

Chapter – I

Introduction

Environmentalism as an ideology reflects concern about the destruction of natural world driven by the process of economic development. The idea of environmentalism is born out of the anxiety about the decline of human existence, crisis in the sphere of survival economy of human species and about the plausible danger of organic and inorganic environment. Ecological or green movements and the revolt against industrialism are roots of environmentalism in the West. The core tenet of environmentalism was found in the thought of Thomas Robert Malthus who introduced the fact that population grows at a geometrical ratio while food supply increases in arithmetic proportion.¹ Environmentalism is generally known as a new ideology which is associated with the emergence of green or ecological movement in the late twentieth century; however its roots can be found in the revolt against industrialism of nineteenth century.² Environmentalism emanates through social movements and the movement participants seek to influence the political process in order to protect natural resources and the entire ecosystem. Environmentalism supports ‘shallow ecology’, as the ideology emphasizes on human needs and their satisfaction. Environmentalism is concerned about the sustainability and conservation of natural resources for human requirements. Thus, environmentalism upholds anthropocentrism. Ecologism, on the other hand, supports ‘deep ecology’, as it believes that human species is the part of the entire ecosystem, humans are not superior to any other species. Ecologism relies upon biocentrism and emphasizes on the equality between humans and non-humans. Andrew Heywood says, ‘ecologism has drawn from a variety of other ideologies, notably socialism, anarchism,

¹ Ramaswamy, Sushila, 2004, *Political Theory: Ideas and Concepts*, MacMillan India Limited, New Delhi, p. 428.

² Heywood, Andrew, 2007a, *Politics*, 3rd Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, p. 64.

feminism, fascism and conservatism, creating a series of sub-traditions such as eco-socialism and eco-feminism'.³ Environmentalism, an environment centric ideology, is also influenced by socialism, conservatism and feminism. Therefore, difference between environmentalism and ecologism is based on 'deep' and 'shallow' perspective. New and conventional ideologies with the form of social resistance help to develop environmentalism as a dominant ideology. Heywood views that socialism gives birth to environmentalism with anti-capitalist approach. If socialism says the capitalism is responsible for environmental destruction, environmentalism will be reflected through eco-socialism. Conservatism also strengthens the root of environmentalism because conservatism desires to preserve the traditional values and institutions. Thus eco-conservatism supports conservation. Feminism, a new ideology, argues that the ecological crisis originates due to the traditional system of male power. Eco-feminism reflects the fact that men are less sensitive than women to natural process and the natural world. Therefore, feminism is another ideology that constructs the theoretical foundation of environmentalism.⁴ In India, environmentalism has emanated through social resistance of the poor tribals and other marginalized people involving issues of survival and security but ecologism emerges through social resistance by civil society organizations against huge economic developmental projects. In twenty-first century India, a thin difference is discernible between ecologism and environmentalism. Many kaleidoscopic issues have been merged into the field of Indian environmentalism, for instance – protection of biodiversity, animal welfare, anti-pollution campaign etc. The difference between 'bourgeoisie environmentalism' or conservationist movement or Northern environmentalism and 'environmentalism of the poor' or movement for livelihood or Southern environmentalism is very sharp in Indian context. While 'environmentalism of the poor' of the South believes in sustainability that connotes sustaining the ability of resources dependent local communities to extract livelihoods from their natural surroundings, 'conservationist' agenda of the North favours the preservation of flora and fauna without much regard how this conservation impacts

³ Heywood, Andrew, 2007b, *Political Ideologies: An Introduction*, 4th Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, p. 255.

⁴ Heywood, Andrew, 2007a, *ibid*, pp. 64-65.

the livelihoods of surrounding communities. However, environmentalism is a transnational environmental movement and a 'counter-hegemonic' force that resist 'hegemonic-globalization'.⁵ In twenty-first century India, it has been seen that, the movement against huge modern economic developmental project raises both the question of livelihood security of the poor as well as the issue of animal welfare and forest conservation. Therefore, the orientation of the movement against natural resource extraction based huge economic developmental projects is the real base of contemporary Indian environmentalism and ecologism.

Environmentalism and Social Resistance

Environmental thinking is based on five central themes. These are: a) Ecology, b) Holism, c) Sustainability, d) Environmental Ethics and e) Self-actualization. Ecology is the study of the relationship between living and non-living elements. Ecology has been developed as a distinct branch of biology through a growing recognition that plants and animals are sustained by self-regulating natural systems. In the study of ecology, shallow ecology and deep ecology are two important branches which were developed by Arne Naess. Apart from these two, 'social ecology' is another important idea which believes that human society operates according to ecological principles. Anarchists view that social ecology is the belief that the ecological balance is the surest foundation for social stability. According to the holistic perspective, the natural world could only be understood as a whole and not through its individual parts. Environmental holism is based on James Lovelock's 'Gaia hypothesis' which says that the 'Earth's biosphere, atmosphere, oceans and soil' exhibit precisely the kind of self-regulating behaviour that characterizes other forms of life. Ecologists argue that the governmental policies and actions must be judged by the principle of 'sustainability' that sets clear limits on human ambitions and material dreams because it requires that production does as little damage as possible to the fragile global ecosystem. Environmental politics is concerned with a particular form of moral thinking that would be based on love,

⁵ Evans, Peter, 2015, "Counterhegemonic Globalization: Transnational Social Movements in the Contemporary Political Economy" in Frank J. Lechner and John Boli edited *The Globalization Reader*, 5th Edition, Wiley Blackwell, UK, p. 553.

sympathy and compassion for both human as well as non-human species. Environmental ethics involves the application of moral standards and values developed in relation to human beings to other species and organisms. The ethical values should be developed through the principle of 'biocentric equality' that portrays that all organisms and entities in the ecosphere are of equal moral worth; each of them constitute part of an interrelated whole. As for the self-actualization, it is the personal fulfillment brought about by the refinement of sensibilities. Self-actualization puts emphasis on postmaterialism or the 'quality of life' issues which are concerned with the morality, political justice and personal fulfillment and even include gender equality, world peace, racial harmony, ecology and animal rights. Hence, ecologism is often designated as the 'new' social movement inspired by new left agenda that criticizes hierarchical, materialist and patriarchal values of conventional society.⁶ Discovery of holistic knowledge on ecology and environment and emergence of sustainability concern against the background of environmental movement establish environmentalism as science.

Aldo Leopold's concept of 'environmental stewardship' is crucial for the ideologies which deal with environmental justice and sustainability. The concept of 'environmental stewardship' is based on land ethics 'dealing with man's relation to land and to the animals and plants which grow upon it'.⁷ The Environmental Protection Agency of the United States defined environmental stewardship as 'the responsibility for environmental quality shared by all those whose actions affect the environment'. There is a great debate regarding the use of the term dominion. Dominion is defined as the domination of nature and it is not a good model for environmentalism. Stewardship is a curious replacement for dominion.⁸ Dominion or 'domination' 'emphasizes our role as masters of the earth... God gives us dominion over the earth' but 'stewardship' 'emphasizes our role as caretakers of the earth...

⁶ Heywood, Andrew, 2007b, *ibid*, pp. 258-275.

⁷ Sideris, Lisa, 2006, "Environmental Ethics, Ecological Theology and Natural Selection" in Robert James Berry edited *Environmental Stewardship: Critical Perspectives – Past and Present*, T&T Clark International, New York, p. 171.

⁸ Hargrove, Eugene C., 2015, "Stewardship Versus Citizenship" in Ricardo Rozzi, F. Stuart Chapin III, J. Baird Callicott, S. T. A. Pickett, Marry E. Power, Juan J. Armesto, Roy H. May Jr. edited *Earth Stewardship: Linking Ecology and Ethics in Theory and Practice*, Springer, New York, p. 317.

God expects us to care for the earth'. Many Christians, liberal and conservative use the term 'stewardship' to explain human relations with the earth.⁹ American environmentalism is based on the idea of responsible stewardship. It is a fundamental religious value and nodoubt a strong empirical relationship can be found between the religiosity and environmentalism. Once a Sierra Club activist stated that, 'my environmental activism comes from a much deeper place than concern for trees and birds. It's a spiritual, religious conviction that the natural order is much more than we feel and see and smell'.¹⁰ The question of the 'quality of life' issues is very important to the American environmental stewardship. But environmental stewardship in India is not based on the question of luxury rather it is based on the human and national survival. India is a densely populated country where many people are peasants and they are dependent on forest and river resources for fuel, fodder and artisanal raw material. Any state-sponsored project, cutting down the forests and using the river waters, would deprive the peasants to access the natural resources which are the sources of survival.¹¹ Basically for economic interest, the tribals and other marginalized section of society develop an intricate relationship with the natural environment. The humanist ecologists would argue that the natural resource based livelihood system is not harmful for nature rather the system teaches the humans to be the protector of environment and the system is an indicator to determine a relationship between man and nature. A relationship status between man and nature produce many myths in the society, particularly in the traditional society. These myths are based on a strong belief on God and his/her controlling power over nature. Environmental stewardship within the traditional communities is a subject of discussion of Indian environmentalism which can be seen as myth produced by the vanguards of environment.

⁹ Emerson, Michael O., William A. Mirola and Susanne C. Monahan, 2011, *Religion Matters: What Sociology Teaches Us About Religion in Our World*, Routledge, New York, 219.

¹⁰ Thiele, Leslie Paul, 1999, *Environmentalism for a New Millennium: The Challenge of Coevolution*, Oxford University Press, New York, p. 90.

¹¹ Guha, Ramachandra, 2013 "Day of the Locust" in Mckinsey and Company (Clay Chandler and Adil Zainulbhai) edited *Reimagining India: Unlocking the Potential of Asia's Next Superpower*, Simon and Schuster, New York, p. 261.

Environmentalism or humanist ecologism or shallow ecologism can be seen as ‘power-knowledge’ continuance because environmentalism, as a form of social as well as political movement, possesses enough capacity to control the trigger of a developmental paradigm. Environmentalism is ‘knowledge’ on the environmental matters on the one hand and it is also ‘power’ to halt environmental disaster on the other. Michel Foucault defined power as the knowledge. The relationship between power and knowledge cannot be denied. This relationship provides a means through which the actual mechanism, strategies and relations of power can be seen. Foucault finds power and knowledge to be correlated with each other. Foucault says, power produces knowledge and not simply by encouraging it because it serves power or by applying it because it is useful. Foucault provides ‘juridical’ and ‘microphysical’ conceptions of power. ‘Juridical’ concept of power is repressive in nature and operates through the mechanisms of law, censorship, limits and obedience. The ‘microphysical’ concept, on the contrary, is concerned with the micro-techniques of domination that means how power is exercised.¹² Ultimately, Foucault replaced the concept of ‘power-knowledge’ with the term ‘governmentality’ which he means an ‘art of government’.¹³ ‘Government’ or ‘governmentality’ is synonymous with the phrase ‘rationality of government’. To Foucault, ‘government’ means the ‘conduct of conduct’ i. e. a form of activity aiming to shape, guide or affect the conduct of some person or persons. In governmentality, governmental practices and governmental thoughts are important questions.¹⁴ Governmentality is the way in which one conducts the conduct of men and is nothing other than a proposed grid of analysis for power relations. Firstly, it is a question of trying out the notion of governmentality and secondly, it is a question of seeing how strong this grid of governmentality.¹⁵ People try to control the behaviour of government through environmental movement

¹² Valero-Silva, Néstor, 1996, “A Foucauldian Reflection on Critical Systems Thinking” in Robert L. Flood and Norma R. A. Romm edited *Critical Systems Thinking: Current Research and Practice*, Plenum Press, New York, p. 71.

¹³ Foucault, Michel, 1991, “Governmentality” in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller edited *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality (with two lectures by and an interview with Michel Foucault)*, The University of Chicago Press, USA, p. 87.

¹⁴ Gordon, Colin, 1991, “Governmental Rationality: An Introduction” in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller edited *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality (with two lectures by and an interview with Michel Foucault)*, The University of Chicago Press, USA, pp. 1-7.

¹⁵ Kelly, Mark G. E., 2009, *The Political Philosophy of Michel Foucault*, Routledge, New York, p. 61.

or environmentalism; similarly, the government also tries to regulate the activities of the people through environmental awareness campaign, environmental policy implementation or environmentalism. Thus, in the studies on environmental thinking, a power relation between the people and government is widely significant. At the context of this power relation, environmentalism can be designated as politics and hegemony.

Politics within the background of environmental movement takes peculiar shapes in different contexts. Environmental movements are associated with the recovery of traditional ways relating to the environment. According to Anthony Giddens, environmental politics is a response to perceived ecological threats and it is 'lifestyle politics' associated with new social movements. Giddens explained that green or environmental politics is concerned with how one should live and issues of personal identity rather than the typical issues which dominate 'mainstream' politics such as income levels, employment and economic growth. Like Giddens, David Goldblatt in *Social Theory and the Environment* (1996), viewed that, 'environmental politics is not simply the outcome of increasingly perceived environmental risk. It is also fuelled by an increasing demand for the remoralization of abstract systems of social organization that have ceased to be accountable in any meaningful way to those they affect'. Giddens viewed the rise of environmental politics as one of the developments which are explicitly moral and, more particularly, it is concerned with the moral questions about the modern social order, its institutions and principles.¹⁶ In India, environmental politics is generally designated as the 'politics of survival' as illustrated by Vandana Shiva. It is clear that, the Indian environmental movements are more concerned with the economic issues than the non-economic issues and hence politics in this form of social movement is deeply entrenched with the economic interests of the natural resource dependent people. Politics of environmental movement ultimately challenges the existing developmental paradigm that tries to dominate governmental policy formulation process. In most cases, Indian

¹⁶ Barry, John, 1999, *Environment and Social Theory*, Routledge, New York, pp. 94-95.

environmental movements are influenced by radicalism and even militancy. Is this the saffronization of the Indian green movement?

Environmentalism can also be understood as an ideology and social resistance. As ideology of environmentalism, it serves the interests of particular social groups and their life situations. Equally, environmentalism can be designated as reactionary utopianism which indicates an effort of containment or prevention of progressive changes that threatens the position of a dominant social group. On the contrary, environmentalism emanates through instinctive resistance or social movements against the process of economic development.¹⁷ Ramachandra Guha observed that environmentalism is an international movement and a social programme which is occurring around the globe. During 1960's, environmentalism was originated as a popular movement and influenced public policy through a series of protest events and lobbying.¹⁸ In Third World countries, the abstract concept of 'environmentalism' is taking a particular shape from the concrete cases of ecological, green and or environmental resistance. The poor tribals and other marginalized people organize social resistance against state sponsored modern huge economic developmental process to save the sources of livelihood and to counter massive displacement. It is the struggle for natural resources by those people who are dependent on country's land, water and forest resources for their daily needs and sheer survival. This type of collective mobilization is seen, particularly in the agrarian society, when the poor peasants or the forest based traditional communities think that the modern economic developmental process is a threat to their traditional livelihood system and a serious challenge to their cultural lifestyle. Thus, they take anti-state, anti-authoritarian and anti-industrial position from their community-interest based environmental awareness. In this sense, environmentalism is a social resistance. But environmentalism also generates through political movement as the state authority sometimes legalizes and implements specific environmental policies from sustainability concern. Many of the Third World countries, including India, are

¹⁷ Gibson, Donald, 2002, *Environmentalism: Ideology and Power*, Nova Publishers, New York, pp. 104-105.

¹⁸ Guha, Ramachandra, 2000, *Environmentalism: A Global History*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, pp. 2-3.

aware of the drastic environmental change, global warming, depletion of ozone layer, deforestation, species extinction, population explosion, resource shortage, food crisis, development problems etc. and the planners and policy makers are taking necessary steps on behalf of the government time to time to counter these problems. The government follows suitable policy measures for environmental awareness campaign and environmental education and environmental regeneration programme. Therefore, environmentalism can be seen as a political movement or a pattern of affirmative action done by the government to make the man-nature relationship complimentary with each other.

The modern state system is accountable to protect its natural environment from possible harm. Firstly, several multilateral environmental agreements have been signed to form the basis of the structure of global environmental governance. 60% of these agreements have been negotiated since the 1972 Stockholm conference and 85% of the agreements cover domestic activities. Secondly, the state creates specific dominant norms that are dependent upon the consent and will of the state and the process of the creation is opened to a wider range of the actors. However, the NGOs and other transnational networks also play a significant role in the process of environmental governance. Thirdly, justification and evaluation of the norms are essential. Multilateral environmental governance has emerged not only due to an overarching idea of a shared responsibility to safeguard the global environment rather it also justified and evaluated a range of more specific norms such as legal duties to prevent environmental harm, liability for environmental harm, duties to inform and to consult, duties to undertake environmental impact assessment, the precautionary principle, the principle of intergenerational equity and ideas of common heritage, of shared resources and of common concern. Fourth important issue is, moves towards the more effective implementation of these norms. Now-a-days, a good move towards harder and more coercive forms of implementation has taken place on the fringes of the legal order, most notably in the growth of an

increasingly wide range of conditionalities and environmentally related sanctions applied by international leading agencies.¹⁹

There are several dimensions of environmentalism in India. The nature of Indian environmentalism can be understood by analyzing the extent of social and political movements against the developmental initiatives taken by the central or state government, even the nature of Indian environmentalism can be gauged from the environmental policy formulation process by the state authority. When the state authority seeks to hijack the process of economic development through the implementation of several policies on developmental projects, a large number of people, who are dependent on natural resources for their livelihood and who are concerned about the protection of ecosystem and biodiversity, move forward and organize popular movement against state-sponsored developmental project. In contemporary India, the state authority has accepted globalization and market economy to reinforce the process of economic development; on the other hand, project-affected or to be affected people, environmentalists, proponents of human rights and even politicians focus their voices to assert their democratic rights and environmental justice for both human and non-human species. At this juncture the state authority is compelled to initiate those developmental plans which would be relatively less environment degrading and would be suitable for the people of all stratum of the society. Several voices of dissatisfaction and resentment were raised against developmental model pursued by the government. State sponsored developmental projects would exploit nature and surrounding environment through several means and as a consequence mostly the poor and the marginalized people would suffer. Hence, social movements for the rights over natural resources are reflections of the 'environmentalism of the poor' (Guha and Alier, 1997). The demand of environment-centric livelihood system and traditional rights through social movements gave birth to 'environmentalism of the poor'. State agencies take lessons from these responses and adopt those environment policies which would be congenial for human security, survival and needs.

¹⁹ Hurrell, Andrew, 2006, "The State" in Andrew Dobson and Robyn Eckersley edited *Political Theory and the Ecological Challenge*, Cambridge University Press, UK, pp. 172-173.

Urban middle class people, the professionals, intellectuals, environmentalists, social activists and the politicians are concerned about the protection of biodiversity; even they think about the welfare of the non-human species and campaign for clean environment. Environmental movements, in India and beyond, have been bolstered mostly by these sections of the society. Enthusiasm and non-violent politics of these groups, which is more or less different than that of the grassroots politics of the marginalized and disadvantaged masses, provided rhetoric to the environmentalist thought. Most often, the Indian middle class people have taken the reins of the environmental movement for the sake of serving the interest of the poor who are dependent on the natural resources for survival and security. It has also been observed that the Indian middle class people blamed the tribals as ecologically profligates and sometimes argued for the eviction of slum dwellers for clean environment (Rangarajan, 2000; Baviskar, 2011). They raise the 'quality of life' issues as part of the modern environmental movement. Thus, the 'bourgeoisie environmentalism' often goes against the 'environmentalism of the poor'.

Expressions of the resentment against the state actions frequently result in social movements by the Indian masses. Masses are always looking at the government for the fulfillment of their aspirations. But it is very difficult to synthesize their demands which come from the different sections of the society. Hence, it is witnessed that the government initiates a particular policy on development which can be considered as the developmental policy for a particular section of the society, not the development for all. Strangely, this is also the argument of the movement supporters who directly and indirectly join the protest movements against state policy. They view that such developmental policy or plan or scheme disrupts the life and livelihood system of the poor, marginalized and deprived masses and particularly of those people who are accustomed to maintain their traditional belief system. Modern developmentalism, globalism and industrialism are interrupting the nature based life and livelihood system of those people who are satisfied with their traditional, ancestral and conservative lifestyle pattern. Modern developmental project means primarily land acquisition and then artificially controlling of natural resources and environmental conditions which

proceed through the setting up of big industry or multipurpose dam project induced by foreign direct investment and sharing of profits between two or more countries. The negative consequences which follow from these propensities are: displacement, loss of livelihood, environmental pollution, loss of biodiversity, obliteration of traditional knowledge system etc. Now-a-days, these are the most viable factors for the emergence of social movements and their massive dimension. Moreover, the concepts like 'nature as mother' and 'son of the soil' are the real foundation on which the social movements are consolidating.

According to the conservationists, the overuse of resources and over population are the main causes of environmental degradation. Hence, to arrest ecological deterioration, the government has launched several programmes by the dissemination of large scale environmental education and awareness campaigns for changing resources use patterns, suggesting through media to avoid wastage of decreasing resources, introducing new and clean technologies etc. Apart from conservative environmentalism, there are other forms of environmentalism which have been expressed through social movements. These are: (1) ecological Marxism or progressive environmentalism and (2) 'environmentalism of the poor'. Progressive environmentalism states that the modern industry can be set up keeping in mind the social needs and regulating unsustainable practices. In order to build an egalitarian society, the role of the state should be redefined in the present context and new institutional alternatives are required. On the other hand, environmentalism of the poor supports politics of survival and criticizes over-consumption and modern industrialism. It demands people's rights over natural resources.²⁰ Environmental and ecological movements in India advocate the ideology of 'environmentalism of the poor'. Questions of human rights, issues of survival, ethnic identity and distributive justice are closely related with these movements.²¹ A large number of women, poor, disadvantaged and marginalized masses are mainly the participants of these movements as they are the worst affected by environmental degradation.

²⁰ Prasad, Archana, 2008, "Introduction" in Archana Prasad edited *Environment, Development and Society in Contemporary India: An Introduction*, Macmillan India Ltd., New Delhi, pp. 3-9.

²¹ Guha, Ramachandra and Juan Martinez Alier, 1997, *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North and South*, Earthscan Publications Ltd., London, p. 18.

Environmental movements in the West focus on the issue of 'quality of life'. Western environmental movements highlight consumption, productive use of natural resources and conservation of natural resources, whereas environmental movements in India are based on the use and alternative use as well as control over natural resources.²² So far as the occupation and the social status of the movement participants are concerned, they are peasants, fishermen and the people from tribal communities who are mostly dependent on natural resources for their livelihood. Generally they are the victimized group due to state-sponsored developmental project controlling natural resources. Guha and Martinez Alier conclude that, Indian environmentalism as the third world environmentalism can be considered as 'empty-belly' environmentalism.²³ It is obvious that Western environmentalism deeply focuses on non-economic issues than the economic issues, while environmental movements in India are based on economic issues than the non-economic issues. However, issues of survival economy are not only an important motivational force for environmental and ecological movements in India, instead, it includes larger ecological concerns criticizing or questioning the notion of development and conservation indicated by the state officials. It is observed that the modern environmental movements in India are concerned about the survival imperatives of the poor as well as the quality of life issues.

Indian urban middle class people or the elite groups contribute to environmental movements expressing their protests or support in favour of ecological conservation. They call for such conservationist measure where only state control over natural resources is acceptable and people's control over natural resources is denied. Elite groups ignore the intricate relationship between nature and the people and view that the tribals are 'ecologically profligate' as the tribals ravage natural resources for their own purpose. On the contrary, popular movements which are emerging out from huge number of peasants of tribal and non-tribal communities and demand people's control over natural resources. This is the conflict between

²² Shah, Ghanshyam, 2004, *Social Movements in India: A Review of Literature*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp. 252-253.

²³ Guha, Ramachandra and Juan Martinez Alier, 1997, *ibid*, p. xxi.

‘environmentalism of the poor’ and ‘elite environmentalism’. Highlighting the socio-economic status of the movement participants and the issues of protest, whether economic or non-economic, in the context of different ideological positions asserted by the movement participants in different sections of society, the present study explores the dynamics of Indian environmentalism contextualizing the broad issues of POSCO (Odisha) and Tipaimukh (Manipur).

It is quite obvious that the process of economic development at a faster rate increases the danger of environmental degradation. Reformist environmentalists emphasize on ecological conservation by governmental initiative to halt or at least minimize environmental degradation. On the contrary, radical environmentalists view that, globalism is only the key factor behind environmental deterioration. They argue that globalism offers indulgence to industrialism and industrialism depends upon science and technological development. Extreme use of science and technologies help to build up huge industries which includes materialist perception among the citizen. It subtracts the humanist, social and political values and continuously affects environment. Hence, anti-globalization movement, anti-industrialization movement, anti-authoritarian movement, human rights movement, ecological and environmental movements are intensifying in large scale. The nature of anti-globalization movement in India can be explored by analyzing the negative consequences of globalization over the livelihood system of poor and marginalized people and highlighting people’s resistance taking environmental and ecological questions against the process of globalization.

In India, people’s voices of anti-globalization and to some extent anti-industrialization and people’s behaviour through social movements are the real obstructions for the developmental projects. Politics of environmentalism is a serious challenge to the politics of modern economic development. In India, the central and state governments often have abandoned their proposed modern developmental programmes due to the popular resistance against the state initiative. Since governmental plan for development limits people’s control over land, water and forests and displacement along with climate change, people oppose state-induced

developmental project and sometime they propose alternative developmental model preferring sustainable use of resources. The question arises whether these people's movements are anti-developmental movements or these are the movements to reformulate the state directed-developmental model or the combination of both.

The struggle against the state for environmental rights is backed by multicultural, local and tribal perspectives. It is not an exaggeration that earning of a livelihood, rights of 'son of the soil' over natural resources remain the reasons for the emergence of environmental movements. According to Ramachandra Guha (1988), agrarianism alone has procreated environmentalism and the tribal peasants and the forest dwellers are the original participants of the movement to save environment. People who belong to the tribal communities and are professionally cultivators, they always claim their traditional rights over natural resources and they are the people who at the first time raised their voices against deterioration of environment. Commentators of tribal movements view that, from generation to generation tribal people are using natural resources for their livelihood, if this traditional right is to be reduced in the name of state sponsored developmental project, they will be displaced from the actual source of their livelihood. Since the main base of tribal economy is the collection of resources from forest and mining zone, any kind of intervention, whether governmental or semi-governmental or non-governmental, tribal will never accept it easily. Against this intervention over tribal livelihood patterns, tribal resentments exhibit through environmental movements, involuntary displacement and rehabilitation movements etc. Thus tribalism enumerates a close relationship between nature and the tribal people. Scholars like Guha (1995), Baviskar (1995, 2005) and others have argued that tribal people know how to use natural resources so that the ecological conservation will be maintained for the sustainable growth of natural resources.

Social movement theorists argue that the environmental and ecological movements are 'new' movements because they concern the whole of society and these movements are not movements by any particular class, community or any section of the society. Moreover, many diversified issues are included within the

agenda and mode of protests. These movements start with a single issue but after lapse of time, the participants raise many primary and secondary issues simultaneously. In Indian context, environmental movements are the struggles of the people on the issues of their livelihood and access to forest and other natural resources but ecology movements have increased as a reaction against the predatory exploitation of natural resources to strengthen the process of development which is dominated by market forces.²⁴ The questions of human rights, justice, equality and democracy have been attached to these types of movements.

Human rights of individual will be secured and the apprehension of frequent movement taking ecological and environmental issues will be diminished if the state ensures people's control or right over natural resources, particularly for those people who are actually dependent on nature. The proponents of human rights put emphasis on human needs and basic requirements. To them, human being exists at the utmost level of entire ecosystem and they have the right to use natural resources for the interest of their basic needs and livelihood. On the contrary, environmentalists are so concerned about the conservation of wildlife and natural resources that generally they ignore the matters of human needs and requirements for their subsistence. Again developmentalists are interested to use natural resources for economic development. They give little importance to man-nature relationship. Here lies the contradiction between the proponents of human rights, environmentalists and developmentalists.

Governmental policy formulators are interested to initiate developmental project based on use of natural resources. It is argued that, state initiated developmental projects like setting up of big dam and industries will increase direct employment, strengthen urbanization process and will open up scope for downstream employment. Thus for keeping pace of population increase, government takes such initiative so that a number of unemployed people can be accommodated with these processes. Before implementing five year plan government of India tried to formulate developmental plan and activities with environmental consideration in mind. It has been reflected through several policy formulations on forest and wildlife

²⁴ Shah, Ghanshyam, 2004, *ibid*, pp. 250, 253.

conservation, population control, environmental protection, sustainable development, application of environment friendly technologies, dissemination of environmental awareness etc. Therefore, people's movement is not the one and only base for the theoretical foundation of environmentalism and ecologism rather government's movement has also the equal contribution for the emergence of environment centric ideologies. Here a critical evaluation of governmental actions will be done to examine myriad forms of Indian environmentalism.

Environmentalism: Science, Politics, Hegemony and Myth

Modern environmentalism is well encompassed with the notion of 'green values' and the green values are mostly supported by many old and new dominant political ideologies such as, feminism, anarchism, socialism and conservatism. It is seen that, covertly feminist overtone can be found behind the formulation of 'Gaia Hypothesis'. Evidently supporters of the 'green politics' generally deny the necessity of state authority and sometimes demand for restraining the authoritative power of the state; world-wide emerging anti-globalization movement is fueling 'eco-socialism'; desire to conserve traditional culture and attitude to resist change are the indications of 'anti-growth' initiatives. From the time of emergence, environmentalism appeared as science, politics, hegemony and even sometimes as myth.

Scientist James Lovelock's theory of 'Gaia Hypothesis' proposes that the world is a living entity and in the earth, organic and inorganic resources are continuously interacting with each other, thus the planet earth made herself a living self-regulated system and generates suitable living conditions for the existing lives in the earth. According to this theoretical formulation, the planet earth is considered as the Goddess 'Gaia' who according to Greek Mythology is known as the mother of all other Gods.²⁵ The feminists have redefined the concept of 'mother earth' which is central to the cultures of indigenous people and it was reinforced by science. However, both environmentalists and feminists have criticized Gaia theory and

²⁵ Lovelock, James, 1979, *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth*, Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 1-11.

viewed that its message carries cultural baggage that undercuts its inspirational power. They viewed that 'mother earth' is not a self-regulating homeostatic system; earth has not enough capacity to correct the wrongful deed done by the humans against the purity of nature.²⁶ Environmentalists often argue that socio-economic and political activities of the humans are the responsible factors behind the drastic negative change of the environment. This argument was synthesized under the caption of 'environmental orthodoxies'. Desertification, deforestation, pollution, loss of biodiversity, climate change etc. all are caused by the human actions. On the contrary, it is also the humans who are inventing new strategies and popularizing new practices for survival in the age of environmental crisis. This argument is designated as 'environmental adaptations'. Adaptations are divided into two parts: 'adaptive strategies' and 'adaptive processes'. Adaptive strategies are the practical decisions by the individuals to change the productive activities like selling livestock during drought season or building of small scale soil conservation measures like mounds to prevent declining soil fertility. On the contrary, adaptive processes are long term decisions by the humans to create socio-economic trends like decision to undertake long-distance migration or the building of terraces on agricultural land.²⁷ Agriculture as science was developed through the process of trial and error and gradually industrial development took place by the humans pertaining to agricultural development. Invention of modern science and technology made huge industrial development easy and natural resource based. Another science has been developed when a group of people popularized the fact that the modern natural resource based industries are threatening the natural environment. This science is designated as environmental science.

The cultural ethos of 'environmentalism' is rooted in growing environmental movements in the entire globe and it is potentially a scientific social movement. Max Nicholson and N. W. Moore have emphasized on the need for scientific environmental conservation as 'movement'. Nicholson viewed that 'the movement

²⁶ Merchant, Carolyn, 1996, *Earthcare: Women and Environment*, Routledge, New York, pp. 4-5.

²⁷ Forsyth, Tim, 2003, *Critical Political Ecology: The Politics of Environmental Science*, Routledge, New York, p. 36.

should be science led and science based'.²⁸ Moore also focused on the conservation as a strategy for long-term environmental protection. Conservation, to him, is both a subject and an aim. It involves fundamental and applied science, technology, economics, administration and politics and requires the understanding of people and society. It is motivated by strong feeling as well as by 'objective reasoning'.²⁹ This objective reason signifies the development of scientific bent of mind for the nature conservation. Moore is confident that, the conservation movement can succeed in becoming the catalyst for developing conservation mindedness in the population as a whole, and this success is not a foregone conclusion and it will partly depend upon a change in the attitude of conservationists. The objective of the conservation is no less than to maintain the living resources of the world so that each generation can use and enjoy them. Conservationists must make it quite clear that in pursuing this objective they seek a new dimension in public life. About the politics of conservation, Moore, viewed that 'conservation should come to be accepted as a matter of course' in the way that we already accept the need for peaceful relations between nations, improved safety standards at work and improved medical care. Once this is achieved the future of our living resources will be assured'.³⁰

Regarding the nature of conservation, conflict arises between two approaches: ecocentrism and anthropocentrism. Simply eco-centrism is environment centered perspective and anthropocentrism is human centered perspective. Ecocentrism believes in ecologically based morality and suggests for restraining human action through limits to economic and population growth. Most importantly, ecocentrism views humankind as part of a global ecosystem and subject to ecological laws.³¹ Ecocentric environmentalism is seen as a more wide-ranging and more ecologically informed variant of preservationism as it: i) recognizes the full range of human interests in the non-human world, ii) recognizes the interests of the non-

²⁸ Nicholson, Max, 1987, *The New Environmental Age*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 81-82.

²⁹ Moore, N. W., 1987, *The Bird of Time: The Science and Politics of Nature Conservation*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p. xviii.

³⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 257-259.

³¹ Peper, David, 1993, *Eco-Socialism: From Deep Ecology to Social Justice*, Routledge, New York, p. 33.

human community, iii) recognizes the interests of future generations of humans and non-humans and iv) adopts a holistic rather than an atomistic perspective in so far as it values populations, species, ecosystems and the ecosphere as well as individual organisms.³² On the contrary, anthropocentric environmentalism believes that industrial societies are destroying natural resources and processes upon which human survival depends. Environmentalists want to preserve and restore these resources and processes. They are concerned about the climate change, species extinction, degradation of agricultural land, preservation of wilderness areas and protection of such public goods as clean air and water.³³ Anthropocentric environmentalism argues that, we need to protect the natural world only for the human benefit; that benefit includes mainly the economic benefit and even medicinal, cultural and aesthetic benefit also. Anthropocentric environmentalism regards the value of natural world including animal as extrinsic to its use of humans. More clearly, animals have no intrinsic value and their protection is totally dependent on whether it serves human interests to do so.³⁴ Ecocentrism or biocentrism considers the protection and welfare of all the living creatures of the world but anthropocentrism argues for the protection and welfare of those animals or living organisms which can satisfy the humans and according to the human needs they determine the measures of animal and nature conservation. Specially, environmentalism values the preservation of species, communities or ecosystem rather than the individual organisms of which they are composed. The ethical problem for environmentalism stems from the holistic character as opposed to individualistic character. Animal liberationists contribute to overcome this problem. They urged that we should take the suffering of sentient animals into account in ethical deliberation. Sentient beasts are not mere things to be used as cruelly as we like no matter how trivial the benefit we derive. But to widening the ethical circle, we are simply entering in the community which is more individual organisms whose costs and benefits we compare. Animal liberationists, in

³² Eckersley, Robyn, 1992, *Environmentalism and Political Theory: Toward and Ecocentric Approach*, UCL Press Limited, London, p. 46.

³³ Wenz, Peter, 2007, "Does Environmentalism Promote Injustice for the Poor" in Ronald Sandler and Phaedra C. Pezzullo edited *Environmental Justice and Environmentalism: The Social Justice Challenge to the Environmental Movement*, MIT Press, Cambridge, p. 72.

³⁴ Garner, Robert, 2005, *The Political Theory of Animal Rights*, Manchester University Press, UK, pp. 118-119.

this context, extend the value of utilitarianism to take account of the welfare of other individuals. Here the practical consequences would be revolutionary and the theoretical perspective is not at all novel. The logic that can be developed here is that, if suffering is bad then it is also bad for any individual who suffers.³⁵ In matters of resource management, anthropocentric environmentalism emphasizes on the use and popularization of 'local knowledge' whereas, the ecocentric environmentalism focuses on the 'scientific knowledge'. Thus conflicts emanate between the social activists and conservation biologists over the issue of resource management. Social activists and others have argued that the scientific knowledge is unsuitable for the effective management of local issues and in the same way state agencies and conservation biologists have often dismissed local knowledge as having little or no role in the management of wilderness resources.³⁶

Before twenty-first century, the environmentalists viewed that the scientific progress has always brought with it the seeds of its own undoing. The development of engines such as first the steam engines, gasoline and diesel engines and then the gas turbine etc. freed the masses of humanity from the endless drudgery of manual labour. But consequently that progress caused 'unintended side effects' like pollution, long-distance bombing and the release of greenhouse gases which are warming the planet catastrophically. Besides, the development of sanitation, immunization and modern drugs freed us from a lot of diseases. But this progress had also the 'unintended side effects' of overpopulation and environmental destruction. Despite these side effects, science got the victory against natural evils like manual labour, pain and disease. But at the start of twenty-first century, environmentalists discursively found that the environmental crises arose due to the unintended side effects of many scientific victories. They viewed that, population, the death of the oceans, environmentally caused cancers and other diseases, nuclear and biological weapons of mass destruction in the hands of immature politicians, a

³⁵ Sober, Elliott, 1995, "Philosophical Problems for Environmentalism" in Robert Elliot edited *Environmental Ethics*, Oxford University Press, New York, p. 227.

³⁶ Saberwal, Vasant K. and Mahesh Rangarajan, 2003, "Introduction" in Vasant K. Saberwal and Mahesh Rangarajan, *Battles Over Nature: Science and the Politics of Conservation*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, p. 3.

soaring population that threatens to overwhelm the planetary ecosystem all these crises are the products of the science. Thus the environmentalists took anti-science position and developed environmental science which ultimately produced a new socio-political theory i. e., environmentalism.³⁷

Lester W. Milbrath has hardly any concern on the science of environmental movement or environmentalism as science. Milbrath argues that every organized society has a 'Dominant Social Paradigm' (DSP) which consists of the values, metaphysical beliefs, institutions, habits, etc., which collectively provide social lenses through which individuals and groups interpret their social world.³⁸ DSP shows mastery over nature and emphasizes on the individual competition. Against this paradigm 'New Environmental Paradigm' (NEP) emerged and advocates for thoughtful consideration of where we are going, careful and subdued production and consumption, conservation of resources, protection of the environment and the basic values of compassion, justice, and quality of life.³⁹ Thus NEP has appeared as the 'vanguard' of society being 'environmental reformer' and DSP can be dubbed as 'rearguard'. These terms, Milbrath viewed, are not meant to be pejorative.⁴⁰ Therefore, social action is important for the emergence of environmentalism than the development of environmental science among the people. Environmentalists always view that science and modern technologies are hostile to our natural environment and habitat. Environmentalists oppose the institutions of industrial society since it cause environmental destruction and biodiversity loss. The members of Friends of the Earth and the Conservation society or the environmentalists, want a society which attaches more importance to humanly satisfying work in which production is selective rather than aiming to satisfy the demand for consumer goods which sets limits to economic growth and emphasizes participation against the influence of

³⁷ Foss, Jeffrey E., 2009, *Beyond Environmentalism: A Philosophy of Nature*, John Wiley and Sons, New Jersey, pp. 80-82.

³⁸ Milbrath, Lester W., 1984, *Environmentalists: Vanguard for a New Society*, State University of New York Press, New York, p. 7.

³⁹ *ibid*, p. 14.

⁴⁰ *ibid*, p. 23.

experts.⁴¹ Thus environmentalists generate social resistance in a radical way highlighting the negative impact of science and building micro-organizations. Therefore, environmentalism is the product of social resistance not merely the production of science.

Sharachchandra Lele argued that, the question for science is not whether a particular system is sustainable rather how different systems of resource extraction, management and consumption measures up in terms of different definitions and attributes of quality of life, sustainability and equity or social justice. For example, foresters should not ask whether a particular forest management method is sustainable but should ask what kind of well being it will provide over what time frame and for whom. The scientific issues in sustainability and environmentalism may be organized along three dimensions corresponding to the three questions related to resource use, time frame of resource use and social process. The question arises mainly from the fundamental dilemma in the environment-development debate. People meet their needs and satiate greed by using and transforming ecosystems. But some of these transformations would compromise to various degrees the capacity of these ecosystems to provide these needs in the future.⁴² Vandana Shiva and J. Bandyopadhyay highlighted the importance of public interest ecological science behind the advent of ecology or environmental movement in India. They argued that the emergence of public interest science is critical for the resolution of conflicts over natural resources, since in its absence, partisan science is given the status of a neutral, value free and independent tool for resolving conflicts. Nevertheless, since partisan science is cognitively rooted in special vested interests, it tends to bias public policy decisions in their favour and against the larger public interest. Shiva and Bandyopadhyay argued that the environmental movements emerge from the violation of the public interest by special interest groups and must therefore indicate the social and environmental consequences of narrow profit

⁴¹ Cotgrove, Stephen and Andrew Duff, 2009, "Middle-class Radicalism and Environmentalism" in Jeff Goodwin and James M. Jasper edited *The Social Movements Reader: Cases and Concepts*, Second Edition, Willey-Blackwell Publishing Limited, UK, p. 77.

⁴² Lele, Sharachchandra, 1994, "Sustainability, Environmentalism, and Science" in *Pacific Institute Report*, Vol. 3, No. 1, p. 2.

maximization. Under this circumstance a deep and sustained resolution of such conflicts in favour of the broader public interest must be based on the emergence of a different way of looking at nature on the creation of a public interest science. The characteristics of the public interest science must be based on the ecological science that means: a) it must be based on the recognition of relationships and interdependence among the various material components of nature; b) it must be able to see and assess activities of nature and put a value to it and c) it must be able to locate how the processes of nature support survival and not merely profitability.⁴³

From the above discussions, it is quite clear that there is a complex relationship between science and politics that have been located in environmentalism. Environmentalism is neither purely the conclusion of environmental science nor absolutely an integral part of radical environmental politics. Separating science and politics in environmental policy would cause two major problems: a) many environmental policies will not address the underlying biophysical causes of environmental problems and b) many environmental policies will impose unnecessary and unfair restrictions on livelihoods of marginalized people.⁴⁴ Tim Forsyth argued that the boundary organization approach of social movement theory analyses the coproduction of environmental science and policy. But the power to shape environmental science in this way is not restricted to formal organizations or expert agencies and may include less formal forms of political activism like social movements. As a matter of fact, much discussion in environmental politics or political ecology has pointed to the positive role played by social movements or a vibrant civil society in general in forming a more ecologically aware or more socially just form of development. At one point of time environmental social movements offer means to revitalize environmental discourse which is increasingly dominated by state and industrial interests and this type of activism can be considered as 'green' not because it reflects the findings of environmental science

⁴³ Shiva, Vandana and J. Bandyopadhyay, 1986, "Environmental Conflicts and Public Interest Science" in *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 84-90.

⁴⁴ Forsyth, Tim, 2003, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

but also because it offers a reaction from society to the domination of policy debates by the interests of economic growth.⁴⁵

Modern environmentalism is mostly influenced by the newly emerged middle class people who have started a defensive movement against capitalism and modern industrialism. New middle class people can be characterized by the persons who reject the ideology and values of industrial capitalism and are likely to choose careers outside the market place. Such business would offer a substantial degree of personal autonomy for those who have little taste for a subordinate role in the predominantly hierarchical structures of industrial society.⁴⁶ In the Western perspective, environmentalism is purely a non-violent collective social mobilization which takes care of the interest of the middle class people. But in the Third World countries, it is the new middle class people who generally hold the leadership position of the social protests which demand environmental justice for the marginalized people. Chipko and Narmada struggles got scholarly attention due to the contribution of new middle class people who were actively involved in environmental activism, lobbying and education. However, during silent valley movement middle class environmental activism was potent enough to influence the governmental decision making process. Here interest of the marginalized people was not more important than that of biodiversity conservation. Since the Chipko struggle, Indian middle class people are taking forefront position at the so-called environmental movement and playing an overriding role from the background of social ecology, environmental economics and biodiversity conservation to make environmentalism as a dominant socio-political ideology. In the Indian environmental movement, marginalized people participate when economic values become primordial to them but for the middle class people both economic and non-economic values are equally important for the very success of the movement. Generally, the middle class activists follow the strategies such as 'non-violent coercion' like demonstration, hunger strike, road blockade, petition etc.; dissemination of environmental education; public interest litigation etc.

⁴⁵ *ibid*, pp. 152-153.

⁴⁶ Cotgrove, Stephen and Andrew Duff, 2009, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

Emma Mawdsley has observed involvement of India's middle in environmental debates. She identified that: a) India's middle classes constitute a sizeable percentage of India's population and their behaviour to environment has a significant impact. Especially wealthier groups of Indian urban area make higher demands upon environmental goods and capacities through their ability to command more resources such as per capita water and electricity, consumer products and their greater waste production including vehicle emissions and garbage; b) Indian middle classes exert a disproportionate influence in shaping the terms of public debate on environmental issues through their strong representation in the media, politics, scientific establishment, NGOs, bureaucracy, environmental institutions and the legal system. The middle classes dominate the public sphere – from place specific disputes, for example – air pollution debates in Delhi, through institutional cultures and approaches, for example – in the Ministry of Environment and Forests or environmental NGOs, to the content and tone of national newspaper reporting; c) a growing evidence of dynamism and change was observed among the Southern middle class people in terms of their understandings of and anxieties around various environmental issues and indications of regional differences and inflections around these debates. An increasing concern was measured with pollution and urban squalor or the 'brown agenda' and there is evidence of an increase in the number of middle class residents association seeking to manage waste, green areas and regulate or deny access to public space; d) developed environmental values and behaviour of India's middle class people would help to challenge two powerful but problematic directions in current environmental thinking. The first is about the 'stages of developmental model' which was developed through the Northern environmental theories, histories and experiences. This model is remarkably pervasive in India despite its evident empirical and conceptual failings. And the second problematic direction is the strength of 'nativist' environmental theorizing. Some commentators criticize the present developmental paradigm and provide new prescriptions for the future. By doing so they present a sanitized and partial environmental and socio-political history relying upon a paradoxically Orientalist construction of a timeless, ecologically attuned and hostile to science and modernity. But ineffective platform

for dealing with contemporary environmental change in an increasingly urban, consumerist and industrial society would generate problems into the processes of cultural-national purification.⁴⁷ Mawdsley also shows difference between the nature of Indian environmental politics of the urban poor and the middle classes. A broad ideological difference can be found between the strategies adopted by these two different groups. Urban poor people are interested in ‘political society’ and middle class people deeply rely upon the ‘civil society’. ‘Political society’ is often located in the slums or poorer area, talking the language of rights, using agitation and demonstrations as one tool in their limited armory, with weak cultural capital, stronger ties to political parties and aiming to secure basic rights for poorer people. On the other hand, ‘civil society’ is often run by upper class individuals, with ties to large corporations, located in middle and upper class areas of the city, characterized by ‘professional’ systems and which have adopted the language of accountable government, stakeholders and transparency. Urban poor people have deep trust on the political parties and membership organizations but the middle class people have increasingly turned to civil society organizations which seek to work in ‘partnership’ with the state. Moreover, the political participation of the urban poor is directed towards securing various citizens’ rights such as health, education, a minimum wage, freedom of information, gender rights etc. through lobbying and agitation, but the goal of middle class dominated associational efflorescence tend to focus on securing consumer oriented services and policing the social and geographical boundaries of their privilege.⁴⁸

Middle class environmentalism is seen as a manifestation of the emerging culture and the political orientation of the ‘new middle class’ which is being produced by an array of different forces especially the opening up of the Indian market and global economic opportunities. Differentiation between middle class environmentalism and the ‘environmentalism of the poor’ is paralleled by the class

⁴⁷ Mawdsley, Emma, 2004, “India’s Middle Classes and the Environment” in *Development and Change*, 35 (1), pp. 81-84.

⁴⁸ Mawdsley, Emma, 2009, “Environmentality in the Neoliberal City: Attitudes, Governance and Social Justice” in Hellmuth Lange and Lars Meier edited *The New Middle Classes: Globalizing Lifestyles, Consumerism and Environmental Concern*, Springer, New York, pp. 243-244.

differentiated development agendas of the state which advocate heightened consumption for the liberalizing middle class but 'sustainable development and austerity for the rural poor and subaltern groups.'⁴⁹ Even a sharp difference can be observed within the framework of Indian middle class environmentalism, especially between the environmentalism of the middle class human rights activists and the environmentalism of the pro-state middle class people. Indian environmentalism developed by middle class human rights activists shows a high degree of compassion for the rights of the marginalized people who basically make both ends-meets being close to natural environment. During Narmada Bachao Movement urban middle-class people, like Medha Patkar and Baba Amte, came at the forefront of the struggle and challenged the neo-liberal economic developmental paradigm which would make the 'ecosystem people' more marginal and destitute. Politics of middle class human rights activists pressurized the state machinery to abandon the initiative for damming Narmada and reiterated the questions of environmental sustainability, rights of the marginalized and welfare state. On the contrary, another group of the middle class people, who are patronized by the state, generally seek controlled natural environment for their affluent life style ignoring the survival imperatives of the poor and marginalized people. Amita Baviskar designated it as the 'bourgeois environmentalism'. 'Bourgeois environmentalism' emerged as an increasingly more powerful ideology when the question of leisure and cleanliness became crucial issue for them uprooting the slum dwellers in Delhi. The root of bourgeois environmentalism can be found in the interests of middle class hegemonism and in the private capital and the state. Urban bourgeois environmentalists often ignore the questions of equity measuring a relation between their own resource intensive lifestyles and the environmental degradation and loss of biodiversity about which

⁴⁹ Upadhyaya, Carol, 2009, "India's 'New Middle Class' and the Globalizing City: Software Professionals in Bangalore, India" in Hellmuth Lange and Lars Meier edited *The New Middle Classes: Globalizing Lifestyles, Consumerism and Environmental Concern*, Springer, New York, p. 255.

they claim to be concerned and moreover, they locate these problems elsewhere, attributing them to rural poverty, overpopulation or ignorance.⁵⁰

The rise of new middle class in the context of economic liberalization is very significant. The rise of the new Indian middle class represents the political construction of a social group that operates as a proponent of economic liberalization. This newness at the section of middle class refers to a process of production of a distinctive social and political identity that represents and lays claim to the benefits of liberalization and notably it does not refer to upwardly mobile segments of the population entering the middle class.⁵¹ Leela Fernandes argues that the economic liberalization in industrializing India operates through two disparate but simultaneous languages of economic development and economic growth. On the one hand, state, non-governmental organizations and World Bank sponsored projects are producing narratives of sustainable development that primarily target subaltern social groups, particularly in the rural area and on the other hand, state led and global policies of economic liberalization deploy celebratory languages of middle class consumption as a sign of the success of such policies. These discrepant narratives of middle class consumption and subaltern development are the part of a singular set of state developmentalist strategies in the post-liberalization period.⁵² In the era of economic reforms the new middle class people have shaped their identity in distinctive ways and the politics of new middle class became inextricably linked to the material restructuring of urban space and constructed a new environmental thought in the age of new urbanization. Such emerging forms of urban middle class environmentalism often adopt an individualistic language of responsibility. For example – the synergy between ‘environmental self help’ and new emphasis on ‘caring for the self’ such as yoga, no smoking, safe water, exercise diet etc. have

⁵⁰ Baviskar, Amita, 2011, “Cows, Cars and Cycle-Rickshaws: Bourgeois Environmentalism and the Battle for Delhi’s Streets’ in Amita Baviskar and Raka Ray edited *Elite and Everyman: The Cultural Politics of the Indian Middle Classes*, Routledge, New Delhi, pp. 391-418.

⁵¹ Fernandes, Leela, 2006, *India’s New Middle Class: Democratic Politics in an Era of Economic Reform*, University of Minnesota Press, London, p. xviii.

⁵² Fernandes, Leela, 2009, “The Political Economy of Lifestyle: Consumption, India’s New Middle Class and State-Led Development” in Hellmuth Lange and Lars Meier edited *The New Middle Classes: Globalizing Lifestyles, Consumerism and Environmental Concern*, Springer, New York, p. 220

been addressed to the health of the middle class through deploying the language of a larger urban public.⁵³ Such generalization was based on the experience of the Delhi middle class attitudes towards environmental rights and political assertiveness for the urban public. Middle class politics of social protest in the rural areas for environmental justice is quite different than that of the urban middle class politics. When rural poor masses organize themselves under the leadership of middle class people to raise voices against displacement, loss of traditional occupation and culture and resource depletion, the economic values become extremely significant unlike the non-economic values preferred by the urban middle class people. It is the middle class people of the society who are worried about the violation of popular political values such as liberty, equality and justice and thereby they organize radical social protest even normative movement mobilizing the disadvantaged groups including tribals, poor masses and other working class people. These disadvantaged groups are in fact the mere strength of the radical protest against state authoritarianism, the actual leadership power and the future prospect of the movement are vested and remains in the hands of the educated and politically aware middle class people of the society. Moreover, it is the middle class people who systematize the micro organizations, if necessary for the very success of the social protest. These micro organizations emerge sometimes for temporary purpose and sometimes as a permanent organization for the solution of local problems and demands. The organizations at the rural society become very strong when the state authority takes initiative for the developmental project. These organizations are mainly the critiques of advanced industrialized society and draw inspiration from the phenomenon of the post-materialism. These notions and aspects are central to the modern environmentalism. Therefore, the new left politics of middle class provides a peculiar dimension to the environmentalism. Such tendency continued to exist in the twenty-first century in a vigorous manner and thereby twenty-first century Indian environmentalism got a livery of Marxist class movement.

⁵³ Fernandes, Leela, 2006, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-152.

Modern environmentalism has taken the form of hegemony also. The diverse groups that make up environmental movement have developed significantly different answers to the question that how much change is necessary in our society to preserve the environment. These groups also employ a variety of different rhetorical strategies in their joint effort to realign public opinion and policy on environmental issues and to renovate the fabric of our everyday lives as well. In the age of hegemonic politics, just before the advent of twenty-first century environmental determinism in the developed countries, a debate was going on between two groups; 'Earth First!' and 'The Nature Conservancy' regarding the management of natural resources. While the 'Earth First!' was polarizing the issues and providing a compelling critique of the effects of capitalism on the land, 'The Nature Conservancy' was constructing a broad area of common ground and argues for the benefits that can accrue to ecological values from the wise application of capital. 'Earth First!' adheres to the biocentrism and views for putting human concerns first will always restrict biodiversity and they doubt with some reasons that human management, dependent upon very limited knowledge of the intricacies of ecosystem dynamics, can achieve the same results that unrestricted natural forces do and hence, they call for a fundamental reorientation of priorities and the overthrow of the established hegemony. On the contrary, 'The Nature Conservancy' saving biodiversity does not require an overthrow of the current system, i. e, lands can be purchased and ecosystems can be restored by proper management. The Conservancy organizes the ecosystems which do not have any essential state that they revert to if left alone but are always changing in response to the changing forces within them and that can necessarily include humans. Hence, The Nature Conservancy works to integrate the value of biodiversity as completely as possible into the established hegemony.⁵⁴ In developing countries, the environmental movements have got the label of 'counter-hegemonic globalization' which is considered as social movement against neo-liberal globalization. Peter Evans defined 'counter-hegemonic globalization' 'as a globally

⁵⁴ Cooper, Marilyn M., 1996, "Environmental Rhetoric in the Age of Hegemonic Politics: Earth First! and the Nature Conservancy" in Carl G. Herndl and Stuart C. Brown edited *Green Culture: Environmental Rhetoric in Contemporary America*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, pp.87-106.

organized project of transformation aimed at replacing the dominant (hegemonic) global regime with one that maximizes democratic political control and makes the equitable development of human capabilities and environmental stewardship its priorities'.⁵⁵ Specifically a counter-hegemonic globalization perspective looks at the effects of globalization on the vitality of national movements for social protection from precisely the opposite perspective as structural pessimism. It does not deny that neo-liberal globalization constrains national state apparatuses and makes it more difficult for social protection movements to rely on responses from national governments rather it points to the simultaneous expansion of possibilities for trumping national constraints by organizing at the global level.⁵⁶ Plurality of laws opens up many opportunities for social movements. At the epoch of global legal pluralism, law acts as a tool of domination on the one hand and it also provides a space for resistance on the other. Under globalization law is a terrain of contestation between different actors including social movements and states and that a theory of law or adjudication that ignores this fact is inadequate. There are several reasons behind this situation. Among them one is that there is an increasingly vertical and horizontal growth of international legal norms in the areas like human rights, indigenous peoples' rights, environment and sustainable development and a proliferation of international judicial and political arenas where domestic decisions can be contested. Consequently, it creates political opportunities for making claims that derive their force from comparative and international legal developments. The use of law by a social movement is a concrete instance of counter-hegemonic globalization in which international law is one of many different legal orders. Legal disputes have been measured during damming Narmada. Several national, international actors and organizations, human rights activists and even state and inter-state machineries were involved in conflicts or legal contradictions.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Evans, Peter, 2008, "Is an Alternative Globalization Possible" in *Politics and Society*, Vol. 36, No. 2, p. 272.

⁵⁶ *ibid*, p. 275.

⁵⁷ Rajagopal, Balakrishnan, 2005, "The Role of Law in Counter-hegemonic Globalization and Global Legal Pluralism: Lessons from the Narmada Valley Struggle in India" in *Leiden Journal of International Law*, Vol. 18, pp. 345-387.

Environmentalism emerged first in the Western Europe during 1960's and still it is dominating the developmental paradigm. Due to the influence of Gandhian, socialist and feminist branches of environmentalism, the process of modern economic development has been abandoned in many contexts of the Third world countries. The question of controlled environment becomes important when the state institutions lay emphasis on the wilderness preservation and or forest conservation. Because of the rise of radical environmentalism, the definition of 'development' gains unique features from the perspective of social ecology and from the pragmatic concern the term 'sustainable' has been added before 'development' to serve the interest of marginalized people and for the very success of 'popular environmentalism'. Antonio Gramsci defines hegemony as 'the spontaneous consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group'.⁵⁸ In the twenty-first century, the middle class people, displaced masses or potential displacees, tribals and other marginalized people and their micro organizations have become the dominant social groups and powerful institutions which describes and narrates people's choices of development against the state instructed model. Social and political movements of these groups and organizations provide hegemonic connotation to environmentalism.

Environmentalism as myth stems out of the spirit of religious environmentalism. According to the notion of 'myth of primitive ecological wisdom', it is believed that the non-industrial or primitive communities directly depend upon nature for their survival and subsistence. The image that the non-industrial communities live in harmony with the nature is well established in environmentalist thought and widely accepted in global environmental discourse, not least by non-industrial peoples. That image has the status of a 'myth' which is neither necessarily untrue nor that it has some special, 'symbolic' truth, but its truth is treated as a dogma in no need of proof and not easily amenable to refutation.⁵⁹ The myth of primitive ecological wisdom is not just an incidental part of the romantic

⁵⁸ Cited in Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith edited and translated *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, International Publishers, New York, 1971, p. 12.

⁵⁹ Milton, Kay, 1996, *Environmentalism and Cultural Theory: Exploring the Role of Anthropology in Environmental Discourse*, Routledge, New York, p. 31.

environmentalists, it is fundamental to the radical environmentalist critique of industrialism, for without the assumption that non-industrial societies live sustainably in their environments, there would be no grounds for arguing that industrialism is the cause of environmental destruction.⁶⁰ Moreover, the myth of primitive ecological wisdom is not simply a notion imposed by romantic environmentalists on a sector of the world's population but it is an image which indigenous peoples accept and promote for themselves.⁶¹ There are some non-industrial societies which hold themselves responsible for protecting their environment. Even there are some other non-industrial societies also which do not recognize a human responsibility to protect the environment and which probably could not do so without changing some of their basic assumptions about the nature of the environment and their relationship with it. Environmentalists believe that – ‘the non-industrial cultures are environmentally benign’. There are four reasons behind the formulation of this hypothesis as well as myth: i) concern about the nature as a myth, which is a dogmatic assertion and not easily refutable, persists because environmentalists have a good reason for wanting to believe in it. The radical environmentalists always believe that the industrialism would cause environmental destruction and we need to search for alternatives for sustainability; ii) environmentalists remain largely ignorant about the ways in which non-industrial peoples understand and interact with their environments and thereby they have no grounds for doubting the myth; iii) environmentalists fail to distinguish between the culture and the things people do whereas anthropologists are able to make such difference. The actual impacts of non-industrial societies on their environments depend on – how they use those environments to meet their needs: a) whether they harvest wild food from the forest or clear areas of forest to grow crops, b) whether they fell whole trees for firewood or merely cut a few branches from each, c) whether they exploit the resources of one area to exhaustion or move around, spreading their demand more thinly over a larger territory. Therefore, without distinguishing between the culture of the people and the activities they perform, it is

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, p. 109.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, p. 202.

easy to make the mistake of assuming that societies which appear to have little impact on their environments must necessarily have environmentally benign cultures; iv) the myth of primitive ecological wisdom is persisting among environmentalists because within the context of global environmental discourse, non-industrial societies have themselves helped to perpetuate the myth by adopting the image that industrial society has constructed for them.⁶²

Under the theme of ‘primitive ecological wisdom’, Lockean notion of ‘state of nature’ and ‘social contract’ would be pertinent here. John Locke’s political theory highlights how people came out from the ‘state of nature’ or ‘primitivism’, how people gave birth to ‘civil society’ and how ‘modernist myth’ originated. Three things are important in Locke’s political theory: a) the appropriation of nature transforming it from God’s common gift to humankind to personal property; b) the invention of money and c) the social contract.⁶³ Mick Smith viewed that the post-modernity begins where discourses about the end of nature and the loss of the sacred are taken as serious descriptions of the world’s actual ontology. Therefore, primitivism is an attempt to recuperate the purity of the state of nature by rejecting the culture of contamination in its entirety. Marxism, classical anarchism and feminism oppose aspects of civilization. However, anarcho-primitivism took most radical position as it opposes civilization in the context in which the various forms of oppression proliferate and become pervasive and indeed possible. Besides, in many ways primitivism reverses the ‘progressive’ values associated with the Lockean myth privileging the state of nature over civilized society.⁶⁴ The ‘state of nature’ and the ‘social contract’ both are the myths. However, it is also argued that the ‘state of nature’ may be a myth but it is not simply fictional rather it is a sacred ethical ontology. It is an ethical expression of the desire and wonder we can still experience in relation to human and non-human ‘Others’.⁶⁵ On the other hand, John Locke recognized the need for modern myth of ‘social contract’ to organize thinking about

⁶² *ibid.*, pp. 133-135.

⁶³ Smith, Mick, 2002, “The State of Nature: The Political Philosophy and the Culture of Contamination” in *Environmental Values*, Vol. 11, No. 4, p. 409.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p. 414.

⁶⁵ *ibid.*, p. 422.

modern relationships, whether political, economic or social. Locke was quite successful in supplanting the biblical story or ‘metahistory’ and establishing the social contract as the dominant social and political myth of the succeeding centuries.⁶⁶ Notably, primitivism, especially the anarcho-primitivism is known as one of the forms of radical environmentalism which considers foraging societies superior to agricultural and pastoral ones but it adds an anarchist and primitivist ideology that envisions and seeks to hasten the collapse of nation states and all industrial civilizations.⁶⁷

Tim Forsyth has highlighted few myths and oversimplifications concerning poverty and environment: i) ‘the poor cause most environmental degradation’ this is the popular myth propagated since the advent of modernization but the new thinking is that – the rich use more resources and have greater environmental impact than the poor. However, poverty often forces the people to use resources unsustainably; ii) ‘economic growth inevitably leads to environmental degradation’ this is another myth which is contradicted with the statement that the ‘economic growth can help pay for a better environment and improved environmental management enhances and sustains growth’; iii) the myth ‘the poor don’t care about the environment’ has been oversimplified by the sentence that ‘the poor are actually aware of the negative effects of a poor environment on their lives, particularly as they often depend directly on the environment for survival’; iv) the myth that ‘the poor lack the knowledge and resources to improve their environment’ is a serious accusation which has been repealed by the new thinking that ‘the poor can and do invest in better environmental management, particularly where incentives and information are available. Their traditional knowledge is often undervalued or ignored’.⁶⁸ Most of these myths and new thinking or oversimplifications have been introduced during the environment-development debate held between the rivalries. Academic discourse on environmentalism is concerned with these ‘myths’ and ‘new thinking’ and hence the

⁶⁶ Wright, Will, 2001, *The Wild West: The Mythical Cowboy and Social Theory*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, p. 27.

⁶⁷ Taylor, Bron, 2010, *Dark Green Religion: Nature Spirituality and the Planetary Future*, University of California Press, London, p. 91.

⁶⁸ Forsyth, Tim, 2003, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

scope of environmentalism has been widened by situating the conflicts between myths and new thinking.

Myth is closely linked with the religious traditions of each and every primitive society or tribal communities. Environment centered myths can be easily measured in the rural tribal societies and these societies are more concerned with these myths; hence they disdain industrial development. Primitive or tribal societies develop an intricate relationship with the environment being accustomed with the cultural practices that are being followed by their forefathers. Rural tribal economy is purely based on the natural environment and thereby they see nature as God; even they do not expect any kind of natural destruction as the Nature God is fulfilling their daily needs. Thus originates myths; for example if you destroy nature, equally it will react against you. Religious beliefs and practices within the cultures across the globe suggest nature conservation and support 'myths'. Therefore, two assumptions are central to religious environmentalist discourse: a) religious traditions are environmentally friendly and b) an 'ecogolden age' existed at some time when people treated the environment with respect because of their religious or cultural traditions. These assumptions underpin religious environmentalist discourse which often articulates the desire for going back to a mythic state of ecological harmony that is premised upon recognition of the sacredness of the Earth.⁶⁹ From the critical point of view it can be said that the environmentalism has become a means to preserve the traditional myth of the rural society. In many parts of India, basically at the tribal belt, the traditional communities are intensely opposing modern industrialization. They are arguing that, or we can say that they are making prophecy that, the industrialization would disrupt the nature and as a negative consequence their traditional belief system would be demolished. Therefore, for preserving their environment centric religious or cultural myths, they are propagating several new myths to protect natural environment.

⁶⁹ Tomalin, Emma, 2009, *Biodivinity and Biodiversity: The Limits to Religious Environmentalism*, Ashgate Publishing Limited, England, p. 5.

Research Objectives

- a) To examine critically the role of Indian political thinkers, environmentalists, activists, leaders and writers of environmental movements,
- b) To explore the economic and non-economic issues involved in the Indian environmental movement,
- c) To examine the factors that constitute the ideas of development and anti-development behind the initiatives for environmental protection and or degradation,
- d) To understand people's attitude to globalism and industrialism,
- e) To highlight ecological role of the tribals people for the protection of natural biosphere,
- f) To study the dynamics of social and political nature of new movements.

Review of Literature

There are extensive works or literatures on environmentalism, both Indian and Western. To identify the research problem and to demonstrate the theoretical and research issues related to the research question, it is required to review the existing literatures on environmentalism, ecologism and their relations with other dominant political ideologies; environmental movements; globalization and its impact on environment and tribal movements for environmental justice, keeping in mind the scenario of India.

Environmentalism and Political Theory: Towards an Ecocentric Approach by Robyn Eckersley (1992) discovers the impact of environmentalism in contemporary political thought. The book explores the inter-relationship of the linkages between environmentalism and other dominant political ideologies and their relevance in the contemporary world politics. This book highlights the connection between the environmental philosophy and green or ecological political thought. The author presented a critical analysis of the origin and development of the evolution of eco-political thought and an eco-centric analysis of green political thought. Here the

author viewed that environmental crisis is not a technical problem rather it is related to human culture and character structures.

In *Environmentalism: A Global History*, Ramachandra Guha (2000) has traced the evolution of environmental issues. Guha analyzed two waves of global environmentalism. The first wave began in the 1860s and ended after World War II. The second wave of environmentalism started with the publication of Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962) and continued with a great environmental debate between First and Third World. The first wave of environmentalism came to light with several land movement, scientific conservation movement and the wilderness movement. At this stage, varieties of environmental thought were competing with each other to identify the reasons of environmental degradation and suggesting alternative arrangements to prevent the threats. The second wave of environmentalism was, mainly, the debate between North and South, i. e. the conflict between affluent environmentalism and the 'environmentalism of the poor'.

In *Third World Environmentalism: Case Studies from the Global South*, N. Patrick Peritore (1999) delineated the nature of environmentalism of seven developing countries namely India, Korea, Brazil, Mexico, Puerto Rico, Romania & Iran. The book deals with the environmental attitudes and policies of government, political leaders, business organization and environmental groups of these countries. The author asserted that decision making bodies of Third World follow the international post-modernist attitude towards environment that corresponds with Western thought. Here the author also developed a new model of international environmental politics and with comparative methodological tool examined the relevance of the contemporary world politics on environment. *Forging Environmentalism: Justice, Livelihood and Contested Environments*, edited by Joanne Bauer (2006), deals with how environmental values are constructed and legitimized within the process of policy formation and enactment. The book examines how environmental values like ethics, politics and justice are created particularly in the contexts of China, Japan, India and United States.

Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha (1994) in *Ecological Conflicts and the Environmental Movement in India* have enumerated the tactics and theories of Indian environmentalism in the perspective of environmental movements and its ideological trends. Guha and Gadgil distinguished between the First World environmentalism and Third World Environmentalism. In Third World, particularly in India, environmentalism as an ideology originates from popular movements by the peasant against industrialization process. On the contrary, first world environmentalism advocates greenness of the country which is viewed as the ultimate luxury of the consumer society.

Ramachandra Guha and Juan Martinez Alier (1997) in *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North and South* make a distinction between 'full-stomach' environmentalism of North and 'empty-belly' environmentalism of South. Northern environmentalism emanates from the environmental movements by the affluent people of Northern countries like United States and they participate in the movements to improve the quality of life issues. On the other hand, Southern environmental movements emanates from the environmental movements by peasant and tribal people of Southern countries, like India. The questions of human rights, ethnicity and distributive justice are closely related with these movements. These movements are the reactions against consumerism and uncontrolled economic development of Northern practices.

Baviskar (2005) in her *Red in Tooth and Claw?: Searching for Class in Struggle over Nature* emphasizes that the main argument of 'environmentalism of the poor' is that, as the poor people who are mostly dependent on natural resources or on environment for their livelihood and subsistence, any form of environmental destruction will harshly affect the life and survival conditions of the poor. Baviskar (2001) verified the conflict between 'full-stomach' environmentalism and 'empty-belly' environmentalism but argued that though Southern movements criticize the Northern practices of consumerism, uncontrolled economic development yet it would not be correct to ignore the link between the environmentalism of these two poles. In reality, Northern movements have strengthened the Southern movements

and helped to develop the thought of 'red' and 'green' nature of Indian environmentalism. *Rethinking Indian Environmentalism: Industrial Pollution in Delhi and Fisheries in Kerala* by Amita Baviskar, Subir Sinha and Kavita Philip (2006) show the interrelationship between two forms of environmentalism viz., environmentalism of politically powerful middle class and environmentalism of the poor working class people of factories and fishworkers. These two groups are concerned about the fair distribution of resources and safe working conditions. These concerns were expressed through anti-pollution movement and fishworkers movement.

Environmentalism as an ideology developed out of ecological and environmental movements and their distinct ideologies. Madhav Gadgil and Ramachandra Guha (1992) in their *This Fissured Land: An Ecological History of India* have presented a general theory of ecological history, ecological interpretation of pre-modern Indian caste system and modes of resource in the perspective of socio-ecological analysis. This book highlights the evolution of ecological change from British India to modern India and deals with the nature of social conflicts taking forest rights, land use, sharing of profits etc. Here the authors have indentified the major conflict between the Gandhian views of development, industrialization and its modern view. In *Ecology and Equity: The Use and Abuse of Nature in Contemporary India*, Ramachandra Guha and Madhav Gadgil (1995) have described several issues on environmental degradation, sustainable development and social change etc.

Ramachandra Guha (1999) in *The Unquiet Woods: Ecological Change and Peasant Resistance in the Himalaya* has focused on the peasant movement against commercial forestry. Guha is keen to deal with the people's concept about the use of natural resources and changes in the resource use following environmental metamorphosis. Guha has taken the case of *Chipko* movement in the Himalayan region where a vast range of people are engaged in *jhum* (shifting) cultivation. Guha also took up the pre-*Chipko* movement situation. The author was trying to show *Chipko* movement as peasant resistance which was organized by lifting up rights

over natural resources like land, water and forests. Guha's main intention was to find a link between the colonial histories and the modern history of forest degradation and peasant movement raising environmental question.

Vandana Shiva (1991) in *Ecology and the Politics of Survival: Conflicts over Natural Resources in India* has delineated the picture of ecological movements in the Third world. The book interprets the nature of third world environmentalism in general and people's ecological movement, in particular. On the basis of several case studies the author illustrated the nature of ecological movements and conflicts over natural resources in India. To Shiva, multilateral developmental agencies give loans to those environmentally sensitive areas where agriculture and forest based livelihood system can be viewed as the survival economy of the poor. Due to the force of market economy, the state authorities take initiative for such developmental plan which is destructive to the survival economy of the poor and also destructive to ecology. Hence mostly the poor of the Third World bolstered up ecology movements for the protection of nature and to strengthen people's collective rights to common resources. Shiva also examined that ecology and the economy are closely related with each other. Ecology movements of the Third World resist the destructive process caused by the state induced market developmental plan and also challenge the concept of politics and economics confined by the market developmental process. On the contrary, people's ecology movements in the Third World highlight the issues of ecology, equity, sustainability and justice which are intimately linked with each other. Shiva concludes that these movements are based on the production and maintenance of life and do not concentrate on profit. Thus these movements provide an alternative vision of ecology as the politics of survival.

Gandhism has been accepted through the several environmental movements of the last century and also the present. Ramachandra Guha (1998) in *Mahatma Gandhi and the Environmental Movements in India*, Amita Baviskar (2001) in *Environmental Movements in India: The South forges Its Own Discourse* view that the ideology of Indian environmental movements are shaped by the Gandhian view of *Ahimsha* or non-violence. Truth forces, gathering in public place/rally, sit down

strike, hunger strike, surrounding public officials all these are agendas of the environmental movements of 1970s and 1980s. Baviskar pointed out that, as Gandhi was concerned about appropriate technology, these movements have challenged the large scale capital intensive technologies which are difficult to control and not easily manageable in a decentralized way. So far as the strategies of the movements are concerned, the movement supporters sometimes visited Supreme Court filing Public Interest Litigation (PIL) and sometimes use governmental agencies like Ministry of Environmental and Forests and Department of Tribal Welfare to oppose government sponsored developmental projects. Baviskar also views that unlike other forms of social movements, socialist and humanistic traditions have shaped the ideology of Indian environmental movements.

A group of scholars from social movement theory argue that environmental, green or ecological movements can be considered as new movement. In *Ideology and the New Social Movements*, Alan Scott (1990) elaborately described the characteristics of new social movements comparing with old social movements and analyzed ideological position of the movements. Accordingly Scott classified green or ecological movements, peace and disarmament movements and human rights movements under the category of new social movements. According to the author, these contemporary social movements are primarily social and directly political in nature. To point out the nature of ecological movements Scott analyzed the history of German Green. He was trying to find out the contradictory views on leftist and rightist ideology of ecological movements and its new characters. *Social Movements Old and New: A Post Modernist Critique* by Rajendra Singh (2001) deals with the contemporary debates between old movements, classical movements, new movements, micro movements, proto movements and alternative movements. Rajendra Singh developed a conceptual and methodological discussion on social movements and highlighted the conceptual critique of the various studies on social movements in India. According to the author, ecological and environmental movements can be viewed as new social movements as these movements have no specific class character and these movements are trying to protect the social areas of civil society.

In *Ideological Trends in Indian Environmentalism*, Ramachandra Guha (1988) viewed Indian popular environmental movement as the 'peasant movement draped in the cloth of environmentalism'. Here Guha argued that environmental movement originated from agrarianism, particularly in the Indian context. Popular environmental movements demand people's control over natural resources and protest against the governmental control. Guha's argument is that, through popular movements, Indian peasants defend traditional rights over land, water, forests and other living resources. As the environmental questions are directly linked with these movements, intellectuals termed these movements as 'environmental movements'.

Mahesh Rangarajan (2000), in *Beyond State and Market? – The Indian Environmental Debate*, has illustrated the nature of elite environmentalism in the Indian context. To Rangarajan, the Indian elite groups who belong to urban middle class, have narrower vision of ecological or environmental conservation but it is highly influential in nature and contradictory with the vision of conservationist measures appealed through popular movements. Elite groups support such a conservationist measure where people's control over natural resources is deniable and only the government's control is acceptable to ensure common consumption. Elite groups ignore the intricate relationship between the people and nature and view that tribals are 'ecologically profligate'.

Emma Mawdsley (2004), in *India's Middle Classes and the Environment*, analyses the environmental struggles between the elites and the subalterns from perspectives of colonial and post-colonial India. To Mawdsley, Indian elites belong to the wealthier middle classes and hold administrative position as well as socially influential persons. On the contrary, typically women, forest dwellers, tribals, pastoralists, small farmers and fishfolks are the subalterns. Mawdsley's article analyses the importance of India's middle classes in relation to the environment from different viewpoints: a) urban wealthier middle class want to consume products or resources by using environmental goods, like generation of electricity by using water resources and demand for proper waste management in the urban areas, b) urban middle class people express their influential view to the media persons, at the NGOs,

bureaucratic and political level and also in the legal systems to shape the public policy on environment, c) sometimes with the help of public media, NGOs, international organizations the middle class of the South take steps to increase awareness for the environmental improvement and think about the environmental change and its impact on the poor, d) they try to develop the environmental thinking and challenge the problematic aspects of several environmental issues.

In *In the Belly of River: Tribal Conflicts over Development in Narmada Valley* Amita Baviskar (1995) narrates the nature of *Narmada Bachao Andolan* in the context of tribal movement against damming over Narmada River. Baviskar exemplified the issues of development, particularly the policy of Indian development and its impact on tribal families residing in the littoral areas of Narmada. Baviskar also illustrated the tribal livelihood system, poverty of the tribal families, relationship between the tribals and the nature etc. According to Baviskar, the vision on developmental model of the dominant elite of the Indian society receives government's recognition. As a consequence, central and or state governments take initiatives for development following the proposal of elite class which is known as the destructive developmental plan according to the protestors of such state-sponsored developmental process. On the other hand, protestors claim that the tribal people and those people who belong to the poor and marginalized section of the society and professionally are the cultivators, mostly dependent on land, water and forests resources for their livelihood, use natural resources without harming eco-balance. Thus a contradiction is apparent between the 'elite environmentalism' and the 'environmentalism of the poor' which is highlighted by Baviskar.

Poverty and Underdevelopment in Tribal Areas: A Geographical Analysis by Suvendra Jenamani (2005) correlates the physical and environmental factors such as access to land, water and forest with incidence of poverty. To do so, the case of Kalahandi district of Orissa has been presented by the author. The book focuses on the tribal livelihood system, their conditions and their connection with nature. The book examines the impact of various developmental programmes over the tribal livelihood system. Baviskar's (2005) paper on *Tribal Politics and Sustainable*

Development deals with the relationship between rural people and their environment. The paper also studies the struggle for sustainable development by the tribal trade unions. Taking environmental issues, Baviskar has drawn the picture of tribal politics and relationship between middle class activists and tribal activists.

Ghanshyam Shah (2004) in his *Social Movements in India: A Review of Literature* constructed a framework of tribal movements into five categories; a) ethnic movements, b) agrarian and forest rights movements, c) environmental movements, d) involuntary displacement and rehabilitation movements and e) political movements. Contemporary tribal movements emerge involving the issues of rights over forests and natural resources, protection natural and social environment, abandonment of developmental projects etc. Apart from the environmental movements agrarian and forest rights movements, involuntary displacement and rehabilitation movements are closely associated with the environmental struggles by the tribal people. Shah defined environmental movements as 'the struggle of the people on the issues of their livelihood and access to forest and other natural resources'. Shah focuses on the participants of the movements and he concludes that if the issues of ecology in particular are raised by the tribals through movement and they constitute a majority among the participants of the movement, the movement will be designated as tribal movement.

Archana Prasad (2008) edited *Environment, Development and Society in Contemporary India: An Introduction* is the articulation of a number of articles on ecological and environmental history of India, modern developmental process and its impact on people and society and environment, industrial and urban ecology, environmental movements and protest and global environmental issues. The book is delineating the nature of modern global environmentalism, broad environmental history of India, varieties of Indian environmentalism and major environmental debates on green revolution, construction of big dams, democratization of forest management, process of urbanization and impact of industrialization etc.

Andrew Heywood in *Political Ideologies: An Introduction* (2007b), in *Politics* (2007a) and in *Global Politics* (2011) asserts that new social movements are

emerging out to organize political demands. Anti-capitalist movements, anti-industrialization movements, anti-globalization movements come under the category of new social movements. The author argues that neo-liberal globalism as an alternative form of globalism motivates the process of industrialization and notably large scale industries are detrimental to environmental protection. Industrialization and its corresponding values like competitive individualism and consumerism have strengthened the process of economic globalization. Therefore, globalization is known as a distorted form of hyper-industrialism. At the increasing pace of industrial development, ecological system is facing constant threat and hence anti-globalization movements are receiving huge popular support. To Heywood, 'environmental groups and activists have been prominent within the emergent anti-globalization movement'.

Globalization and Social Movements: Struggle for a Humane Society, edited by P. G. Jogdand and S. M. Michael (2003), deals with several forms of social movements against the negative consequences of globalization. In this text an article entitled 'The New Politics of Environmental Socialism in India' by Sanjay Sanghvi (2003) highlights the socialist ideas of Indian environmental movements and simultaneously Sanghvi tried to find out the new political characters of the environmental movements. He argued that issues of democracy, human rights, equality, justice, environmental sustainability and development, which constitute the basic tenets of socialism, were the integral parts of the movements. Therefore, these movements could be termed as 'movements for environmental socialism'. Dr. Sanghvi considered 'Chipko', Silent Valley and Save Narmada movement as socialist, environmental and new movements. During protest, the movement supporters raised economic rights and struggled for environmental justice with non-violence and non-party politics. To Sanghvi, these new movements have been interrelated with the global political and economic realities and have challenged global industrial and financial powers and opposed several forms of domination and exploitation. On the contrary, these movements have also effectively countered globalization and protested against its adverse effect. Thus the protestors have given birth to 'new internationalism'.

Environmental Movements in India: Strategies and Practices, edited by S. N. Pawar, R. B. Patil and S. A. Salunkhe (2005), is compilation of a number of articles and research papers which deal with the basic issues regarding our understanding of the nature of environmental movements, activities or followed agenda of the participants, activists and NGOs involved in the environmental movements and enactment of environment related rules and regulations, important issues relating to the environmental problems and its solutions by appropriate or alternative technologies etc.

Harsh Sethi (1993) in his *Survival and Democracy: Ecological Struggles in India* has described the rise and evolution of ecological movements in India. In this paper Sethi emphasizes on the ideological aspects of environmental movements in India. On the basis of ideological approach he has divided environmental movements into three broad categories: a) movements for rights over natural resources and distribution, b) movements for legal and policy based change in the sphere of resource use, c) movements for the rejection of the developmental paradigm. Sethi divided Indian environmental movements into five categories: a) forest based movement, b) movement for land use, c) anti-dam movement, d) anti-pollution movement, e) movement against overexploitation of marine resources.

Political ecologists and environmental historian Vasant Saberwal and Mahesh Rangarajan's (2005) edited volume *Battles over Nature: Science and the Politics of Conservation*, picks out number of cases from South Asia, and analyses that the problem of wildlife conservation. The central theme of this book is to explore whether human use of natural resources can ever be compatible with biodiversity conservation or not. The research articles presented in this edited volume deal with the debate between human and wildlife, science and politics and highlight the problem of conflict over natural resources. The analysis of politics of conservation and community based approach to deal with the problem of conflict over natural resources help to understand discursively the contemporary environmental debate and to identify the nature of environmentalism from the aspect of conservation through scientific or technological and governmental or political measures.

Indigenous Vision: Peoples of India Attitudes to the Environment, edited by Geeti Sen (1992), explores the environmental attitudes and practices of the native people of India. The contributors of this book have presented several case studies from Bombay, Himachal Pradesh, Maharashtra and other parts of Indian Territory. The book focuses on the environment centric socio-economic, culture and the rituals of indigenous tribes, women and the poor. It examines how social, economic and religious practices of the indigenous people are shaped by environment.

Population and Environment Linkages, edited by C. P, Prakasam and R. B. Bhagat (2007), examines the linkages between population and environment analyzing the problems of population growth, social movements, density and resource consumption. The book provides a better understanding about the interface between population and environment. In this edited volume Gopal K. Kadekodi's (2007) paper on *On Linkages between Population and Environment: Some Evidences form India* explores how population growth and environmental degradation increases poverty, on the contrary, how poverty may negatively deteriorate natural environment. Thus Kadekodi has described the relationship between poverty and environment. And Kadekodi's suggestion is that economic and environmental policy will be formulated by the institution with the correspondence between these two.

In *Towards Green Villages – A Strategy for Environmentally Sound and Participatory Rural Development in India*, Anil Agarwal and Sunita Narain (1992) viewed that most of the India's population survives depending on biomass based economy, that is, receiving products from plants and animals. Therefore, developmental programmes must be initiated to ensure biomass consumption and to develop biomass based rural economics. Thus biomass production will be increased as well as ecological balance will be maintained on a sustainable and equitable basis.

The Legitimacy of People's Participation in the Formulation of Science and Technology Policy: Some Lessons from the Indian Experience by Jayanta Bandopaddhaya and Vandana Shiva (1984) deals with the ecological movements by the agricultural and rural communities against the technological determinism. The paper focuses on the participation of the poor in the ecological movements than the

rich. The paper illuminates the ecological role of the village communities which has been depleting through commercial exploitation by the use of destructive technologies.

Research Gap

Extensive literatures on environmental thought that were produced on the basis of Indian reality show contestation and conflict between the environmentalism of the affluent and environmentalism of the poor. But presently such conflict and difference has been minimized. The intellectuals and the middle class, who are the ardent supporter of affluent lifestyle, are taking leadership position of the present environmental movement asserting poor people's rights over the natural resources. Middle class intellectuals, social activists, political elites are showing their loyalties to the Indian tribes and other marginalized people. Middle class elites and intellectuals are not against people's dependence over nature for survival and subsistence, rather they are suggesting a developmental paradigm which would secure people's rights over natural resources as well as would ensure justice to the human and non-human species. However, the incidents of political manipulations are now the common occurrences of the modern environmental movement whereas the environmental movements of the West are mostly devoid of party politics. Standard literatures on Indian environmentalism highlight that Indian environmentalism is basically a popular resistance for livelihood security and environmental justice for the poor. However, popular environmentalism has originated as a process of social movement against pollution and environmental hazards. For example – movement by the survivors for social justice after tragic event of Bhopal gas leak. The environmental movement in India is directly linked to the larger society and politics of modern India where both civil society organizations and state authority are involved. The study would focus on the role of state and civil society organizations to manage the natural resources of the country.

Methodology

The research types which would be pertinent to this study are: a) pure or basic research and b) conceptual research. To conduct the study, the research designs which have been employed are: a) frame and discourse analysis or deconstruction, b) social network analysis, c) historical analysis, d) comparative analysis [Klandermans, Bert & Staggenborg, Suzanne (edited), 2002]. The research study will hunt for filling up of gap in the existing literatures on environmentalism and social movement theory. By refuting or supporting the available or existing theories, new fundamental principles of environmentalism in the Indian context can be developed.

For the illustration of Indian nature of environmentalism of twentieth century and twenty-first century, method of *discourse analysis*, i. e., textual analysis or narration of printed and visual documents; *comparative analysis*, i. e., pointing out of similarities and dissimilarities between two or more datasets and *historical analysis*, i. e., analysis of past events and written institutional as well as non-institutional documents, have been used. *Social network analysis* is a key technique to conduct systematic investigations of network process within the social movements. Movement supporter are participating in the movement directly or indirectly in the organizational basis and now-a-days through social network websites and media. To examine the intensity of the movements, methods of social network analysis has been pursued partially. *Internet research method* has also been used to find a relationship between theory and practice. The study has been developed accessing both primary and secondary online sources, such as library databases, journals, governmental documents, letters, memorandums, etc.

The research has been undertaken based on two case studies. These are: the anti-POSCO movement of Odisha and the Tipaimukh anti-dam movement of Manipur. The former is a movement against the negative consequences of huge industrialization or mining project and the latter one is a movement against the adverse effect of the large multi-purpose dam project. In context of Odisha, *survey research method* was employed following snowball sampling technique. In both contexts, environmental issues are closely involved. These two cases have been

placed to develop the Indian version of environmentalism in the twenty-first century India. The present exercise is a critical scrutiny of existing literatures on Western and Indian environmentalism, the study is an endeavour to evaluate the role of state and civil society organizations in terms of their environmental activism and the present research is a modest attempt to designate the two movements as environmental and ecology movement.

Research Questions

The research questions are the following:

- a) What is the nature of new social movements in ecological and environmental terms?
- b) Is the environmental and or ecology movement anti-development movement or the movement for the reformation of existing developmental paradigm?
- c) When and how conflicts arise between environmentalists, human rights activists, developmentalists and the movement supporters?
- d) To what extent environmental politics emanates from the tribal communities?
- e) How ecological and environmental issues are linked with anti-globalization movement in the Indian context?
- f) What are the differences between the role of state and civil society organizations on environmental questions?

The Structure of the Study

The followings are the chapters which the research study is trying to map:

Chapter – I: Introduction

Chapter – II: Environmentalism, Old and New Social Movements: A Critical Review

Chapter – III: Approaches and Perspectives in Indian Environmental Thinking

Chapter – IV: Globalism, Industrialism and Environmentalism**Chapter – V: Environment and Tribals: Social and Political Resistance against POSCO and Tipaimukh****Chapter – VI: Environmental Movements, Policies and Programmes: Case Analysis of POSCO and Tipaimukh****Chapter – VII: Conclusion**

Chapter – II shows the difference between the ‘new’ movements of the West and India and also illustrates the nature of Southern environmentalism comparing with the Northern one. This chapter considers environmental movements as new social movements and categorizes environmental movements into six types: forest movement, anti-dam movement, anti-pollution movement, anti-industrialization movement, anti-mining movement and fisher-folks movement. This chapter deals with the nature and extent of these movements providing several instances from India. Ultimately, the chapter defines that the Indian environmental movements are the struggles for the rights over natural resources, struggles for the clean and clear environment and struggles against the plunder of the natural resources. The chapter highlights that the anti-POSCO movement of Odisha has some new characteristics but it was observed that the party politics was indirectly linked with the movement. On the contrary, Tipaimukh anti-dam movement of Manipur contains many features of new social movements but unlike the new social movement of the West, economic issues were pivotal to this movement.

Chapter – III deals with the ideological orientations and pluralities of Indian environmentalism deconstructing available literatures on Indian environmentalism. This chapter discovers several approaches and standpoints regarding Indian environmentalism. Within the framework of Indian environmentalism, Gandhian, socialist, feminist, radical, developmentalist, conservationist and pragmatist approaches have been found. Analyzing the cases of anti-POSCO movement and Tipaimukh anti-dam movement, another approach has been developed, which is called the holistic approach. Both these movements emerged as a critique of modern

developmental paradigm and also prescribed the ways for holistic or inclusive development.

Chapter – IV explains that how global environmental crisis is taking place as a result of huge industrialization with the help of foreign direct investment and modern technological assistance. The chapter is drawing the picture of environmental activism appears through anti-globalization movements. Here it has been argued that, like the West, the Indian environmentalism has also emerged as a counter-hegemonic movement against globalism, industrialism and technological hegemonism. Anti-POSCO movement took the shape of anti-globalization movement when the movement raised a radical voice against foreign capital based huge industrialization process and the movement participants opposed the plundering and artificial control of natural resources by the state and multinational company. On the other hand, the protest against Tipaimukh multi-purpose project became a global social movement when a number of protestors from United States, United Kingdom, Canada and other parts of the world raised their voices for environmental justice.

Chapter – V deals with the intricate relationship between the tribal communities and the nature. The chapter evaluates the ecological role of the tribals – how the tribal communities are facing severe threats as a result of the state sponsored developmental projects. Even many governmental initiatives on the tribal development have failed to satisfy the tribals. Consequently, tribal mobilization and politics emanate from agrarian unrest, forest rights movement, anti-displacement movement, survival related movement and movement for proper rehabilitation and resettlement. These movements, in one way or other, are linked to the question of environmental justice and human ecology. However, the emergence of the politics of middle class activists within the background of these movements is another dimension. In case of anti-POSCO movement in Odisha, the middle class activists have shown a composite character of compassion for traditional communities organizing the movement from the perspective of forest rights. On the other hand, in the social resistance against Tipaimukh project over Tuivai River of Barak valley in

the state of Manipur, the middle class activism took a radical shape for securing tribal culture that revolves around the land, water and forest resources available in the project site.

Chapter – VI is recounting the nature of twenty-first century Indian environmentalism presenting the current databases on India's land, water and forest resources and biodiversity. It is observed that, Indian environmentalism emanates not only as a process of social resistance but also as a process of governmental actions on the management of natural resources. Through land movements, river movements and movements for forest rights civil society organizations are taking care of India's natural resources; on the contrary, the Government of India prepares plans and policies every year for healthy environmental governance. Both the state and civil society organizations are anxious about the non-human world. Social movements against economic developmental projects gave birth to environmentalism which is basically concerned about the human ecology but in twenty-first century it is explored that the movements against the so-called economic developmental projects also show compassion for other living non-human creatures. Thus develops the concepts of environmental education, environmental science and environmental management pertaining to social resistance against modern economic developmental process. In case of anti-POSCO movement and Tipaimukh anti-dam movement, the questions of environmental education, science and management got prime importance.

Chapter – VII summarizes the broad tenets of the study based on POSCO and Tipaimukh dam issues.