water diversion in Uttar Pradesh;
3. campaign in Delhi against raised tariffs and proposed privatization.

Shridharani, Krishnalal, [War Without Violence](#) [186], London, Gollanez, 1939, pp. 288

Reprinted by New York, Garland, 1972, pp. 351.

Respected early analysis of satyagraha with emphasis on strategy. Also comments on role of nonviolent action in democratic states in resisting an invasion.

Singh, Navsharan, [Holding Out for the Harvest](#) [187], New Internationalist, no. Nov-Dec, 2021, pp. 28-31

This article explains the new laws which are the focus of the farmers' protest, describes the initial protest journey to Delhi and explains the spirit and organization of the protests and the building of solidarity with other groups, for example by celebrating International Women's Day and May Day to link with women's and workers' struggles. Singh then engages in an analysis of 'disaster capitalism' including the revision of the labour laws. It concludes that the farmers' movement has become a struggle for 'a more just future for India's dispossessed'.

Singh, Simran, [The Farmers' Protests are a Turning Point for India's Democracy - and the World Can No Longer Ignore That](#) [188], Time, 2021

Provides historical background to the Indian farmers protests against the Modi government's 2020 farm laws and



draws parallels with earlier movements since the 1970s for stronger government support for agriculture.

Smitu, Kothari, [Globalization, Global Alliances and the Narmada Movement](#) [189], In Khagram; Riker; Sikkink, [Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks and Norms](#) [112] ([C.2.c. Campaigns Against Dams](#) [113]), Minneapolis MN, University of Minnesota Press, pp. 231-244

Subramanian, Samanth, [Tipping Point: How the Rise of Hindu Nationalism is Threatening to Tear India Apart](#) [190], Guardian Weekly, 2020, pp. 35-41

This 'long read' article focuses on the nature and goals of Hindu nationalism and the role of the extremist Hindu organization the RSS. It also makes comparisons with the rise of right wing populism.

See also: 'Subcontinental Drift: Danger – One Party State', *Economist*, 28 November, 2020, pp.20-22.

This article examines in some detail the erosion of judicial independence and the Modi government's stringent measures against state governments run by parties opposed to the BJP. critical journalists and NGOs, thousands of which have been closed down for receiving foreign funds. It also notes Modi's emphasis on his role as Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and his aspirations to rebuild Delhi to symbolize imperial-style power. It compares the autocratic trend under Modi to developments in Hungary, Poland and Turkey.

Tidrick, Kathryn, [Gandhi: A Political and Spiritual Life](#) [191], [2006], London, Verso, 2013, pp. 380

Scholarly critical biography drawing on 90 volumes of Gandhi's writings, arguing Gandhi aspired to be a world saviour. Author comments on inaccuracies in Gandhi's own account of the South African campaigns, and provides incisive analysis of Gandhi's political role and campaigns in India.

Vanaik, Achin, [Building a nuclear disarmament movement in India, Pakistan and South Asia: some policy perspectives](#) [192], TNI, 2006

The author argues that there are two stages in the process of developing an effective progressive force like the nuclear disarmament movement, whether regionally in South Asia, or globally. In the first phase a movement needs to attack and undermine the popular legitimacy that all governments seek to obtain for their policies. In the second phase, it can practically develop on a very large scale and achieve a critical mass that impacts on actual policy.

Webb, Martin, [Disciplining the Everyday State and Society? Anti-Corruption and Right to Information Activism in Delhi](#) [193], Contributions to Indian Sociology, Vol. 47, no. 5, 2013, pp. 363-393

On use of legal mechanisms under the 2005 Right to Information Act by anti-corruption and right to information groups.

Weber, Thomas, [Hugging the Trees: The Story of the Chipko Movement](#) [194], [1981], New Delhi, Penguin, 1989, pp. 175

Traces development of the 'tree hugging' movement to protect Himalayan forests, stresses the importance of the Gandhian style legacy in the strategy and tactics of the movement, discusses the role of women and profiles the leading men.

Weber, Thomas, [Gandhi's Peace Army: The Shanti Sena and Unarmed Peacekeeping](#) [195], Syracuse NJ, Syracuse University Press, 1996, pp. 293

Foreword by Elise Boulding. Examines how the Gandhian movement in India developed Gandhi's idea that nonviolent volunteers should act in place of armed police (for example to quell riots) and provide a nonviolent



alternative to the army. Includes substantial bibliography pp. 267-84.

Weber, Thomas, [Gandhi as Disciple and Mentor](#) [196], Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 294

Part II discusses various influences on Gandhi, and Part III Gandhi's influence on Arne Naess (ecology), Johan Galtung (peace research), E.F. Schumacher (economics as if people mattered), and Gene Sharp (nonviolent action as a method).

Woodcock, George, [Gandhi](#) [197], London, Fontana/Collins, 1972, pp. 108

By respected writer on anarchist theory and movements.

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