Environmentalism emerged as ‘new’ social movement in the West during 1960’s. The rise of ‘New Social Movements’ (NSMs), at the juncture of state vs. civil society conflicts, as a form of environmental or ecological movement paves the way for people’s empowerment on the one hand and tends to curtail the regulative power of state on the other. Genuinely these movements are based on the local movements with multiple identities located in civil society, stressing new ways of social communication, like solidarity and mutual understanding and a new harmonic relationship with nature. Thus NSMs highlight social agenda with much importance.¹ In India, any state-directed developmental project face people’s resistance and notably there are instances where state and civil society came into the mutual cooperation and compromise regarding the selection of development choices. Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) often accuse that state authority ignores a broad section of public consensus which follows market oriented development, like setting up of huge industry and mega dam etc. On the contrary, state authority claims that, at the situation of massive population growth and employment crisis, sufficiency of natural resources will help to materialize such developmental projects which in future will strengthen urbanization process and generate more employment opportunities. But to do so, state authority often, by one way or another, ignores grassroots realities and only concentrates on the requirements of the global market at

its greater significance. As a consequence social movements are emerging out of ecological and environmental concerns. The real essence of environmental or ecological movements can be measured from the issues and agenda that have been raised in anti-displacement movement, nature conservation movement, anti-dam movement, peasant or agrarian movement, tribal movement or movement of indigenous people, human rights movement, anti-industrialization movement, anti-roads movement, anti-poverty movement, anti-globalization movement, survival related movements, anti-pollution movement, anti-development movement, anti-state or anti-authoritarian movement and so on. The chapter narrates the nature and objectives of social and political movements on ecological and environmental issues.

**Old and New Movements: Theoretical Perspectives**

Two different theoretical trends of social movement studies, viz., ‘Resource Mobilization’ (RM) and ‘New Social Movement’ (NSM) theories have been developed in the USA and in Western Europe respectively during post-1960s. According to Jean Cohen, RM theory, i.e. ‘strategy oriented paradigm’, was a reaction against the collective behavior approach of social movement, whereas NSM theory, i.e. ‘identity oriented paradigm’ is another reaction against bureaucratic, centralized and hierarchical perspectives of RM theory. In terms of support base, strategies and tactics and relation to larger society matter in RM theory one can distinguish it from other traditional theories of social movements. McCarthy and Zald in *Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory* (1977) developed economic version of RM theory. McCarthy and Zald viewed that only grievances are not sufficient conditions for the emergence of social movement, rather available assistance, resources and facilities to shape collective actions are also important. Mobilization of supporters, neutralization and or transformation of mass and elite publics into sympathizers etc. are the preferred strategies, furthermore, followed tactics should be influenced by inter-organizational competition and cooperation. In accordance with the economic version of RM theory society provides certain infrastructural facilities which social movement organizations utilize and
these include communication media and expense, levels of affluence, degree of access to institutional centers, pre-existing networks and occupational structure and growth. Tilly in *Social Movements and National Politics* (1984) and Doug McAdam in *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930-1970* (1982) have developed the political version of RM theory. Tilly emphasized on the relation of collective action and extensive changes in the political structure, on the other hand, McAdam focused on how opportunities for social movement actions are being shaped through different regime policies. RM theorists of earlier period assert that the social movements of America were dependent on the resources of elites or several sponsors who were external to the movements. These elites and sponsors were mostly church groups, foundations, organized labour and the federal government. Thus the movements have got the political dimensions. However, extended scope and objectives of NSMs transcend the basic theorization of RM. RM theory minutely examines the economic and political perspectives of any form of social movements, whereas NSM theory emphasizes on the social agenda.

**New Social Movements: Western Perspective**

The term ‘New Social Movement’ was introduced by the Western scholars to explain newly emerged activities in the form of social movements concerned with the issues of environment, women, human rights, peace, homo-sexuality etc. RM theory focuses on movement organizations and mechanisms which encourage participants to join the movement. Moreover, theorists viewed that participation is linked to cost-benefits and budgetary calculation. But in contrast to RM theory, NSM theory purports why and how social movements emerge and link them to the emergence of new society, new values and new forms of action. Here societies are

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considered as structures and long term process. Jean Cohen observed that, RM approach, i.e. ‘strategy oriented paradigm’, resolutely pursues the objectifying logic of empirical-analytical social science and primarily interested in the aggregation of data, not in the questions of identity. But ‘identity oriented paradigm’, i.e. NSM approach, prejudges the hermeneutic or interpretive issue by positing a post-industrial society where institution, forms of collective interaction and consciousness would have a new definition.

On the basis of ideology and goals, tactics, structure and types of participants, Nelson Pichardo outlined differences between ‘old’ and ‘new’ social movements from Western perspective: a) the NSMs are genuinely the product of post-industrial or post-material age and fundamentally different from the working class movements of the industrial epoch. Most fundamentally, NSM emphasizes on the ideology and identity questions which reflect a shift from economic redistribution issue to ‘quality of life’ and lifestyle concerns. New social movement theorists have examined the role of personal identity in the environmental movements in relation to the nature of participation, b) NSMs have no universally recognized tactical style. NSMs often employ disruptive tactics and mobilize public opinion to gain political leverage. They generally use highly dramatic and preplanned forms of demonstrations with costumes and symbolic representations. But that does not mean that NSMs neither involve in politics nor avoid becoming institutionalized themselves. Some NSMs have incorporated themselves in party system and gained regular access to regulatory, implementation and decision making bodies, others have formed political parties and regularly contest for electoral representation. Since early 1990s ‘British environmental direct action movement’ was non-violent middle-class based protest movement against perceived environmental risks like road building, mining, the ‘car-culture’, urban sprawl, genetically modified crops and specifically these movements

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are anti-globalization or anti-capitalism but middle-class participants have shared leftist politics,⁸ c) the structure of NSMs would be anti-authoritarian and anti-institutional. They tend to rotate leadership, vote communally on all issues and to have temporary and loosely formed organizational structure. Furthermore, organizational structures tend to be decentralized and non-hierarchical. But it has been found that, in some NSMs, like in women’s movement and environmental movement, women and environmental groups employed traditional, centralized and hierarchical forms of organization, d) support base for NSMs is basically the ‘new middle class’. But in the environmental movements, two types of participants have been observed, one is ‘new middle class’ and other is geographically bound communities that are being directly affected by the negative externalities of industrial growth. NSMs have emerged due to the contribution of new middle class, but in case of environmental movement many geographically-community based mobilization have strengthened protest movements. Thus NSMs tend to use non-traditional tactics but also those tactics, such as lobbying, getting out the vote, court cases etc., which have been employed in the social movements of the past.⁹

Jurgen Habermas viewed that the objectives and the actions of NSMs can be understood in terms of a defense and or redemption of identities and lifestyles which were threatened by the tendencies to colonize the life world.¹⁰ NSMs provide a pathway for developing new values and new identities in society. At the changing era of production relation, old type of material conflict has been alleviated and disseminated over the surface of new conflicts over ‘grammar of forms of life’. This is a transition phase where issues of conflicts have been transmitted from the economic growth to the social integration and cultural reproduction.¹¹ NSMs represent a shift from ‘old politics’ to ‘new politics’. This indicates a transformation

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from politics based on issues of economic and military security to a new type of politics based on the issues of ‘quality of life’ and ‘individual self-realization’. While entrepreneurs, workers and the professional middle classes are the supporters of old politics, the defenders of the new politics are ‘new middle class’, the young persons and the groups having higher degree of formal education.12

To Claus Offe, NSMs are the collective mobilization for decentralization and self-determination. The issues which are dominant to the NSMs include ‘the concern with a physical territory, space of action or life-world such as the body, health and sexual identity; the neighborhood, city and the physical environment; culture, ethnic, national and linguistic heritage and identity; the physical conditions of life and survival for humankind in general’.13 Focusing on the political values, Offe made a distinction between the ‘old paradigm’ of immediate post-war period and ‘new paradigm’ of contemporary or modern social movements. So far as the values are concerned, ‘old paradigm’ focused on ‘freedom and security of private consumption and material progress’, whereas the ‘new paradigm’ emphasized on ‘personal autonomy and identity as opposed to centralized control’. Organizational values of the ‘old paradigm’ include ‘formal organization, large-scale representative association’, whereas ‘new paradigm’ has new values such as ‘informality, spontaneity, low degree of horizontal and vertical differentiation’.14 Offe observed that ‘old’ politics is generally particular class based and genuinely institutional in nature but the ‘new’ politics is multi-class based or non-class based and authentically non-institutional in character. ‘New politics’ in the contemporary social movements originates from the ‘new middle class’. The activists and supporters of NSMs are the ‘new middle class’ who have high educational status, relative economic security and employment in personal-service occupation. The demands of ‘new politics’ are highly class unspecific, dispersed and either ‘universalistic’ in nature, as observed in environmental, peace and civil rights concerns, or highly concentrated on particular

14 ibid, p. 832.
groups, for instance by locality, age or their being affected situationally by certain practices, laws or institutions of the state. In contrast to working class and old middle class (participants found in environmentalist and regionalist movement) politics, middle class politics is typically a politics of class but not on behalf of class.\footnote{ibid, pp. 833-834.}

Klaus Eder examined that NSMs are the part of protest of petit bourgeois. In the Western societies, historically, NSMs are a second wave of the protest of the ‘honest man’ and ‘petit bourgeois radical democrats’ which managed to have a significantly and ambivalent moral, political and social influence in 19\textsuperscript{th} century.\footnote{Eder, Klaus, 1985, “The ‘New Social Movements’: Moral Crusades, Political Pressure Groups, or Social Movements?” in Social Research, Vol. 52, No. 4, p. 874.} The development of the service society made a significant advancement within the middle class and as a result petite bourgeoisie has achieved a considerable change. Thus new middle class emerged with specific internal differentiations. These are: the executive petite bourgeoisie, the declining petite bourgeoisie and the new petite bourgeoisie.\footnote{ibid, p. 875.} To Eder, NSMs are the products of new type of class consciousness. Depending on the socio-structural position and morality of the petite bourgeoisie, Eder characterized variations of petite bourgeoisie consciousness: a) the executive petite bourgeoisie represents them as doxy of intimacy, peace and ecology which are the new moral issues, b) the declining petite bourgeoisie performs as the orthodoxy of the classical ideals of the family, of deterrence and economic growth and c) new petite bourgeoisie plays its role as heterodoxy of the ideals of the new sensitivity, of eternal peace and of man’s harmony with nature.\footnote{ibid, p. 878.} New petite bourgeoisie displayed the political nature with the form of pressure groups. Their collective protest, as peace and women’s movement, came out from the problems regarding the crisis of welfare state and crisis within the industrial society. From this perspective Eder concludes that ‘NSMs manifest a form of middle class protest which oscillates from moral crusade to political pressure group to social movement’.\footnote{ibid, pp. 880-881.} Eder viewed that NSMs are not the class based movements but they manifest a new form of class
relationship in which the rising middle class as a group with a distinct identity and consciousness are dialectically interconnected with the mobilization of NSMs. Unlike other forms of collective actions NSMs derive from those sections of contemporary society which ‘preserve old communitarian traditions and radically democratic projects while also seeking new social relations that transcend moralism and power’. 20

To Alberto Melucci, while old social movements emphasized on the citizenship claims and dissemination of political rights, contemporary social movements are concerned about the new identities in the resistance to the processes of instrumental reason which spreads through ‘impersonal technocratic power’. 21 Melucci illustrated that collective actions of contemporary social movements have transcends the Marxist notion of class struggle. Boundaries of contemporary social conflicts are extended beyond society and political system. 22 Hence, Melucci characterized NSM as ‘segmented, reticulated, polyccephalic structure. The movement is composed of diverse, autonomous units that extend an important part of their resources on internal solidarity’. 23 Melucci also viewed that contemporary movements are not just political as they affect the cultural production of particular system. 24

Alan Scott viewed that ‘modern social movements are primarily social and directly political in character’. 25 As societal aspects – identities, lifestyles, values and cultures have prime importance but politics may come into the agenda with lesser degree of attention. In the modern movements, issues like grabbing of political

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power and citizenship claims have least chance to be included. On the contrary, modern movements do not seek to capture state power instead they always endeavour to protect civil society from the technocratic power of state. Thus they ‘bypass the state’. 26 Scott pointed out that, as mode of action, contemporary movements tend to be detached from politics but sometimes they prefer a politics of everyday life which prioritizes new changes in lifestyle, values and in identities in defense of civil society. 27 Scott argued that environmental movements became too popular in Sweden, Austria and the former West Germany because of their corporatist arrangements. Green parties, as united body, played a significant role from political arenas in matters of environmental protection. But in Britain, green movement was less successful due to electoral system which excludes small parties and prevented green parties to contest the election and to access public profile. 28

Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe asserted that NSMs are highly diverse struggles. They manifest as urban, ecological, anti-authoritarian, anti-institutionalist, feminist, anti-racist, ethnic and regional movements. NSMs do not limit themselves in a fixed particular issue rather diversified issues can be measured in a single agenda. 29 Contemporary movements have new left ideological base since these movements radically criticize advanced industrial society. It has been observed that, since 1960’s, in the context of left-wing politics, most particularly in the absence of sharply defined working class, the ecological movements, the student movements, feminism and the marginal masses became most popular candidates for carrying out their new role. 30

According to Alain Touraine, NSMs are less socio-political and more socio-cultural. Touraine exemplified anti-nuclear movement, feminist movement, identity or autonomy movement etc. to describe new social conflicts in the present

26 ibid, p. 17.
27 ibid, p. 18-19.
28 ibid, pp. 143-148.
30 ibid, pp. 168-169.
democratic societies. Touraine examined that the distance between state and civil society is increasing. Some sort of separation has been found between state and social movements and social movements and political parties. New movements are emerging out with plurality and multiplicity of thought and social interest. Dominant issue of these movements is to protect society and its cultural norms. Therefore, these movements can be best known as socio-cultural movements which deepen grassroots democratic social structures.\(^{31}\) K. W. Brand argued that NSMs not only insist for the expansion of direct democratic forms of political participation but also emphasize on the widening of opportunities for social self-organization. The cultural pluralism of NSMs and their focus on autonomy suggests a more reflexive way of political integration which is more responsive to different cultural norms and varying lifestyles.\(^{32}\)

To Jean Cohen, NSMs are the contemporary struggles for more democratization. The objective of the contemporary movement is not simply the defense of strengthening of informal, familial or small scale private networks of autonomous social relation rather they seek to create a new public space of additional democratic structure and revitalization of old institutional models.\(^{33}\) But Cohen viewed that ‘…striking feature of the contemporary situation (1970s and 1980s) of movements is its heterogeneity. The old patterns of collective action certainly continue to exist’.\(^{34}\) She found new identities within contemporary social movements. She reiterates that only some identities within the social movements are new.\(^{35}\) Notably these movements are ‘self limiting’ in character, because: a) ‘the actors of NSMs do not struggle for the return of the utopian undifferentiated communities of the past, b) the actors struggle for autonomy, plurality and difference

\(^{34}\) Cohen, 1985, op. cit., p. 665.
\(^{35}\) ibid, pp. 665-667.
without rejecting the formal egalitarian principles of democracy, parliament, political participation and public representation of its juridical structure, c) the actors make a conscious effort to learn from past experience, to relativise their values through reasoning, except in case of fundamentalist expressions of NSMs and d) the actors accept the formal existence of the state and of market economy’. These are the manifold activities of NSMs which Cohen designated ‘self-limiting radicalism’. 36

**New Social Movements: Indian Perspective**

Rajendra Singh viewed that, in the Western countries, an intense debate was going on taking theoretical paradigms of NSMs but ‘Indian scholars of social movements have generally not responded to the theoretical orientations of the NSMs’. 37 It is observed that, the works of Gail Omvedt, Harsh Sethi, Vandana Shiva, Sanjay Sangvai, Rajani Kothari, Ramachandra Guha, Amita Baviskar, T. K. Oommen and others illustrated the salient features of NSMs in the context of Third World in general and India in particular. The features of NSM in India are different from the NSM of Western perspective so far as issues, aims, participants and mode of actions are concerned. From Asia, Africa and Latin American context, Andre Gunder Frank and Marta Fuentes have experienced that ‘the new social movements are old but have some new features’. More legitimately, only ecological or green movements and the peace movements can be termed as ‘new’ movement because these movements have responded to social needs which have been recently generated by world development. It is generalized that ecological degradation due to industrial development drastically disrupt the sources of livelihood of the people and as a reaction against this process new ecological or green movements are emerging in the context of Third World. New ecological or green movements are defensive in nature since these are the struggle for the defense of society. In third world, the capitalist development caused environmental degradation and gave birth to defensive social movements. Beyond spontaneity, changeability and adaptability, many of the

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37 *ibid*, pp. 105-106.
contemporary movements inherit organizational capacity and leadership from old labour movements, political parties, churches and other organizations. Thus they acquire political character like social movements of the past. Ponna Wignaraja’s edited volume on *New Social Movements in the South: Empowering the People* made myriad distinctions between ‘old’ and ‘new’ movements. Old movements see the achievement of state power as essential to the process of social transformation. From another viewpoint, old movements see the existing state as the target of attack. But the new movements seek to put pressure on the existing state to comply with the demands of the movement supporters and prefer such a form of state in which people will control the state power.

In contemporary India, NSMs have come to the surface due to the increasing consciousness about rights, democracy and people’s own choices of development. NSMs in India involve: ecology movements, women’s movements, *dalit* movements and autonomy movements etc. NSMs elucidate specific role of state and civil society and make a broad distinction between the jurisdictions of these two separate organizations. Singh has drawn four distinct features of NSMs: a) NSMs are the weapon of civil society to resist the combined forces of state and the market. Today state has limitless infiltration into almost every aspect of social life where people disdain state intervention. Under this circumstance NSMs are emerging against authoritarian power of state. Thus NSMs seek people’s empowerment and strengthen civil society. Ideological assumptions of NSMs are based on certain hypotheses. These are: civil society is gradually vanishing; social scope of civil society is being minimized and societal concerns of civil society are in the way of decline by the regulative power of state. State, market and improved communication system are swallowing humanitarian aspects of society. However, as Singh observed, NSM does not support anarchism. Instead of expecting stateless society NSMs ‘call for just and

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dignified conditions for the conception, birth, maturation and reproduction of a creative human being in tune with nature’.

b) The central objective of NSM is to secure life and living conditions of coming generation. To Singh, ‘NSMs are transnational movements, these movements articulate, project and struggle for human issues and for issues relating to the very conditions of human existence’. NSMs have non-class and non-materialist base. Ideological values and systematic objectives of NSMs transcend Marxists explanation of class and class formation. In Marxism, every struggle is known as class struggle but in NSMs, like in disarmament, anti-caste, environmental and women’s movement, people participate irrespective of their class and caste. Therefore, ‘in the contemporary social context, Marxism proves to be an inadequate explanatory model. There is a general collapse of the ‘class paradigm’ as the ‘general theory’ of explanation in social sciences’.

c) NSM aims at reconstruction of the relations between state, society and economy. Thus NSM creates a general space where autonomy and liberty can be enjoyed. NSM generally emerges as a non-political party based movement. NSM has no ideological position like trade union and political party based struggle instead NSM originates as grassroots non-political protest to sort out local problems. Thus NSM tries to produce organized democratic associations horizontally. NSMs often come out as ‘micro-movements of small groups targeting localized issues with a limited institutional base’.

d) Dimensions of NSMs are multi-faceted. Sometimes as an exception, isolated and pluralistic subject matters may come to be as seen but generally due to adherence of several social matters, there is hardly any chance to include political affairs of parties. Thus NSMs acquire universal character and their social concerns and the issues spread cutting across the boundaries of nation and society. Regarding the

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40 ibid, pp. 100-101.
41 ibid, p. 101.
central objective of NSM Singh wrote that, ‘at the centre of NSMs seems to lie perhaps a confused, relative scattered and uncrystallised, yet a determined bid of the post-modern human to reject the singularization, homogenization and equalization of the global ideology of conventional social science theories, and the system of power which profits from acting on these ideologies’.\textsuperscript{42}

Gail Omvedt in \textit{Reinventing Revolution: New Social Movements and the Socialist Tradition in India}, pointed out that social inequality and unequal distribution of resources are the principal concerns of NSMs in India. From 1970’s, with the forms of peasant, \textit{dalit}, environmental and women’s movement, NSMs are emerging by the organizations of new sections of populations, like \textit{dalit}, other backward castes/\textit{Bahujanas}, women, around new issues, like environment, caste, gender, production for the market/oppression by the state, and using new concepts and analyses as frameworks for their struggle. These movements are different from the ‘old’ ‘class’ and ‘political party’ based movements of the left and national movements.\textsuperscript{43}

From the perspective of ecological struggles, Harsh Sethi illuminated the nature of new movements and recent struggles in India. To him in the recent struggles like forest movements, anti-dam movements and fisher-folks movements tribal, women and other subaltern people have participated vastly but another set of actors were found in the same movements, they are journalists, film makers etc., most genuinely the middle class professionals like scientists and researchers, doctors, engineers, technologists and lawyers participated. Most of the struggles are against the developmental initiatives taken on behalf of state. In these struggles questions of survival and human rights were the prime issues.\textsuperscript{44} As the increasing pace of modernization and developmental initiative of state, people are facing severe

\textsuperscript{42}ibid, pp. 102-103.


problems like poverty, unemployment, landlessness, resource depletion etc. Under these circumstances, people are form grassroots organizations and organize several movements against the state policy. These organizations are non-party based and apply grassroots non-violent politics for a broader social transformation.\textsuperscript{45}

Rajni Kothari observed that, people’s movements and grassroots politics are emerging and developing in a context where the engines of growth are in decline, the organized working class is not growing up, the process of marginalization is disseminating, anti-people’s voices are echoing due to technological progress, development has become an instrument of the privileged class only and the state has lost its role as an agent of transformation and even as a mediator in the affairs of civil society. Under this circumstance people are asserting their rights by intense mass movement and continuing their struggle for survival. Due to all these issues and arenas of human activity the total concept of politics has been changed. Now-a-days people struggle taking the issue of rights over forest and community resources can also be known as politics.\textsuperscript{46} D. L Sheth emphasizes that these struggles are in nature a critique as well as protest against the prevailing model of development and the emergence of alternative approach to rural development and more importantly it is self consciously political on behalf of those section of society whom modern development has rendered impoverishment, destitute and starving.\textsuperscript{47} Sanjay Sangvai mentions the rise of NSMs as new politics of social transformation where the poor and marginalized section of our society endeavor to make life more efficient, elegant and contended for everybody through manifold forms of social protest against injustice, inequality and vulgarity that are inherent in the prevalent capitalist and consumerist development politics.\textsuperscript{48} Vandana Shiva asserts that the ecological movements are the new political struggle against modern developmentalism for


safeguarding the interests and survival of the poor. Modern market oriented
developmental process is continuously threatening the economy of natural processes
by overexploitation of natural resources. Thus developmental processes governed by
the principles of the market have created new forms of poverty. On the contrary,
making cooperative development and underdevelopment of the locality based on
resource intensive processes, the new forms of poverty and dispossession create new
‘blocks and resistances’ to the diffusion of the development.\(^\text{49}\) D. L. Sheth argued
that grassroot organizations consider poverty not merely an economic problem
instead it is a function of a social structural location of the poor who met with several
barriers that distinguished the world of development from the world of poverty. The
world of development signifies local, political and economic immunities and
insulations, on the contrary, poverty refers to vulnerabilities and exposures to
exploitations and their unorganized and helpless nature.\(^\text{50}\) Thus NSMs in the Indian
context became anti-poverty movements.

Ramachandra Guha viewed that, at one level, NSMs are defensive and at
another level they are assertive. Being defensive they seek to protect civil society
from the tentacles of centralizing state and being assertive they seek to change civil
society in such a manner where good life can be enjoyed which would be somewhat
different from that articulated by any of the established political parties. These
movements are small and scattered with their divergence of interest and ideologies.
Increasingly in the Indian context these movements are becoming visible, these are
new social movements.\(^\text{51}\)

Amita Baviskar asserts that, NSMs in the Indian context have emerged due to
the critique of modern developmentalism. She felt that, green or ecological
movement as NSM in the European context is a paradigmatic and ideological shift
from ‘red’ to ‘green’ agenda that means a transformation from ‘Marxism’ to

\(^{49}\) Shiva, Vandana, 1991, *Ecology and the Politics of Survival: Conflicts over Natural Resources in
India*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, pp. 19-33.
\(^{50}\) Sheth, 1984, *op. cit.*, p. 260.
‘environmentalism’. From class based analysis of social conflict, conflict over forests and water can be seen as environmental and conflict over agricultural land. On the other hand, in Europe, forests and rivers are seen as ‘wilderness’ not primarily seen as sources of livelihood. But, in India, forests and rivers are most valuable sources of livelihood and subsistence for the poor. Therefore, the ‘struggles of rural communities for retaining the control over natural resources for subsistence can be interpreted as embodying a ‘green’ agenda of environmentalism’. Environmentalism is not only concerned with ‘nature’ rather it is also concerned with ‘sustainable use’ of natural resources.52

T. K. Oommen explains that the NSMs of the West emerged in the post-class and post-modern era because of two reasons: a) inability of Marxian analysis to examine the non-class identities and b) failure of liberal theory, i.e., the incapacity modernization project to manage the discontents of modernity.53 To Oommen, in NSMs only issues are different. Old-new difference can be gauged from the peasant movements of past and present India. Oommen wrote that: a) the peasants movements of anti-colonial period were autonomy movements but after Independence till 1970s, the agrarian movements operated as front-organizations of political parties, b) old agrarian movements were single class based but the new movements are multi-class based and c) old agrarian movements demanded ‘higher wages, stipulated working hours, land to the tiller, discontinuation of oppressive feudal practices’ etc. but in the new ones the demands are ‘subsidized inputs and assured procurement prices from the government and better terms of trade for Bharat from India’.54 New issues can be found in the women’s movement of the present. The movements have shifted from economic and class based issues to political and socio-cultural issue.55

54 *ibid*, p. 243.
55 *ibid*, pp. 243-244.
‘anti-state’ movements. Both old and new movements cannot be fully detached from politics because people always reside in a certain power relation. More importantly, NSMs are ‘an important agency in civil society, at once address the issues of equality and identity’.  

Therefore, we can conclude that, like European examples, in India, environmentalism as NSM is not the product of post-modern, post-industrial age. Environmentalism is primarily concerned with ‘quality of life issues’, even non-class movement but often multi-class movement and not purely social in nature. In India: 

a) NSMs are emerging out when the process of modernization and industrialization have started. Indian environmentalism, as social movement, simply advocates ‘environmentalism of the poor’ and opposite to ‘post-materialist’ environmentalism of the ‘North’ because of the diversified character of Indian environmental movements against injustice. 

b) Along with the ‘quality of life issues’ survival imperatives are equally important in Indian environmentalism. However, environmentalism appeals to multiple forms of ethical substances, like ‘fairness to other human beings (intra-general justice), sustainability (intergenerational equity) and also material and spiritual quality of life (the latter overlapping with the idea of fairness to other living organisms). 

c) In the movements for environmental justice, the middle class play a significant role than other social classes. Ramchandra Guha and Gail Omvedt observed that Indian environmental movements emerged as a peasant and tribal resistance at its first moment. When the environmental degradation or possibilities of degradation have threatened the livelihood and survival of hundreds of millions of poor peasants, tribals and slum-dwellers and marginalized groups started resistance.  

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56 ibid, pp. 245-246. 
58 ibid, p. 212. 
middle class intellectuals joined the movements and helped to articulate their ideologies but sometimes their contributions made the movement reformist and anti-socialist. However, Emma Mawdsley felt that the survival and livelihood concern remain to the subaltern people but the organized and systematic environmental activism pretended from the middle-class people as a form of normative or radical protest to prevent deforestation, to control pollution and population growth.

d) Politics is an inseparable part of social resistance; even involvement of formal political parties can be observed. Harsh Sethi observed that through ecological struggles the poor and subalterns have developed grassroots politics for more democratization; thus they redefined politics and articulated alternative forms of governance.

e) The economic issues have been addressed for larger social and cultural development. The civil society organizations of contemporary India are much concerned with the economic conditions of society. Contemporary struggles for environmental protection are basically a struggle for the protection of economic status of the dependent groups, i. e. the people who are dependent on natural resources for everyday livelihood.

Environmental Movements in India: State and Civil Society

Ecological, green and environmental movements are the consciously directed social and political actions or the collective effort to preserve or protect the natural elements (including man as natural object) eternally. These movements take a shape or form of action on the basis of environmental consciousness and dominant political ideologies, e. g., eco-feminism is the combination of two different ideologies, one is

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environmentalism or ecologism and another is feminism. On the contrary, consciousness that develops on the basis of eco-feminism is that the women are facing severe problems due to environmental degradation. Significantly, environmental movements are the outcome of a broader ecological concern and green thought developed among the people either naturally or by compulsion. Environmental consciousness is an element in the ideological superstructure of modern society and competent to influence the pursuit of economic growth. Notwithstanding, the emerging environmental consciousness exhibits group interests come out from the incrementally fragmented plural society. As usually ecological, green and environmental movements are consciously directed mobilized actions where several group of people assemble themselves to protect the group interests demanding the controlling power of nature and the natural elements. In contemporary India, these movements are emerging out from two separate platforms of organizations, viz., state and civil society.

The state initiated movements are to be viewed as virtual legalization and the enactment of environment related laws and regulations. Here, the movements refer to any action involving a large number of people and a ‘quantum of work done speedily’. In 1980s central Government of India rapidly looked after the environmental protection issues through Man and Biosphere (MAB) programme. The Department of Environment has taken several multi-dimensional tasks on management, research and education in ecosystem conservation and sustainable use of natural resources. But new problems are coming out, viz., a) impact of high growth oriented development on environment and b) direct impact of the improved standard of living through different lifestyle. The first category includes rapid industrialization process, construction of big dams etc. and the second category involves the affluent lifestyles. To resolve the problems, the Ministry of

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Environment and Forest (MoEF) adopted specific objectives. These are: (i) preparation of environmental laws and policies, (ii) pollution monitoring and controlling, (iii) survey and conservation of natural resources, (iv) management of forests and conservation of wildlife, (v) promotion of research, (vi) creation of environmental awareness, education and information and (vii) international cooperation. The contradiction between economic growth and environmental protection or between economic development and environmental justice is one of the contemporary tension areas of Indian politics and sociological trends. It is quite impossible to come on a universally excepted conclusion taking environment and development issues. As a reaction against the process of economic development, such as construction of big dams and rapid industrialization, a number of popular movements are erupting especially from the poor masses. Sunita Narain observed that, India’s environmental movement is about managing contradictions and complexities. Contradictions are going on between ‘environmentalism of the poor’ or ‘livelihood environmentalism’ and ‘lifestyle environmentalism’ or ‘environmentalism of the affluent’ since it is very difficult to make an adjustment between ‘science’ and ‘humanities’, the ‘Two Cultures’. Development of science or technological advancement can demolish the lifestyle pattern of the people who belong to poor and disadvantaged section of society; on the contrary, without advanced technology the modern developmental process cannot be assessed.

Article 48A of the Indian Constitution states that, the state shall endeavor to protect and improve the environment and to safeguard the forest and wildlife of the country. Article 51A (g) instructs that, ‘it shall be the duty of every citizen of India to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers and wildlife, and to have compassion for living creatures’. Even articles 21 and 47 deals

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Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act (2006), 31) National Green Tribunal Act (2010) etc.\textsuperscript{67}

The above mentioned regulations or the protective measures have been enacted and applied after Indian independence, particularly after the UN conference on environment and development of Stockholm, 1972. During colonial rule, the British Government also initiated certain policy measures for environmental protection. For example: 1) Indian Forest Act (1878), 2) Elephant Preservation Act (1879), 3) Wild Bird Protection Act (1887), 4) Indian Fisheries Act (1897), 5) The Explosive Substances Act (1908), 6) Wild Birds and Animals Protection Act (1912), 7) The Poisons Act (1919), 8) The Indian Boilers Act (1923), 9) The Motor Vehicles Act (1939) etc.\textsuperscript{68}

Since Stockholm conference of 1972, most scholarly attention was paid on environment-development debate. Despite several decades of long intense social resistances against developmental projects, in India, no universally accepted policy has been formulated consistently between developmental schemes and environmental sustainability. Developmental plans, like setting up of huge industrial infrastructure and construction of multi-purpose dams, hold up technological hegemonism and are devoid of humanitarian approach. Such developmental plans subvert the human and non-human creatures with lesser or greater intensity, because without controlling destruction of natural resources no such developmental plan can be successful. Both human and non-human species face enormous threat. These projects directly spoil bio-diversity of a particular area and harm the economic life of


\textsuperscript{68} http://lawmin.nic.in/chronology.htm?_ga=1.52883822.717269544.1386833407 accessed on 20\textsuperscript{th} October, 2013.
the poor dwellers in the region. However, it is argued that the introduction of modern technologies for industrialization and multi-purpose river project will generate better employment schemes and strengthen the urbanization process. The initiators of such schemes often argue that, at the increasing pace of industrialization and river project, downstream mechanisms develop simultaneously. Introduction of Special Economic Zone (SEZ) or setting up of huge industry and mega dam projects attract the qualified (who have specialized knowledge on a particular subject or area) and non-qualified (who have no specialized knowledge but can be fitted with the process) persons to join the process which causes massive migration. These developmental processes accommodate both trained and non-trained migrants to stock labour resources which are inseparable part of any developmental process. Under this circumstance what position we should have to adhere, environment or development? To this question state initiated environmental ‘movements’ have lost its importance, simultaneously state authority is incompetent to sort out societal problems making specific norms for developmental process. State initiated developmental process induces massive displacement of a number of populations and in absence of fair R&R policy state forces oustees into a destitute situation and further makes them marginalized.

CSOs expect a positive role from the Indian judiciary for environmental justice. It is some sort of dependence over ‘state’ institution to solve environmental disputes. Even sometimes Supreme Court played a significant role. For example – protestors of Banawasi Sewa Ashram Andolan moved to the Supreme Court taking Public Interest Litigation (PIL) under article 21 and 32 of the Indian constitution. In 1993, Supreme Court pronounced that eviction of the claims of the protestors was not sustainable. On the contrary, against this verdict, Government of Uttar Pradesh appealed that National Thermal Power Corporation (NTPC) planned to build Rihand plant which can be designated as developmental scheme. The Supreme Court revised

69 Here the term ‘movement’ can be described as rapid policy formulation process and its successful implementation.

its earlier order by reconciling the claims of the State of Uttar Pradesh and the protestors. The Court sentenced that NTPC should have to compensate the people who are likely to be displaced by the project.\textsuperscript{71} But such model of alternative direction is now obsolete because members of civil society are not only concerned with employment opportunity but also deeply apprehensive about the crisis of traditional way of life-style pattern.

Environmental movements by the CSOs emerge when source of livelihood, survival and sustenance issues are threatened. Modern developmentalism evicts people from their customary rights over natural resources, side by side, with the name of R&R package, state agencies and its negotiators do not provide compensation on the basis of the entire satisfaction of the victimized groups. However, generally the movement supporters raise the compensation issue as secondary one but it is observed that the protestors add compensation issue to boost up the intensity of the movement and to oppose governmental policy on development which sometimes can be seen as political manipulation. But in reality the victimized groups demand psychological rehabilitation\textsuperscript{72} which is fairly impracticable, which is why people also oppose physical rehabilitation.\textsuperscript{73}

Ecological, green and environmental movement by the civil society organizations raise the issues of survival, equity, social justice and sustainable use of natural resources, but among all these – livelihood and survival issues are most crucial. Ramachandra Guha and Madhav Gadgil observed that ‘environmental movement’ is an ‘organized social activity consciously directed toward promoting sustainable use of natural resources, halting environmental degradation or bringing

\textsuperscript{72} Psychological rehabilitation can be defined as the alternative arrangement for both dwelling place and also an environment where delightful professions can be performed. Most importantly proposed place should have to be adjusted with the mind or psychological set up of the victimized groups.
\textsuperscript{73} Physical rehabilitation would be a proposal and an arrangement for alternative dwelling place where the displaced people can be settled. Remarkably, proposers do not consider whether the displaced people can adjust themselves with the proposed space or not.
about environmental restoration.'\textsuperscript{74} Vandana Shiva views that ‘ecology movements’ are the strong protest against the destruction of vital natural resources which are essential for human survival. In India, people’s ecology movement is the voice of opposition against the threats coming from market economy to the survival economy.\textsuperscript{75} Gail Omvedt’s argument is that the struggle for survival by the rural poor in India constitutes ‘green movements’.\textsuperscript{76} Ghanshyam Shah asserts that ‘more often than not, the struggle of the people on the issues of their livelihood and access to forest and other natural resources are coined as environmental movements.’\textsuperscript{77} Therefore, broad difference is that the environmental movements, as political action, from government’s effort is limited only in the process of policy initiation and its implementation, whereas environmental movements by the civil society can be seen as a multiple forms of protest and resistance against the governmental actions on development which is to be done by controlling natural resources. It is pertinent to recapitulate that as social movement, struggle for survival and subsistence has constructed the real foundation of livelihood environmentalism in the Indian context.

Civil society is the organization of people, irrespective of different class, caste, culture and professionals, who mobilize themselves for the articulation and fulfillment of their interests only with the medium of popular resistance.\textsuperscript{78} Civil society organization is a platform where group based mobilization geared up the political values through social resistance. T. K. Oommen unfolds several aspects of civil society in the Indian social and political structure. He viewed, sometimes civil society organization works as instrument for establishing equality between the privileged and deprived groups or communities. For the underprivileged social groups, CSO is a mechanism to secure identity issues but dominant social groups use civil society organization to reinforce and perpetuate their hegemony. Oommen

\textsuperscript{75} Shiva, Vandana, 1991, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{76} Omvedt, Gail, 1987, “India’s Green Movements” in \textit{Race and Class}, Vol. 28, No. 4, p. 36.
indicates that forms of mobilization and social background of the members of our society fix up the nature and activities of civil society organizations. However, ultimate focus of civil society of contemporary India has been situated on the identity question as the members, who are most deprived and marginalized, often assert their rights intensifying the slogan of ‘sons of the soil’. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are also the part of civil society as they play a considerable role mobilizing deprived sections of society into collective action and through the agency of social movements only to accelerate the process of social transformation in a radical way.

The prime objective of environmental movement is to prevent dwindling and exploitation over natural resources. For that very reason, the movement participants claim that any action which can harm the environmental and ecological balance and clarity that ought to be prohibited and the practices which would be fruitful for the environmental reconstruction must be encouraged. In this regard, protest against huge industrialization and mega dam project on the one hand and the programme like tree plantation on the other both can be recognized as environmental movement. Therefore, the environmental movement includes protest and reconstruction processes. For the movement, CSOs generally track the methods of protest and resistance, on the contrary, the ‘state’ follows the reconstructive measures through policy formation and its implementation. However, NGOs, as a part of civil society, also apply the reconstructive measures for the same purpose as state does. Even several times NGOs have organized protest movements for environmental justice. The directory of environmental NGOs in India was published by the Environmental Service Group of World Wide Fund (WWF) – India in 1989 and it listed out 879 large and small NGOs spread throughout the country. In 2008, the increased figure of environmental NGOs was 2,342. Most of these NGOs take suitable action for environmental improvement like – preservation of forests, pollution control etc.

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80 ibid, p. 15.
Collaborating with different NGOs WWF – India was taking several needful steps for environmental protection and natural wild life conservation. For example – through a joint partnership with State Forest Departments and local NGOs WWF – India was estimating and monitoring the population of tigers, co-predators and prey base.\(^\text{82}\)

The CSOs of the poor alleges that in the name of modern development, the state enjoys certain regulative power over the natural resources, like land, water and forests, and ignores the grassroots realities. In opposition, proponents of modern development argue that, proper utilization of natural resources will lead to development for the country, but the movements against such scheme always endeavour to root out the whole process of development. Therefore, these are anti-development and anti-nationalist programme, besides the leaders of these movements are also anti-developmentalists and anti-nationalists.\(^\text{83}\) In reality, these movements look for the minimization of the state regulation over the economic and cultural life of the people. Sunita Narain observed that these protest movements are challenging the state initiated developmental model and stand for the rights over land, water, forests and mineral sources. Due to the intensity of the movement, the government is compelled to search for the alternative way of development keeping in mind the actual requirements of the poor.\(^\text{84}\)

According to Harsh Sethi, people’s ecological movements are against destruction of natural resources and also for the preservation. These movements are struggle over the distribution of the rewards from resource use and they demand alternatives in technology and resource use. Both state and people demand controlling power over natural resources, state employs controlling power for the successful completion of developmental projects, but people, basically the poor,

control nature only to strengthen survival economy and in this regard people disdain state intervention. Thus, springs state vs. people conflict escalating environmental awareness. Sethi viewed that three broad ideological frameworks can be found in the Indian environmental movements: a) rights over natural resources and distribution, b) legal and policy based change in the sphere of resource use and c) the rejection of the developmental paradigm. On the basis of these issues of protest and its nature, environmental movements in India can be divided into five basic categories: a) forest movements, b) movement over land use, c) movement against big dams, d) anti-pollution movement and e) movement against over-exploitation of marine resources.\(^85\)

To Ashok Swain, modern environmental protests in India pose a severe challenge to the dominant ideology of the meaning and the patterns of development. Swain analyzed two sided approaches of civil society function of environmental organizations, viz. ‘supply side’ approach and ‘demand side’ approach. ‘Supply side’ approach concentrates on the delivery of developmental projects and a ‘demand side’ approach helps people to articulate their concerns and participate in the developmental process.\(^86\) To Swain, environmental justice movement would be of three patterns: a) anti-mining and anti-industrialization movements, b) forest movements and c) movements against big dams. All these movements came as a response to the threat of the survival base and as a demand for the conservation of natural renewable resources.\(^87\)

Gail Omvedt argued that environmental movement in India arose as ‘peasant movement’ particularly as new farmers’ movement, but immediate focus was on the survival issues, notably environmental movements in India developed basically as survival related movements by the rural poor. Omvedt has shown a) fishworkers’ struggle, b) anti-drought, anti-deforestation and anti-desertification movement, and

c) anti-dam movement as environmental movement. Civil society functions in these movements proceeded refusing Marxian ideology and acknowledging Gandhian ideology.\(^{88}\)

To Gadgil and Guha, environmental movements are ‘new’ in nature because of their defensive character. Equity, justice and democratization are the real demands that have been expressed by the severe nature-based protest. These movements include a) struggle for forest rights, b) struggle against negative impact of big dams, c) struggle for fishing rights, d) struggle for mining rights and e) struggle to prevent pollution.\(^{89}\)

In India, environmentalism as organized movement is a struggle against specific governmental policies and projects.\(^{90}\) In a broader sense, modern environmental movements advocated by grassroots activism or popular protests, as manifested by several forest movements, anti-dam movements, anti-pollution movements, fish-workers’ movements, and anti-industrialization movements that have broadened new political space to empower the people. No doubt Indian environmental movements are ‘kaleidoscopic’, in nature.\(^{91}\) From the intensity and vary nature of forest and river movements and other responsive environmental awareness campaign, theoretical base of Indian ‘popular environmentalism’ as ‘new’ movement seeks to limit the state power and endeavours to defend civil society.

**Forest Movements in India:**

Ghanshyam Shah viewed that the forest struggle may be divided into two phases: i) a response to direct commercial exploitation and ii) a response to commercial exploitation legitimized as ‘scientific forestry’.\(^{92}\) As forest movement, *Chipko* and *Appiko* movement were most prominent and more reactionary even in


\(^{91}\) *ibid*, pp. 265-268.

the international socio-political context. These movements, led by poor peasants, tribals and other daily wage labourers, were against the commercial tree felling and loss of livelihood. At the first moment, these movements were basically the movements for sheer survival because the protestors at the initial phase highlighted the issues of livelihood and customary rights over forests but afterwards Chipko and Appiko movements raised broader ecological concern for the protection of natural environment. Thus, the survival related movements became environmental movements.

**Chipko Movement**

*Chipko* movement (hug the tree movement) of 1970s of Himalayan region was a mobilized social action by the rural poor to spear customary rights over forests. During this movement, the conflict between profitability and survival imperatives was closely visible. A dominant section of the society was using scientific forestry as a political weapon to legitimize the overexploitation of natural resources only for profit. Latter on in 1977 *Chipko* movement was strengthened by public interest science and acquired the nature of ‘ecology movement’. Popular support came from the environmental action groups and raised the slogan of ‘What do the forests bear? Soil, water and pure air’. Prevention of environmental destruction is the secondary issue of the movement but primary was saving of livelihood sources. While Sunderlal Bahuguna, most pronounced *Chipko* leader, urged for environmental balance, i.e. saving of trees in the Himalayan region, Chandi Prasad Bhatt, another famous *Chipko* movement leader, is of the view that, ‘saving trees is only the first step in the *Chipko* movement. Saving ourselves is our real goal’. Ramachandra Guha observed *Chipko* movement as ‘peasant resistance’. To him, the movement has two faces, viz., ‘public’ and ‘private’. Deforestation may effect on the rural economy of the poor peasants who are dependent on the fuel,

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93 *ibid*, pp. 251-252.
fodder and small timber of the Tehri Garwal region where they demand their free access for sustenance. Therefore, *Chipko* is not just an environmental movement as such but also a peasant movement for rights over forests. On the other hand, as a peasant resistance, *Chipko* received popular support as the movement reflects the core tenets of environmentalism, furthermore, it was a Gandhian path of non-violent resistance.95

Mira Behn, Sarala Behn and other *Chipko* leaders formed people’s organization inspired by the Gandhian world view on development based on the ecological justice and sustainability. *Chipko* leaders conducted a popular mass movement following Gandhian agendas like, long march, *Satyagraha* etc. The movement got its success when Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the then Prime Minister, declared a fifteen year ban on commercial green felling in the Himalayan forests of Uttar Pradesh.96 Women’s contribution in the movement was highly measurable they have chosen the strategy of hug or embrace the tree which indicates their close psychological attachment with the trees; considerably their resistance was against the possible psychological displacement. The movement was a conscious action to save both environment and society. Consequently, the movement widened environmental consciousness world-wide and inspired policy makers to pay attention on the conservation of forests.97

**Appiko Movement**

*Appiko* movement (embrace or hug the tree movement) of Karnataka in the early 1980’s was another example of forest movement inspired by *Chipko* movement. Like *Chipko* movement, *Appiko* movement was a movement for saving people’s rights over tropical natural forests that provide food, fodder, fuel, fertilizer and fiber as well as a movement for preserving ecological balance in the hilly areas

97 Bahuguna, V., 1990, *The Chipko Movement: In a Space within the Struggle*, Kali for Women, New Delhi, pp. 115-120.
of Western Ghats. But unlike *Chipko*, religious sentiments motivated the people to choose the path of resistance in case of *Appiko*. The *Chipko* leader Sunderlal Bahuguna accompanied Pandurang Hedge, the leader of *Appiko* movement, and other *Appiko* activists to spread environmental awareness among the local people and followed the agenda of long march or *Padayatra*, one of the Gandhian styles of non-violent resistance. Observing the intensity of the movement State Government of Karnataka sent Forest Minister and he assured the local people that only dead and dry trees would be chosen for felling. But the protestors continued their struggle motivated by their religious beliefs and cultural sentiments. However, the objective of the movement was threefold; viz., protection, regeneration and utilization of forest resources and all these are required to prevent soil erosion and water retention and to fulfill the requirements of the local people.

**Anti-Dam Movements in India:**

In contemporary India, dams and multi-purpose river projects have become the focus of widespread agitation. Resistance movement against Tehri and Pong dams in the Northern part of India; the Koshi, Gandhak, Bodhghat and Koel-Karo projects in the Eastern part, the Narmada Valley project in the Central India; Bedthi, Bhopalpatnam and Ichampalli in the Western part; the Tungbhadra, Malaprabha and Ghatprabha schemes in the South are remarkable examples. Most of the anti-dam movements are against involuntary displacement, inadequate resettlement and rehabilitation and most prominently against environmental degradation. Large dams, intensive irrigation and large diversions create three types of conflicts: a) large scale displacement and uprooting of people from their ancestral homelands leading to ecological refugees. Such conflict arises due to violation of human rights of the displaced or project affected persons, b) conflicts related to water projects arise from the ecological impact of impounding large quantities of water, transporting it across

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drainage boundaries and using it for intensive irrigation. This is the direct conflict between the displaced people and the people who are likely to be benefited from the large dam and c) regional conflict over water rights as an outcome of large river diversions. This is the conflict between two or more regional governments taking the sharing of river water issue. But commonly state vs. civil society conflict is most observable phenomena in this context. The followings are few instances on the social resistance against big dam construction.

**Silent Valley Movement**

In the Silent Valley movement NGOs have played a significant role. Several NGOs spearheaded by *Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad* (KSSP) were against the Silent Valley power generation project on the River Kuntipuzha in Palaghat district of the northern part of Kerala. The Kerala Natural History Society, The Bombay Natural History Society and Indian Science Congress urged for the abandonment of the project to save the biodiversity of the proposed site. In 1976, National Committee on Environmental Planning and Coordination (NCEPC) had set up a task force under the Chairmanship of Zafar Futehally, WWF – India, to investigate the ecological problems in the proposed site for dam. The task force reported that the project should be abandoned for biodiversity conservation. World Wildlife Fund and International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) were in defense of the conservation of lion-tailed macaque, a rare breed of monkey observed in Silent Valley. Thus the movement received international response. It has been observed that, there was no local people’s participation in the

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103 ibid, p. 177.
movement taking the issue of displacement; only the conservation of natural tropical forests and wildlife was the pivotal issue.\(^\text{105}\)

During 1960’s and 70’s state government of Kerala was accelerating the project but after a long term debate, campaign and protest movements, state government itself given up the project in 1984 and declared the region as national biosphere. Mr. M. S. Swaminathan, Chairman, M. S. Swaminathan Research Foundation, Chennai, appraised that it was possible only because of Mrs. Indira Gandhi’s conscious state action.\(^\text{106}\) But Guha and Gadgil viewed that Mrs. Gandhi did it to enhance her personal image or charisma among the international conservation community.\(^\text{107}\)

**Save Narmada Movement**

In case of Silent Valley, state has given up the project but in case of Save Narmada Movement or *Narmada Bachao Andolan* (NBA) people’s struggle was going on and was not really anti-state movement instead a pro-people movement.\(^\text{108}\) Environmental or ecological justice was an important concern in NBA. Controversy on environment and development was evolving around the Narmada project in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh. State Governments of these states were taking initiatives to set up more than 3000 major and minor dams over Narmada River.\(^\text{109}\) The protestors were in apprehension that the construction of dam at Narmada will displace one million of people and will submerge 350,000 hectares of

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Protestors viewed that the developmental model which was shown by the state governments was destructive in nature both in social and ecological grounds. Governmental agencies tried to penetrate into the matters related to accelerate the construction process. Government proposed R&R packages for the potential displaces but the conditions were not satisfyable from the protestors’ viewpoint. According to governmental judgment, only the reservoir affected people were apt to consider as Project Affected Persons (PAPs). But in exception, in the reservoir affected villages, thousands of families of boats-people, fisher-people, laboring castes, riverbed farmers and the ‘encroachers’ i. e. the tribal people were not counted as ‘oustees’ or PAPs. NBA was a vehement protest against this one-sided judgment.

NBA was started in 1986 when social activist Medha Patkar visited in Maharashtra and decided to form organization for Dam Evictees. NBA was a platform where PAPs of three states took shelter for a common agenda. As a social movement, NBA was closely observed from the perspective of tribal resistance; on the contrary, as an ideology NBA took ‘eco-nationalist’ position which rejects the notion of industrialization through technological development and NBA believes in agro-economy as a strategy of development. National Alliance of People’s Movements (NAPM) was at the forefront of the movement but apart from NAPM Adivasi Ekta Parishad, Adivasi Mukti Sangathan, Adivasi Vichar Sanghatan, Khedut Majoor Chetana Sanghatan were other organizations who have joined the movement taking up several livelihood issues relating to forest access, minimum wages, corruption and the rights of women. Even after peaceful Gandhian path of resistance, state authority applied repressive measures. From 1989 to 1997 there were several cases of police harassment, arrests and violence. It was accused that, the

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false cases have been filed against the protestors. Women participants also faced brutal assaults, threats and punitive measures from the police persons. Under this circumstance, protestors went against violation of human rights.113

Prominent social activists have filled Public Interest Litigation (PIL) for remedial action; they were expecting a significant role from the judiciary. In 2000, despite decade long protest on behalf of the tribal people, Supreme Court in a verdict, in accordance with the case Narmada Bachao Andolan v. Union of India, allowed the completion of controversial and massive Sarder Sarovar dam on the Narmada River in Gujarat with minimum degree of supervision.114 Gujarat State Government and the National BJP Government hailed this verdict as people’s victory and defeat of NBA. But in a broader sense main objective of NBA was ‘to empower people to fight for their own rights; to create a just society; to create a space in that society for justice and environmental responsibility’.115

Movement against Tipaimukh Dam

A vehement protest movement was going on against the construction of Tipaimukh Multi-purpose dam project in the state of Manipur. The aim of the protest was to prevent social and environmental damage. The Tipaimukh Project was envisaged for the construction of 162.8 meter high rockfill dam at about 500 m

Proposed Model for Tipaimukh Dam in Manipur

Source: http://www.topnews.in/law/india-firm-tipaimukh-project-amid-concerns-across-border-268549

downstream of the confluence of river Barak with Tuivai. The objective of the project was to generate 1500 MW hydropower and flood control on 2,039 sq. km area. The total land requirement for the project was about 31,950 hectare (ha.), out of which 26,237 ha. was forest land and 5,713 ha. was private land. The total submergence was about 29150 ha., out of which 27,550 ha. was estimated in Manipur and 1,600 ha. in Mizoram. The submergence of forest land in Manipur was 21,952.64 ha. & non-forest land was 5,597.36 ha. The submergence of forest land in Mizoram was 1,489 ha. No villages will be submerged in Mizoram. It was calculated that, 557 households consisting of 2,027 persons belonging to scheduled tribes were likely to be affected due to this project in Manipur. In addition, 77 villages would be affected due to the land acquisition. Only the land of 13 villages would be affected in Mizoram. The total estimated cost was about Rs. 6,979.44 crores and the project is to be completed in 87 months. Later on, an estimated cost was reformulated. According to the 2011 and 2013 database, revised cost of the project was Rs. 5,885.00 crore. Cost benefit ratio of the project was 1.24% at 12% Internal Rate of Return (IRR), 1.11% at 6% IRR and 1.07% at 4% IRR. It was reported on behalf of the State Government of Manipur that, at the initial phase the Tipaimukh Dam Project will be executed by North East Electric Power Corporation Limited (NEEPCO) and it will execute a joint venture of National Hydroelectric Power Corporation (NHPC), Satluj Jal Vidyut Nigam Limited.

Source: http://thupui.blogspot.in/2012/03/anti-dam-cycle-rally-at-tangjeng.html

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(SJVNL) and Government of Manipur. NHPC, SJVNL and Government of Manipur have 69%, 26% and 5% share respectively for the project. The Project was likely to generate regular employment to 826 persons. However, it was also appeared the employment opportunities are not commensurate with the loss of land and natural resources which are generally the main source of livelihood of the tribal people of the state.\textsuperscript{117}

The dam was designed for the purpose of power generation, flood control and irrigation. A list of benefits such as high class tourism and rehabilitation and resettlement packages has been offered by NEEPCO. Even comprehensive management plan was also prepared as precondition for the project. Updated final report on the \textit{Comprehensive Environmental Studies on Tipaimukh Hydro-Electric (Multi-Purpose)}, Executive Summary for Environmental Management Plan, Vol. II highlights the proposal on tourism development and urbanization. It was suggested that, as the reservoirs are best chosen for recreation centers, development of infrastructural network along with creation of Landscape, Rocky Park, Ornamental Belt and Garden, Parkland, Green vistas, Tree belts, grooves etc., together with opportunities for boating, canoeing, water sports, sport fishing etc. at Tipaimukh can be developed. Besides, keeping in view of tourist inflow and duration of halt, development of two Base Towns, one at Thanlon and the other at Nungba, was also suggested. A provision of Rs. 500.00 lakhs had been kept in the estimate for this purpose.\textsuperscript{118}

In 2011, NHPC reported that the proposed conversion of forest area has been reduced from 25,822.14 ha. to 22,777.50 ha. According to the 2013 database, the division-wise details of revised forest area for diversion are as follows:

\textsuperscript{117} Agenda – 3, File No. 8-63/2005-FC; Proceedings of the Forest Advisory Committee Meeting held on 11\textsuperscript{th}-12\textsuperscript{th} July, 2013, Agenda No. 3: Diversion of 22,777.50 hectares of forest land in Manipur for construction of Tipaimukh Hydroelectric Project in Manipur (File No. 8-63/2005-FC).

Table 1: Division-wise details of revised forest area for diversion for Tipaimukh Project (Area in hectare)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Legal Status</th>
<th>Western Division (Tamenglong District)</th>
<th>Jiribam Division (Tamenglong District)</th>
<th>Southern Division (Churachandpur District)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reserved Forest</td>
<td>37.37</td>
<td>1,612.00</td>
<td>35.53</td>
<td>1,684.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassed Forest</td>
<td>7,200.13</td>
<td>6,181.60</td>
<td>7,710.87</td>
<td>21,092.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7,237.50</td>
<td>7,793.60</td>
<td>7,746.40</td>
<td>22,777.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Agenda – 3, File No. 8-63/2005-FC

The user agency had committed to utilize non-forest land for rehabilitation and also reduced the required forest land for Officer’s colony, Quarries. The details of proposed forest land use are as follows:

Table 2: Details of proposed forest land use for Tipaimukh Dam Project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Particulars</th>
<th>Area (in hectare)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Reservoir Submergence</td>
<td>21,952.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Project Area</td>
<td>759.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Resettlement and Rehabilitation</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Land for Diversion of National Highways</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NH-53</td>
<td>15.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NH-150</td>
<td>49.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>22,777.50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Agenda – 3, File No. 8-63/2005-FC

Geographical survey reviewed that the Zeliangrong Nagas and the Hmars are most threatened tribal communities in the proposed site. These two communities are strongly opposing the Tipaimukh project. Tribal people have started the popular resistance under the banner of Committee Against Tipaimukh Dam (CATD). The struggle began since 1990s and remarkably major movement groups, NGOs and professionals have participated in the movement. Major movement organizations are: Hmar Students’ Association (HAS), Zeliangrong Union (ZU), Naga Mothers Union, Manipur (NMUM), All Manipur United Club Organization (AMUCO), Naga
People’s Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR), Citizens’ Concern for Dams and Development (CCDD), Action Committee Against Tipaimukh Project (ACATP), United Naga Council (UNC), All Naga Students’ Association, Manipur (ANSAM), Naga People Organization (NPO), etc. People are opposing the dam cutting across the ethnic variations. In the first week of April 2009, nearly hundreds of people from Bengali, Manipuri, Naga, Khasi, Reang, Dimasa and other communities living in southern part of Assam gathered in front of the Deputy Commissioner’s office at Silchar and demanded for the withdrawal of Tipaimukh project. A number of organizations and groups joined in the demonstration. The memorandum was sent by the demonstrators separately to the President, Smt. Pratija Devi Singh Patil, Prime Minister, Sri Manmohan Singh, Union Minister for Forest and Environment, Sri Jairam Ramesh, Assam Chief Minister, Mr. Tarun Gogoi and Manipur Chief Minister, Mr. O Ibobi Singh through District Collector, Cachar. In August 2009, different environmental organizations of Cachar at a joint meeting with the Manipur groups who are against the construction of Tipaimukh dam decided to wage movement against the project. From the perspective of India and Bangladesh, the movement took a socialist turn particularly when the protestors raised the issues of environmental management and people’s sheer survival.

Anti-Pollution Movements in India:

In United States, environmental action to control pollution is known as the wilderness movement. The movement is also called environmental justice movement manifested by the low class black communities against the incinerators and toxic waste dumps. In the industrialized world, environmental movements have pressurized the state to formulate specific laws for preventing pollution and also demanded for implementing agencies. In India also, governmental departments have formulated several laws and regulations to control pollution but standard executive

121 Guha, Ramachandra, 2006, How Much Should a Person Consume?: Thinking through the Environment, Permanent Black, New Delhi, p. 64.
functions are required for regular checking of environmental status. When state abdicates its role to make environment pollution free, its subjects start social resistance.\textsuperscript{122} In India, extracts of modern environmentalism can be found in the movements for pollution control. Both state and civil society organizations are accountable to make environment pure and healthy. Consciousness began with the tragic event of Bhopal in 1984. The event focused world attention on the grim reality of industrialization and the incident produced a number of grassroots urban enthusiasts.\textsuperscript{123} On the other hand, Ganga Action Plan was a state initiated movement for pollution control. However, role of civil society was very significant for the proper implementation of the Action Plan for making River Ganga pollution free.

‘Bhopal Gas Tragedy’

It has been argued that, in case of worst industrial disaster of Bhopal on 2\textsuperscript{nd} December, 1984, Supreme Court was incapable of ensuring justice to the survivors. It was the failure of India’s legal and judicial system to take deterrent action against the industrial and environmental crimes.\textsuperscript{124} According to governmental record, 3000 people had died and over 102,000 others had suffered injuries due to leakage of Methyl Isocyanate (MIC) gas from the factory of Union Carbide Corporation, a US multinational company, situated in Bhopal of Madhya Pradesh. But victims’ organization referred that, around 20,000 people had died and over 550,000 others had suffered injuries from toxic emission. The emission caused cancer and health related problems, including blindness and breathing problem, in the area.\textsuperscript{125}

An organized response through popular resistance came from middle class people who mobilized the survivors and other victims and demanded remedial

\textsuperscript{122} Gadgil, Madhav and Ramachandra Guha, 2007, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 117.
measures from the Government. *Nagarik Rahat Aur Punarvas Committee* (NRPC) and *Zahreeli Gas Kand Sangharsh Morcha* (ZGKSM) were at the forefront of protest. NRPC focused on the provision of fair relief and rehabilitation. On the contrary, ZGKSM, more particularly its leaders, stressed on need for a political organization of survivors which would take up the issues of justice, scientific information, medical care, legal interventions etc.\(^{126}\) During 1985 events of state oppression over the protestors and police protestors collision have been observed.\(^{127}\) Several civil and criminal cases and litigations have been filed against this environmental crime. In 1989 Union Carbide Authority paid 470 million Dollar as compensation which was partial settlement of civil case. But settlement of criminal cases was pending. After over 25 years of hazardous incident, Supreme Court settled criminal cases with the verdict of a minimum degree of penalty to the real culprits. On 7\(^{th}\) June, 2010, Supreme Court sentenced for two years imprisonment of Keshum Mahindra, former Chairman of Union Carbide of India, and seven other persons each. The accused persons have been rendered guilty in accordance with the sections of Indian Penal Code relating to causing death by negligence, culpable homicide not amounting to murder and gross negligence. At that moment Warren Anderson, CEO of Union Carbide Corporation, was living in USA.\(^{128}\)

The gas victims were not satisfied with the package of compensation, they continuously roared for environmental justice and protection of human rights. In June 2010, a committee of central government ministers declared a package of 350 million US Dollar to compensate the gas victim families and to clean up the disastrous area. In February 2011, Supreme Court issued a notification to the Union Carbide Corporation, Dow Chemicals and other concerned factories to increase the

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amount of compensation to the gas victims to 7,700 crore rupees.\textsuperscript{129} On 3\textsuperscript{rd} December, 2011 police tried to suppress the movement by the survivors who gathered in Barkhedi – Aishbag area to meet with Chief Minister taking several demands on proper health care, adequate economic rehabilitation and social support, clean drinking water and poison free environment. A group of survivors had forwarded an application to the Chief Minister for his urgent intervention of the gas victims and gross violation of their human rights through false cases, intimidation, illegal detention and custodial beating by the police in relation to the violence of 3\textsuperscript{rd} December.\textsuperscript{130} A popular response came from the middle class activists against the hazardous impact of Bhopal gas leak over society and environment. Middle class activists were dissatisfied with the state actions which were adverse to the demands of social environment. Environmentalism in this context became a discourse on human rights and a critique of modern state system which have failed to ensure justice to the citizens.\textsuperscript{131}

\textbf{Ganga Action Plan}

Ganga Action Plan (GAP) had fixed certain standards for different uses of river Ganga: (i) fit for drinking after chlorination, (ii) fit for bathing, (iii) fit for drinking after full treatment, (iv) fit for aquatic life and (v) fit for receiving wastes.\textsuperscript{132} It was mainly a governmental project to make Ganga pollution free from industrial and urban wastes of mega or metropolitan cities, but for its proper implementation monitoring agency was highly required. GAP was a movement strategy to monitor water quality of Ganga at various locations regularly, notably governmental agencies were the main initiators for this programme. The action plan covers 27 cities along

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{129} Vohra, Ranbir, 2013, \textit{The Making of India: A Political History}, 3\textsuperscript{rd} Edition, M. E. Sharpe, USA, p. 262.

\textsuperscript{130} Letter addressed to Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh dated 10\textsuperscript{th} December, 2011 with a subject on ‘Demands of the Survivors of the December 1984 Union Carbide Disaster on Human rights Day’.


\end{footnotesize}
the river. The progress of the plan was clearly visible at the town areas. But through social movements or resistance, civil society organizations revealed those cases where governmental agencies were failed to monitor the progress of the concerned plan.

At the beginning of 2000, under the banner of Eco Friends, an environmental NGO, Jajmau villagers of Kanpur were organized and protested against the improper management of waste in accordance with GAP. They followed peaceful demonstration, sit-in strike, gherao etc. While before the implementation of GAP villagers were getting untreated city sewage mixed with Ganga water for irrigation, after the introduction of GAP in Kanpur, villagers received irrigation water with treated sewage and tannery effluent but without Ganga water. As a consequence drastic decline have been observed in the sphere of agriculture and allied agriculture and in the physical health. However, the villagers accused that Sewage Treatment Plants and Common Effluent Treatment Plants did not treat waste properly. Villagers demanded for the previous system, i.e., supplying of treated sewage mixed with Ganga water, protested against the improper industrial waste management and have refused to pay the irrigation tax to Kanpur Nagar Nigam (KNN). GAP was implemented through financial and technical support came from the Government of Netherlands. Government of India has not been allocated enough financial support to meet the operation and maintenance cost. Gradually several kind of conflict emerged between the people, industry managers and government agencies. Civil society organizations pressurized the officials and relevant parties to resolve the conflicts and media persons also highlighted the issue. It was a shortcoming of GAP at Kanpur of Uttar Pradesh.

**Anti-Industrialization and Anti-Mining Movements in India:**

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Anti-industrialization movements are mobilized action inspired by Gandhian ideology against Nehruvian path of economic development. Nehru believed in modern industrialization which would promote economic interdependence and that would tie the country together. Nehru adopted central planning for the economic prosperity of the country. Nehru and other national leaders have ignored Gandhian notion of small industry and decentralized village society. But Gandhi was concerned about the social environment which was absent in Nehruvian approach. 

Protest against Special Economic Zone (SEZ) can be understood as a reaction against industrialization, more particularly against heavy industry. Without the introduction of SEZ no state can develop industry at its boundary. In December 2003, Government of West Bengal passed its own SEZ Act. Through SEZ, Government is converting high fertile arable land into industrial estate. The setting up of TATA Nano small car manufacturing unit is one of the examples of that kind of initiative by the state of West Bengal. From 2006 onwards movement against TATA Nano small car manufacturing factory in Singur block of Hooghly district was an anti-SEZ movement. In 2003, Government of Odisha introduced SEZ and implemented Orissa Industrial Facilitation Act in 2004 for encouraging industrialization. Establishment of POSCO steel plant at Kujang block of Jagatsingpur district in Odisha is another initiative of SEZ on behalf of the Government of Odisha. Intense social resistance was going on against POSCO since 2006. It was a protest against industrialization and globalisation. Protection of social and natural environment was another concern in case of anti-POSCO movement. The protestors had pessimistic view on industrial development because after successful completion of industrial project, process of urbanization and modernization will be strengthened but such development will disrupt the environmental and ecological balance. Anti-Mining movement is another example of the movement for survival.

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based on land, water and forest. Mining and construction of refinery cutting down the forest areas and evicting huge number of marginalized people negatively affect society and environment. In Kashipur of Odisha, anti-mining movement emerged as a tribal resistance for livelihood security and protection of human rights.

**Singur Movement**

In Singur, the Government of West Bengal acquired a total of 997.11 acres of land to set-up TATA small car manufacturing unit. The land acquisition has been carried out with ‘due process of law’ as laid down in the Land Acquisition Act of 1894. The process of land acquisition began from 20\textsuperscript{th} July 2006 onwards and was completed on 23\textsuperscript{rd} and 25\textsuperscript{th} September 2006. The Government of West Bengal acquired land from five mouzas (small village unit) viz., Gopalnagar, Beraberi, Khaserbheri, Bajemelia and Singherbheri.\textsuperscript{138} Most of these areas are arable and the local people use huge amount of land for agriculture. Throughout the year, local Bargadars, Pattaholders, Small Farmers, Marginal Farmers and agricultural labourers are engaged in agriculture.\textsuperscript{139} When Government took the initiative for the land acquisition and started its action, mostly the peasants and agricultural labourers mobilized themselves collectively and raised the issues of democratic rights with their own endeavour and without a leader. But when government chose the policy of repression to control the resistance, the peasants and all other protesting people were deprived by the government of their democratic rights. It was the erosion of democracy and the situation of social instability. At that moment they felt for the necessity of a leader to conduct struggle against the government’s undemocratic policy. As a result Mamata Banerjee in Singur came forward to assume leadership of the protest movement in Singur. A number of movements were seen in Singur under the leadership of *Trinomool Congress*. Not only the *Trinomool Congress* rather *Sanhati Udyog*, SUCI, Revolutionary Youth Association, *Krishijami Raksha Committee*, CPI (ML) New Democracy and so many intellectuals and women’s

\textsuperscript{138} *Status Report on Singur*, Government of West Bengal, January 2007, p. 17.

association were involved in the protest movement. Sometime they opposed jointly with each other and sometime separately. The Singur movement crystallized around loss of land, livelihood and absence of employment and adequate market based compensation. Rally, dharna, demonstration, petitions, boycott, arnadhan (no cooking), shahid divas (martyr’s day), nishpradip (no lights) were the agenda of popular resistance in Singur. A number of middle class people, media persons, artists, film stars and academicians have joined the movement directly (joining meetings, rallies etc.) and indirectly (expressing controversial arguments in favour of movement and against state government). For example, Medha Patkar, activist of NBA, tried to involve into the people’s struggle at Singur. She believes in struggle and fight for justice and democracy. She viewed that, she came to Singur to know about the people’s perceptions about developmental programmes initiated by the government. She observed that people of Singur, no doubt, were not the anti-development rowdies, but were worried about their rights. She stated that, she came to verify as to whether the proposed area was stony or fertile, irrigated or not, whether government’s information are right or wrong, the local people want industrialization or not, what was the number of agricultural labours, etc. After a long term struggle between the state and civil society organizations and hearings of several controversial civil and criminal cases, the state government abandoned the TATA project at Singur.

Anti-POSCO Movement:

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141 ibid.
144 For this analysis a snowball sampling survey was conducted in Singur during in the month of June, 2013.
On 22nd June of 2005, Government of Orissa signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with Pohang Steel Company (POSCO) of South Korea for the establishment of an Integrated Steel Plant at Paradeep. This project is unique and known as India’s biggest Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). In accordance with the agreement, the company would invest around Rs. 51,000 crores (12 billion US$) and produce around 12 million tonnes of steel per annum. The Company will use around 600 million tonnes of iron ore to meet the requirements of the proposed Steel Project of 12 million tonnes per annum (MTPA) through the creation of a captive port that is to be developed near the Paradeep port.

Through the signing of MoU, POSCO, a multinational corporation, tried to capture a sovereign power to have full access over the natural resources of the state of Odisha and imposed a burden over the state government to provide legal authority to enjoy the rights over mining and other natural resources.\(^{145}\) For this project, company required a total of 4004 acres of land from three village panchayats viz., Gadakujang, Dhinkia and Nuagaon of Erasama block in the district of Jagatsingpur. Area to be acquired from these three village panchayats comprised of seven villages viz., Dhinkia, Gobindpur, Nuagaon, Polanga, Noliasahi, Bhuyanpal and Bayanalkandha. Out of 4004 acres of land, 437.68 acres are private land and

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3566.32 acres are Government land. And out of 3566.32 acres of Government land, 2958.79 acres are forest land and 607.53 acres are non-forest land. In other words, out of total amount of land 83% is forest land and only 17% is non-forest land. 73% of the total land will be acquired from Dhinkia, Gobindapur and Nuagaon villages. 58% of the cultivated forest land will be acquired for POSCO project. It was indicated that the number of full (100%) land losers is 418 and the number of partial land losers is 582. 87% of the government vested land is cultivated by the potential displacees or likely to be affected people. It is clear that a huge amount of forest land will be acquired for the project but it has been stated that in accordance with the South Korean model, a minimum of 25% green belt would be provided within the plant area. As per Census of 2001, a total of 3578 families are living in the proposed area. A socio-economic survey revealed that the number of ‘original families’ likely to be displaced from six villages (Dhinkia and Gobindapur villages in Dhinkia GP, Noliasahi, Bhuyanpal and Polanga villages in Gadakujanga GP and Nuagaon village in Nuagaon GP) is 466. Another village namely Bayanakandha in Gadakujanga GP will also be affected but it was reported that in this village no families are being displaced. However, it is disturbing indeed that, according to the Orissa R&R Policy, the ‘original family’ can be defined as a unit in which all members live together in a single household with a common kitchen.146

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Land</th>
<th>Area to be acquired (in Acres)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government Land</td>
<td>3004 (Forest Land) + 561 (Non-forest Land) = 3,566</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Land</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4004</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Saldhana, Leo F. and Bhargavi S. Rao, May 2011, *Tearing through the Water Landscape, Evaluating the Environmental and Social Consequences of POSCO Project in Odisha, India*, A Study prepared at the request of POSCO Pratirodh Sangram Samithi, Jagatsinghpur, Odisha, Environment Support Group, p. 18

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Table 4: Additional Land Required for the POSCO Steel Plant Project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Land Required</th>
<th>Area (in Acres)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For Mining Project in Kandadhar Hills of Sundergarh District</td>
<td>6,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Township</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>= 2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8,100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Saldhana, Leo F. and Bhargavi S. Rao, May 2011, op. cit., p. 18

The local people of the proposed project site claim that the proposed land is government vested land which is suitable for *Paan* or betel cultivation. Apart from *Paan*, marginalized communities or the low income groups produce paddy, coconut, cashew, *supari* (betel nut) and they also collect fuel wood from the proposed forest land of the coastal region. Villagers revealed that, many of the *Paan* cultivators have no legal documents for land holdings; generation after generation they using coastal areas mainly for *Paan Baraj* or betel vines. The villagers have also developed fisheries in most of the government vested land. *Paan* and paddy and fisheries are the prime sources of income for the local people. They claim that they are cultivating betel leaf for many generations. As generation wise they are doing so, they are not willing to surrender their ancestral land properties for industrial or mining project. It is also to be mentioned that, the local people reiterated that, they are prepare to surrender land only in exchange of a satisfactory compensation package.\(^\text{147}\)

Table 5: Village-wise Area of Land to be acquired for POSCO Steel Plant Project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Village</th>
<th>Area to be Acquired (in Acres)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dhinkia</td>
<td>284.97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gobindapur</td>
<td>73.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuagaon</td>
<td>3.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polanga</td>
<td>53.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noliasahi</td>
<td>17.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhuyanpal</td>
<td>2.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayanalkandha</td>
<td>2.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Area</td>
<td>437.68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data collected from District Collector Office, Jagatsingpur, Odisha

\(^{147}\) Spot visit and conversation with few villagers of Gadakujanga GP during January 2013 following non-probability sampling techniques.
POSCO claimed that the project is ‘expected to bring about meaningful growth and investment in India, and would also further downstream industries like automobile, shipping and construction’. POSCO also claimed that ‘India will derive significant benefits from the POSCO India project, as it will create an estimated 48,000 direct and indirect jobs in the region. In addition, the construction phase will create about 467,000 man years of employment for the local population’. However, the fact came under the discussion that it would be very difficult to accommodate a huge number of local people who do not possess the required skill for industrial project.\textsuperscript{148} A cost-benefit analysis of the POSCO project had been done by National Council for Applied Economic Research (NCAER) in 2007 but many civil society organizations and the protestors of the project claimed that the applied methodology for this was not appropriate and its conclusion ignored the life and culture of the local people. Mining Zone People’s Solidarity Group argued that compromise between POSCO and India through new policy initiatives caused – subversion of state’s authority and sovereignty for

\textbf{Betel-vines in Gadakujanga Village}
POSCO’s benefits, widespread impoverishment and loss of livelihoods of the project affected people, severe environmental threats etc. The proper implementation of the Forest Rights Act (FRA) at the proposed site would be difficult if the government takes initiatives for POSCO project cutting down a huge number of trees. Therefore, the clashes between the governmental policies for development would come to be a reality. Besides, the state government would face the economic loss in terms of revenues because of its decision on many tax concessions. Approximately 20,000 to 25,000 people from 30 neighbouring Gram Panchayats would suffer from loss of livelihood. Because of the proposed port, a number of fishermen would face threats to their economic life. It was also argued that the offered R&R package is not a reasonable compensation for the affected people because the average loss of income for a cultivator is at an average Rs. 40,000 per year per decimal (100 decimals = 1 acre) of land under betel vine cultivation (minimum reported income per decimal = Rs. 33,000 and maximum reported per decimal = Rs. 50,000) under betel vine cultivation, but the latest offered compensation rate is a one-time payment of Rs. 11,500 per decimal. It is often accused that the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) and Environmental Clearance granting processes are inherently flawed and biased towards the project. The EIA process overlooked the matters related to the water crisis in Mahanadi delta and Khandadhar mining areas and threat over wildlife species such as Olive Ridley turtles, dolphins, royal Bengal tigers and elephants; even EIA didn’t carefully
considered the issues relating to the Coastal Regulation Zone (CRZ) Notification of 1991 which attempts to protect the ‘ecologically sensitive area’. Under CRZ notification, the proposed area for captive port is classified as the ‘ecologically sensitive area’.¹⁴⁹ A writ petition had been filed at the Odisha High Court by the local communities in response to the tree felling for the project by the state government on behalf of POSCO in September 2011. According to the petitioners, approximately 50,000 trees have been cut down in the proposed area and another 3,00,000 Jhaun, Casuarina and Tamarisk trees will be removed for the project. But, the petitioners argued that, these threes protect the coast from wind and sea waves, therefore, the loss of these trees will heavily impact the ecological balance and render the communities more vulnerable to devastating cyclones which are recurrent in the region.¹⁵⁰

Table 6: Village wise Number of likely to be Affected Families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Gram Panchayat</th>
<th>Name of the Village</th>
<th>Number of Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gadakujanga Panchayat</td>
<td>Polanga</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bhuyanpal</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Noliasahi</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhinkia Panchayat</td>
<td>Dhinkia</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gobindapur</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuagaon Panchayat</td>
<td>Nuagaon</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>471</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Saldhana, Leo F. and Bhargavi S. Rao, May 2011, op. cit., p. 18*

Around 70% people are protesting POSCO and in opposite only 25% are supporting the project.¹⁵¹ Emphasizing on the issues of livelihood and the protection of wildlife and environment, anti-POSCO agitation took a radical shape. There were nearly 25 organizations which came from across the state and participated along with the local people. The mass movements and several political forces opposed

displacement, the policy of SEZ, industrialization and ecological destruction. Among the 25 organizations, the POSCO-Protirodh Sangram Samiti under the leadership of Abhay Sahoo, continued the movement in a radical way. But there are other organizations like POSCO Kshatigrasth Sangharsh Samiti, Bisthapan Birodhi Jan Manch, Prakrutika Sampad Surakhya Parisad, Yuva Bharat, Nava Nirman Samiti, Lok Mukti Sanghathan etc. Local intellectuals also opposed the POSCO project and they have the contribution for growing awareness among the people. Non supporters of POSCO raised the slogans like ‘Posco Hatao, Ama Vita Mati Bachao’ (remove POSCO, save my land and dwelling place), ‘Aage Maati, Pare Party’ (Land first, party later). Thus the movement took the shape of a movement for saving of agricultural land and against industrialization. The strategies which have been followed for the resistance against POSCO include: picketing POSCO’s local office, holding rallies and demonstrations, gherao and detention of government and company officials entering the area, blockading the area to prevent the entry of all government and POSCO officials etc. It has been accused by the protestors that in Dhinkia, Nuagaon and Gadakujang, particularly in Dhinkia, police helped the anti-socals and the Goons (gangsters) to restrain the agitators and movement supporters. For a long period of time the police force were posted all around three gram panchayats. After a violent clash between Goons and the anti-POSCO people on 29th November, 2007, when a group of gangsters have thrown the bomb over the anti-POSCO people, a fatal image of the struggle had come to be as seen; anti-POSCO intellectuals vilified this incident as ‘democracy at gunpoint’.

155 Asher, Manshi, 2009, Striking While the Iron is Hot: A Case Study of the Pohang Steel Company’s (POSCO) Proposed Project in Orissa, National Centre for Advocacy Studies, Pune, p. 19.
Main focus of the protest groups was on the adverse impact of POSCO on homestead land, farms and livelihoods of the local people and communities. Resistant groups also highlighted POSCO’s negative impact on: a) communities outside of the immediate geographical area of the project (such as the impact on the availability of water for human consumption and irrigation), b) marine and wild life (such as the impacts on endangered species such as Olive Ridley Turtles, Elephants, Tigers, Limbless Lizards etc.), c) riverine and coastal topography (such as the impact on Paradeep port of the silting and erosion that will be caused by POSCO’s port), d) forests, including the depletion of forest cover in mining areas and e) impact on water bodies.  

On 31st January, 2011 the Ministry of Environment and Forest (MoEF), Government of India, provided its final clearance to the POSCO-India project. The MoEF commented that POSCO have considerable economic, technological and strategic significance for India but simultaneously laws on environment and forests must be implemented with greater importance. Hence, MoEF included 28 conditions for the steel plant and 32 conditions for the captive port claiming the required steps to protect the environment, forests and likely to be affected persons. On 30th March, 2012, National Green Tribunal (NGT) suspended the final order, i.e. environmental clearance to POSCO. NGT ordered MoEF for a ‘fresh review’ for better appreciation of the environmental issues.

**Kashipur Anti-Mining Struggle**

The proposed Utkal Alumina International Limited (UAIL) project is a joint venture of ALCAN (Canada) and Hindalco of Birla group (India). Presently in the joint venture ALCAN and Hindalco have 45% and 55% ownership in the project.

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respectively. It was alumina export oriented project and the proposed site was the Kashipur block of Rayagada district in Southern Orissa. The proposed site is full of Bauxite and other mining resources. A large number of tribal and *dalit* reside at the proposed area and were likely to be affected by the project. They were in serious tension of displacement from their traditional livelihood, culture and identities. Several CSOs, viz., *Baphil Mali Suraksha Parishad*, *Prakrutik Sampad Suraksha Parishad* and *Anchalik Suraksha Parishad*, were formed and made fronts against the activities of corporate partnership.\(^{160}\)

Government of Orissa and UAIL claimed that the project will lead to development and the project proponent assured that the project will provide jobs for the local people. But the local tribals were radically revoked the proposed project as it will drastically destroy their traditional life situation.\(^{161}\) Local communities had several voices of dissatisfaction on the R&R package offered by the State Government and UAIL. There were no better provisions for the homeless and landless cultivators. After the land acquisition, a number of local people will face social and economic crisis such as joblessness, homelessness, food insecurity, marginalization, health risks, social disarticulation, loss of educational services, loss of civil and political rights etc. Even it has been argued that the definition of Project Affected Persons (PAPs) was too narrow because the R&R package was for selected few communities.\(^{162}\)

Repetition of state repression over the marginalized made the struggle anti-state and more radical against the violation of human rights. Repression continued since 2000 to 2004. A number of unarmed people died due to conflict with the police persons. Police persons abused women and captured people with the false cases and forwarded them into the jail. In 2004, Mishra Commission submitted its report on state repression after a full scale enquiry and blamed the role of police and district


\(^{162}\) *ibid.*, pp. 42-48.
administration. Protesting organizations reviewed that UAIL would create only 1400 posts out of which 400 posts are non-technical which shall be offered to the local people. But this project would devastate life of 20,000 people of nearly 82 villages. However, UAIL agrees that only 24 villages will be affected. Hence, protesting fronts urged for the rejection of the project. Significantly, the struggle for lives and livelihoods became a movement against Multinational Corporations and big industrial houses.\textsuperscript{163}

**Fisher-folks Movement in India:**

Another model of state and civil society conflict was found in the fish-workers’ movement in the coastal region during 1960’s to 80’s. Strong opposition came from traditional fisher-folk under the leadership of the National Fishermen’s Union and the demands include: the control of destructive technologies in the sea and the regulation of globalized activity which threaten the livelihood system of fisher-folk and ecological sustainability.\textsuperscript{164} The fish-workers’ struggle was also a movement for securing livelihood sources and demanded the rights over sea for the fisherman.

**Kerala Fish-workers’ Struggle**

In a true sense, Kerala fish-workers’ movement was the first organized environmental movement after independence. The fisher-folks movement in Kerala of 1960’s was a popular concern about social justice, rights of fish-workers over marine resources and ecological sustainability in the changing patterns of resource use. During the struggle, fish-workers argued that the process of globalization like entry of multinational corporations, foreign investment and export fixated state policy will drastically affect our environment, because these processes allow


applications of new technologies in the Indian sea water and as a result livelihood of fisherman and marine species are facing constant threat.\textsuperscript{165}

During spawning season excessive use of mechanized boats and indiscriminate fishing through trawls destroy young fish and this ecological loss leads to the loss of livelihood of fisherman. In 1985, women fish-workers formed separate organization and played a significant role in the movement against the ecological damage. Tom Kocherry, an active leader of the movement, organized fishing communities of lower castes and formed cooperatives. The intensity of the movement spread over Goa in 1973 and in Tamilnadu in 1976. At that time, 19 fishermen were killed in a clash over the issue of mechanized trawlers. The movement has several dimensions and evolutionary phases. After a long term agitations, fish-workers were organizing networks of cooperatives, welfare organizations and market networks; notably, the movement continued through the trade unions. In 1978, National Fish-workers’ Federation, which was the ultimate product of \textit{Kerala Swatantra Matsya Thozilali Federation}, was formed. In 1980 the agitations by the fish-workers were conducted against the Congress controlled and CPI (M) dominated state governments and demanded for banning of mechanized trawler in the Indian Ocean. During struggle, fish-workers used different notions of politics which originated from the grassroots level and tried to control the power of parties and government, though within controlled exercise.\textsuperscript{166}

\textbf{Protest against POSCO Steel Plant and Tipaimukh Dam: A Critical Analysis}

Undoubtedly, the extracts of new social movements can be found in both anti-POSCO and Tipaimukh anti-dam movement. In both cases, the voices against

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{166} Omvedt, Gail, 1993, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 135-136.
\end{flushright}
the notion of modern development came across the class, caste, gender and different professionals that introduced a shift from developmental paradigm to environmental paradigm, material development to green values and modernism to conservatism. However, features of RM theory of social movement were also observed anti-POSCO movement. RM theory resolutely focuses on the economic and political aspects of social movements. In accordance with RM theory of social movements, participants of the movement must have some degree of economic and political resources to make the movement a success. Here resources include money, people’s time and skills, access to the media, and other material goods such as property and equipments. The supporters of POSCO Pratirodh Sangram Samiti (PPSS) appealed for donations or direct assistance of medical personnel, equipment, supplies and medicine for the people who were injured by the police persons during agitation. Even they also appealed for legal aid for arrested agitators. Opposite to the activities of anti-POSCO people, POSCO-India assembled some pro-POSCO people who were following company’s direction and had serious conflict with anti-POSCO people. At Badagabapur of Erasama block, just at the entrance route of Gadakujanga village, POSCO-India made a transit camp for pro-POSCO people.

Transit Camp for Pro-POSCO People in Badagabapur

Source: http://ayushranka.photoshelter.com/image/I0000V.Dfu_hzB.M


Few pro-POSCO people said that, in the transit camp, near about 52 pro-POSCO families were living since 26th June of 2007 when they were totally evicted by the anti-POSCO people from Dhinkia village which was the nerve-center of anti-POSCO agitation. POSCO-India was providing 25-30 rupees to each and every family member for their daily meals and other basic needs. It has been propagated that pro-POSCO people were BJD supporters. The POSCO supporters viewed anti-POSCO struggle as anti-development movement. On the contrary, the POSCO supporters claimed, the collective mobilization of pro-POSCO people were a reaction against the anti-development initiative in the area. On the one hand, the protestors were looking at the financial assistance for the movement for land, water and forests and on the other hand, a minimum degree of financial assistance was provided for a movement for industrialization. Therefore, RM theory of social movement is also equally relevant like the NSM theory when designating the case of anti-POSCO and pro-POSCO movement as social resistance. The anti-POSCO movement took a radical shape under the banner of PPSS which was dominated by Mr. Abhay Sahoo, a CPI leader of the state. He was arrested during the protest and according to the reports, many cases have been filed against him and most of them are pending in the court. Therefore, it was observed that the social movement was organized by a political personality but the anti-POSCO movement under the leadership of Mr. Abhay Sahoo was not a political party based movement rather the party politics was indirectly linked with this movement.

Mainly the Hmars and Zeliangrong Nagas were the main participants of Tipaimukh anti-dam movement because the questions of survival, local traditions and culture were closely associated with the issues of protest. But like the new social movements of the Western industrialized societies, Tipaimukh anti-dam movement was not totally non-violent in nature. Hmars and the Nagas were willing to sabotage

\[\text{Data collected through direct conversation with few anti-POSCO and pro-POSCO people during January 2013.}\]
the construction processes through violent means. The armed wing of the Hmars declared that they would never allow transferring of their beloved land in the name of national development. As a reaction, on 28th July 2008, the Government of Manipur passed a resolution to militarize the dam site by deploying central and state security forces. Simultaneously, the government opened security posts to protect the properties which are related to the construction activities. On 18th July 2009, the Hmar People’s Convention (Democratic) of Manipur issued a press release and stated that the proposed Tipaimukh project is a war imposed on the indigenous Hmars and other communities located at the upstream and downstream of the river. In the press release, there was a statement that,

“…the Rivers that nursed and fed our honored generations before shall continue to flow for all the generations to come. We cannot allow the rivers to be disturbed and are obligated to see that no outsiders, their forces and might will dam, destroy or disturb the natural flow of the rivers of life”.

This is an initial zeal to maintain an unharmed natural order and it is an appeal to protect the natural objects from the plausible mischief of modernization.


and technological development. However, we also find a determined sentiment of tribal communities to protect the ancestral land from the outsiders or the non-tribals. Most of the protest organizations were dominated by local tribal communities and for them environmental and identity questions were very significant.