

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

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### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

As an introduction, this chapter would comprise some of the main components of the thesis which would require brief elaboration; some key aspects that would be addressed are Environmental Governance, New Environmental Governance (NEG), and different perspectives on environmental activism/environmentalism/ecologism (Heywood, 2016) This chapter would present an elaborate account of the concept of environmental governance; and the trend of movement towards the formulation of New Environmental Governance (NEG). It also presents perspectives on environmentalism, which would be divided into the definition of environmentalism, environmentalism in the South, environmentalism in India, and environmentalism in Sikkim. The next portion presents the nature of Environmental Governance and New Environmental Governance (NEG), followed by the research problem, literature review, and brief research problem. This chapter would also delineate various ideas which can be inducted into the study of environment and activism. This would lay the foundation for understanding the development of environmental governance and its application in the area this thesis is concerned with.

### 1.2 ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE

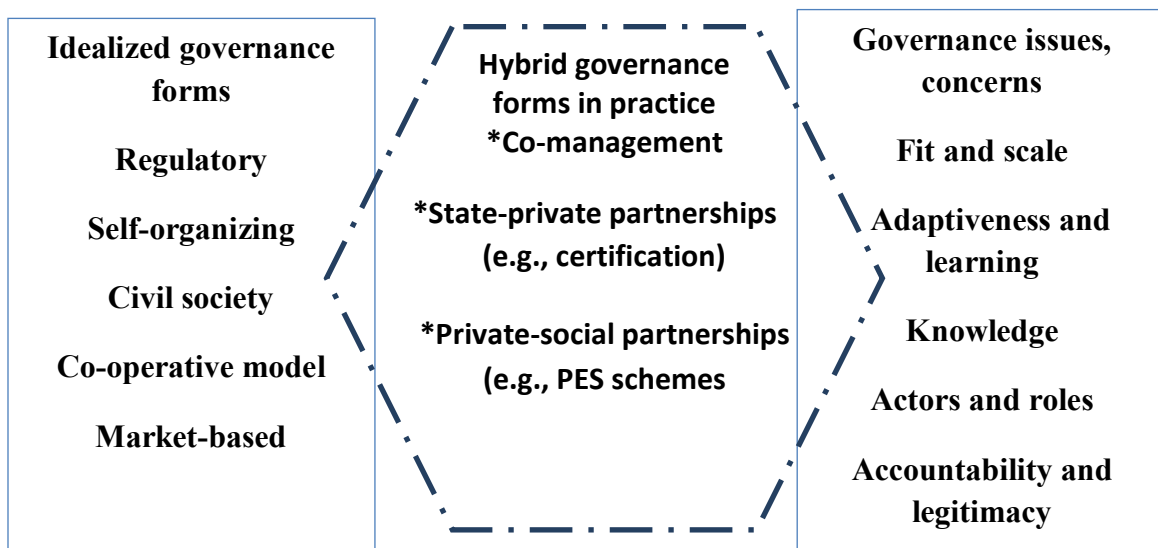
Environmental Governance comprises two agendas; firstly, 'Environment' would relate to the ecology comprising of different living and non-living organisms, flora, and fauna etc. the second agenda is 'Governance', which implies the decision-making and implementation process. Environmental Governance as such would refer to an act of decision-making and

implementation with regard to various aspects of environmental concerns. This would refer to the policies made by the traditional formal institution. Environmental Governance with its emergence incorporated ideas from different fields of social sciences; and caters to the economic and political aspect of nature as well. The term governance betokens the relationship between institutional capacities; and also, the existence of coordination and coherence of economic processes and social action. (Bridge & Perreault, 2009) These being represented through the concept 'environmental governance' goes to point to varied claims and opinions of different stakeholders which are changing and has affected the understanding of the concept itself. Bridge and Perreault (2009) have presented three ideas related to the concept of 'governance'- *firstly*, in terms of the institutions of power which are taken as multi-layered; *secondly*, governance presents different categories of analysis i.e., private, public, state, sovereign and government; and *thirdly*, it also states the role of non-state actors in the policy framework and processes.

Environmental governance entails the above characteristics and also seeks to involve different practices of governance. State-centered versions of policy making; and with change in the sphere of administration through introduction of NPA- New Public Administration and NPM- New Public Management which added private sector into the arena of governance' and introduced market-centric approach; along with these the role of the non-state actors like NGOs were also recognized. Such actors contribute to the governance paradigm on its own and also through a form of collaborative effort and also partnerships in upholding principles of governance. The involvement of enterprises and corporates in mitigating social and environmental and social issues are prevalent in the international and national sphere. Today, similar effort is also noticed at remote corners of the world as well. Social and environmental

issues are being tackled under programs like Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) under the United Nations (UN). United Nations does stand as an international platform for nation-states to deliberate on the issues in terms of environmental management.

Within the context of environment however, management and governance may refer to different systems of addressing ecological concerns. The term management has to do with operational decisions for achieving some specific conservation outcomes and governance implies processes and institutions involved in environmental decision-making. Environmental governance as a subject has undergone various changes and continues to pursue a path which incorporates several new emerging systems and ideas in addressing concerns and formulating policies related to the environment. From government to governance; incorporating ideas of good governance and also ‘hybrid governance’ (as depicted below) in the practice of environmental management.



Source: (Armitage, De Loë, & Plummer, 2012)

The features of which includes co-management, state-private partnerships and private-social partnerships. These involve five (5) key issues in environmental governance which are: a) recognition of the importance of fit and scale; b) fostering adaptiveness, flexibility, and learning; c) coproducing knowledge from diverse sources; d) understanding the emergence of new actors and their roles in governance; and e) changing expectations about accountability and legitimacy. (Armitage, De Loë, & Plummer, 2012)

Along with the key issues; four (4) objectives of environmental governance have been suggested which are a) effective governance supports the maintenance of system integrity and functioning; b) equitable governance employs inclusive processes and produces fair outcomes; c) responsive governance enables adaptation to diverse contexts and changing conditions; d) robust governance ensures that functioning institutions persist, maintain performance, and cope with perturbations and crises. Governance encompasses the who, how, for whom, by whom and to what effects of environmental policies- and hence is defined as the institutions, structures, and processes comprising decisions. Where institutions can relate to both formal and informal for instance constitution, laws for the former; and cultural context, social norms for the latter; by structures it could also refer to either formal agencies and actors like the public or private organizations and it could refer to informal actors having equal capacity to influence policy making in terms of efficiency and participation. *Finally*, the processes could imply processes and systems of roles and functions of governance, resolution of conflicts, policy formulation etc. It is recognized in environmental governance that the presence of informal actors which are community or individual based play a significant role. (Bennett & Satterfield, 2018)

Such thematic innovation in the field have governance has opened it up to various practices of governance as mentioned above community-based governance, multi-level governance which paves way for informal actors and informal knowledge to contribute to governance; it calls for individual and collaborative efforts towards managing environment. It encourages practices of ‘learning and adaptation...connect[ing] community-based management with regional/ national; government-level management, link[ing] scientific management and traditional management systems, encourage[ing] the sharing of knowledge and information, and promot[ing] collaboration and dialogue around goals and outcomes’ (Reed & Bruyneel, 2010)

The above-mentioned principles make environmental governance dynamic because it endorses a type of system which does not cater to only one facet of environment but provides a platform for several identities falling within the human-environment dynamics. It espouses connections between nature-human; nature-women that is gendered perspectives on the significance of nature; nature- nonhuman; nature and resources etc. An upgrade in the sphere of governance is imperative to address issues arising out of the interconnectedness between/among different elements in the Social Ecological Systems (SES); and now even cross-border environmental interconnectedness have emerged with the world experiencing rapid global warming and climate changes; which has introduced global environmental governance as well. Mentioned earlier in the section, the role of international agencies in environment has been initiated. Specifically, the role played by UN through United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), also introduction of new agencies called “International Environmental Agency”; “Global Environmental Organization,” “World Environment Organization,” or “United Nations Environment Organization.” Deliberations on the

formation of a world organization relating to environment was not a matter of urgency during the initial years of the UN that is in the late 1940s; deliberations on environment issues and concerns emerged in the 1970s and then in the year 1972 UNEP was established. As a world environment organization three (3) functions were laid out for it, namely: a) Better Coordination of Global Environmental Governance; b) Better Development and Implementation of International Environmental Law; and c) Improved Financial and Technology Transfer to the South. (Biermann, 2007) What he sought to address was environmental concerns in different parts of the world North and South through a common platform, recognition to different environmental agencies; and autonomy through decentralized processes. Frank Biermann (2007) also recognized various issues that this arrangement could lead to, to name a few; a) Global Commons versus World Problems; b) Civil Society versus Intergovernmental Agencies; and c) Environmental Protection versus Sustainable Development.

The mission with which UNEP was established was

*“To provide leadership and encourage partnership in caring for the environment by inspiring, informing, and enabling nations and peoples to improve their quality of life without compromising that of future generations”.* (Tarasofsky, 2002)

It seeks to address environmental issues and promote sustainability, and bridge a gap between politics and science; it also assists in influencing environmental policies both at national and international levels; it welcomes high level of participation by civil society organizations. (Tarasofsky, 2002)

Participative, collaborative and collective action are encouraged through the reformed environmental governance. It seeks to pursue governance ideals which would lead to holistic

outcomes. Setting a platform for different stakeholders to convey their interests and concerns environmental policy making through established ideals of governance makes it a vital path to follow. These ideas were further enhanced by the process of liberalization which called for the 'rolling back' of the role of the state in policy arena. Policy making sphere were opened up to informal actors and networks; it however did not completely eliminate the significance of the state. Researches have laid out that the role of the state has not been reduced but only altered; and local capacity for governance has not increased. Various impediments to the full and meaningful involvement of informal, non-state and local actors in environmental governance for instance borders, jurisdictions between stakeholder groups in decision-making processes have been recognized. (Marshall, 2008) Meaningful participation is also hindered due to hidden interests of those involved through various agencies as well. Collective action may not necessary imply true and perfect action; stakeholders involved in governance do pursue their ulterior motives but justify their involvement in terms of the common agenda. Environmental movements and social movements have relied on various concepts which validates the actions of the stakeholders in terms of the outcome of their participation. As elaborated in the latter part of this chapter; intentions behind participation have been outlined. Through concepts of Collective Action; Old Sociological Approach; Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT); Political Process Participation; and New Social Movement Theory, several insights into the motives of participation have been laid out. Where Ostrom speaks of trust and reciprocity, Olson mentions self-interested rational outcomes as basis of collective action; other concepts have power and resources at the center of their discussion. These provide a picture of the motives and methods of actors and agencies contributing to environmental governance. A reformed environmental governance

has emerged through the concept of New Environmental Governance or NEG. The ‘new’ in the concept of environmental governance would be introduced in the next section and further a comprehensive account of the same in connection to relative component of the thesis would be presented in the next chapter.

### **1.3 NEW ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE (NEG)**

With the increase in the environmental issues and the change in the nature of Environmental-Development relationship; a change emerged and a move away from conventional idea of state-led governance towards a new idea of environmental governance was identified. This was the New Environmental Governance (NEG) which goes beyond the governance idea of Westphalia model of state power through hierarchy basically pertaining to the decisions made through state institutions and legislative bodies. The Westphalian order refers to a political stance which is based on the sovereign state, implying the end of local power-centres, as well as of imperial political economic structures identified to have been established after 1648 peace treaty (Hettne B. , 2010) or The Peace of Westphalia. NEG seeks to incorporate principles like collaboration, integration, participation, deliberative styles of decision making, adaptation, and learning.

Simple understanding of government and governance was the former denotes state-centric, top-down processes; and latter denoted decentralized processes with involvement of non-state informal actors. The involvement of informal actors meant a recognition of ‘locally based’ efforts; though these local initiatives are acknowledged, they no longer stand as simple systems. (Reed & Bruyneel, 2010) Such an emergence in the field of environmental governance can also be supported by adherence to neoliberal policies as has been done

through studies which find connection between environmental movements and a theoretical argument, hence neoliberalism. Various perspectives on the position of the state in environment in terms of their role in regulating policies for management of resources have undergone numerous contestations. State, market and civil society and their individual roles as well as interrelations are considered to be vital facets in contemporary times contributing to different phenomenon with environment included; forms a significant part of discussions on governance. An institutional reconfiguration is recognized by MacLeod and Goodwin in 1999 which points to the move from state-centric *government* to the multi-scalar combination of state and non-state actors in *governance* is identified as a practice under neoliberalism. (Bridge & Perreault, 2009)

This new approach to environmental governance calls for the implementation of neo-liberal agenda which emphasizes partnerships between public and private sectors and also market-based mechanisms for the utilization and management of resources efficiently. Four (4) core processes relating to neoliberal policies and environmental governance are: a) privatization; b) the inability of the state to regulate through fiscal and administrative cuts; c) the 'hollowing out' of the state through the rescaling of governance functions which also is referred to as 'glocalization'; and d) shifting towards market-based, voluntarist framework which relies on public-private cooperation, self-regulation and also participation of civil society. (Himley, 2008) Speaking on the relationship between neoliberalism and the non-human world; geographers have emphasized on the sharing of boundary by 'social' and the 'natural. Their interests in the 'neo liberalization of nature' since they see it to reflect the 'nature of neo liberalization'. Some tenets of neo liberalization which could be drawn to study environment and its managements like privatization, marketization, state roll back or

also known as deregulation, market- friendly (re) regulation, strong encouragement to civil society and also the creation of 'self-sufficient' individuals and communities- the very last tenet neoliberals believe would help to maximize the freedom in exercise of individual rights (Castree, 2010); a trend which is seen to have marked a leap from neo liberalism to neo libertarianism which shall be mentioned in the latter part of this section. The connection between neo-liberalism, environmental change, and environmental politics are said to be a reality-the link between these are said to have been overlooked. The links identified are as follows: a) neo-liberalism itself generates serious environmental consequences and drawing upon classical liberalism-is significantly constituted by changing social relations with biophysical nature; b) neo liberalism and modern environmentalism have together emerged as the most serious political and ideological foundations of post-Fordist social regulation; and c) environmental concerns also represent the most powerful source of political opposition to neo liberalism. (McCarthy & Prudham, 2004) These links suggest not only an interrelation between neoliberalism and environment, but it is also suggestive of some contention in the shared relationship. Post-Fordism as mentioned earlier is used as a point of analysis which caters to contradiction, conflict and regulation with respect to the watchword in environmental governance and policy in the contemporary period i.e., 'sustainability'. It contends that the idea of sustainability is not perfect or universal. It could lead to a range of contradictions and conflicts in the social and environmental sphere. (Bauriedl & Wissen, 2002)

Liverman and Vilas in the work titled '*Neoliberalism and the Environment in Latin America*' (Liverman & Vilas, 2006) mentions that the link between environment and neoliberalism may not have been directly emphasized but the impact on environment of liberalism is both

direct and indirect as well as negative and positive. Where neoliberalism emphasized cutting back the role of the state which implies state regulation is limited, it could also imply that there is a cut down in environmental regulation as well. Other connotation of the tenets of neoliberalism may have on the environment is that it could create a situation where “accumulation by dispossession occurs” which implies the turning of nature conservation into a profit -making activity especially by the private-sector. Himley mentions that significant attention has been paid especially by environmental geographers in terms of neoliberal policies, to such an extent that the credit for the changing notion of environmental governance and also the huge unfolding in the environmental governance discourse has been given to neo-liberal philosophy. Geographers have linked environmental governance and neo-liberal policy to political economy and the key themes around which their analysis is based are privatization and enclosure, the rescaling of environmental governance functions, and the role of social movements which are involved in neo-liberalization of environmental governance. (Himley, 2008) Like ‘sustainability’ has different connotations in terms of its applicability as mentioned by (Bauriedl & Wissen, 2002), the use of the term neo-liberalization also comes with its own set of contestations and confusions. Some research suggests that these terms cannot be taken as having universal connotation; as such cannot be universally applicable. It has been suggested that the ‘neo-liberalism’ as a political economic concept which directs environmental change also suffers from this imperfection. The key tenets of neo-liberalism for instance privatization and marketisation could be supplemented by other elements which are listed under ‘*differentia specifica*’. (Castree, 2006) Castree goes on to mention some studies which talk about these conflicts of the nature of neo-liberalism; quoting Larner (2003) Castree suggests that neo-liberalism itself is to be given an ‘identity

crisis'; Peck mentions it to be a "perplexing amorphous political economic phenomena"; and that "all neo-liberalizations" are hybrid *from the outset*; this hybrid nature of the contemporary and emerging policies and programmes have not been paid heed to. Consequences like the decline of democratic processes and increased socio-spatial polarization by introduction of neo-liberalization has also been neglected according to some. The tenets of neo-liberalism mentioned earlier is to encourage the rolling back of the state and to foster entrepreneurial, self-responsible individuals however, state's role in governance was still lingering and that it was seen as the state which 'forced' people to act in a particular way under neo-liberalism. (Larner, 2003)

Enforcing neo-liberalism as such may not outrightly act on the rolling back and decreased role of the state; acting on this New Environmental Governance (NEG) does advocate for a collaborative and integrated approach to environment. It seeks to empower various actors in environmental management besides the formal state institutions; and thereby create an mechanism which would complement the state-centric approach. Such a phenomena is not about negating the State but it is about accentuating the power of civil society along with state power. As has rightfully been suggested by Lemke (2001): *The crisis of Keynesianism and the reduction in forms of welfare-state intervention therefore lead less to the state losing powers of regulation and control (in the sense of a zero-sum game) and can instead be construed as a reorganization or restructuring of government techniques, shifting the regulatory competence of the state onto 'responsible' and 'rational' individuals.* (Perkins, 2009) In this context as Wolch prescribes, the state becomes a "shadow state" which *"comprises of multiple voluntary sector organizations, administered outside of traditional democratic politics and charged with major collective service responsibilities previously*

*shouldered by the public sector, yet within purview of state control*". (Perkins, 2009) This is advocated with the assumption that an efficient voluntary sector would be able to provide greater opportunities for grassroots participation in local governance and also service-delivery decisions. (Geiger & Wolch, 1986) Speaking on the shifting architectures in relation to environmental law, regulation and governance, Neil Gunningham specifies the role of the three key actors- the state, civil society and in the current neo-liberal ideology, the business; where the state continues to be a central player and the rest of the actors' function 'in the shadow of the state'. Each of the actors have their own role to play, the roles may be distinct but it could be said that it is distinction without a difference. Since under the NEG- 'steering' and 'rowing' functions have been specified for the actors. Where 'rowing' could be done by the informal actors, the 'steering' functions is retained by the state. Along with the 'shadow of the state', Gunningham proposes 'collaboration in the shadow of hierarchy'. Governance takes over regulation, and such a strategy would lead to efficient governance. NEG could serve as the most suited method for dealing with any complication arising out of the emerging trends and shifting nature of environmental governance. (Gunningham, 2009)

#### **1.4 ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE TO NEW ENVIRONMENTAL GOVERNANCE (NEG)**

The environmental movement or the 'green movement' has arisen out of changes experienced by the natural environment and the impact it has on the national, international, and global status of environment. Challenging the impact on the environment, questioning the dichotomy on the basis of which power relations of human and nature resides; this also implies the dichotomy of man-nature, nature-culture which has led to the Development Vs Environment debate. The idea of deciding for the environment and formulating and

implementing environmental policies has brought about the idea of governance and hence Environmental Governance.

UNDP in 1997 has defined governance as *“the exercise of economic, political and administrative authority to manage a country’s affairs at all levels. It comprises the mechanisms, processes and institutions through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, exercise their legal rights, meet their obligations and mediate their differences”* (ICPS, 2021).

Five (5) propositions regarding governance as a theory has been prescribed by Stoker which are; “Governance is identified reflecting various ideas, it refers to institutions or set of institutions or actors that connotes the government and also beyond government; it implies doing away with the boundaries that hinder carrying out responsibilities for tackling social and economic issues; it promotes collective action where different actors government and others come together in addressing a common issue; it also ensures networking amongst various actors and entrusts a new role to the government which consist of steering and guiding role” (Stoker, 1998).

Proliferation of challenges of human activities on environment, has witnessed the proliferation of actors or agents in addressing the issue. UN now endorses the term “Good Governance”, with its eight (8) principles of participation, rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, consensus-oriented, equity and inclusiveness, effectiveness and efficiency. (ICPS, 2021) These principles are very much apt with the demands for environmental governance or a rethinking of the idea of governance in order to mitigate the damages inflicted on the environment.

The method of or deciding on environment earlier was considered as *management-* defining the relationship between human and nature as based upon ‘necessity’ and ‘adaptation’. Whereas, the new definition is ‘*governance*’, bringing within its fold both policy and practice; and understanding, communicating and allocating power and resources; and also creating a balance between the requirements of human and economic development and those of conserving biological diversity. (Feyerabend, 2015)

There are various other forms of governance associated with managing the environment; which are elaborated under the terms adaptive, reflexive, and resilience governance (or ecological resilience)

### **1.5 REFLEXIVE GOVERNANCE**

The political-administrative hierarchy and economic rewards as instruments for governance depend on reflexive governance. Jurgen Habermas (1998) and Ulrich Beck (1992) can be mentioned as two notable individuals in this branch of environmental governance. Reflexive governance according to Habermas is connected to the idea of participation of civil society actors in the governance of post-conventional societies, implying heterogeneity in group, history and class. They rely on open participation of state and civil society actors, and interaction between them. Ulrich Beck on the other hand, refers to a risk society. This will result in sub-politics being involved, calling for the direct involvement of non-governmental actors without relying on the administrative state. It would involve the interaction of the state and different non-governmental organizations, indigenous organizations etc. (Dedeurwaerdere, 2015)

Reflexivity in governance or reflexive governance anticipates the participation and interaction of all stakeholders. Besides the administrative agencies, governance should entail the participation and also acknowledge and utilize the input presented by other stakeholders. Further, reflexivity is explained through *first* the idea of *self-confrontation* by Beck and *secondly* the idea of *reflection* by Giddens. The former implies that the administrative setup itself creates side effects and feedback which could have social repercussions and could lead to the emergence of new discourses, movements and politics. Whereas, the latter that is *reflection* deals with Giddens' concept of *reflexive modernization*. This reflexive modernization undermines traditional authority of any kind and looks forward to establishing new agencies of authority and influencers. It welcomes other discourses and ideas; contradicting this stands reflexive tradition which sees other discourses as threats and this is rejected by reflexive governance based on reflexive modernization. (Bostrom, Lidskog, & Uggla, 2016) Reflexive governance as such advocates for principles advocated by the idea of 'Good Governance', for instance openness, transparency and participation.

## **1.6 ADAPTIVE GOVERNANCE**

While reflexive governance focuses on the feedback of activities and policies; adaptive governance refers to the idea of management and government which is future oriented. In terms of environment, it is connected to the idea of adapting to what the situation calls for. Like reflexive modernization, adaptive governance also remains open to the idea of participation and input of different stakeholders or actors. Thereby calling for a polycentric approach of governance. (Shinn, 2016)

Also, similar idea of poly-centric approach has been proposed through Chaffin and Gunderson (2016), who introduced adaptive governance as a system of governance that includes multiple agency centers and self-organized or autonomous process authority; taking Gunderson (1995) into account that adaptive governance tackles loopholes generated by conventional governance agencies. (DeCaro D. A., Chaffin, Schlega, Garmestani, & Ruhl, March, 2017)

Adaptive governance acts in response to all the changes that could occur in governing the environment, implying changes in technology, economies, society and culture. Adaptive governance is able to withstand and also adapt to such transformation. This type of governance allows institutions to mature through time. (Feyerabend, 2015)

## **1.7 RESILIENCE GOVERNANCE**

One important name associated with resilience or resilience governance connected to environmental study is Buzz Holling; whose work cannot be ignored when studying about ecology and society. Resilience is taken as the notion of governance that deals with social and ecological ties. Three facets of Socio-Ecological System (SES), which are persistence, adaptability and transformability, are tackled through resilience. (Folke, et al., 2010) Adaptability as discussed before this section is considered to be a part of resilience governance. Where adaptive governance stresses the process's capacity to adapt to new changes, resilience governance, on the other hand, takes into account the socio-ecological system's potential to return to where it was.

The concept of resilience has also been included in the study of actors in governance, the interaction of ecology and society and human interaction within this system.(Dwiartama & Rosin, 2014) which will be discussed in the chapter on ANT.

## **1.8 ENVIRONMENTALISM OR ECOLOGISM**

Environmentalism has emerged as a key feature of state, national and international policy in the era of globalization. The concept of Green Politics or as it is understood as Ecologism (Heywood, 2016) grasps this idea of environmentalism which has emerged in different parts of the world since the late twentieth century.

Where environmentalism for the West was based on improving and maintaining the Quality of Life; for the Third World or developing countries, it was a matter of survival. The latter is considered to be the Southern perspective which will be discussed in the next sub-section. Environmentalism for sustainability or conservation of natural resources has been seen to be anthropocentric that is it is human-centered; but green politics seeks to provide an alternative. Being anthropocentric it tends to ignore the other aspects of the phenomenon, as such this environmentalism is termed “shallow ecology”, and ecologism seeks to portray the “deep ecology”. Modern environmentalism opposes natural resource extraction based huge economic development projects.

Environmentalism has since its emergence has been presented through different concepts emerging out of the changing times and changing nature of development and environmental debate. These are as Andrew Heywood has mentioned *Eco socialism* which explains environmental destruction in terms of economic development for profit generation; *Eco conservatism* concerned with preservation of ecology for the preservation of traditional

values and established institutions; and *ecofeminism* which links ecological crisis and environmental degradation to patriarchal system of governance. It emphasizes on the fact that there are different aspects to environment and a single method of approach may not be appropriate or adequate for conservation and management of the same.

As the increase in literature and research of environment provides proof enough; Environmental issues have proliferated substantially. There has been a huge call for environmental governance worldwide. Tropical, Mediterranean, Arctic, Antarctica and even desert regions are seen to have been experiencing changes in the attributes of the environment. Environmental degradation at the hands of development process has led to pointing fingers at the policy-making authorities. This particular phenomenon has called into question the traditional mode of decisions and policy making. The platform of decision making has been demanded to be broadened and become inclusive of the neglected lot especially those who are not part of the formal- traditional institutions. Therefore, the idea of environmental governance has come to the forefront and a demand for inclusiveness and a holistic method of governance has received great attention.

## **1.9 ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY OR ECOLOGICAL HISTORY**

Pertaining to the idea of the natural habitat that is recognized as the environment or as ecology; though they are not taken as synonymous since separate literature has existed for the two. There is also a debate as to whether environmental history and ecological history refers to the same perspective of history concerning nature and the lives that it sustains.

With threat to the lives sustained by the environment, general criticism and also activism arose against the policy makers. This activism has come to be known as environmentalism

and ecologism that means movements and activities advocating for the protection of the environment which has deep connections with the lives of the people as well. These ideas talk about the interaction as well as the impact human and environment have on each other. Thus, this sympathy with the environment has been termed as 'green' politics. (Hay, 2002) Further, he refers to Giddens idea of environmentalism as 'reformist' and ecologism as 'revolutionary'. Environmentalism and Ecologism also at times have been differentiated on the grounds of the former having the objective of protecting nature for human benefit; and the latter is biocentric and emphasis on the idea that reason to protect nature supersedes protection of human interests. (Heywood, 2016)

Environmentalists believe that green issues would require wise government, appropriate legislation and the voluntary adoption of environmentally sound practices by consumers; whereas ecologists believe that only through a reorganization of the political, social and economic system would be able to bring out a solution. Ecologism thus stresses massive change in human values.(Harrison, 2018)

Hay specifically focused on the environmentalism of the Western world or the first world developed nations, since according to him, there was an extreme focus on the environmental movement in the third world developing nations. Environmental significance or 'call of nature' was given an impetus through the Romanticism of the Enlightenment period.

The influence of Romanticism on the birth of environmentalism has been recognized by Ramachandra Guha; and identifies the variety of reasons for the emergence of environmentalism in a different region of the world. (Guha, 2000, 2014) Two waves have contributed to the idea of significance of nature. The *first*, which came about as a response to

the onset of industrialization and *secondly*, when the response was received public support. Guha was critical of industrialization, and that it posed a threat to the organic union of the people with nature, which is illustrated through Wordsworth's poem. (Guha, 2000, 2014)

Romanticism has contributed immensely to giving study of nature significant place; writers like Wordsworth, Ruskin, Leopold were all thought to be propagating an activism in their own way. For Ruskin criticized industrialization for destroying the relationship which existed between man-nature. (Nepal, 2011) As such environmentalism did take the form of a protest however, it also opened up to applying innovative methods of other forms of social movements that were prevalent during the period it was emerging. As such environmentalism cannot only be viewed as a voice for addressing environmental issues but also questioning the repercussion environmental degradation causes other aspects of human life or human security. (Khawas, 2009)

Jean-Francois Lyotard describes 'Ecology' as a 'discourse of the secluded'. Ecology does not only define the relationship of man and nature but it also leads to a division of the life of the private and the public sphere. Private sphere 'Oikeion' implies women, children, animals and all 'subaltern' groups and public 'politikon' (Rangarajan, 2018).

Both concepts are associated with the idea of interrelationship of humans and nature; ecology deals with the science of this interrelationship whereas environmentalism relates to the impact degradation of environment can have on humans as well as vice versa and policy dimensions- hence "environmental politics". Political in the sense it questions policies and policy makers, as well as the intention behind any policy made on environment and

*“environmental movements have reshaped our culture’s understanding of fundamental rights to include clean air, water supplies, and living environments”* (Newman, 2001).

Environmentalism and Ecologism are directed towards the same goal of taking care of nature, the difference is the position it gives to humans and human needs. Where environmentalism is concerned with biodiversity and economic development and places human needs at the center of environmental conservation debate; on the other hand, *ecologism* views human beings as being a part of nature and not above nature or any other species and the needs of the nature should be prioritized over the needs of humans. Therefore, environmentalism is seen to *anthropocentric* and ecologism deals with the idea of *deep ecology*. Romanticism as discussed earlier challenges Anthropocentrism.

Ecologism, as a term was first used by Ernst Heckael. Where environmentalism is anthropocentric, ecologism also called ‘*green political theory*’ by Andrew Heywood is considered to be a political ideology with substantive importance. Unlike, environmentalism which is policy oriented, ecologism is ideology oriented and is inclusive of ideologies like eco-feminism, eco-socialism. *Shallow ecology* and *deep ecology* are terminologies which help distinguish the intentions of environmentalism and ecologism. Deep Ecology is more sympathetic to nature, and calls for a more drastic approach to its conservation and that the goals should go beyond human needs, which means that it is opposed to the anthropocentric mindset of environmentalism. Shallow ecology is associated with environmentalism that stresses human needs and is concerned with sustainability and conservation for human purposes. (Heywood)

## **1.10 ENVIRONMENTALISM: AS SOCIAL MOVEMENT AND SOCIAL RESISTANCE**

Environmentalism has undergone numerous changes since its introduction in the 1970s. In terms of the aims, actors, strategies, mechanism, principles and the very essence of environmentalism, these modifications are evident. Environmentalism to ecologism, the shift from anthropocentric approach to a much more open and diverse approach has brought environmentalism to be recognized as one of the New Social Movements (NSM). Environmental and Ecological movements are considered as “new” movements because they concern the whole of society and are not movements by a particular class, community or any section of a society. They represent diversified issues.

With teak from Western Ghats used for Royal Navy, the hills of Assam and Kerala cleared for tea and coffee plantations, jute and rice grown for export, India had already witnessed its share of environmental exploitation under colonial rule. Mahatma Gandhi has been considered as an early environmentalist in Indian Environmental History and his methods of Satyagraha has been seen as an important method for asserting rights. (Nepal, 2011) With Chipko Andolan (1973) to the Narmada Bachao Andolan (1985) environmental activism have adopted Gandhian methods to bring an end to the environmental degradation. (Guha, 2010) Such methods and Gandhian philosophy of role of traditional knowledge have been adopted even in recent environmental movements like the Anti- Dam Movement in Sikkim, which is significant for this particular study.

Due to distinct factors, environmentalism has arisen in different parts of the world. Guha has divided it into the environmentalism of the west and the environmentalism of the poor; the

latter which refers to developing or underdeveloped countries like India. Indian environmental movements have been tagged as “politics of survival” which are concerned more with economic issues rather than non-economic issues; environmental issues take a political turn as it tends to involve interests of natural resource dependent people.(Shiva, 2016) The Chipko Andolan, which was a movement of the Himalayan peasants against the clearing of forests for timber marked the beginning of the social justice and environmental sustainability, and were deemed to be for human survival. Whereas for the West, the environmental movement were observed to be based on the idea of protection of endangered animal species and natural habitat. That is why environmentalism of India and developing countries was “*environmentalism of the poor*”. (Guha, 2000, 2014)

Environmentalism and environmental movements are identified as modern social movements; they are seen to contribute to the notion of social resistance. Through the process of growth that countries around the world have embraced, environmental issues have arisen. Development may seek to enhance people's lives and livelihoods, but it has certainly been shown to challenge the very essence of human security by posing a threat to the world in which people survive. This development-environment debate forms an important base on which environmentalism and environmental activism reside.

While defining the ecological history of India, *four historical modes* of resource use and development could be identified: firstly, aspects of *technology*, which refers to the sources of energy, materials used and the knowledge on which it was based; *secondly*, aspects of *economy*, referring to the resource flow and mode of resource acquisition; *thirdly*, aspects of *social organization* referring to the size of the social group, division of labor, and mechanisms of control over resources; *fourthly*, aspects of *ideology*, defining the different

dimensions of man-nature relationship and practices inducing resource conservation or destruction and *finally*, the nature of *ecological impact*. (Gadgil & Guha, 1992,1993,2013) Gadgil and Guha further assert how these very modes influences social conflict between and within them.

The changing nature of resource use and mode of resource utilization, have led to unrest among those affected. Huge diaspora of issues has emerged, impacting nations, regions, specific groups and people; and along with it have arisen various forms of activism. The idea of unlimited economic growth is to be assessed on two fundamental notions *one* the availability of basic resources and, *two* the capacity of the environment to cope with the changes. (Schumacher, 2011) Schumacher quotes Mahatma Gandhi, that “*Earth provides enough to satisfy every man’s need, but not for every man’s greed*” justifying that environmentalism is limited whereas materialism is unlimited. Thus, providing a space for *environmental ethics*. Taking economic intentions, Schumacher exclaims that ethics in environment and anything related to nature has been replaced by new positive sciences on which western culture is now based upon, and believes it to be a dangerous move. He uses *meta-economic* to define how man and nature (animals) should be studied together as they are ends-in-themselves. Man cannot spoil or exhaust something which he himself cannot recreate.

Unrest among humans have arisen due to the depletion of the environment and exhaustion of resources leading to the emergence of the anthropocentric *environmentalism* first, followed by *ecologism* which is believed to depend on broader meaning and impact of the idea of environment. Environmentalism now ecologism, as already mentioned has been taken to be a part of New Social Movements. Environmental movement is as quoted from Klein (2004) a

*“movement of many movements-coalitions of coalitions”*- believing environmental movements comprises and also acts as a significant actor in strengthening other movements. (Kaneshiro & Lawrence, 2010) Varieties of environmentalism has been identified and of which *“environmental justice”* movement (EJM) concerns with social justice among humans on environmental issues; it is found to give platform to the voiceless classless of society. It is directed to address the threat to not just environment but the sustainability of societies itself in the face of environmental degradation.

Activism has emerged and increased through social movements for addressing the negative impacts created by environmentalism and environmental inequality at local, national and world level. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations (ENGOs); Civil Society Organizations put environmental issues as part of their political agendas; Community Based Organizations have emerged formed on the basis of collective or collaborative action whose very intention is to address the issues caused by environmental degradation of the particular area they inhabit. Some scholars also add that grassroots organizations should also come up and address concerns caused by environmental inequality through political action. (Pello & Brulle, 2007)

Marxist studies emphasize the relationship of capitalism and the resistance of the working class; ecological crisis has also been presented within the context of global capital. Since, environmental movements represent diversified interests. Such movements cut across class, race, ethnicity and gender. (Buono, 2010)

## **1.11 ENVIRONMENTALISM IN SOUTH or ENVIRONMENTALISM OF THE POOR**

In the 6<sup>th</sup> (sixth) chapter of Guha's *Environmentalism: A Global History*, Guha presents the nature of environmentalism in Third World developing countries as *The Southern Challenge*. Citing examples of Penang of Malaysia, Sarda Sarovar Dam at the Narmada River in Central India, Thailand, Nigeria (1995), Kenya's Green Belt Movement; he illustrated the nature of environmentalism and the interaction between policy makers and the people who are identified as activists or dissenters. Calling it the 'Environmentalism of the Poor'; connecting environmentalism to various forms of social action. To explain through his work, environmentalism of the poor has the following features:

*Firstly*, concern for the environment is linked to social justice. This is related to issue of environment or ecology with that of tradition, culture, livelihood and such aspects; which basically caters to the idea of social environment especially in the third world countries where values and norms are intrinsic part of politics and governance, which identifies environmental degradation with economic deprivation.

*Secondly*, unlike the West or the developed North, the means of interventions in defending environment is done mass media; the South relies on 'traditional' networks and peaceful mode of protest like the Gandhian Satyagraha or Gandhism as it is referred to as today; this shall be particularly relevant for India and shall be discussed in the next section.

Another feature of environmentalism of the poor has been the role of the women. Women have been an essential part of environmental activism throughout the world. As an activist, women have portrayed various issues by their main opposition to patriarchy; though the

levels of participation have varied leading Vandana Shiva to claim it as ‘asymmetric’ participation. Women have proven to be an essential part of the environmental movements since the nature of environmental movements have changed and basically incorporates a large number of issues; environmental movement may not only be characterized by movement concerning the ecology, but environmental movement as already mentioned above comprises of social issues, political issues and consequences; it is understood to be a part of the New Social Movements challenging the hierarchical, patriarchal, materialist values of conventional society (NSM).

### **1.12 ENVIRONMENTALISM IN INDIA**

India has and still bears witness to environmental issues and against it the environmental activism or environmentalism. (Hindu, 2013) Since the 1970s, specifically 1973 with the emergence of the *Chipko Movement* modern Indian environmentalism were given an impetus. Since then, there has been number of events which received national and international attention; like Chipko Movement itself, Narmada Bachao Andolan, Save Teesta relevant to Sikkim which will be discussed in the next section. Where, environmentalism in the West is considered mainly for the protection of the existing flora and fauna mainly as Conservation of the existing ecology; in the South or the third world developing nations it is considered to be connected to human security and human survival. The trajectory of the movement comprises of voicing the local communities and their dependence on the forests for basic means of survival, natural resource protection and conservation, agricultural rights, tribal or indigenous rights, gendered rights and the like. The protests took the form of *dharna* or sit-down strike; the *pradarshan* or massed procession; the *hartal* or general strike; the

*rastarokoor* transport blockade; the *bhook hartal* or hunger fast which is basically taken as Gandhian *Satyagraha* or Gandhianism.(Nepal, 2011)

Environmentalism has grown with the amount of attention received to the idea of *economic development*. Guha identified three environmental challenges posed by the economic rise of India and China; these maybe elaborated as follows:

*Firstly*, in the global level, though late in the development process; India and China are now major contributors of Green House Gases (GHGs). India is considered to be the fifth largest source of GHG globally.

*Secondly*, the rise of the two giants would lead to environmental and social impacts as unlike the West which relies on the underdeveloped or developing third world countries, India and China would have to focus on the relocation of their industries to other land.

*Thirdly*, India and China are already facing environmental issues like drying up of the rivers, loss of biodiversity, destruction of forests etc.

Environmentalism in India therefore is said to have emerged through social resistance of poor tribes, indigenous or marginalized people who explain their relation with nature to be of security and survival.

### **1.13 ENVIRONMENTALISM IN SIKKIM**

Sikkim, which is identified to hold the position of being the smallest state of India in terms of geographical area; the state is known to be the richest in terms of natural resources like water, forest and natural vegetation. It takes up 7,096 sq. Km area which according to the

2001 Sikkim Human Development Report is 0.22 percent of the entire geographical area of India.(Sikkim H. D., 2011, 2014)

Sikkim joined the Indian Union in 1975, where the planning process through Planning Commission in India had already started in 1950. As such, Sikkim is considered to have a delayed development. The development strategy of the state included income generation; with this the major mechanism for the achievement of the same was the establishment of hydro-electric power projects for revenue and employment generation. Since, unexploited natural resources was said to be one of the main reasons for economic backwardness of Sikkim in its initial years.

States in North-East India were tagged as the “*future powerhouse*” of the country. Such initiatives of the government have over the years received huge backlash from organizations having diverse backgrounds. These organizations as NGOs or Community Organizations have been involved in Sikkim in addressing many issues like poverty alleviation, rural development, drug abuse, primary education and health, animal husbandry and environmental protection; and sometimes organizations target many issues simultaneously. Environmentalism in Sikkim emerged at the very onset of the development procedures. Issues related to biodiversity conservation, depletion of resources and its consequence upon inhabitants is still a major concern today. For Sikkim, it is not recent and has been going on since the 1990s. These organizations show different reasons for involvement which also presents Ramachandra Guha’s *Environmentalism of the poor*.

## 1.14 FAILURES OF EG AND NEG

Change in governance strategies from conventional environmental governance to New Environmental Governance (NEG) depicts the inadequacy of the former to conform to the achievement of objectives expected of it. However, with the increase in the environmental issues, question arises whether NEG would provide the efficiency needed to effectively address the situation at hand. The involvement of people as individuals and as a part of a collective group can be due to many reasons as has been explained in the section on Theoretical formulation which will be discussed later in this introductory chapter. Emergence of different groups to counter the conventional idea of state led governance, the nature of these groups, the nature of the participants, the intentions and objective behind their participation would be explored through this work.

Conservation actor can be understood by taking into consideration the quote provided as under:

*“Individuals, groups, and organizations who actively pursue conservation agendas (conservationists), the constituencies, communities, companies, and the government agencies whose co-operation goals (supporters/stakeholders), and the individuals, companies, and governments whose activities, policies, practices or inaction damage nature (opponents)”*.(Jepson, Barua, & Buckingham, 2011)

As environmental concerns are represented by individuals and groups, the nature of participation may vary. This variation may arise out of the intentions behind their participation and also the extent of their participation. For when it comes to women, ecofeminists have pointed out that women are either under represented or as Vandana Shiva

calls it an “asymmetric” participation which hampers ability of women to have their perspective reflected in policy making. Women as Conservation Actor as having agency would help overcome this loophole. Various state, national and international strategies have been initiated like the Beijing *Platform for Action, Agenda 21, the World Summit on Sustainable Development of 2002, UNEP- United Nations Environmental Programme initiated the WAVE (Women as the Voice for the Environment)* and many others, but how far have women been successful in being a part of these organizations is to be explored. (Peek, 2007)

### **1.15 ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS**

Advocates of environment have insisted on the values of life, security and emotions connecting humans with nature; and nature embodying and intrinsic value to itself. Environmental activism is also based on ethics of the environment which is expressed through environmental philosophy. Environmental philosophy incorporates a form of romanticism which is evident from Ramachandra Guha as well. This idea of the environment having intrinsic value is also supported by an emergence of Eco-Buddhism within the discipline of Buddhism which emphasizes the unique value that the environment or nature embodies. This helps to generate and accommodate different peaceful practices of making the voices of the affected heard. Environmental movements have adopted such a perspective which connects the value of nature to the value of society and the value of lives of the people. Such methods of addressing the issue does express deeply the emotion behind the relationship between man and nature and how survival of one is heavily dependent on the other. A quote from Rig-Veda enunciates the deep connection between human and nature, “*The sky is like father, the earth like mother and the space as their son. The universe*

*consisting of the three is like a family and any kind of damage done to any one of the three throws the universe out of balance”* (Renugadevi, 2012). The quote clearly enunciates the dependence of humans and nature; the destruction of the environment which could have grave negative impact on human security. This statement has been emphasized by environmental activists all over the world.

## **1.16 WOMEN AND ENVIRONMENT**

Emphasizing on the notion of Thinking Green, Petra Kelly coined the term “anti-party party” which was a political mission to serve the grassroots movements embodying non-violence on all levels. (Spretnak, 1993) A gendered perspective on significance of environment has taken a center stage in environmental movements all over the world. Environmental movements come under the fold of social movement; because of the intertwined dependence of human and nature on each other. Similar to the distinction in environmentalism of the North and South; there existed a distinction between the environmentalism of women in different parts of the world especially in terms of North and South. But it is not unknown that there have been connections between identities of nature and women and ecology and feminism. Premised on the idea of fostering emancipation and liberation; environmental and women’s liberation movements emerged simultaneously in the 1960s (Merchant, 1981).

*I know I am made from this earth, as my mother’s hands were made from this earth, as her dreams came from this earth and all that I know, I know in this earth ... all that I know speaks to me through this earth and I long to tell you, you who are earth too, and listen as we speak to each other of what we know: the light is in us – Susan Griffin in (Merchant, 1981)*

The idea of ecology is viewed to harmonize nature, human and nonhuman; within this the “other” has been created. This category of the “other” signifies a category which is to be objectified and subordinated and ‘Nature’ and ‘Women’, where the latter is identified with the former are considered to be subordinated in a patriarchal society. (King, 1989) Women and nature is perceived to be different from man, establishing a superior-subordinate relationship; and this has been considered to be one of the factor that contributes to the reasons for the current environmental crisis, where development is seen as a tool reflecting patriarchal values; and hence, justifying the initiatives of local communities and community organizations pursuing conservation practices reflecting gendered ideals and traditional knowledge involving the marginalized sections of the community. Actor-Network Theory (ANT) would address these differences, and insist on heterogeneity. It focuses on the association of human and non-human elements (Lagesen, 2012) and also the differences inherent within the entities.

### **1.17 REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

Environmental governance and moreover New Environmental Governance have taken into its fold the newly emerging trend of environment and the involvement of various machinery formal and informal and working towards the protection, conservation and management of environment and its resources by making transparency and participation in governing the environment a requisite for the management of natural resources for survival and sustainability. The move from environmental governance to New Environmental Governance seeks to lay down the goals of environmental governance through ‘Reconceptualizing Purpose’ by finding alternatives to traditional goals comprising sustainability, the precautionary principle, and global interdependence geared towards bringing in awareness

and dedication for not only the protection of environment but more. *Secondly*, ‘Reconnecting with Stakeholders’ suggesting the redressal of issues that adheres to matters like deliberative democracy, civic environmentalism, environmental justice, property rights, and conflict resolution. *Thirdly*, the modern idea of environmental governance is also to address ‘Redefining Administrative Capacity’ dealing with performance governance which assesses the promise-versus-performance of administrative setup thereby enhancing the administrative process by bringing in efficient, equitable and accountable environmental governance. (Durant, Fiorino, & O’Leary, 2017)

First and foremost, when it comes to environmental governance especially in India one person to look up to would be Ramachandra Guha who has been an advocate of environmental movements and the reason for its existence. He has been keen on studying the movements through a political, social and economic perspective, especially making a comparative study for emergence of these movements in the developed West and the developing and underdeveloped nations. In his work, “*Environmentalism: A Global History*”, Guha has particularly analyzed the changes in the nature of environmental movements and highlighted the challenges that environment faces and also the *inadequacy* or *ignorance* of the state institutions to care for Mother Nature. Environmentalism for Guha is an outcome of industrialization which leads to pollution and rising of temperatures but for countries like India it would be a matter of human survival.

As also pointed out in “*Environment and Human Security in Sikkim and Nepal*”, Vimal Khawas states. mountain environment, environmental security is connected to human security. Two points upon which it is justified are *Environmental determinism* and *Environmental possibilism*. The former basically refers to the environmental factors shaping

human history and the latter refers to humans as agents of environmental changes through the use of his knowledge and technology. Three views are taken into account here; first the statist view which concentrates on state security, secondly the humanist view through the welfare lens and third being Ecologist view which provides study of issue in totality. (Khawas, 2009)

Particular reference to Indian situation, Vandana Shiva through her numerous works especially *“Staying Alive: Women, Ecology and Development”*, talks about the human security aspect of environmentalism. She basically links environment and its significance to women in particular. Shiva addresses the inadequacy of the government and state institutions in taking into consideration the impact of legislations on development on the community especially women.

Guha believes that the issue of human security with environmental degradation could be instigated by what he calls the “the Age of Ecological Arrogance”; which explains the flaw in policy making which implements development projects which are resource intensive and fails to take into consideration the other side of these projects. Therefore, the situation would call for a broader participation and extensive knowledge. Similarly, in a thesis titled *“Environmental Governance and the Role of Judiciary in India”*, highlights this age of ecological arrogance where the role of one of the organs of the government is studied and environmental movements presenting the struggle between ‘vicious state’ and ‘virtuous peasants’ and emphasized that the environmental problem in India to be not only a struggle for natural resources but also value of nature. It seems ecological arrogance has existed and there has been a sacrifice of environmental ethics. (Sahu, 2005)

The contemporary issue of “Age of Ecological Arrogance” (Guha, 2000, 2014) highlights the inadequacy in the existing approaches towards environmental governance; particularly in case of India it makes it imperative to take into consideration multifarious issues connected to environmental concerns. With diversity in terms of regional landscape, diversity in terms of demography, culture, traditions and the like, and the ecological dependence, these attributes call for significant changes of perspectives towards environmental governance. A concept of Environmental Ethics is generated which connects ecology to politics and ethics. Connecting politics centered on environment to the sentiments of neglected groups, since environmentalism in the West stands apart from the environmentalism in Third World developing countries. The very reasons and intention behind environmentalism in the latter is linked to the matter of survival and security. Vandana Shiva asserts the same to environmental politics insisting on the change in perspectives towards environmental governance. Shiva with many other feminists like Bina Agarwal and also Maria Mies asserts the inclusion of *‘feminist principles’* asserting the position and role of women in development (WID) process.

Acknowledging ethics and wisdom in the management of the environment becomes imperative due to the issue of ‘production’ and ‘consumption’ in the process of economic development. Economy has its own ethics, and this is based on producing, selling or buying. Economic thinking is based on market, and such approach tends to take the sacredness out of life, because there can be nothing sacred in something that has a price. (Schumacher, 1973) Environmental ethics is to comprise both of values and metaphysics. He criticizes Keynesian economics for upholding the idea that ethics besides the economic ethics mentioned above is irrelevant and that they would hinder what economics upholds *‘for foul is useful and fair is*

*not*'. Schumacher also addresses the dangers of depleting resources and the endangered environment; materialism he considers is *unlimited*, but environment is *limited*. Ignorance of ethics and metaphysics and its replacement by positive sciences has led to the present condition of Western Nations when it comes to natural resources. In Part II Chapter 6 of his work *Small is Beautiful*, he contends that *education* the greatest of all resources is anti-metaphysical and has failed to cater to our central convictions; because of this education could turn into an agent of destruction.

The interaction between development and environment can be given due credit for the emergence of environmentalism, since the process of development is accompanied by a form of insecurity, vulnerability and risks. Vulnerability could be from different sources environmental, political and social. In different parts of the world, resilient and adaptive governance have been adopted to face challenges posed by different factors. Small groups and local communities independently or in collaboration with state institutions have taken it upon themselves to find ways and means to devise methods to help mitigate occurring issues. They have also devised alternatives to instill the idea of self-reliance and self-determination, to counter the harmful effects of development projects on the environment and society.

These risks are environmental and social in nature. In the face of this has emerged number of actors which are not affiliated to any formal organizations and have formed a kind of resilience; and in environmental discourse vulnerability and resilience form an integral part of the process. Where vulnerability assesses the risks associated with communities belonging to a certain region; and, on the other hand resilience refers to the effort and ability of the people and ecosystems to mitigate and adapt to the changing risks. The basis of the argument also lies in the fact that there are linkages between ecological systems and society through

different sets of interaction: *firstly*, the idea that ecological changes are induced through human action; *secondly*, how the changes in ecosystem impacts on the services it provides to society; and, *thirdly*, the inquiry into the interdependence of the resilient quality of society and ecology on each other. (Adger & Brown, 2009)

The outreach of environmental movements or environmentalism cannot be ignored, whether environmental movements come within the fold of social movements or connotes something bigger is a matter of perspective. However, environmentalism by itself is considered to be more popular and have grown to have a large impact on the way movements through organizations conduct themselves. Environmental movements have larger outreach and more popularity because it seeks to represent diverse interests connected to rights, identity etc. environmental movements could instigate a ‘movement of many movements-coalitions of coalitions’ (Kaneshiro & Lawrence, 2010). Some key characteristics of environmentalism identified are its popularity, political potential, resources, global reach and its connections with other movements. (Kaneshiro & Lawrence, 2010) Environmentalism also advocates through the process another movement known as Environmental Justice movement, which encompasses issues which is not just exclusively environmental but also representation of interests of especially the marginalized sections of the society, for instance women and poor. For the same reason, different versions of environmentalism are identified which have been specified previously as environmentalism in the North and environmentalism in the South which translates to the environmentalism of the poor. The latter usually refers to the movement of indigenous activists who convey the cause of their protected land and its appropriation which marks an infringement upon their indigenous rights. Environmental Justice Movement through such interest representation reflects that distributional equity is

not their only concern, but it also addresses the lack of respect and recognition of the indigenous ways of life. (Agyeman, Schlosberg, Craven, & Matthews, 2016)

Global efforts towards combating consequences of environmental degradation have changed and the traditional 'constraint driven' approach towards a new globalist 'aspiration driven' approach have been adopted even in India. Global environmental governance to be an interstate matter where the authority resides with the state. However, environmental governance has tread upon a path which has been receptive of participation of more organizations besides the state. As such, global environmental governance is seen to be associated with glocalization where there is involvement of international organizations to local organizations. (Paterson, 1999)

There are several aspects associated with environment in a country like India, as already identified by Ramachandra Guha, Vandana Shiva and others that environmental security is also related to human security and conventional environmental government has led to a sacrifice of environmental ethics and also brought into focus trust deficit in government machinery and moved towards the idea of adaptation, whereby community participation would be given importance. This trust deficit accordingly has been reflected through the lack of belief that industrialized countries are genuine in their efforts to negotiate a climate agreement; a lack of trust that any agreement reached will be honored and a suspicion that industrialized countries are using the climate regime to maintain economic advantage over emerging economies like India and China. (Atteridge, Shrivastava, Pahuja, & Upadhyay, 2012)

Trust deficit and the unreliability in the conventional mode of governance which was being accused of being ecologically arrogant lead to the emergence and existence of environmental movements everywhere today. Inquiry into both methods of governance that is the centralized, hierarchical bureaucracy and the emerging decentralized, informal, advocacy groups and argument had been generated regarding whether associations which are informally coordinated, centralized social movement organizations be able to do a better job. Governance now has come to entail the control of environmental degradation through market-based approach involving voluntarism and other policy initiatives like partnerships and cooperation. These are the ideas on which advocacy groups like NGOs, ENGOs (Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations) have been built upon.

It is not just to establish a new form of governance of environment; but a need has been identified when addressing environmental welfare by keeping sustainability intact. The move away from conventional mode of governance is not just an idea presented to emphasize on informal and non-state actors, but a discourse in itself. SDGs- Sustainable Development Goals through MDGs- Millennium Development Goals under the United Nations have emphasized on the broadening of governance ideals making governance more receptive of the assistance and participation of other actors besides the state itself. It is this concept of sustainable development that an evolved form of governance is necessitated. State can deal with environmental welfare but to deal with the new emerging demands called in by sustainable development in the face of necessary development demands and also climate change and global warming, the outreach of governance has to be widened as environmental degradation would not have an isolated victim, but it would have social, economic and not to forget ramifications. Therefore, reliance only on government would prove to be inadequate.

Involvement of non-state actors and informal actors would have a higher chance of efficiency when dealing with environmental decision making; since, they are considered to be more motivated and quicker in responding to environmental and social issues; the state actors and authorities are seen as rational individuals who would be more interested in personal self-interest from the governance procedure rather than upholding welfare objectives. (Delmas & Young, 2009)

As a discourse, sustainable development stands as a term with two opposing ideals in a concept. Sustainable development has different elements it describes; it could mean the protection of nature, life support systems, and community; it also relies on the idea that nature itself carries an intrinsic value; and thirdly, it could relate to the idea that sustainable development is for sustaining cultural diversity, livelihood of groups and communities that reside in a particular area. At international level various initiatives have been involved in carrying out sustainable development; United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development; various development indicators have been established; wellbeing index and Environmental Sustainability Index has been established as well. (Parris & Kates, 2003)

Sustainable Development emerged to establish a balance between the need for development and need for protection of resources as well. Brundtland Report of 1987, defined sustainable development as ‘...development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’. In the process of bringing about sustainable development, there has been a development in the idea of governance as well and it has as already suggested through NEG that there has been an acknowledgement of local knowledge and traditional practices in enhancing the support for development in a sustainable manner. (Chakrabarti, 2011) The term sustainability not only concerns with the

achievement of human well-being along with ecological integrity; but it also connotes the political attribute that environmental conservation encompasses. It denotes the political nature of unsustainability; implying that the political nature of socio-ecological processes which is induced through development, by bringing about environmental degradation, poverty and injustice. (Mansfield, 2009) For a place like Sikkim, traditional practices and knowledge have been made a part of the governance process, the state authorities have called for involvement of the communities in administration of the forests through practices and policies like Joint Forest Management (JFM) and Eco-Development Committees (EDC); through these they call for active participation of the local people who are in close connection with nature through their cultural practices and their dependence on nature for fuel and fodder etc. The conservation of environment through demarcating Protected Areas have also been successful through the active participation of the community. (Chettri, Krishna, & Singh, 2015)

New Environmental Governance (NEG) suggests that polycentric governance where governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the private sector and civil society form many centers of decision making and action. It is also imperative for the study to also analyses the effectiveness of NEG from the perspective of inclusiveness in policy making from outside the formal institutions, the level of participation and the force behind the participation. Collective and community participation has arisen to uphold environmental ethics or it can be said to be assumed, the study needs to bring into light this as well. This form of participation is to be accommodative and representative of various rights, aspirations, traditions and principles which the state has been accused of neglecting. To facilitate this process, the new in the New Environmental Governance also advocates for collaboration

between various stakeholders. Much more gets integrated into this paradigm. It suggests actors as individuals; as a collective; also, in collaboration with other actors and thereby suggesting networks. Community based participation has been advocated as necessary principle for contribution to natural resource management. For the same, (Alexander, Andrachuk, & Armitage, 2016) puts forward three “waypoints” to assist the actors in conservation. These as enumerated are: the *first*, is the question ‘Who is in the network?’ No more reliance on the conventional idea of government hegemony, but identification of horizontal actors i.e. across sectors or places, vertically meaning across organizational, jurisdictional or political levels; and the criteria used to identify the network boundary; *second* waypoint refers to the question ‘What are the values and interests of actors in the network?’ relating to how accountability, knowledge exchange, social learning, trust, and power sharing is realized in the network; and *finally*, the *third* waypoint refers to ‘How are the actors in the network connected?’, meaning the identification of prominent hierarchies or subgroups, and also how social relations have formed and changed over time.

Such has been the efforts of informal groups and organizations which have emerged out of the context of environmental issues, depletion and degradation of resources and protection and preservation of the same in the name of environmental security which is imperative for human security in terms of livelihood, culture, economy etc. Places where environment does not always correspond to flora, fauna and vegetation, but it could mean food, fodder, livelihood and culture; community groups, organizations and other forms of associations have arisen to provide Collective Action. The theory of Collective Action is based upon the idea of collectivism related to interest on one hand and on the other represents the power to influence. According to Mancur Olson in his work “*The Logic of Collective Action*”: *Public*

*Goods and the Theory of Groups*”, mentions that human beings are rational-egoists who come together based upon the outcome if collective working would bring economic benefits; whereas, Elinor Ostrom in “*Collective Action and the Evolution of Social Norms*”, looks into the basis of collective in terms of trust and reciprocity.

Analyzing the behavior of state institutions as undergoing Age of ecological Arrogance; making them quite oblivious to the negative impact of development process; there is also an unpredictable behavior from the actors and participants which fail to fully carry out the idea of collective action. Collective action is disrupted by rational individuals, and environmental conservation movement is seen to have among the activists who are driven by some form of material gain as opposed to the objective of voicing environmental concerns. This is a form of understanding that is provided by neo-liberal philosophy of environmental conservation. The belief is that individuals are motivated by financial or material gain and therefore, the individuals within the collective in some way sacrifice on the moral obligation of the movement and seek economic incentive (Peterson & Isenhour, 2014). Similar to what Mancur Olson through his theory of collective action has proposed. This leads to the interest of the collective or the community who are fighting for the good of the whole through welfare of the environment to be given a back seat in environmental conservation. Global environmental governance too has enunciated upon the move of governance away from the state to market and private sector governance. There is no denying that neoliberal environmental governance does advocate for expansion of market, economic rationality and private gain as the priority for the protection of public and environmental goods. (Ciplet & Roberts, 2017)

While recognizing the groups and identifying the actors who are engaged in conservation of environment; a wider perspective on actors and its influence upon the issue at hand needs to be adopted. To assist in understanding the reasons for the mismanagement of environment, or inadequacy or arrogance of state actors, Bruno Latour and Michel Callon presents what they call Actor-Network Theory (ANT). This ANT presents an interpretation of social phenomenon occurring out of a non-social element; Latour and Callon devised this theory to focus on contradictory explanations and understanding, focusing on under-represented objects. While identifying conservation actor in “*What is a Conservation Actor?*” a joint article presented by Paul Jepson, Maan Barua and Kathleen Buckingham; states that ANT and collective governance requires the inclusion of non-humans such as species and devices; because each actor whether human or non-human have agency and also the power to influence goals and outcomes. Similar view has been mentioned by Vimal Khawas while talking about Mountain Environment and its connection with human security and its various aspects.

Actor-Network Theory as prescribed by Bruno Latour asserts that actions can be performed differently and for different reasons but could follow a similar objective. To explain this, Latour cites an example of a car driver slowing down seeing a sign reading 30 MPH; and another driver slows down in order to protect the suspension of his car, here the objective is the same but the reasons behind their actions are different. (Latour, 2007) ANT thus seeks to understand a social phenomenon through three resources: *naturality*, *sociality* and *semiotic*, which suggests going beyond the social factors.(Latour, 2017) ANT suggests that considering humans as conservation actors is not enough; the biotic has to be seen along with non-biotic; the humans and non-humans both need to be taken as having some influence over

the phenomenon at hand. While defining *conservation actor* Jepson, Barua and Buckingham have specified individuals, groups and organizations who actively pursue conservation agendas, the constituencies, communities, companies and government agencies whose co-operation and support is enlisted in the pursuit of conservation goals. This they mention has changed in the last twenty years and as such conservation actor could mean a decline in the role of state actors and increase in activities of network operating with or without state participation. (Jepson, Barua, & Buckingham, 2011)

In Latour's presentation of ANT, he prescribes five principles of uncertainties to identify major institutions in social sciences; firstly, the nature of groups which specifies that there are many ways through which an actor can be identified and these could be contradictory in nature. Second is the principle of the nature of actions which implies that in a course of action the objectives may be altered with the involvement of variety of agents at any point of action; third is the nature of objects, which implies the openness of agencies participating in the interaction; fourth is the nature of facts which stands on the idea that the links of natural sciences with society which become the source of disputes; and lastly, the ambiguous clarity in empirical study of issues in social sciences. (Latour, 2007)

The central point of the thesis lies in the identification of actors and networks in environmental governance. Actor and Networks here may not have a specific connotation. As already mentioned above, the perspective of ANT takes into consideration the any element which influences an action, and this does not necessarily imply the human element. So, the focus is not just on actors but on *actants* as well. What it resorts to is the idea that the ability to act is relational; and there could be anything that could affect a situation, this as such is an actant. There are some principles on which ANT is based; namely the concept of

heterogeneity, seeking to explain the relevance of non-human elements in an action which does make a difference. Another principle of ANT is that of 'translation', which implies that an action taken is presented through a particular actor as the voice/face of the action, but the intentionality could be different; another principle is that of Networks. As advocates of ANT believe that there is no group only group formation, similarly when they mention 'network' it clearly does not imply that actors are connected through a network; it actually implies that an action when performed is always a shared action. (Bencherki, 2017)

The dichotomy between different actors is disregarded by ANT; as a key proponent of the theory John Law has prescribed that knowledge is what organizes separate materials in to a network; "Knowledge is a social product" a quote provided by Law. He maintains that all things that comprises an event or an action are "ordered networks of heterogenous materials" (Bennett, 2018). ANT as a theory build up as an empirical tool; it has however extended to studies of social, economic and political inquiry as well. There are some who have reservations regarding the theory, and the theory has been accused of not relying on separate explanation of factors and occurrences like micro or macro, social, legal scientific, political or technical (Garrety, 2014). The mode of description of a phenomenon by ANT is not that something has occurred because actors acted; but because something existed (i.e., 'actant') which caused the actors to act.

The dualism previously specified, especially that of nature and culture has been challenges and deliberated upon by a group who could be termed as 'co-constructionists'. Bruno Latour is recognized as one and these co-constructionists have challenged the dichotomy imposed particularly by sociologist defining humans as separate from ecology. They find the dualism as problematic. Latour specifies nature and society as the two 'Great Domains', and that for

studying any changes in ecology requires an approach which involves humans within an arrangement of various 'heterogenous' relations (Murdoch, 2001). The principles of interlinkage between society and nature have to be delineated in order to overcome the dualism as it has been viewed if any solution to environmental crisis is sought. As quoted *"There is now widespread agreement that in order to do worthwhile sociological research on the 'material' dimension of environmental issues, the basic conceptual legacy of the sociological traditions has to be radically reworked. In particular, the dualistic oppositions between subject and object, meaning and cause, mind and matter, human and animal, and above all, culture (or society) and nature have to be rejected and transcended"*.(Murdoch, 1997)

Elaborating upon the different reasons for active participation in conservation what other method could be better than eco-feminism since it tends to participate from a moral standpoint and therefore, could lead to a better understanding or supporting environmental ethics. Vandana Shiva has been a pioneer in the field of environmentalism and women's involvement and has spoken about how women are important agents of change and management since they are also the victims of any changes that occur in the ecological setting. Like Shiva, Bina Agarwal has been able to classify environmentalism and the idea of collective action and how gender plays a significant role in it. In *"Conceptualizing environmental collective action: why gender matters"* she points out how the idea of good governance which advocates for participative, equitable and efficient has been non-existent in community forest groups and other institutes of natural resource management from a gender perspective. Even such groups uphold the exclusion of women as followed in other institutes of village governance as customary (Agarwal, 2000). Women have always been a

part of the environmental movements and a fundamental principle for this as specified in UNEP document on gender and environment, that environmental conditions do impact men and women differently because of the inherent gender inequality. This unequal power relation between the two determines their accessibility to natural resources and thereby defines their connection to nature and its resources; their position in the social sphere defines their position and opportunities to participate in decision-making.(UNEP, 2015)

Eco-feminists argue that environmental degradation impacts upon nature and women more than the rest of the community. The impact on the private sphere is heavy and brings burden of fulfilling needs of family in depleted situation would come to rest on the women. Therefore, women would be able to assess environmental issues through their traditional roles as nurturer, reproducer of life, care-giver and their close association with what we identify as Mother-Nature. Industrialization, modern science has assumed a form of patriarchy which has led to so much degradation in the lives of the people as well as threatening sustainability in nature. Agarwal calls for a transformational rather than welfarist approach to environmental governance where development, redistribution and ecology are linked in a regenerative way. Shiva in this sense advocates the implementation of feminine principles in governing the environment. The foundation of eco-feminism is based upon the contention that women and men experience the world in a different manner and may not in agreement over the management of resources, their intentions might differ and so do the reasons behind their associations. Therefore, the feminine principles need to be stressed upon in managing the environment and its resources. As such, there is a need to find an interconnection between the actions taken and the force behind such action. It should include all immediate factors like the issues of deforestation, pollution, rising of temperatures etc.,

but also take into fold the indirect force behind such action. Environmental activism studied have always included the human element to it, ANT introduces a non-human element. There is therefore a need to find a connection between these different aspects, where traditional environmental governance has failed to address the situation; so, has new environmental governance (NEG).

Prabha Khosla in “*Environmental governance and women’s activism*”, provides a critical representation of the international organizations at work; she has highlighted the recent upsurge in the growing consensus in the non-governmental movements that an international forum like the UN which has been so keen on working for sustainable development has failed to be a mediator of global agreements. The objective of sustainable development and environmental protection efforts of the UN have failed mainly due to the rising influence of organizations like the WTO- World Trade Organization, IMF- International Monetary Fund who are likely to be concerned with global trade and investment rules. She writes “*there is anxiety and anger at the global forces promoting neo-liberal economic ‘miracles’*”. Similar to this situation, informal sources of information and knowledge as suggested by NEG requires an assessment as to whether these sources have been able to compensate the neglect of the state agencies to care for the environment; for there has existed a disruption in the functioning of informal agencies as well. (Khosla, 2002)

UNEP has also recognized that there is discrepancy in the representation of women in decision-making bodies, they are ‘poorly represented in governments and decision-making bodies’- so in environmental governance and management women have taken a forefront for advocating the cause mainly through grassroot organizations and participation through such a channel is considered to be more effective (Clay, 2003) as we will see later in the present

work. Talking about participation of women in governance, some of the recognized obstacles especially in the context of South Asia are; patriarchy which is legitimized by certain cultural practices like caste system, demarcating clearly the roles between men and women. This hinders their participation in the public sphere. The second obstacle would be the practices imposed in the name of cultural values, which devalues the strength and power of women; the practices of respect are defined by men; and final obstacle identified is the reluctance of the political institutions to acknowledge and allow women to be a part of the governance process. (Omvedt, 2005)

The impact of human activity on the environment and the age of ecological arrogance as prescribed by R. Guha led to the opening up of the governance system to include participation even at the informal level. People's involvement has been through peaceful modes of *forest satyagraha* which was found to be more successful in areas where survival of the local population was linked with forest and nature which stands relevant to the people of the Himalayas.

Padam Nepal in "*Ecological Crises and Gandhian Solution: (Re) Locating Gandhi in the Contemporary Environmental Discourses*" (Nepal, 2011) highlights the need to re-locate Gandhian ideals and values in contemporary environmentalism. The methods involved by the activists in almost all environmental movements are those following non-violence, representation on the basis of ethical values and dignity of human beings. The development-environment debate is a significant part of governance ideals. Gandhian ideals therefore suggest that any act of development should assure that it is people-centric, soul-centric and value-centric. In Sikkim too, standing against development projects, the people have resorted to organizing themselves into community organizations representing particular ethnicity,

cultural group and now groups based on gender have emerged out of it. These organizational actors have sought to bring to policy makers attention the threats faced by this small and fragile state from the developmental projects which leads to the weakening of the landscape of the state. Their voices have been raised regarding the degradation of environmental resources which leads to an issue of sustainable livelihood and also highlighting the institutional and policy gap where there is an inadequate knowledge base brought by the ignorance of the socio-economic characteristics, traditional-institutional and ecological processes of mountain areas as highlighted by platform for environment Agenda 21 in Chapter 13. The growing deliberations on the facets which comprises the environmental circumstance, there has been growing speculations and hence debate characterizing the ‘end of nature’ and the emergence of the ‘Age of Humans’ or ‘The Anthropocene’. The view is basically that attempts to save nature should be stopped; exclaiming the same a quote of Erle Ellis goes *‘Stop trying to save the Planet’ ...: ‘[w]e now live in the Anthropocene’*. (Fremaux, 2019) However, for some it is the ‘Return of Nature’, which takes the approach of many so called environmental advocacy traditions identified as ‘post-environmentalists’, ecomodernists, eco-pragmatists, or neo-greens to actually be requalified as ‘anti-environmentalists’- since they fail to recognize the value of nature’s agency. (Fremaux, 2019) This depicts that there is varied forms of ‘new’ in the environmental governance. There is a lot of changes to be made while defining Nature, development and sustainability. New Environmental Governance (NEG) focuses a lot on the new forms of strategies in governance of the environment; however, the identification of actors and networks through this work, would help to get look at the ‘new’ in Nature as well. Since a lot of policy-making is centered around the idea of ‘Sustainability’, which as a concept arose due to the aftermath

of development agendas; and development itself is seen as a modern idea and a concept which enforces modernity in societies; but studies on sustainability have led to the belief that ‘sustainability’ itself is nothing else than the technological domination of nature in (Fremaux, 2019). The different components that comprise the ‘new’ in governance should be captured, as with the changes in environment, the perspective of agencies involved and the concept of agency itself needs to be further investigated. This is taken up by Actor-Network Theory (ANT). ANT looks into the heterogeneity, hybridity in terms of actors, agency, organization etc. specifying that the future is hybrid. ANT is particularly applied in the study of management, organization, innovation and sustainability studies because of its deliberation on the heterogenous nature of the actors. It is concerned with the question of *“How do things, people, and ideas become connected and assembled in larger units?”* (Aka, 2019) Mentioning Porter and Kramer whose work ‘Creating shared value’ of 2011, shared values pertain to the connections between societal and economic progress, highlighting the complexity that arises in the functioning of various stakeholders like public, private and non-state actors or in other words the government, corporate and NGOs (Porter & Kramer, 2019). Citing Porter and Kramer’s perception on sustainability, Aka states that sustainability is a source of innovation, and innovation is also a means to enhance sustainability, would create a dicey situation where in one sense the green policies are seeking to promote sustainable development by emphasizing it against the process of development which is modernization; and at the same time it seems that it could also mean that as development was perceived to be forced upon the community, is sustainability also a means of enforcing the same system? There is no escape from the conventional notion of authority.

A focus of this work is to study the actors and networks involved in environmental governance in the state of Sikkim, with focus on women as well. As governance specifies a form of decentralized mechanism and moving away from the Westphalian order of state sovereignty; in contemporary terms decentralization has been ensured through liberalization, with this there is what is understood as a “withering of the developmental state” which was recognized even in India. But, as studies have suggested, that the state continues to have a major say in the shaping of economy, society and environment (Sharma A. , 2021).

With community organizations proliferating against the development projects in Sikkim, recent trend has been the emergence of separate organizations from among the existing community organizations itself. There is therefore a need felt to study the causes of such trends and the interconnections between the specified causes as well as the internal ideas influencing each individual to participate and make a difference in policy formulation. The idea is that different organizations may pursue the same objectives but may differ in approach and may differ in intentions. As such uniformity in environmental governance by including various actors, their interdependence and their mechanisms of influencing policies regarding environment is a must.

### **1.18 RESEARCH GAP**

Actors in environmental governance have been identified and researched upon. The due credit of move from government administered processes to governance has been given to the involvement of informal actors in governance. In terms of representation in environmental governance informal actors like Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) or Community Organizations are seen to be more diverse in representation of interests and people affected

by resource-intensive development procedures. However, the approach itself is anthropogenic in nature; which has led to an oversight of several factors which have ushered in a development in governance procedures. An identification of such variables is necessary to understand social change. A significant attention is to be paid to non-human variables that influences policies and activism.

### **1.19 RESEARCH PROBLEM**

In the study of environmental governance, either the state structures and institutions or the informal actors are studied; or are seen as a struggle between ‘vicious state’ and ‘virtuous peasants’ (or the people affected). However, the identification between the actors and networks is not clear. As such, a need arises to provide this identification of actors and network in environmental governance. Hence, there is a necessity to find a connection between the role of community organizations and the state agencies as well as the connection between women as individuals and women as a part of the community; analyzing; studying contribution of community and local knowledge to governance; the inclusiveness and the exclusiveness of the state processes.

### **1.20 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK:**

#### **1.20.1 Collective Action:**

The first concept for the study to be based on would definitely be the concept of Collective Action framed around 1950s. Since this study is concerned with the identification of Actors and the Networks that they establish in relation to environmental governance, there is bound to be the analysis of the reasons why organizations are formed, and also why different organizations are formed for the purpose of fulfilling the same agendas. Collectivity is

related to interest on one hand and on the other collectivity also represents power to influence. Accordingly, Mancur Olson in his work "*The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*", gives us an insight into the reason for people coming together, where Olson is of the view that human beings are rational-egoists who give priority to the outcome if it has economic benefits whereas Elinor Ostrom in her article "*Collective Action and the Evolution of Social Norms*", looks into the basis of collectivity in terms of trust and reciprocity. The important idea in collective action is 'common interest'; however, the intention behind the common interest may vary, and this portion of understanding these actors are taken under the fold of Actor-Network Theory of Bruno Latour and Michel Callon.

### **1.20.2 Old Sociological Approach:**

Collective Action has also been elaborated by Charles Tilly (1978) who gives an analysis of modernization. Tilly is an ardent supporter of the belief that social movements do not have a common identity. He and his associates like Shorter are of the belief that the social movements are a series of contentious performances, displays and campaigns which are initiated by ordinary people in order to make collective claims. This kind of claims provides the ordinary people to participate in public politics. Tilly points to the shift which has occurred from decision making by formal centralized hierarchical organizations to decentralized movements and now to a centralized version of Social Movement Organizations (SMOs). The explanation of social movements by Tilly is based on his agree to disagree understanding of the literature on social movements; and has put effort in understanding social movements in a historical setting. Collective action is considered to be a simple concept whereby, access to any social products if provided to one member cannot be denied to other members of the group.

### **1.20.3 Resource Mobilization Theory:**

The reasons for the occurrences of movements are either dissatisfaction, or common interest, or also the concern with the management of resources. For this purpose, a theory had been adopted by American sociologists namely the Resource Mobilization Theory or the RMT. This emerged in the 1970s and it is based on the idea of rationalism. It studies collective action as an extension of individual action as something dependent on the resource need and resource appropriation perspective. Where collective action and old sociological approach to social movements talk in terms of collective behavior theories which are non-institutionalized towards social change, which includes both movements of personal change i.e., religious sects, cults and communes and those focused on institutional changes related to legal reforms and changes in political power. The RM perspective talks in terms of the movements which arise from interaction, where centralized control is tied to a charismatic leader or is weak. This theory emerged in the 1970s; it argued that movement and their actions are rational responding to different costs and rewards, the intention behind the association depends on the changes in resources, group organization and opportunities of collective action and also gives attention to movements and their successes being dependent on strategic factors and the political processes they are a part of. According to McCarthy and Zald (1977), RM perspective focuses on the ability of social movement promoters to gain and manipulate resources of power, to organize and to recruit members from existing voluntary association networks, and to provide individual incentives or coercion in motivating participation in social movement activities.(Jenkins, 1983) Social movements related to ecology, peace or women's movements during 1970s were witnessed to not be

affiliated to legal or political organizations, they were witnessed to be more informal and egalitarian. (Mayer, 1995)

#### **1.20.4 Political Process Participation:**

Taking upon the assertion of RM perspective provided by McCarthy and Zald (1977) regarding participation in social movements being influenced by certain form of incentives, the political process participation talks of the individual interests residing in grasping of any political opportunity. Since, the organizations are formed in response to the activities of power, it questions power however, and there exists a hidden intention in this participation, whereby the individual involved in questioning the power holders get a form of platform for getting known and thereby also being eligible for contesting for power. Political Opportunity is utilized for group formation and also determines the nature and motive of Environmental Governance. This is a situation which is common to most associations and organizations informally associated with addressing power structures and institutions.

#### **1.20.5 New Social Movement Theory:**

This theory is a European initiative and it tends to look at social movements to go against the formal organizations and structure, the old social movement theory which is American initiative sees the social movements to be a movement where the outsider as well as the insider group working together. This new theory is new, post-material movements which work in alliance with “traditionally” discriminated class and racial groups. This point could be taken to therefore identify the reason for feminist perspective to emerge and also to see the emergence of organizations from among traditional organizations representing certain community or class.(Buechler, 1993)(Buechler, 1995)

## 1.21 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Environmental governance is concerned with policy making and implementation, and recently attention has also been paid to activism which is identified with group activity. Where Ostrom and Olson talks about collective action as a collaborative effort to achieve a common objective; the former emphasizes on principles of trust and reciprocity as the basis of collaboration and the latter talks about the individuals coming together to achieve certain self-interests. Whether the self-interest is for personal monetary or political benefit or for the satisfaction of one's conscience, Olson asserts that individuals participate because they are rational self-interested beings.

Similarly, different theories have analyzed the idea of participation, collaboration and collectiveness. Some identifying individual satisfaction of ambition, some rationality-based argument and also participation being affected by the availability and appropriation of resources. The centralized structure of the conventional model is accused of being power oriented and not goal oriented, whereas the NEG is also not without any criticisms. NEG also require certain resources to sustain which are not possible without the state assistance. Where NEG advocated the thriving of informal groups of activism which are concerned only with the achievement and fulfillment of the objectives set out by the organizations formed.

As conventional governance is accused of not being inclusive of the aspirations and sentiments of the local population and focused too much on hierarchy and power; NEG paints a simple picture of how governance can be enhanced only by broadening the process by adding more actors to it. Where more actors mean more interest representation if one has to go by Olson's formulation of rational beings, then this system would have more internal

conflicts and contradictions; confrontational politics would not be able to sustain the idea of a common objective with numerous actors.

Following NEG would also mean catering to the oversimplification of intention of the individuals who are coming together as an organization which represents common interest. Since these organizations are made up of individuals; what makes them become a part of an organization and participate also differs, this is not considered by the NEG. Though this approach to governance does present a clear picture that different aspects of environment and its governance can be portrayed through different agencies, the effectiveness of this is to be questioned.

Community groups' involvement in environment is necessary especially in mountain areas where there is a close connection of the people with environment and nature in terms of its religious significance, livelihood prospects, values connected to it and also in terms of human security. The sentiments behind participation cannot all be articulated in rational terms, since sentiments concern the values, norms and traditions a community associated their sense of belonging and life with. Thereby, this is where Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) can supplement the existing theories of collectivity and activism.

ANT emphasizes all elements that may be a part of the action and the intention of the action; however, the motivating force that theories like RMT and New Social Movements talk about is different. ANT connects action to non-human elements like sentiments of the community as well as the morality of their intention and action. It is important to analyze this because protection of community and their rights is important for the protection of the environment and vice-versa. The approaches fail to talk about the issue at hand from this perspective;

therefore, in order to study the reasons of collaboration and the effectiveness of the collaboration between the state and non-state actors as well as the internal strength of the groups there is therefore a need for the collaboration to be made between approaches guiding NEG and ANT.

## **1.22 DEFINITION, RATIONALE AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

### **1.22.1 Definition:**

Environmental governance has surpassed the traditional version of governance, which includes merely decision making to that of New Environmental Governance (NEG). With this new version of governance, focus has been made to plural actors that influence the environmental policy formulation and its execution. The term Environment comprises of the living population and also the resources that helps these population to survive. Environment provides a social, cultural, religious, economic and political connotation to the existence of different communities.

The concept of Environmental governance arises when the policies based upon it are judged on the basis of its implications. It is such implications and the consideration of the susceptibility that concerns primarily the mountain environment, and governance structures. So, it is important to analyze such factors that impact on the susceptibility which could lead to degradation of the ecology. Therefore, environmental governance would involve the study of agencies and institutions (which maybe formal or informal agencies) participating in the act of administering and managing environment and its various resources catering to different elements concerning different communities as specified above. There exists a sort of dualism when it comes to environment and its protection. These dualisms are: traditional-institutional

management techniques, environment – development debate, modern science-traditional knowledge, violence and satyagraha, destroyer-nurturer and man-woman as well. These multiple dualisms are relevant in studying the environmental governance in mountainous regions like that of Sikkim.

### **1.22.2 Rationale and scope of the study:**

The critical interpretations of environmental governance both through conventional or traditional environmental governance and the governance initiated through various informal actors like NGOs, ENGOs, Community Organizations (which are social, cultural, economic, religious or gender based) leads one to question as to what does inclusive governance in environmental governance entail. Has the state institution failed as has been accused of being under the Age of Ecological Arrogance? It has also been observed that dependence on informal actors has increased with the new dimensions of administration and governance, but still there has been proliferation of the organizations from among the already existing organizations pursuing the same goals. This is where the research gap lies and so this research work would attempt to identify and assess any other reasons and any other actors besides the activism factor that exists in working towards achieving the same objectives.

It is pertinent to understand that the studies concerning environmentalism or environmental activism focuses only on different agencies and groups, but the critical concern is not just their role rather the basis and the nature of such roles is to be defined and analyzed. As such, this study would involve the study of environmental governance and all its aspects in general as well as particularly in developing countries like that of India focusing on small situated tribal communities. Also, the analysis of governance would also include the study of the

impact of environmental legislations on administration of environment and the inclusiveness in policy making. This would also involve the analysis of the rise in actors besides the state actors asserting environmental rights and the theories centered on it. Furthermore, the study would also focus on understanding the role of community organizations in Environmental Governance. Simultaneously, the objective of this study is also to understand both the voluntary and involuntary agencies, structures and networks concerned with environmental governance.

### **1.23 RESEARCH QUESTIONS:**

1. What are the reasons for the emergence of sub-groups for example women's groups from the existing community organizations in environmental governance?
2. What are the other actors in environmental governance and do women constitute the only major actors in environmental governance?
3. What may be understood as 'Actors' or 'Networks'? In What way there may be a network in environmental governance and what may be its component and how do they condition each other?
4. What is the relative significance of 'New Environmental Governance' state mediated environmental governance for women in general and women in marginal community?
5. What alternative are the actors of NEG advocating by assessing the conventional state sponsored environmental strategies?

## **1.24 HYPOTHESIS:**

The failure of the state institutions in exercising environmental governance is due to the age of ecological arrogance syndrome; the failure of the non-state actors can be the internal functioning of the organizations and also could be due to the different reasons of the participation of individual within the organizations. The dissatisfaction with the traditional administration of environment led to the New Environmental Governance which changed the way governance measure were taken and programmes generated. However, the internal differences in reasons and causes, and also the structure and functioning of non-state actors on familiar grounds as that of the state actors lead to the emergence of numerous actors. These actors together may bring about interdependence not only in action but also in the intention behind their actions. Materialization of social capital like moral intentions, values, rights, traditions and customs of the community with the environment for protection of environment as well as the protection of the community. On the basis of this, we expect that the propositions would turn out to be:

There may be both material and emotional reasons for the emergence of sub-groups for example women's groups from the existing community organizations in environmental governance.

There may be several actors in environmental governance of which women constitute the major actors in environmental governance.

'Actors' are not fully network dependent but maybe considered as having network effects. Networks are dynamic and may result into actants; resulting into a dynamic interdependence

of actors and networks. At any given point of time, environmental governance is an outcome of actors and networks.

The significance of 'New Environmental Governance' is constituted by an opportunity of increased participation, activism and a constraint of protection and preservation of small and endangered communities. The state mediated environmental governance on the other hand contains "Arrogance" which is counter-productive to participation and activism though maybe effective for securing rights and protection for the small and marginal communities.

The alternatives sought for by the actors of NEG advocating by assessing the conventional state sponsored environmental strategies, need to be reshaped in the light of the limits and strengths of NEG.

## **1.25 METHODOLOGY**

This work on Environmental Governance in Sikkim is based on qualitative social research methods. The qualitative field research is combined with a descriptive analysis of the administration of environment and the legislations of policies and thereby its implementation; it would also involve the identification of actors which maybe state or non-state actors as well as actors which acts as a force to enhance the governance ordeal in Sikkim. Thereby, this would be a qualitative study of the policies formulated and implemented on environment in the state from 1994 to 2019 under Sikkim Democratic Front-SDF government and from 2019 to present under SKM- Sikkim Krantikari Morcha which depicts the governance under the 25 year ruling political agency and this is also a period which saw the emergence of environment-development debate in Sikkim, the emergence of various informal agencies in environmental governance, the role of civil society

organizations and also organizations emerging promoting certain sectional interest but within the broad framework of environmental governance. Grass root representation in the governance of environment has led to the emergence of organizations particular interests and grassroots and common people's participation is not the part of the governance ideal, without which governance system may not be considered as good governance. So, the work would involve the study of the impact of the environmental policies and the response of various actors of governance to it. As such, it will also include information to be collected through conducting interviews through open ended questionnaires with the organizations and various stakeholders involved. This work will not be documentary research but will be proposed as a Qualitative Field Research. Hence, focus group discussions would also be a part of the methodology for this research. North and West districts of Sikkim has been the hub of the developmental projects and challenges to governance has arisen in these regions therefore, several organizations have been identified belonging to this region like ACT- Affected Citizens of Teesta, SIBLAC- Sikkim Bhutia Lepcha Apex Committee, CLOS- Concerned Lepchas of Sikkim, SILTA- Sikkim Indigenous Lepcha Tribal Association since these organizations represent different communities of Sikkim and also have similar members participating in organizations advocating certain sectional interests as well. Random Sampling method will be used where by an in-depth study of the focus groups and actors identified will be made. Tentatively, research will be framed around 50 (fifty) respondents with each organization comprising of members ranging from 10-50 members, therefore 4 to 5 respondents from each group will be considered. Groups will be so chosen on the basis of the nature of membership- voluntary, affected, representing cause, community, particular interest etc. Representatives from government in charge with environmental administration will also

be interviewed as a balancing exercise. This will be analyzed using various tools of qualitative research which may not be quantifiable, such as in-depth interview, focus group research and so on.