CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONDING OBSERVATIONS

7.1. BACK TO PROPOSITIONS

In the *Dynamics and Transformsations of the Environmental Movements in India*, we have presented an analysis of the two major environmental movements in India ----the Chipko Movement and the Narmada Bachao Andolan—which have considerably long histories, permitting us the scope to analyse how these movements have moved and transformed over time and space. These have been analysed as processes that originated in people's defensive reactions to situated experiences of threats to their livelihoods and lifeworlds, and as challenges to the dominant paradigm of development on the one hand, and as reactions against the continuous exploitation and marginalization of the deprieved classes by the dominant proprietory ones, on the other. The movement processes are revealed, as proposed under section 1.6 of the present volume, by the existence of a continuous interplay between the agencies and the structural components of the movement, providing them the driving force to mutate and to move, in a seemingly unending and continuous manner. The parameters that we checked such as caste and religious affiliations etc have been shown to have been influenced by the changes in the objectives, strategies, support bases, ideological orientations etc. In an overall sense the changes in strategies could be related to the changes in the nature of parameters. and in the nature of the movement. However, such generalisatioins could not be overstretched due to obvious limits of the present study as discussed under section 1.9 of the present volume. Moreover studying the dynamic and the transformative aspects of the movements concerned amounts to harping on a queer, strange and a paradoxical idea that the study, recognized as a process and its theme, which by nature strives to be continuous and unending, needs to be concluded. Yet, an academic exercise of the present type warrants the performance of a ritual—the ritual of concluding. Thus, we perform it, in whatever humiliation to the subject and the themne of the study. Our perfiormance of the ritual, however, is confined to neatly summarizing the study and its findings, and, adding a note on the future prospects of such movements.

The present work has been designed in seven chapters. Our summary consists four sections. The first section is an overview of the different chapters. The second section throws some light on the major findings of the present study. Section three briefly outlines the future prospects of the environmental movements as evident from the present study and, the final section points out to the necessities of and agenda for future research on the area.

7.2. THE SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

We started off our investigation in an organic manner, moving from general to particular.Chapter 1 is entitled *Introduction*. In this Chapter, we have introduced the problem under study, presented a brief overview of the existing literature on the subject to justify the necessity of the present research, designed our research questions and hypotheses, developed the framework for the study and explained our methodological orientations. The section also points out the significance of the present study and makes an honest confession on the major limitations of the study. The section, finally gives a bird's eye view of the organization of the entire thesis.

Chapter 2 bears a title *Understanding Environmental Movements*, which is self explanatory of its contents. It introduces the concept of the environmental movements in terms of the origins, ideological orientations, leadership, strategies and tactics (as different paramenters or components) of such movements. After a broad analysis of the general understanding of the nature of such movements, the section also delineates an attempt to distinguish between such movements in the advanced, industrial countries of the North and in the South. The present study is adamant in its assertion that the movements in the two hemispheres differ in the context of their origin, in their issues, objectives and strategies, in the nature of their respective opponents, and in their implications to democracy and sustainable development experience in their respective contexts of origin.

A subtle attempt to assert this is to justify the position that even the environmental movements in the South differ significantly in the aspects outlined above. To this end, the next exercise that we undertook was to make a brief overview of the nature and contents of some important environmental

movements in Asia taken randomly from both East Asian and South Asian experiences in Chapter 3 entitled *Environmental Movements in Asia*. While we saw some commonalities in the environmental movements in Asia, we also discvovered startling differences in them.

A foremost feature of the environmental movements in Asia is that Asia's environmental movements are diverse in terms of both their organizational structures and their interests and agenda. This diversity of interests in the Asian environmental movements have led to a 'Contingent Politics of Alliance' among and within the various environmental movements, which have at times rendered environmental movements and activities in each country and the region unsustainable. Secondly, Asian environmental movements are socially constructed and are inherently political because they inevitably involve the distribution of resources among different regions and different social groups. The readings on the environmental activisms in different countries of Asia suggest that the environmental consciousness and environmental activism in the Asian region is never simply about the environment *per se*. They entail environmental issues which are very intimately bound up with other (non) environmental issues like the issues of development and issues of exploitation and marginalization, they are usually responses to people's problems in their immediate neighbourhood, and often resemble a local affair. Hence, they cannot be understood in terms of environmental issues alone. Moreover, the Asian environmental movements are shaped considerably by external factors. For instance, the *'Chernobyl Nuclear Accident'* of 1986 was decisive in providing a critical momentum for bourgeoning anti-nuclear environmental movements at least in South Korea Similarly, the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development has helped elevate the profiles and agenda of local environmental groups. On the negative side, local pollution problems in countries like India and Malaysia have been attributed to non-actions of global actors such as such as multinational corporations. Thus, in other words, external global forces have played an important role in terms of both supporting and limiting the agenda and actions of local environmental groups. The environmental movements in Asia and for that matter, their origin, objectives, strategies, targets, successes and failures have to be understood within the

context of their interactions with larger international institutional factors. Culture also has played an important role in most of the environmental movements in Asia, with movements appearing as cultural critiques and often the movements providing themselves as platforms for manipulating local, ethnic, and national identities. The differences within the Asian environmental movents that we have located through the present study are the following: Each environmental movement in any of the countries of Asia is different in terms of the path it has taken. The environmental movements in Asia have followed at least three distinct paths. A Populist Path; a Corporatist Path; and a Post- Materialist Path., or a combination of these. These differences in the paths of the environmental movements in different countries of Asia are attributed mainly to such factors as the differences in the phases of democratization process in these countries, the religio-cultural differences, the role of the various national and international institutions and processes pertaining to the environment, and to the strategies of the actors of such movements. Although it is often contended that the environmental movements in the South in general are livelihood based, an analysis of the different environmental movements in different countries of Asia reveals that all such movements are not livelihood based. Whereas some of the Asian environmental movements as in India are livelihood based, others, in more developed countries of Asia, are even post-materialist movements. Even in less developed countries, the themes of these movements go beyond the issue of livelihoods, enmeshed in the broader discourse of equality and social justice. Asia's environmental movements also greatly differ in terms of the relative importance that they have assigned to the 'Green' and 'Brown' issues. Moreover, the Asian environmental movements also greatly differ in terms of their interests, patterns of mobilizations, leadership types, and activities. Hence, the origin of the movement owes to both affluence as well as degradation; the movement discourses are both Post materialist as well as Livelihood issues; movement's strategies vary from Top-down to Bottom-up approaches; and the movement impacts are in some cases significant and in others, minimal. This is because of the varied political, economic and cultural contexts in which they are situated. Thus, Asia's environmental movements are complicated phenomena, comprising a diversity of strands of environmental activities, involving diversity of strategies and a diversity of groups and organizations in differing structural contexts.

Hence, whereas some environmental movements approximate the western movements in their approaches and issues, yet others are distinctly different. Even in case of those resembling the western movements, if one element of the movement resembles the western variety of the movement, the other ingredient of the movement does not. Thus, it may not be possible to talk about a monolithic structure of uniformly dressed sets of environmental movement in Asia.

Chapter 4 is given the title *Environmental Movements in India.* The Chapter, after making a brief survey of some of the environmental movements in India, reflects on the genesis, issues, ideologies, strategies and actors of these movements. In this context, the present study has revealed that the emblematic struggles over India's environment, from Chipko to the ongoing Struggles over dam construction in the Narmada Valley are quite often represented as struggles over natural resources based livelihoods; and alternately and sometimes additionally, seen as articulating a cultural opposition to economistic understanding of the environment through the maintenance of indigenous values of holism and respect for nature. However, such characterizations miss a central point in the understanding of the environmental movements in India. It points out yet another representation of such movements. The Constitution of India recognizes the equality of all citizens regardless of their social position and yet demarcates certain traditional groups as scheduled castes and tribes as eligible for positive discrimination in recognition of the millennia of exploitation faced by them. Whilst in some respects admirable in intent, this also provides a clue to the marginalization of certain discourses of development. This ambitious and yet incomplete modernizing vision has continued to mould contemporary patterns of environmental injustices in India, experienced in the form of structural inequalities. Hence, the section envisages that a proper understanding of the environmental movements in India necessitates the combinations of these perspectives, lest we miss the dynamics inherent in them. The chapter also points out that the failings to combine them hitherto have led to their partial and inadequate charactirisation, and their classification complex and difficult.

In Chapter 5, we have discussed the *Chipko Movement* contextualizing it in the location, locale and the sense of place of the emergence of the movement.

254

Exploring the geography, culture, history and the process of development in the region as a background provided us with better insights on to the genesis, content and course of the movement. Moreover, we also analysed the different phases of the movement as the movement evolved, matured and spread beyond the place of its emergence. In doing so, we also undertook to understand why and how the movement moved and changed its shape in its course. The role played by both structural and agency components of the movement and their mutual interactions in producing movement dynamics have been studied, the findings of which have been summarized in the following (7.3.2.) sections.

Chapter 6 deals with the *Narmada Bachao Andolan*. It outlines the controversies surrounding the Narmada Valley Development Project and the consequent emergence of the Narmada Bachao Andolan. The Chapter neatly contextualizes and chronicles the movement over a period of more than twenty years. It has also engaged with the local and extra-local forces, structures and processes that have shaped the movement and its course. The central focus of this chapter (this is the problem taken for the present study) being to locate the interplay between different agencies and structural components of the movement and hence the dynamism in and transformations of the movement. This aspect has been separately dealt in the section on the major findings of the study in the subsequent section (section 7.3.1.).

7.3. MAJOR FINDINGS

7.3.1. The Chipko Movement

The Chipko Movement in the Uttaranchal Himalayas, now known worldwide, originated in the early 1970s as a conflict over forest management and usufructal rights of the peasants. The movement spread to the entire of the then seven hill districts of Uttaranchal, and transcended the boundarial limitations to spread to almost every nook and corner of the country, to finally assume iconic and emblematic status and significance worldwide. The emergence, development and maturity of the movement as an exemplary environmental movement show how the movement moved and transformed from a local, primarily an economic conflict to an internationally acclaimed environmental movement. This dynamic, however, has its origin in the movement itself, that is, in the dialectical agent-

structural interactions between and amongst the various components of the movement. The present study concerned with the location of such dynamisms and transformations in the process of the mutual interactions of the movement components and examined in this connection the role of social structural components like caste, embedded factors like history and culture, institutional factors like the constitutional framework, ideology of the movement and the leadership, and above all, the funds for the movement within the structural elements, and the role of political parties, NGOs—local, national and international, and the movement leaders and activists as agencies.

In case of the Chipko Movement, it was found that the structural relational factors like caste and religious affiliations of the movement have had negligible impact on the dynamics of the movement. This was particularly because of the Gandhian Sarvodaya that was embraced by the movement as its fundamental ideological tenet. Sarvodaya implied equality of all irrespective of social differentiation. A psychological feeling of equal in the minds of the few lower caste activists in the movement in fact acted as a consolation for the lower castes to participate with vigour in the movement. Similarly, the society is more or less homogeneous with most of the people belonging to Hindu religious denomination, and hence there was no possibility of the religious differences impacting the movement. This coherence in terms of caste and religious affiliations was contributive to efficient movement mobilizations and to the strength of the movement (section 5.6.1). Embedded structural components like the history of the region and the local cultural tradition were also found to have an impact on the movement. Whereever the cultural and historical legacies of the movement were favourable for the movement, it was found that the movement mobilization was effective. For instance, the region is the abode of rich cultural traditions of reverence to natural environment (the region being often refered to as *Dev-stan*, meaning the land of God) and, this has helped the people develop a sense of respect and reverence to the land and landscape and the trees and forests. Moreover, the region is pregnant with past histories of forest protests against the deprivation of the state encroachment of the people's customary rights over the forest resources. Hence, any movement that concerns with the issues pertaining to people's access to forest resources easily appeals to the

people, thereby facilitating speedy and efficient mobilizations for protests (see section 5.6.2). Structural components like the international régimes and institutions on environment and legal-constituional framework of the country have both enabling as well as contraining impact in the movement. Whereas the constitutional provisions pertaining to environment, rights and citizenship claims provided an asset for the movement, at the same time, it constrained the scope of the movement and also led to repercussions to the people. For instance, whereas the constitutional provisions on rights (Articles 14 and 19) and provisions pertaining to environmental protection and conservation (under Articles 48 and 51) created an enbling environment for environmental movements to emerge, the Forest Conservation Act of 1980 that was passed as a response to the Chipko Movement constrained people's access to forest resources, resulting in the alienation of the people from the movement itself (see sections 5.6.4), thereby constraining the effective mobilizations for te movement. However, the role of the international agreements and regimes on environments was significant in supporting the movement to develop from a local resistance to a movement of global significance, although not without limitations. The international agreements on the environment to which India is a signatory also provided the movement with a resource to capitalize on (section 5.6.3). Ideology, yet another structural component of the movement also have had an ambivalent impact on movement dynamics. Whereas the Gandhian Sarvodaya ideology of the movement helped it garner support from all sections of the people irrespective of their class differentiations and class positions, yet the ideological differences within the movement leadership brought about a sharp division within the movement, more notably between the movements in the Bhagirathi Valley and the Alakananda Valley. This created factionalism within the movement and resulted not only in the weakness of the movement but even created the impression that the movement has died out. Sources of funds for the movement have remained ever controversial (section 5.6.5). Whereas it was found that the chief sources of fund came from local contributions, yet the possibility that there movement might have derived foreign funding has which of course has been debatable, has discredited the movement. The necessity on the part of the leadership to ascertain otherwise (that the movement is not dictated by the interests of the foreign donor agencies) has led to adoption of newer strategies.

The movement presently acquiring governmental funds for its various ecodevelopment projects and the consequent partial accommodation and cooption of the movement's interests into governmental policy frameworks have weakened the strength and vigour of the movement. All these have led to the dynamism in the movement and its transformation in terms of shifts in nature of prioritized objectives and goals (sections 5.6.6, 5.7 and 5.8). Apart from these structural factors, the movement agencies and their role also have shaped the nature and content of the movement. People have opined that the groundwork for the emergence of the Chipko movement was prepared by the left parties by mobilizing the downtrodden of the Uttarakhand region immediately after the 1962 Indo- China war. Hence, the analysis of the role of the political parties revealed that the movement in general, at least during its formative years, had not succumbed to the influence of the political parties, because the issue raised by the movement was such that it united the people cutting across caste and ethnic as well as political boundaries. However, quite recently, in protests against the Tehri Dam (which is quite often seen as the extension of the Chipko Movement), the BJP has taken active role, taking recourse to traditionalist Hindu discourses on the environment. Sunderlal Bahuguna, one of the prominent leaders of the movement has made statements in line with the arguments made by BJP. This has raised several questions on the nature of the anti-Tehri dam campaign, thereby affecting the movement's nature and character. Although this has taken place at a time when the Chipko Movement is too passive to be true, yet it has impacted the movement as people seem to be swayed by BJP's neo-traditionalist Hindu invocation of the environmental discourses and the projected threat to Hindu Rastrra and Hindutva by the dam as revealed from the recent electoral data (section 5.6.8). Other agencies of the movement constitute the NGOs-local, national and international and the movement leadership and activist supporters. The NGOs involved in the movement like the CSE and Gandhi Peace Foundation, etc contributed towards the development of counter expertise on the movement issues and helped the movement to develop and acquire a transnational significance (section 5.6.9). The personality clash between and amongst the movement leadership has made the movement fractured, the movement activists in each region of the Himalayas claiming different stands on the various aspects of the movement (section 5.6.7). Thus, the movement has

evolved, developed and transformed during the last thirty years or so, due to the interactions between and mutual interplay of the different agencies and structural components of the movement as discussed above.

7.3.2. The Narmada Bachao Andolan

The resistance against the continuous exploitation and marginalization of the people in the Narmada Valley has taken the form of a movement process in which the scope of people's collective action has been progressively widened and deepened from a localized grassroots mobilization against specific grievances of eviction, displacement and less than satisfactory rehabilitation to an encompassing movement aiming at systemic transformation through the healing of systemic contradictions, renewal of democratic institutions processes, and striving for sustainable development experiences. The growth of the movement into a pan-state anti-dam movement from the initial sporadic instances of protests against the proposed resettlement and rehabilitation schemes across the three riparian states owes to the interactions between the movement and its various parameters, the most important of all being its encounters with the state. The process began with the incapacity of the state to meet the initial movement demands of adequate and humane conditions of resettlement and rehabilitation, and got further animated by the counter-expertise on the Narmada Project developed by the movement itself. It progressed through a series of shifts in its objectives, issues, demands and strategies, finally leading to the transformations in the nature and content of the movement itself. In the sections that follow, we dwell on the different parameters of the movement, their mutual interactions and influences, and their impact on movement dynamics. Broadly we have divided the movement parameters into structures and agencies. Within the structural parameters, we have investigated the role of caste relations, cultural and historical legacies, the role of international regimes on environment and, finally, the role played by the national legal-constitutional framework. On the agencies, we have studied the role of the political parties, the NGOs (both national and international), the leaders and activists of the movement as being capable of impacting on the movement.

We have recognized caste as a structural-relational parameter of the movement. As regards the caste relations, our study of the NBA revealed that it had both positive and negative impacts on the movement mobilizations. Since the NBA is a movement embracing the entire of the Narmada Valley and even transcending it, cutting across the states of Gujarat, Maharastra and Madhya Pradesh, the valley presents an astonishing array of social structures characterized by diverse sets of caste and class relations. The Nimad Plains of Madhya Pradesh, a hub of the NBA activities, has a past historical record of caste based tensions. In Alirajpur, the society is sharply stratified because of socio-economic and educational backwardness. The adivasis inhabited areas of Maharastra also are characterized by a mosaic of social hierarchies based on class. This social differentiation and the resultant caste/class cleavages have made it difficult for the NBA to mobilize support. Contrarily, the opponents of the movement could cash upon such social cleavages to divide the people and weaken the movement. However, in case of the anti- Maheswar dam campaign, the movement could effectively mobilize support from the communities even outside the submergence zone because of the caste solidarity and cohesive social bonds through marriages shared by Gujars and Patidars inhabiting within and and outside the submergence zone in the area. Hence, caste solidarities as well as caste cleavages have had impacts on the movement, either facilitating movement mobilizations or otherwise, depending on the socio-contextual specxifics of the movement (section 6.4.1). The study also revealed that the embedded structural components of the movement like the cultural and historical legacies influence the nature and course of the movement (section 6.4.2). In case of the movement in the Narmada Valley, it was found that the tribal culture makes its place of habitation sacred, and an attachment that transcends the amterial realms. Hence, any attempt to oust them is something opposed to their culture, provoking them to rebel. The art and strength of rebelling is something they have inherited, inculcated and internalized through a long history of protests in the region. Thus, cultural and historical legacies of a place facilitate a historio-cultural production of a movement, acting as a social capital for effective mobilizations.

Since the NBA has a very loosely defined ideology, the urge to develop a more comprehensive ideology capable of capturing the different facets of the

movement also has contributed to the changes in the strategies and the nature of the movement (section 6.4.5). However, the most important structural factor that has driven the movement up and down is the controversy regarding the NBA's sources of fund. This has very often been the ground for the opponents of the movement to cash upon and attempt to weaken the movement (section 6.4.6). The structural-instituional factors/parameters of the movement, namely the international regimes and institutions on the environment and the national legal-constitutional framework have been characterized by a fundamental duality of enablement and constraint vis-à-vis the movements. Hence, the movement's efforts to mobilize against the constraints and encroachments upon the livelihoods and lifeworlds of the marginalized groups have been shaped by the provisions of these institutional arrangements, both positively and negatively. In the case of the international regimes, whereas the movement has been able to harp on the international law and its provisions pertaining to environmental standards as a benchmark to pressurize the state to which the state has a non-obligatory commitment thereby strengthening the movement's cause, the practices of these institutions to coopt the movement leadership has quite often than not led to the compromises on vital issues weakening the movement itself (section 6.4.3). At home, the legal-constitutional framework also has a similar duality. Whereas the constitutional provisions of fundamental rights, fundamental duties, the directive principles of state policy, the safeguards for the scheduled castes and tribes, etc. have provided an enabling environment, yet they also have posed as constraints for the movement. In the present study, the focus of our analysis was the role of the judiciary (the supreme Court of India being more precise), which is the guardian of the Constitution and the protector of the rights and liberties of the people. The study has led us to conclude that the role played by the legal framework of the country in general and the Supreme Court of India is also marked by dualism and contradictions, sometimes creating a conducive atmosphere for the movement to thrive and at others, smashing the movement altogether. The role played by the legal-constitutional framework of the country in general and the Indian Supreme Court in particular has led the movement to devise and employ new techniques of mobilizations and resistance, leading to a shift in the movement strategy, identification of new idioms of protest, location

of new spaces of resistance and finally culminating in the transformation of the movement itself (section 6.4.4).

The other important question that we have explored is the role of the agencies like the political parties in the movement dynamics. The present study found that the parties have played an ambivalent role in the movement. In case of the NBA in all three riparian states where a political party has intervened in the movement, the instances have clearly revealed that they have been guided by the electoral compulsions of the party concerned. When the movement first began after the Tribunal's Award, all major political parties in Madhya Pradesh including the Congress and the BJP (then Janata Party) supported the movement. BJP even declared publicly its opposition to the Award. As soon as Congress Party came to Power in Madhya, it accepted the project as a part of the all India political strategy of the Party. Similarly, BJP which declared its opposition to the project in Madhya Pradesh in the beginning strongly advocated for raising the dam height and the continuation of the project. This ambivalence in the positions of the parties owes to the fact that the established political parties both at the state and at the centre have been opposed to review a development project but have patronizingly coceded to the demands of the affected people, dictated by political compulsions. The movement, in this backdrop, has been making attempts to mmould the approaches, priorities and policies of the political parties. Hence, since the Andolan has to work in areas (like the Nimad Plains) having a legacy of party loyalty (here to BJP and Congress), it would be naïve on the part of the movement to wish away their influences. This has compelled the movement to design strategies that would take the people beyond party politics. To this end, it was found that the movement has worked to expose to the people the *'false'* promises and assurances made by the political parties. At the tehsil levels, the Andolan has convinced the party workers to pressurize the party structures to yield to the movement demands. Hence, the interactions of the movement and the party have been making both to design newer strategies, for the parties to gain electoral mileage, and for the movement to sustain. This interplay has provided the movement a driving force to be dynamic and transformative in terms of its strategies, objectives, issues and demands; and the

parties are made to think of ways to make yet newer promises for their political gains (section 6.4.8).

Another institutional component of the movement is the role of the NGOs (section 6.4.9). Non-party political formations have emerged in Indian political processes, working for alternative politics. The Andolan has been building alliances with these NGOs nationally and internationally. At the national level the movement has established contacts with various peasant movements and tribal and women's organizations (see section 6.4.9. for details), and working in coordination with various activists and organizations nationwide. At the global scale, the movement has links with the Peoples' Global Action (PGA), International Rivers Network (IRN), Environmental Defense Fund (EDF), The Friends of the Earth, Human and Indigenous Rights Organisations, etc. The establishment of the linkages with the NGOs is found to be a part of the broader strategy of the movement. At the national level the strategy has helped the movement to strengthen the support base by way of creating a common plank to work against the prevalent pattern of development and pursue an alternative sustainable model of development; to oppose the New Economic Policy; and, to oppose any kind of fundamentalism. This process has although strengthened the movement in terms of its support base from outside the valley, there were also its negative consequences. The movement, in this process, has alienated a large chunk of the local support base, not healty for the movement if it is to survive. These internal contradictions have their subsequent impacts on the future strategy, issues, and mode of operation of the movement.

Movement leadership and movement activists and their mode of functioning also have had their impacts on the movement dynamics. It was found that the leadership of the movement is concentrated to the urban educated middleclass activists coming from outside the valley. Only a negligible fraction of the movement leadership, that too at the lower strata of the leadership hierarchy, is formed by the local, tribal activists. The question of the possibility of representation of the interests of the affected community by the urban based activists hailing from outside the valley has become a central focus in contemporary debates and controversies surrounding the NBA. Moreover, it was

also found that there is a brewing tension between the aspiring tribal leadership and the urban based activists' leadership that has hitherto failed to acknowledge the contributions of these aspiring youths in the valley. The psychological feeling of being neglected by the prevailing movement leadership and the media in the minds of the local aspiring leadership is apt to damage the internal coherence and hence, weaken the movement. It has necessitated the movement to rethink on designing a more broadbased and decentralized leadership that would add strength to the movement (section 6.4.7).

In sum, therefore, it was found from the above reading that there is a constant interplay between the different structural parameters (relational such as caste and religion, embedded such as culture and history, institutional such as ideology, sources of fund, international regimes and institutions on environment, national constitutional and legal framework etc) and agency components of the movements (such as leadership, political parties, NGOs etc.) lending the movements the dynamism and ultimately resulting in the transformation of the movements (Hypothesis 1) as revealed through the analysis (in sections 5.6. and 6.4) in the present study. The interactions between and amongst the agencies and structural parameters of the movement have brought about certain changes in both the structural and agency components of the movements. The structure-agency interactions and the consequent changes in them have affected the course of the movements (5.7 and 6.5). The changes in the parameters have led to the change in the nature of the movements (Hypothesis 2), reflected in terms of the transformations of the nature of the issues, objectives, goals and demands (sections 5.7 and 6.5), which have in turn affected the movement parameters in terms of redefinition of social structural components, invocation of the historical antecedents for movement mobilizations, leadership conflicts and the disappearance of old or emergence of new leadership, emergence of newer organizations, and the transformation in the legal-constitutional system, etc. (Hypothesis 3) –affecting the nature of the state and civil society (which we have elaborated in the sections that follow). The present study is under the impression that the movements have transformed from environmental/ecological to more political, neglecting the intimate social issues, and compelled by the development in the external environments of the movements. For instance, the Chipko

movement began primarily as an economc conflict, transformed in to an environmental movement enjoying iconic status and, ultimately, alienating the masses and the daily social-economic issues which was the bedrock for the emergence of the movement, now it has become passive in terms of addressing these issues, and active in implementing the government funded projects, acting under the directions of the state (Chapetr 5). In case of the NBA (Chapter 6), it emerged with the socio-economic issues of displacement, resettlement, rehabilitation and adequate and humane compensation for the oustees, transformed in to a movement espousing environmental issues, and now, through alliance building it has been trying to widen the space as a civil society organization as against the failings of the state in terms of its allocative and distributive functions. Apparantly there is a contradiction in the directions of Chipko and that of the NBA but the contradiction is only superficial. From the viewpoint of state both the movements have altered themselves in the face of state absorbing environment as one of the issues of development. The effect of this on the movement is less clear. Our study has found that the Indian environmental movements tend to move. from economic to social issues to 'Green', then to ecodevelopment, and finally to traditional village politics. The interactions between and amongst the movement parameters and the consequent changes in the nature and parameters of the movement at times have had positive implications for sustainable development, and some combinations of such changes did not (Hypothesis 4) as revealed fron our analyses (in sections 5.8 and 6.6 above) which has been summarized (in section 7.3.3) below.

However, the strength and vigour of different components in movement dynamism were different in case of the two movements. Whereas caste affiliations had less significant role in movement dynamism in case of the Chipko movement, it was more rigorous in case of the NBA. This owed primarily to the fact that there was more of a social homogeneity in case of te Garhwal society unlike the very heterogenous one characterized by caste tensions as historically evident in case of the social structure of the Narmada valley. Contrarily, religious factor played a more significant role in case of the Chipko movement unlike the NBA. This pertained to the fact that the bulk of the affected people in the Narmada Valley constitute of te tribals and caste hindus has a minority in terms

265

of the project affected people. Location, locale and the sense of place was found to be intricately intertwined with history and culture in case of both the movements. In both it was found that the cultural and historical legacies had served as a major strength for the movement to build upon. As regards the ideological premises of the two movements, the Chipko Movement declaredly adheres to Gandhian Sarvodaya but the development of a comprehensive ideology is in the offing for the NBA. Therefore, ideologically we have found the development of factions in the Chipko movement, leading to the division of the movement. This has, however, not taken place in case of the NBA. Yet, the strategies of the NBA are also built upon the Gandhian idea of non-violent direct action. Sources of funds have become centres of controversy in case of both the movements but the magnitude is much higher in case of the NBA. In NBA it has become one of the primary building blocks for anti-movement politics among the proponents of the dam. The national legal-constitutional framework and the international agreements, regimes and institutions on environment also have impacted on the movement dynamics. An examination of India's legal-constituional framework and environmental institutions also suggests India's constitution is one of the few in the world to make an explicit commitment to healthy environment. As a response to movement demands and the pressures of international regimes and institutions on environment to which India is a signatory, over the last thirty years there has been an impressive build up of environmentally oriented legislations. These have encouraged the movements with similar objectives to emerge, grow and unleash social transformations that is environmentally enriching. As regards the role played by the political parties, it is more complex and complicated in case of the NBA, probably because the movement is an ongoing one involving a variety of issues which the electoral politics can not afford to ignore. In case of the Chipko movement, since the movement was understood as simply the one against commercial felling of trees and a resistance against the state usurpation of the customary rights of the people to their forest resources, all political parties had supported the movement, directly or indirectly. In case of the NBA, electoral compulsions differ because the movement is spread to three riparian states with various political equations, which frequently change necessitating a balancing of the same, for which the stand changes from pro-dam to anti-dam and vice-versa unnoticingly. With

regard to the leadership, it was found that te clash in case of Chipko movement among the leaders owed to the competing prominence of the two important leaders of the movement, namely, Sunderlal Bahuguna from the Bhagirathi Valley and Chandi Prasad Bhatt from the Alakananda Valley. It has led to the division of the support base in favour of their respective leaders in the two regions. However, in case of the NBA, the leadership clas was noticed between the urban educated middle-class leadership of the movement coming from outside and the aspiring tribal leadership who have not been given their legitimate share in the movement leadership. This has resulted in the dwindling of the support base of the movement in places where the activists have chosen to accept te rehabilitation package of the government than to toe the leadership of the movement that undermines their role in the movement. Thus, the leadership and conflicts witin the movement leadership has become an important factor unleashing dynamics in a movement and impacting on its nature and course.

In this section we would like to briefly elaborate on the dynamism and transformations of the movements affect the state, the civil society and their interrelationships as noted in the foregoing section. Environmental movements in India pose a serious challenge to the dominant ideology of the meaning and patterns of development. However, in their opposition to the dominant paradigm of development the environmental movements are not guided by a common framework of action and ideology, and hence they differ in matters of expressing their demands, organizing the movements, and in terms of the fundamental perceptions to environment and development that they hold (sections 5.6 and 5.7). For instance, within the Chipko Movement, we have seen that Sunderlal Bahuguna is opposed to any tree felling, but on the other hand, Chandi Prasad Bhatt tolerates felling as long as it promotes employment and provides livelihood resources to the local people. In case of anti-dam movements too we find diversity of perceptions and orientations to environment and development, ranging from opposing harming of the environment through dam building, to espousing a strong anti-dam position, and finally to tolerating some harm to environment through dam building activities so long as the project provides proper resettlement and rehabilitation of the displaced population and adequate and acceptable compensation package for the victims of such projects. These

movements follow different ideological strands. Whereas some movements may have a combination of various ideological strands, yet others may endeavour to develop a suitable combination of different ideological strands to accommodate a large section of the people that they target to mobilize. This ideological pluralism of the Indian environmentalism and the flexibility with which the movements employ them has helped the environmental movements to widen their space and sphere, and perform the social integrative function cutting across social and cultural cleavages like religious differentiation, gender differentiation, caste-based differentiation, class differentiation and regional differentiation etc that might have been expected to be divisive, by stressing shared interest in saving the environment. For instance, the integrative nature of the movement cuts across ancient and powerful ethnic barriers between the Paharis and Bhotiyas in Uttarakhand, who joined the Chipko Movement to protect their forests. The movement also has the integrative effects at the national level by uniting people from various regions and by providing prototype of a method and organization for similar problems elsewhere in India. The ideological plurality and flexibility of the movements and their social integrative effects provide opportunity for the formation of and collaboration among different like-minded individuals and organizations, transcending the geographical-boundarial limitations. This networking and coalition building among the organizations represents the evolution and development of non-party political process in India. These non-party political formations have facilitated the hitherto apolitical masses to assert their rights to participation in local decision making in matters involving social justice and their basic rights. In this way, the environmental movement organizations perform the civil society function espousing a participatory process, which, however, constrains the power of the state, subjecting it to social control.

State continues to be the key institution around which the environment movements in India are articulated. This is because in India, the institutional legacy of the colonial state designed fundamentally to impose order and extract resources has lived on after independence, bearing implications for social injustices in terms of mal-distribution and the lack of recognition. The nature and functioning of the post-colonial state is such that it privileges the '*national*' over the '*local*'; the state has been consistently willing to sacrifice both the environment

268

and the poor to a longer term vision of commercial growth and industrial modernity. The result is the widening of inequality and environmental degradation. Further, the democratic nature and structure of the Indian state was marred by the existence of a one party dominance system under the Congress for quite sometime even after independence. As a response to such attitude of the state, the emerging civil society in the form of people's alliances espouses alternative development path, involving the rescaling of the development projects to the local level, the defense of common property resources and the recreation/restoration of participatory democratic environmental management systems. What is evident from this development is that the environmental movement organizations are contributing towards increased popular participation which is the hallmark of a maturing democratic structure and democratic governance. And thus, the Indian state is moving towards a more inclusive, competent and vibrant democracy via the increased popular participation enticed by the environmental movements in particular and the protest movements in general, and the resultant expansion of the civil society space.

7.3.3. Movements: Implications for Sustainable Development

Despite its claims to bring prosperity and the alleviation of poverty through economic growth, the development project in India has caused enormous environmental destruction, and the impoverishment, displacement and, at times, cultural ethnocide of poor and landless peasants, women, and tribal peoples. In resistance to these processes, social movements have emerged throughout the country, attempting to protect their homes, lands and cultures. Within the existing culture of domination created by the neoliberal development project, there is a growing realization amongst many social movements in general and the environmental movenets like the Chpko Movement and the Narmada Bachao Andolan in particular that they should not only resist development projects, but also articulate on sustainable development practices Thus these movements are regenerating traditional practices, re-embedding learning in local culture, regenerating environmentally-sustainable development practices, and recovering a definition of their own needs and autonomous ways of living that were dismantled and redefined by the development project. In addition, these movements have made visible the current ideology of development, its inherent

injustice and non-sustainability. In doing so they are resisting the modernization process and articulating at times the ways and means for renewing the development model into an eco-friendly one. While these movements tend to be active in locally-based contexts, the issues that they address - such as ecologically sustainable practices - have national importance. The advocates of the environmental movements, as it has been revealed by the present study, are radicals as far as democracy is concerned (as pointed out in the previous section). As pointed out in the preceding section, the true sites for most of these resistances are the absence of a truly inclusive national public sphere in India. Hence, these movements view decentralization as essential because it is less wasteful of resources, giving priority to local production and consumption, rather than the production for global market. For instance, as a response to the Chipko movement in the Grahwal Himalayas, the Indian state has responded to its demands by devolving and decentralizing the structures for environmental governance, eventually even carving out a new state of Uttaranchal out of those regions of Uttar Pradesh where the movement was most active. The national government also has aggressively pursued a participatory, community based forest management policy since 1988, which perhaps is the reflection of the environmental consciousness inculcated by the Chipko movement. Similarly, the Narmada Bachao Andolan has een designing alternative development strategies and implementing them in the Narmada Valley as a part of the broad strategy of the movement. This has already had some policy implications for sustainable development strategy for India and is likely to, although in an incremental manner; mould the trajectories of development planning in the times to come. Hence, the environmental movements in India have had and are likely to have their impact on the evolution and development of the strategies for sustainable development, in consonance with the principles of social justice and participatory democracy.

7.4. FUTURE PROSPECTS OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS

Inspite of an increasingly cogent programme of environmental activities and the rising popularity of the environmental disciourse, India's environment shows no notable signs of improvement. This paradox probably owes to the fact

that heightened environmental consciousness we experience in India today that stems from the prominence given to hitherto neglected environmental issues by the media, coupled with the role played by the state in diffusing the environmental disputes either by accommodating a few environmental concerns in the policy framework or by coopting the activists into adopting a consensual approach to environmental issues. However, despite endeavours in the part of the state to contain these conflicts and movements, they show no signs of retreat. The energy and vigour of the movements provide promising reasons to dwell on the future prospects of the environmental movements in India. Hence, as revealed through the present exercise, we have attempted a short summary of the future of these movements below.

In sum, the study of the environmental movements in India reveals a few points pertaining to the future of such movements. The local-global nexus and the power-knowledge nexus that characterize the environmental movements in India are likely to influence the thinking on and the practices in environmental politics in the future. Considering these trends, it is likely that future is going to experience a multiplication and intensification of the environmental movements and resource conflicts as a consequence of the state and market drives for resource development and mobilizations. While not all sites of contestations are likely to generate full-fledged movements, the sharpening of the conflicts over land, forests and water are likely to escalate into full-fledged environmental movements. However, with the sharpening of the conflicts, these movements will move and transform through their dialogical interactions withy the state, the market and the social structure through a process of continuous strategic learning. For instance, with the intensification of conflicts, both the market and the state will show increasing proclivity to negotiate and accommodate the environmental issues in their policy frameworks. This argument that the state as well as the market will concede and heed to the demands of the movement partially in an accommodative compromise is based on and is supported by the evidences from the movements undertaken for the present study. For instance, from the study on the Chipko Movement (see Chapter 5), as an accommodation of the demands of the movement, the government put a ban on the commercial felling of the trees, it is supporting the eco-friendly rural development

programmes undertaken by the DGSM and other agencies in the region, and above all, the Government of India passed the Forest Conservation Act of 1980. Similarly, in case of the Narmada Bachao Andolan (see Chapter 6), it is revealed that there has emerged a World Commission on Dams, where market, and actors like hydropower companies, representatives of states, and the movement activists meet in a common platform to negotiate frameworks acceptable to all. Moreover, we have also seen the withdrawal of the World Bank from the Project on environmental grounds, following the pressure from the NBA. Hence, it is likely that in future, the pressures on the state, market and other policy actors will intensify with the multiplication of such movements, leading to the development of institutions and practices favourable for environmental concerns. Again, since the role played by the knowledge class (the educated middle class most of whom are academicians and professionals) is simply noteworthy at least in the movements studied in the present work, it is also likely that through the of this class, environmental concerns and consciousness of a wider citizenry could be articulated. This articulation would transcend the material basis of these environmental consciousness and concerns of the present type, leading to a higher stage of post-materialistic environmental politics. Finally, in the context of the present study, we have seen the thematic enmeshing of various issues within the environmental movements in India (see Chapter 3), rendering to the scholarship on environmental movements a semantic and terminological difficulty. This complexity owes primarily to the thematic cross cuttings in the areas of ethnicity, gender, human rights, social justice and environmental/ecological issues, especially at the grassroots. Hence, in future, this enmeshing and cross-cutting of issues is apt to further blur the boundaries between the ethnic movement, women's movement, human rights movement, movement for social justice, and the environmental/ecological movements owing to the recombination of the issues underlying these movements. However, the ethnic and ecological movements are more likely to draw mutually from each other and catalyze the manifestation of a diversity of movements based on the understanding of ecological ethnicity. The pressure exerted by the multiplication of these movements, and their dynamic and transformative nature would, in near future, bear a positive implication for Indian democracy and development experience. This conclusion is premised on our findings that the process of

272

negotiation between various actors (the state, market, civil society, and the movement) and accommodation of environmental issues and themes for environmental justice have already begun in India (see, for instance, the first part of this section). This underpins the fact that such negotiations, accommodations and compromises call for the development of institutions and practices capable of addressing the demands of the marginalized communities who hitherto remained deprived of equitable share in distribution and use of resources, leading to protests movements. Moreover, these protest movements and struggles have been successful measured at least in terms of their contributions to the notions of empowerment and participatory decision making.

Thus, by promoting decentralized governance and a participatory and accountable politics, the movements promise for a democratic renewal and a sustainable development experience. However, even the renewed democratic order is quite unlikely to witness a radical and transforming role of the green party in the Indian context. This is because since the inception of the party, it has at best published its charter and it is a party that sans the idea of real politicking and notions of electoral politics. But, what can be expected in the offing is that owing to the electoral compulsions if not to the commitment to just and sustainable development and accountable and participatory democracy, the mainstream political parties both at the national and the regional levels are likely to be pushed to design and advocate a *'greener'* agenda for a nation that is just and democratic. This has already been taking place with the mainstream political parties beginning to incorporate environmental issues in their programmes and election manifestos as we have pointed out elsewhere in the present work. This shows that one of the significant impacts of this dynamic and transformative nature of the environmental protest movements, which have been seen in India since the 1980s largely as new politics of environmentalism and sustainability, has been the integration of the environment as an *'issue'* with politics, which has already taken place. Ever since the disappearance of the student movements of the 1960s in the West, the new social movements and citizens groups have emerged and developed. This development coincides with the new issues like air and water pollution, harmful substances in foodstuffs and the preservation of the scarce resources entering the political debates. In the 1980s these citizens' groups

and new social movements have looked for closer contacts with the established political parties which were expected to act as an effective force against full commitment to economic growth, and as a consequence the destruction of the environment. However, the negative experiences of the followers of these movements with the bureaucratic organizational structures of the established parties as well as the perceived lack of responsiveness of political institutions to come to grips with a fundamentally different policy approach became the foundation of the Green parties. Contemporary India is undergoing similar experiences as revealed from the emergence of the Indian National Green Party and its programme charter. Adoption of the '*Green*' themes in the agenda of the mainstream political parties and the emergence of the Green Party shows that the '*environment*' has no more remained as an '*issue*' of politics but has transformed into an established '*perspective*' of politics. This shift also marks the movement from green ideology to green political theory underpinning an ecological political arrangement of collective ecological management. This marks the transformation from criticizing the *status quo* and espousing a new paradigm for the creation of future sustainable society, which is but the privilege of the green ideology, to a concern with formulating feasible solutions and policy designs to the existing environmental crisis—the domain of green or ecopolitical/environmental political theory, which, though in infancy, looks likely to find the resources on the environmental movements and their studies.

A careful analysis of the environmental movements in India has led us to the conclusion that they qualify the generic term as social movements, but our study also reveals that beneath te surface it comprises several distinct tendencies which to be analysed independently. Firstly, the environmental movements in India embrace a host of objectives ranging from conservation to livelihoods and development which are tenuously linked to one another. Hence, future research should attempt to clarify the conditions under which the environment is politicized by differentiated social actors in specific ecological and social contexts. Secondly, the distinctive politics of environmental marginality which impact the poorest and the most resource dependent rural populations with particular acquity should be afforded special attention. There is a necessity to delve into the role of different parameters in movement dynamics independently for a better

comprehension. Finally, the present study attempted a study of two movements with a considerably long history. However, there is a need to make more case studies of more movements in India to understand the nature of the movement dynamics and its impact on democracy, civil society and its implications for sustainable development experience, which the future researches need to take in to account.